## JOHN R. L. MOXON

# Peter's Halakhic Nightmare

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## John R. L. Moxon

## Peter's Halakhic Nightmare

The "animal" vision of Acts 10:9–16 in Jewish and Graeco-Roman Perspective

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#### **Preface**

I first became interested in the question of how Judaism and Christianity first related to each other while studying early Jewish texts at Oxford. The creator of that module, Prof. E. P. Sanders, had, of course, also unleashed upon us what came to be known as the New Perspective, which quickly pressed urgent and perplexing questions. A main impetus was to rescue the term "works of law" from its captivity within Reformation polemic and suggest a more meaningful context in which Paul was arguing against the need for conversion to Judaism as a pre-requisite for gentile Christians.

Whilst this insight has produced much fruit, including re-engineering the discussion around Torah in terms of non-applicability for gentiles as opposed to abolition (as adumbrated by W. D. Davies), I became instantly fascinated by the symmetric but less often discussed corollary of ongoing Jewish Christianity, similarly exempted from any need to "cross over" and thus living in Torah compliance. The idea of dual ongoing identities within a messianically inaugurated supra-community had actually been suggested by Jacob Jervell in Luke-Acts circles before Sanders' magnum opus, although it constituted a step too far for many in the Paul community, and remains controversial.

But things are moving on rapidly. I had not been particularly aware of the term "post-supercessionist" until spotting it on the sleeve notes of David Rudolph's 2011 volume in this WUNT II series, but quickly found my thesis listed on websites of this persuasion. Although aware that such a perspective could be understood as supportive of the contemporary Messianic Jewish movement (for which see Cohn-Sherbok, 2000, 2001, Kinzer, 2005, Stern, 2007, Rudolph and Willitts, 2013 et sim.), my study is primarily born of the simpler conviction that something *like* "unity in distinction" was conceivable to the earliest Christians, and indeed observed in the relatively unimpeded continuity of Jewish-Christian identity and praxis in the earliest period (cf. Tomson, 2003, Broadhead, 2010, Skarsaune and Hvalvik et al., 2007). The argument that the Christologically-mediated unity between these groups necessarily involved the *obliteration* of any distinction between them would seem born more of

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later theological preoccupations than of the original context. This is especially so if "unity in distinction" solutions were proving useful for similar questions of multiple identity facing Luke's cultural neighbours.

It is not denied that over the next few centuries, the once Jewish-Christian core of the church was gradually moved to the periphery, treated with suspicion and hostility and eventually anathematised. This is ably charted by Lightstone (1984: 87–97), and was fuelled in great part through ongoing crises about gentile "Judaising". Initially, under pressure from others, but later, through their own identity crisis, social-scientific analysis shows both the persistent porosity of the two groups, and yet also the inevitable difficulty of maintaining a socially meaningful Jewish-Christian identity in the context of de-facto changes. Later *social* impossibility, however, does not need to nullify an underlying theological perspective that, at source, *symmetrically* underpinned Jewish and gentile Christianity.

One of the ways a misplaced instinct on this matter works out is in the belief that the eventual domination of gentile-only Christianity could only have been set in motion via dominical or apostolic pronouncements. This would bestow, at most, transitional accommodation to ongoing Jewish-Christian identity, which, it is imagined, would be "passing away". A post-supercessionist perspective acknowledges the eventual social reality but at the same time questions the idea of an abolitionist mandate driving it along.

The task of claiming Luke or Paul for this more open perspective inevitably demands dealing with "problem passages" which do seem to smack of abolition. Rudolph (2011) showed how 1 Cor 9:19–23 ("I became as one outside the Law" etc.) may not, after all, involve the Torah violation that is so often imagined. In turn, Campbell (2006), Hardin (2013) and others have argued that the unity envisaged in Gal 3:28 and Eph 2:15–16 need not entail the obliteration of distinction or actual dissolution of Torah. One by one, other problem passages in Paul are being questioned in a similar way.

Luke, however, arguably presents an even sterner challenge in Peter's famous "animal" vision, that uniquely appears to portray and indeed, commend Torah violation in visionary form. To argue, as I do here, that Luke is thus clearly aware of the Jewish-Christian "nightmare" about what the gentile mission might involve, but does not actually endorse abolition at all, would seem a near impossible task. Besides running against the bulk of modern scholarship, it is often understood to implicate Luke in an editorial blunder where he accidentally creates an explicit image of the very thing he does not seek to commend. Others see this as deliberate – driven by a sense of obligation to finally name the abolition "beast", thus

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sealing the demise of the very Jewish Christianity for which Luke otherwise has so much respect. All this has an odd feel about it.

Finding a solution to this conundrum inevitably led to questions about how visions worked in this period. Could we really have a divine vision that was not "revelatory" in a very straightforward sense? That Jews and Christians might be starting to play with ambiguous, oblique and more human revelatory experiences more at home amongst Graeco-Roman sensibilities was not, perhaps, impossible. It could certainly make sense if distressing and taboo-breaking images appeared in the dream-world of a community on the brink of contact with the "disgusting other". But for Luke to cast important divine guidance into this perplexing form and show an apostle's certainties being deconstructed so enigmatically, could only count as a gamble, by turns brilliantly creative, psychologically disturbing and theologically bold.

It is this construction that precisely allows the image both to represent a "worst case scenario", while at the same time underlining that the *fear* of this outcome was the real blockage, preventing a new type of unity being sanctified by the Spirit across community lines. If this reading helps cast new light on this problem passage, then it can hopefully add in some small way to the ongoing exploration of post-New Perspective ecclesiologies.

However, the discovery of a personal, enigmatic, even disturbing complexion to what we might otherwise have called "revelatory experience" ends up being significant in its own right. It links the study to a number of suggestions of this kind on the part of authors not otherwise linked to the New Perspective, but associated with what has come to be called the "affective turn" in biblical studies (cf. Kuhn, 2009, Selby, 2016 et sim.). This development has an important but quite different type of contribution to make to the story of Christian origins with an eye to the imaginative, experiential and psychological aspects of personal and community transformation.

To return to practicalities, this work is the revised form of a second doctoral study submitted to the University of Durham in 2011. Its preparation has allowed the improvement of a number of sections, as well as interacting with some more recent literature. In respect of the original study, I would like to thank my supervisors, Profs. Loren Stuckenbruck and Robert Hayward for their unstinting support and advice and thank my examiners Prof. William Horbury and Dr. Lutz Doering for their encouraging and critically helpful comments. For this revision, I must thank Prof. Jörg Frey and the late Prof. Friedrich Avemarie, who reviewed the work for Mohr Siebeck and suggested further improvements, Dr. Henning Ziebritzki, Philipp Henkys, Kendra Maeschke, Susanne Mang and

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For early inspiration and later encouragement, I owe much to David Wenham and Richard Massey. I gratefully acknowledge financial support from the Panacea Society, St. John's Church, Harborne (Living Stones) and Birmingham Christian College, as well as the facilities and libraries of the universities of Oxford, Birmingham, Durham and Princeton Theological Seminary. I also wish to thank Paul Alexander, Glenn Balfour and the staff and students of Mattersey Hall for their kind hospitality during a substantial part of this project, and to Profs. Trevor Dean, Mike Edwards and colleagues at Roehampton for encouragement and support thereafter. Incalculable personal thanks are owed to my parents, Dr. and Mrs. J. W. A. Moxon, my children, Annie and Zac, and wider family and friends in the UK and Denmark.

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#### **Abbreviations**

#### Terms and Acronyms

ANE Ancient Near East BCE Before Common Era

CE Common Era

ET English Translation
MS(S) Manuscript(s)
NT New Testament

OT Old Testament/Hebrew Bible

#### Standard Reference Works

ABD Anchor Bible Dictionary, D. N. Freedman, ed. ANET Ancient Near Eastern Texts, J. B. Pritchard, ed.

BDAG Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other

Early Christian Literature, W. Bauer et al., eds.

BDB Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, F.

Brown et al., eds.

BHS Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia

CRINT Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum DGRBM Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology,

W. Smith, ed.

DJG Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels, Green, J. B., McKnight,

S. et al., eds.

EE Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the

Testimonies, E. J. L. Edelstein, L. Edelstein, eds.

EncDSS Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls, L. H. Schiffman, J.C.

VanderKam, eds.

EncJudaica Encyclopaedia Judaica, M. Berenbaum and F. Skolnik, eds. EncJudaism Encyclopedia of Judaism, Neusner, J., Avery-Peck, A. J. et

al., eds.

FGrH Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, F. Jacoby, ed. IC Inscriptiones Creticae, Margherita Guarducci, ed.

XXAbbreviations

IG Inscriptiones Graecae, A. Kirchhoff, U. von Wilamowitz-

Moellendorff et al., eds.

**ISBE** International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, G. W. Bromiley,

ed.

LSJ A Greek-English Lexicon with Revised Supplement, H. G.,

Liddell, R., Scott, R. et al.

New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, NIDNTT

C. Brown, ed.

NIDOTTE New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology

and Exegesis, W. VanGemeren, ed.

OEAGR The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome, M.

Gagarin, E. Fantham, eds.

The Oxford Classical Dictionary, S. Hornblower et al., eds. OCD OTP Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, J. H. Charlesworth, ed.

SBLSP Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers

The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Edward N. Zalta, SEP

ed.

Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, W. Dittenberger, ed. SIG

Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, H. Strack and P. Str-B

Billerbeck

Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, G. Kittel and **TDNT** 

G. Friedrich, eds.

Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, G. J. TDOT

Botterweck and H. Ringgren, eds.

Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament, G. L. Archer, TWOT

R. L. Harris, et al., eds.

#### **Publication Series**

ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
ETSSP	Evangelical Theological Society Seminar Papers
ICC	International Critical Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers

#### Journals

ABR Australian Biblical Review

AJBS African Journal of Biblical Studies Abbreviations XXI

AJP American Journal of Philology

AJSRev Association for Jewish Studies Review

AmSpch American Speech AN Ancient Narrative AncPhil Ancient Philosophy

Anton Antonianum

APB Acta Patristica et Byzantina

AramStud Aramaic Studies

Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics ASTI Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute

ATJ Ashland Theological Journal

AUSS Andrews University Seminary Studies

BBR Bulletin for Biblical Research

Bib Biblica

BibInt Biblical Interpretation

BibRev Bible Review
BibSac Bibliotheca Sacra

BMC Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic

BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

BTB Biblical Theology Bulletin
BZ Biblische Zeitschrift
CBQ Catholic Biblical Quarterly

CFC(G) Cuadernos de Filología Clásica: Estudios griegos e

indoeuropeos

CFQ California Folklore Quarterly

ChHist Church History
CJ Classical Journal
ClAnt Classical Antiquity
CLR Columbia Law Review
ConNT Coniectanea Neotestamentica

CQ Classical Quarterly

CritIng Critical Inquiry

CTR Criswell Theological Review

CW Classical World

DOP Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DSD Dead Sea Discoveries
EcuRev Ecumenical Review

EduTheat Educational Theatre Journal

Eos: Commentarii Societatis Philologae Polonorum

ETL Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses

EvQ Evangelical Quarterly EvT Evangelische Theologie

ExpTim Expository Times

XXII Abbreviations

FFNT Foundations and Facets: New Testament

FN Filología Neotestamentaria

G&R Greece and Rome HeyJ Heythrop Journal HibJ Hibbert Journal

Hist. Refl. Historical Reflections HR History of Religions

HSPh Harvard Studies in Classical Philology

HTR Harvard Theological Review
HUCA Hebrew Union College Annual
IEJ Israel Exploration Journal

IJFM International Journal of Frontier Missions

Interp Interpretation

IRM International Review of Mission

JAAR Journal of the American Academy of Religion

JAF Journal of American Folklore

JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society

JBL Journal of Biblical Literature

JBPR Journal of Biblical & Pneumatological Research

JConscStud Journal of Consciousness Studies JECS Journal of Early Christian Studies

JETS Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society

JHC Journal of Higher Criticism
JHelStud Journal of Hellenic Studies
JHI Journal of the History of Ideas

JHM Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences

JHPh Journal of the History of Philosophy JHSex Journal of the History of Sexuality

JJS Journal of Jewish Studies
JLR Journal of Law and Religion

JNSL Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages

JQR Jewish Quarterly Review JR Journal of Religion

JRAI Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute

JRE Journal of Religious Ethics JRH Journal of Religious History JRS Journal of Roman Studies

JSJ Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic

and Roman Period

JSNT Journal for the Study of the New Testament JSOT Journal for the Study of the Old Testament JSP Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha

JTS Journal of Theological Studies

Abbreviations XXIII

Latomus: Revue d'Etudes Latines

MGWJ Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des

Judentums

NedTTs Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift

NeotNeotestamenticaNovTNovum TestamentumNTSNew Testament StudiesNTTNorsk Teologisk Tidsskrift

P&P Past and Present

PAAJR Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research

PCPhS Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society

Ph&Rhet Philosophy and Rhetoric

Phronesis: A Journal for Ancient Philosophy
PMLA Proceedings of the Modern Language Association

PRSt Perspectives in Religious Studies

R&L Religion & Literature
RB Revue Biblique
ResQ Restoration Quarterly
RevQ Revue de Qumran

RLFC Revista de Lingüística y Filología Clásica RSR Recherches des Sciences Religieuses

ScEs Science et Esprit SecCent Second Century

SJT Scottish Journal of Theology

SO Symbolae Osloenses SPh Studies in Philology

STRev Sewanee Theological Review

TAPA Transactions of the American Philological Association

TBT Bible Today

ThZ Theologische Zeitschrift

TJ Trinity Journal

TPAPA Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological

Association

TynB Tyndale Bulletin
VChr Vigiliae Christianae
VT Vetus Testamentum
WW Word and World

ZAW Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

XXIV Abbreviations

#### Ancient Texts, Versions and Translations

MT Massoretic Text
LXX Septuagint
OG Old Greek
Aq. Aquila
Sym. Symmachus
Theo. Theodotion
Arm. Armenian

### **English Bible Translations**

ASV	American Standard Version
ESV	English Standard Version
GNR	Good News Version

JND J. N. Darby

KJV King James Version NAB New American Bible

NASB New American Standard Bible

NCV New Century Version NEB New English Bible

NIV New International Version
NKJV New King James Version
NLT New Living Translation
NRSV New Revised Standard Version
RSV Revised Standard Version

RV Revised Version

TEV Today's English Version
YLT Young's Literal Translation

### Biblical, Jewish, Christian and Classical Works

Abbreviations for biblical and early Jewish and Christian works follow the general patterns of the SBL Handbook of Style. Those for classical authors and texts follow LSJ. Author and text abbreviations are normally concatenated unless the former can be assumed from the context, in which case the latter alone is indicated. Where authors are known for only one work, then authorial abbreviations alone are used, e.g. Hdt., Char., Long. et sim. Two exceptions to the above rules arising from common usage are

Abbreviations XXV

Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Antiquitates Romanae*, which is referenced by *RA* throughout, and Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca Historica*, by *BH*.

### Citation Styles

For rabbinical texts, citations follow the traditional forms, although occasionally, further subdivisions from modern versions are also used, e.g. Neusner's [A], [B] etc. in his translations of the Mishnah and Tosefta. For classical texts, chapters and paragraph numbers cited are as for the Loeb edition, where available. When the Loeb's Greek or Latin text has a different numbering scheme to the translation, the citation is given as for the ET, with the original language paragraphing placed after a "/", e.g. Cic. Div. 2:64/132–133. If line numbers are needed for a prose work, then these are given as offsets from the start of the paragraph or section, using the standard Loeb or Teubner text as appropriate.

#### Chapter 1

#### Introduction

#### 1.1 Purpose, Method and Approach

#### 1.1.1 Aims

The purpose of this study is to see if better sense can be made of the enigmatic dream-vision<sup>1</sup> of Acts 10:9–16 in which Peter is commanded to eat unclean animals. Perennially popular amongst missionaries and social activists<sup>2</sup>, the passage presents challenging redactional and theological difficulties within its early Jewish–Christian context. Although Luke interprets the vision in terms of attitudes to *people*<sup>3</sup>, a striking problem is why a text even *apparently* asking a Jew to violate Torah (thus possibly commending its abolition), should be given such prominence by an author who is otherwise favourable to Judaism, and who does not resolve the Jewgentile problem in this way elsewhere<sup>4</sup>. Not only do some doubt that Luke

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A term signifying reports variously labelled as dreams or visions, as well as angelophanies and other accounts that can be treated as form-critically congruent. Ancient terminology and accompanying contemporary debates will be introduced in ch. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The story features in medieval discussions of the fate of the heathen (Turner, 1966: 185), social inclusiveness in the monasteries (Flanagan, 1998: 15–16) and even what Christians should eat (Bazell, 1997). With echoes down through to the mystery plays (Lepow, 1983) and Milton (Schaeffer, 2000: 86–87), it was used by 19<sup>th</sup> century protodeist universalists (Lyttle, 1935: 255), featured in the 1892 dispute about the USA's Alien Contract Labour Act (Chomsky, 2000: 914), and in the 1950s and 60s was used by both black and white supporters of the civil rights movement (cf. Mays, 2006: 55–64, Ginn, 2006: 202–206 and Boggs, 2006: 270–277). It has been regularly used to justify continued cross-cultural mission (cf. Massey, 2000: 9, 10, WCC, 2010), and has featured in recent debates about gender (Eisen, 2003, France, 1994 and McNichols, 2001) and the rights of homosexuals (Fowl, 1998: 119–126, Perry, 2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The vision occurs within the important story of the conversion of the Centurion Cornelius in Acts 10:1–11:18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I.e. Acts 15, Acts 21. On the view that Jewish Christians in Luke's circle continued to observe Yom Kippur and other Jewish festivals, see Ben Ezra (2003).

intended here to advocate or sanction such a departure<sup>5</sup>, growing numbers of scholars question whether fiat Torah abolition fits the theology of *any* NT author<sup>6</sup>. The standard form-critical explanation that this was an extraneous abolitionist text that Luke unsuccessfully "softened" is not satisfactory. This study seeks to set the passage against both its Jewish background, and more extensively, against Hellenistic and Roman dream accounts to gain new insights into how it might have been understood by the original readers, in spite of its distressing and contrary imagery.

#### 1.1.2 Literature Review

Following Dibelius' 'Conversion of Cornelius' (1947), Hanson's (1978) form-critical investigation was the first full-length study of the Acts 10:1–11:18 story of which Peter's vision forms a part<sup>7</sup>. Although a steady trickle of journal articles followed, it took the "literary turn" in biblical studies to return scholars to the surface level of the text with the functionalist study of Kelley (1991)<sup>8</sup>. After that, the passage received passing attention in broader studies of dreams and visions in Luke-Acts, such as those of Dennis (1994), Day (1994)<sup>9</sup>, J. B. F. Miller (2004, 2007)<sup>10</sup> and Sorensen (2005)<sup>11</sup>, variously in relation to Luke's views of Christology, providence, revelation or community.

Several studies have attempted to place the Lukan visions as a whole in a specifically Graeco-Roman context, including Squires (1993: 103–120)<sup>12</sup>, Koet (1999)<sup>13</sup> and Strelan (2004: 131–190)<sup>14</sup> as others have done for other NT and Jewish dreams, e.g. Hanson (1980), Gnuse (1996), Everts (1992),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. Tomson (2010b: 145) "no longer ... self-evident". As noted further below, ongoing Jewish Christianity appeared to be quite unaware of the *option*, let alone a command.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> It has been the standard view of many older Pauline scholars that Paul preached his "Law-free Gospel" to Jews and gentiles alike, albeit possibly in a two stage development (cf. Betz, 1979: 85). This of course is now being questioned within the "New Perspective" that finds itself curiously drawing Paul closer to Luke.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Bovon's (1967) study on the patristic interpretation of Acts 10:1–11:18 is useful for early post–NT reflections.

<sup>§</sup> S. Kelley, "And Your Young Will See Visions": A Functionalist Literary Reading of the Visions to Saul and Peter in Acts (1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> M. Day, The Function of Post-Pentecost Dream/Vision Reports in Acts (1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> J. B. F. Miller, "Convinced that God had Called Us": Visions and the Perception of God's Will in Luke-Acts (2004, 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> R. Sorensen, The Literary Function of Acts' Vision Narratives (2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> A section of his study of providence, *The Plan of God in Luke-Acts* (1993).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Koet notes the importance of Hellenistic dream theory (op. cit. 746) but does not pursue it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> 'Seeing Things', ch. 5 in his *Strange Acts* (2004), with a special interest in the genre of Acts.

Flannery-Dailey (2000, 2004), Dodson (2006, 2009) and Humphrey (2007).

Studies of other themes in the story, such as hospitality, the Spirit, godfearers, conversion, guidance, decision making etc. that comment on the visions include Crampsey (1982)<sup>15</sup>, L. T. Johnson (1983)<sup>16</sup>, Gaventa (1986)<sup>17</sup>, Lukasz (1993)<sup>18</sup>, Henrich (1994)<sup>19</sup>, Handy (1998)<sup>20</sup> and Arterbury (2005)<sup>21</sup>. In relation to the halakhic imagery of Peter's vision, no dedicated monograph exists, but in addition to journal articles, it is considered in various works on Jewish approaches to the NT such as Tomson (2001) and Kinzer (2005).

The passage inevitably receives attention in the many Acts commentaries and journal articles which are referred to as critical questions dictate. Works on Petrine studies and other areas can touch on the passage although often reproduce standard views and, for the purposes of this study, are particularly hampered by inadequate consideration of the crucial uncertainties arising in relation to dreams and halakha<sup>22</sup>.

#### 1.1.3 Presuppositions and Method

As a dream-vision with explicitly halakhic imagery, this text may be unique within Jewish literature<sup>23</sup>. To make connections between its form

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> J. Crampsey, *The Conversion of Cornelius (Acts 10:1–11:19): Societal, Apologetic and Ecclesial Tension* (1982).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> L. T. Johnson, *Decision-Making in the Church: A Biblical Model* (1983), later revised as *Scripture & Discernment: Decision Making in the Church* (1996b), both of which use Acts 10:1–11:18 as a worked example.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> B. Gaventa, From Darkness to Light: Aspects of Conversion in the New Testament (1986).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> C. Lukasz, Evangelizzazione e conflitto: Indagine sulla coerenza letteraria e tematica della pericope di Cornelio (Atti 10,1–11,18) (1993), focussed on the overcoming of obstacles with an emphasis on the narrative structure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> S. Henrich, Godfearing in Acts 10: The Changing Rules of Hospitality in Early Christianity (1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> D. Handy, *The Gentile Pentecost: A Literary Study of the Story of Peter and Cornelius* (Acts 10:1–11:18) (1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> A. Arterbury, Entertaining Angels: Early Christian Hospitality in its Mediterranean Setting (2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Recent works on Petrine portrayals in the NT and their later reception include Smith (1985), Perkins (1994), Wiarda (2000), Böttrich (2001), Gnilka (2002), Lapham (2003), Hengel (2006 ET 2010), Blaine (2007), Cassidy (2007), Bockmuehl (2010, 2012), Markley (2013), Bond and Hurtado (2015), Gundry (2015) and Damgaard (2016). Gleanings here are surprisingly thin, although some of the questions raised are revisited in the conclusion in ch. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Verbal images with strong halakhic overtones (and usually *moral* applications) occur in some prophetic texts, such as Hag 2:10-14, but almost never in dreams or