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All Things to All People:
Luke's Paul as an Orator in Diverse Social Contexts

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An abstract of
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Abstract

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This dissertation looks at two issues related to the characterization of Paul in the book of Acts: (1) whether Luke, the author of Acts, makes use of the rhetorical exercise of speech-in-character (prosopopoeia/ethopoeia), and (2) what Luke's purposes are in portraying Paul as a gifted speaker who adapts to different rhetorical situations. Thus, this dissertation looks at each speech individually, and then considers the cumulative portrait of Paul in Acts.

The first chapter addresses preliminary considerations and outlines the dissertation's approach to understanding the characterization of Paul in the speeches. The second chapter defines speech-in-character, contextualizes it in its ancient educational setting, and addresses how progymnastic authors treat it. This chapter also considers the composition of speeches by Greek and Roman historians by focusing on the tension between suitability and accuracy. The following four chapters each analyze one of the four selected speeches through the lens of speech-in-character: Paul's speech before the Ephesian elders in Miletus (Acts 20), Paul's speech before diaspora Jews in the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13), Paul's speech before Greeks at the Areopagus in Athens (Acts 17), and Paul's defense before King Agrippa in Caesarea (Acts 26).

The epilogue outlines some of the implications of this study. It determines that speech-in-character is a useful tool for understanding Luke's compositional practices. The dissertation also highlights the variety of Paul's roles in Acts. Luke portrays Paul as a pastor, a prophetic interpreter of Scripture, a philosopher, and an orator. This shows that there is no typical form for a Pauline speech, but Luke crafts each speech with respect to its literary context and adapts Paul's social roles to these contexts as well. Luke presents his readers with a complex picture of Paul: he is the adaptable orator who has the appropriate words and suitable modes of communication for any situation. This dissertation also contends that the speeches play an important paradigmatic role in Luke's day. According to Luke, there are multiple ways to approach to the gospel, and Luke's readers should employ the same type of adaptability that Paul models in Acts.

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FOR WENDY

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Abbreviations

AB   Anchor Bible

ABD   *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992

AJEC   Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity

AJP   *American Journal of Philology*

ALGHJ   Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums

AnBib   Analecta Biblica

ASNU   Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis

AThR   *Anglican Theological Review*

AYB   Anchor Yale Bible

BAFCS   The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting

BDAG   Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000 (Danker-Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich)

BDF   Blass, Friedrich, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961

BECNT   Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament

BegC   *The Beginnings of Christianity*. Part 1: *The Acts of the Apostles*. Edited by Frederick J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake. 5 vols. London: Macmillan, 1920-1932.

BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
Bib	*Biblica*
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
BLit	*Bibliothèque liturgique*
BO	Berit Olam
BNP	*Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*. Edited by Hubert Cancik. 22 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2002-2011.
BSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BSGRT	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin: Journal of Bible and Culture*
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CCS	Cambridge Classical Studies
CCSS	Catholic Commentary on Sacred Scripture
CGLC	Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics
ConBNT	Coniectanea neotesatamentica or Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
CurBR	*Currents in Biblical Research* (formerly *Currents in Research: Biblical Studies*)
ÉBib	Études bibliques

EBR	*Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*. Edited by Hans-Josef Klauck, et al. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2009–
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
EDEJ	*The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*. Edited by J. J. Collins and D. C. Harlow. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010
ESEC	Emory Studies in Early Christianity
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FF	Foundations and Facets
FGrHist	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Edited by Felix Jacoby. Leiden: Brill, 1954-1964.
FJTC	Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary
GBSNTS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship. New Testament Series
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Int	*Interpretation*
ITS	Innsbrucker Theologische Studien
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JHC	*Journal of Higher Criticism*
JPTSup	Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series

JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
JWSTP	*Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*. Edited by Michael E. Stone. Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
L&N	Louw, Johannes P., and Eugene A. Nida, eds. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*. 2nd ed. New York: United Bible Societies, 1989
LBS	The Library of Biblical Studies
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lecito divina
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*. Manchester and London, 1928-1993
MelT	*Melita theologica*

MM Moulton, James H., and George Milligan. *The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament*. London, 1930. Repr., Peabody, M.A.: Hendrickson, 1997

NA²⁸ Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*. Edited by the Institute for New Testament Textual Criticism, Münster, under the direction of Holger Strutwolf. 28th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012

NAC New American Commentary

NewDocs *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. Edited by G. H. R. Horsley and S. Llewelyn. North Ryde, NSW: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1981–

NICNT New International Commentary on the New Testament

NIDB *New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by Katherine Doob Sakenfield. 5 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 2006-2009.

NovT *Novum Testamentum*

NovTSup Supplements to Novum Testamentum

NRSV New Revised Standard Version

NRTh *La nouvelle revue théologique*

NTL The New Testament Library

NTS *New Testament Studies*

NTT New Testament Theology

OCD *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Edited by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012

OCM Oxford Classical Monographs

OEAGR *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*. Edited by M Gagarin. 5 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010

OTL Old Testament Library

PC   Penguin Classics

Phil   *Philologus*

PRSt   *Perspectives in Religious Studies*

PW   *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. New edition
                by Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll. 50 vols. in 84 parts. Stuttgart: Metzler
                and Druckenmüller, 1894-1980

ResQ   *Restoration Quarterly*

RGG   *Religion Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und
                Religionswissenschaft*. Edited by Hans Dieter Betz. 4th ed. 8 vols. Tübingen:
                Mohr Siebeck, 1998-2007

RGRW   Religions in the Graeco-Roman World

RPP   *Religion Past and Present: Encyclopedia of Theology and Religion.* Edited by
                Hans Dieter Betz. 4th ed. 14 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2007-2013

SANT   Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments

SBLDS   Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series

SBLGRRS   Society of Biblical Literature Graeco-Roman Religion Series

SBLMS   Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series

SBLSBS   Society of Biblical Literature Sources for Biblical Study

SBLSP   Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers

SBLSymS   Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series

SBLTT   Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations

SCBO   Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis

SecCent   *Second Century*

SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra Pagina
ST	*Studia Theologica*
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature (Lang)
StPB	Studia Post-biblica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testament
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-1976.
Them	*Themelios*
THKNT	Theologischer handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
ThStKr	Theologische Studien und Kritiken
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentary
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TZTh	*Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZECNT	Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament

ZNW   *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

Chapter 1: Preliminary Considerations

1.1 Introduction

The letters of Paul tell us that Paul was not an accomplished speaker. When he

reflected on his arrival at Corinth for the first time, he wrote that he did not use "lofty words or

wisdom," but he appeared before them as one who was intentionally weak and whose speech

was "not with plausible words of wisdom, but with a demonstration of the Spirit and of power"

(1 Cor 2:1-4). His opponents in Corinth praised his letters for being "weighty and strong," but

claimed that his "bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible[1]" (2 Cor 10:10). The

depiction of Paul in the book of Acts, in contrast, presents a Paul who is in fact a gifted public

speaker.

This dissertation sets out to address two closely related issues that deal with the

characterization of Paul in Acts. Luke, the author of Acts,[2] presents his readers with a Paul

who is not only a gifted orator, but one who adapts so keenly to different rhetorical situations

that he embodies completely different social roles. Why does Luke portray Paul in such

---

[1] Unless otherwise noted, all citations of the Bible in English are from the NRSV.

[2] I refer to the author of Acts as "Luke" out of convenience. Tradition has associated the author of the Gospel of Luke and the book of Acts with the physician and companion of Paul mentioned in Phm 24, Col 4:14, and 2 Tim 4:11. Both books, however, are anonymous and attempts to connect them to a historical figure named Luke fall short. On the authorship of Acts, see Holladay, *Acts*, 1-4; Keener, *Acts*, 1:402-22; Pervo, *Acts*, 5-7.

diverse ways? Who is Luke's Paul? The second issue relates to Luke's compositional practices. While reading Theon's *Progymnasmata* for a graduate seminar,[3] I arrived at the exposition of speech-in-character (prosopopoeia) and considered how it related to the way that Luke wrote Paul's speeches. Luke exhibits rhetorical and literary skill in the presentation of his characters and so, I theorized, he must be familiar with this rhetorical exercise. Other interpreters have used the terminology of speech-in-character to describe Luke's composition, but is it an accurate term to use for this context? Since there has not been a detailed analysis of the use of speech-in-character in the book of Acts, it appeared to be fertile ground for study. I set out to learn what a careful reading of speech-in-character in the ancient rhetorical texts could offer to exegesis of the book of Acts. Thus, the aims of this study is a better understanding of speech-in-character in antiquity and how that can provide resources to interpreters trying to understand how Luke presents Paul in Acts.

There are two reasons that Paul is uniquely suited to test whether Luke employed speech-in-character in his composition of speeches. First, Luke devotes half of the book of Acts to Paul and has Paul deliver more speeches than another other character in Acts. Second, there are significant amounts of Pauline material outside of Acts that can function as points of comparison. In this study, not only do I analyze what ancient rhetorical texts say about speech-in-character and propriety, but I also investigate the way that speeches took shape in other works of ancient historiography to shed light on Luke's compositional practices. To limit

[3] The seminar was "Rhetorical Power of Religious Literature," taught by Vernon K. Robbins in the Emory University Graduate Division of Religion, Spring 2011.

the bounds of this study, I will concentrate on only four major speeches of Paul in Acts (Acts 20, 13, 17, 26).

In 1980, William Kurz argued that not enough attention has been paid to the Luke's use of prosopopoeia, which he defines as "the art of suiting speeches to a historical, fictional or stereotypical figure."[4] More than thirty-five years later, this is still the case, despite a flourishing industry of rhetorical critical work on the New Testament and the popularization of the progymnasmata as a resource for biblical scholars. Although no extensive analysis of speech-in-character and its relationship to the speeches in Acts exists to date, this does not at all mean that scholars have ignored the convention of speech-in-character. The following paragraphs outline studies that refer to or make use this exercise in scholarly engagement of Acts.

Luke Johnson points to Lucian's advice that the speeches must suit the person: "If a person has to be introduced to make a speech, above all let his language suit his person and his subject, and next let these also be as clear as possible. It is then, however, that you can play the orator and show your eloquence."[5] Johnson suggests that the authentic feel of Luke's speeches is due to the fact that they are fitting to the speaker and occasion; an example of this is the use of Semitisms in the first part of Acts that give it a distinctively biblical feel.[6] Johnson

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[4] Kurz, "Hellenistic Rhetoric," 186.

[5] Lucian, *Hist*. 58 (Kilburn, LCL); cited in Johnson, *Acts,* 53.

[6] Johnson, *Acts,* 53.

sees Paul's Miletus speech as a convincing example of Luke's use of speech-in-character

because it accurately captures the essence of Paul in the letters.[7]

William Kurz analyses the conversion accounts of Paul in light of their narratival

focalization. He notes that speeches such as those in Acts 22 and 26 employ the strategy of

prosopopoeia.[8] No longer is the conversion told from the perspective of the main (omniscient)

narrator, but now a character within the narration relates the account from his own

perspective. Kurz writes that "[i]n Acts 22 and 26, the real author exercises prosopopoeia

when he creates a speech for Paul that would be appropriate to what Paul would have said on

that occasion."[9] He adds that although the narrator's ideological perspective in Acts 9 is

Christian, in Acts 22, Paul's perspective is Jewish. Therefore the perspective of the speech in

Acts 22 is more theocentric than christocentric.[10]

Conrad Gempf, drawing primarily from Quintilian, explores the idea of prosopopoeia

as part of his analysis of the Paul's missionary speeches.[11] He argues that the speeches of Acts

follow the practice of ancient historiography, which seeks to strike a balance between literary

and historical appropriateness. John M. Duncan engages the progymnasmata and Quintilian

in his analysis of two speeches in Acts: Peter's Pentecost sermon (2:14-40) and Paul's Pisidian

[7] Johnson, *Acts*, 367.

[8] Kurz, *Reading Luke-Acts*, 125-31.

[9] Kurz, *Reading Luke-Acts*, 128.

[10] Kurz, *Reading Luke-Acts*, 130.

[11] Gempf, "Mission Speeches."

Antioch speech (13:16-41).[12] He argues that the two speeches make use of ethopoeia (speech-in-character), in addition to *syncrisis* (comparison) and *paraphrasis* (paraphrase). Others such as George Kennedy, David Aune, Todd Penner, Mikeal Parsons, Craig Keener, and Carl Holladay have made some remarks regarding the use of prosopopoeia in Luke's creative speech writing.[13]

Since a primary question of this dissertation is whether speech-in-character is a useful label to describe the creative act of Luke's writing of Paul's speeches, I move beyond existing scholarship with respect to the extent and level of detail given to speech-in-character and how it can provide new insight into the construction of Paul's character. The cumulative result that I find in the analysis of these four speeches is that Luke presents a credible Paul who is a capable and adaptable orator who delivers suitable speeches in diverse situations.

1.2 Paul's Speeches in Acts: A Preview

The speeches in Acts are central to Luke's construction of Paul's character. Of the thirteen major and minor speeches of Paul,[14] four are analyzed in detail in this study: the

---

[12] Duncan, "Peter, Paul, and the *Progymnasmata*," 349-65.

[13] Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 107, 114-115; David Aune, *Literary Environment*, 93, 125; Todd Penner, *Praise of Christian Origins*, 211-12; Parsons, *Luke Storyteller*, 27; Keener, *Acts*, 1:284-86; Holladay, *Acts*, 46, 468. For the use of speech-in-character in Paul's letter to the Romans, see Tobin, *Paul's Rhetoric in Context*, 226-227; Stowers, "Romans 7.7-25," 180-202.

[14] The number thirteen is derived from Soards, *Speeches*, 21-22, which lists of all the speeches in Acts: The speech at Antioch of Pisidia (13:16b-41, 46-47); at Lystra (14:15-17); in the middle of the Areopagus (17:22-31); to the Corinthian Jews (18:6b-d); to the Ephesian elders (20:18b-35); to the disciples in Caesarea (21:13b-c); to the Jerusalem Jews (22:1, 3-21); before the council (23:1b, 3, 5, 6b); before Felix (24:10b-21); before Festus (25:8b, 10b-11); before King Agrippa (26:2-23, 25-27, 29); during the sea voyage to Rome (27:10b, 21b-26, 31b, 33b-34); to the Roman Jewish leaders (28:17c-20, 25b-28).

speech at Miletus (20:18-35), the sermon at Antioch Pisidia (13:16-47), the Areopagus speech

(17:22-31), and the defense before Agrippa (26:2-23, 25-27, 29). These four speeches were

chosen because they are all substantial speeches in terms of length and content, but also

because they represent four different rhetorical situations. I have decided to place the Miletus

speech first in my treatment of the speeches because there is something noticeably distinct

about that speech in its relation to Pauline tradition.[15] Although Luke's placement of the

speeches is important for Acts's narratival development and interrelated narrative

connections,[16] the actual order of the speeches is irrelevant to my analysis of them since, I

hold, Luke is not demonstrating the development of Paul's character, but instead introducing

different facets of Paul's character in the speeches.

In Acts 20, Paul delivers his only address to a Christian audience in his speech before

the Ephesian elders in Miletus. The speech is a farewell address that serves two purposes.

First, it demonstrates that Paul lived an exemplary life and, second, the speech warns the

elders about certain people who will pose a threat to the church. Although the audience of the

speech would have been sympathetic to Paul's cause, Luke nevertheless goes to great lengths

to show that Paul's character is upstanding: he served the Lord with humility, determination,

selflessness, and boldness. Paul reminds the elders that he has taught them well and has not

held back anything from them, which is to say that he equipped them to respond correctly to

---

[15] Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 138: "The speech to the elders of Ephesus (20:18-35, no. 16 above) is the first in Acts that seems based on direct knowledge by the narrator, and the only speech really evocative of Paul's personal style, though simplified for use in an historiographic work."

[16] Cadbury, "Speeches in Acts," 425.

those who will try to cause harm to the church. Paul's final statements show that he endorsed

hard work over financial gain and in support of this claim he quotes Jesus, "It is more blessed

to give than to receive" (20:35).

In Acts 13, Paul gives a speech in the synagogue at Antioch of Pisidia that identifies

him as an interpreter of Israel's history and Scriptures. The sermon, addressed to a Jewish

audience, outlines Israel's story from the time in Egypt up to the introduction of the kingdom,

which culminates in David. Paul (like Peter before him) declares that David's offspring (Jesus)

is the promised Savior of Israel, whom God recognized with the Psalm ("You are my Son;

today I have begotten you"). God also raised him from the dead in accordance with the

Davidic promises ("I will give you the holy promises made to David" and "You will not let your

Holy One experience corruption"). Paul reassures his audience that these Scriptures do not

refer to David, who died and has seen corruption, but instead they refer to the raised Jesus

who brings forgiveness of sins and righteousness. In this speech Luke displays Paul's prowess

as a skilled interpreter of Hebrew Scripture.

Paul's approach in the Athens speech (Acts 17) bears no similarity to his speech in

Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13). The reason might seem obvious: a thesis based on Jewish Scripture

is likely to be ineffective before a Greek audience. In Acts 13, Paul's sermon draws heavily

upon the history of Israel and the Davidic promise, but in the Areopagus speech he does not

specifically refer to God's name, Judaism, the Scriptures of Israel, or even the name of Jesus.

Instead, Paul plays up the religiosity of the Athenians and uses the altar inscribed "To an

unknown god" as an inroad to the topic of God. Paul describes God as the creator and source

of life and solidifies this point by citing pagan authorities (Aratus and possibly Epimenides).

He ends his speech by informing his hearers that now the times of ignorance are over and all

people must repent since there is a fixed judgment day and a designated judge, a man who has

been resurrected. The speech presents Paul as a philosopher capable of making a defense

before representatives of the pagan intellectual world.

In Acts 26, Paul has an audience with King Agrippa to give his "defense…against all the

accusations of the Jews" (26:2). He first affirms his associations with the party of the Pharisees

and asserts that he is on trial for something as benign as believing in the resurrection, thus

side-stepping the more serious charges in 24:5-7 (cf. 24:11-21). Paul then recalls his past and his

persecution of the church before discussing his conversion on the Damascus road. The

recounting of his conversion, the third time it is told in the Acts narrative, functions in a sense

as a citation. He cites it as proof of the resurrection since it was Jesus the Nazorean who,

though crucified, appeared to him alive on that road. Paul demonstrates that, while his life

was radically changed, he committed no wrongdoing and said nothing except that which one

can deduce from reading Moses and the prophets: "that the Messiah must suffer, and that, by

being the first to rise from the dead, he would proclaim light both to our people and to the

Gentiles" (26:23). After being interrupted, Paul ends the speech with an evangelistic appeal to

Agrippa.

These four speeches show that there is no single speech type that can be labeled

Pauline. The content of and methods used in Paul's speeches vary depending on the situation.

But why do they vary so widely? Paul's speeches reveal him as an oratorical chameleon. He is

the pastor who leads the church by example. He is the prophetic interpreter of Israel's

Scriptures on par with the church's greatest apostles. He is a philosopher who engages Athens'

intellectual elites on a high stage. He appears before rulers and kings as his own defense

attorney. Yet despite these diverse portraits of the apostle, one thing ties them together: Paul

is the capable orator, who is able to face any rhetorical situation. Paul had the toolkit

necessary to craft a fitting speech for each occasion and among these four speeches we find

examples of all three species of rhetoric: judicial, epideictic, and deliberative.[17] Paul's

adaptability is a virtue. He gracefully shows his aptitude for a wide range of knowledge, which

was a requirement of orators.[18] Thus, the Lukan Paul lives up to the motto of being "all things

to all people" (1 Cor 9:22) in his speeches. The narrative of Acts affirms this presentation of

Paul.[19]

The following chart demonstrates the different elements that make up the diverse

portrait of Paul in these four speeches.

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[17] Scholars debate the exact species of rhetoric found in the various speeches (see discussions in the chapters below). It is also not uncommon for the categories to overlap in an individual speech (Keener, *Acts*, 3:2996). With that in mind, the following general claims about Paul's speeches apply: Acts 13 is an epideictic speech that attempts to persuade Jews to change their present belief (Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 124). Acts 17 presents a judicial situation, although Paul's goal is a deliberative one (Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 129; Zweck, "Exordium," 94-103). Acts 20 is also a deliberative speech aimed at future behavior, but containing elements of epideictic (Keener, *Acts*, 3:2995-97; Watson, "Paul's Speech"). Acts 26 fits squarely in the judicial category as it contains a narrative defending Paul's past actions.

[18] Cicero, *De or.* 1.16 §§69-73.

[19] Luke's Paul is always able and ready to speak at any occasion. For instance, even when Paul is unable to speak to a certain situation, such as the riot in Ephesus, Luke writes, "Paul wanted to appear before the crowd, but the disciples would not let him" (Acts 19:30).

Table 1: The Diverse Portrait of Paul in the Speeches of Acts

Chapter/sermon	Acts 20:18-35	Acts 13:16-41	Acts 17:22-31	Acts 26:2-29
Addressee	Christians	Jews	Gentiles	Rulers
Portrait	Pastor	Prophetic interpreter of Israel's Scriptures	Philosopher	Lawyer
Agenda/Purpose	Bid farewell and warn of bad people trying to hurt the church	Missionary sermon before a (mostly) Jewish audience	Apologetic before an intellectual Greek audience	Defense speech turned evangelistic appeal
Methods/content	Self as example	Rehearsal of Israel's history and the culmination of Davidic promises	Natural theology; creation as proof for God's existence	Experience of own activities and a heavenly vision
Citations	Jesus' saying (unattested outside of Acts)	Hebrew Scriptures (primarily Psalms)	Pagan authorities (Aratus and Epimenides)	Jewish knowledge of his background; his conversion experience; allusion to "Moses and the prophets"

Though much of the scholarship on Luke's portrait of Paul includes comparison with the Paul of the letters or Luke's sources on Paul, for my study these issues remain on the periphery. The purpose of my analysis is to display Luke's literary and rhetorical method. The letters are useful for framing some of the questions about Paul, but here I am only interested in the overall portrait of Paul painted by Luke's brush, and the effect that has on the readers of Acts.

In terms of methodology, I look at ancient approaches to characterization, especially the use of speech-in-character (ἠθοποιΐα or προσωποποιΐα) and propriety (τὸ πρέπον), which serve as heuristic guides to analyzing the Lukan Paul. Speech-in-character is the imitation of the character of a proposed speaker and is concerned with questions like, "What words would Paul say to the elders when bidding them farewell?" Propriety refers to the appropriateness of the speech for the character. For instance, is Luke's version of Paul a credible and fitting representation? The concept is that Luke uses his knowledge about the historical figure of Paul in order to construct a speech that he ascribes to Paul. Each of the speeches asks the question of how Paul the orator responds to the specific rhetorical situation at hand. By drawing on Pauline tradition at points, the speeches remain thoroughly Lukan compositions while being plausibly Pauline at the same time. The speeches not only tell us something about the vision that Luke has for Paul, but they also shed light on Luke's ability as a writer to portray Paul in these various rhetorical situations.

1.3 Scholarship on the Nature of the Speeches and the Portrait of Paul in Acts

Scholarship on the portrayal of Paul in the book of Acts begins to flourish in the middle of the nineteenth century. Ferdinand Christian Baur contended that the writings of the New Testament reflected the dispute between the Jewish-Christian (Petrine) churches and the Gentile-Christian (Pauline) churches. In an 1838 article on the origin of the episcopate, Baur argued that Acts had an apologetic purpose: to unite the Jewish-Christian party and the

Gentile-Christian party by making the careers of Peter and Paul parallel each other.[20] A few

years later, Baur's student, Matthias Schneckenburger, pursued Baur's use of *Tendenzkritik* in

the book of Acts and claimed that Luke wrote Acts in order to make Paul appear more

credible to Jewish readers.[21] Not only does Paul parallel Peter in Acts, but Luke presents Paul

as a proponent of the Law and respecter of the apostles in Jerusalem. The speeches represent

a sampling of Paul's preaching, instead of a report of what Paul would have said on that

specific occasion.[22] Luke also uses the speeches to further compare Peter and Paul (cf. Acts 3

and 13), and to show a defense of Paul's Jewishness (Acts 22–26). Though the characterization

of Paul is specifically shaped for apologetic purposes, Schneckenburger did not view this as

incompatible with the historical credibility of Acts, since the differences between Paul of the

letters and Paul of the Acts are reconcilable.[23]

Baur certainly agreed with Schneckenburger's analysis that Acts is an apologetic work

that trivializes the differences between Peter and Paul, but questions his claim that Acts

remains a historically valid portrait of Paul.[24] For Baur, the presentation of Paul in Acts with all

its parallels to Peter is simply too convenient to accurately represent the historical Paul as

well. Luke is more inventive than Schneckenburger would like to admit. Baur's placement of

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[20] Baur, "Ursprung des Episcopats," 3. See also Gasque, *History of the Interpretation*, 30-31.

[21] Schneckenburger, *Apostelgeschichte*. See also Baur, *Paul the Apostle*, 5-8; and Mattill, "Purpose of Acts," 108-122.

[22] Schneckenburger, *Apostelgeschichte*, 127-51; Gasque, *History of the Interpretation*, 35.

[23] Gasque, *History of the Interpretation*, 37-39.

[24] Baur, *Paul the Apostle*, 1:8-12.

the book of Acts firmly in the second century was far-reaching and has set the agenda in one way or another for subsequent Acts scholarship. If Acts is a later composition interested in reconciling church divisions in the second century, then it cannot contain a historically trustworthy account of Paul. While others have responded to him on the issue of the historical reliability of Acts, Baur trail-blazed the understanding that the Paul of Acts is a construction of the book's author.

The speeches in Acts are often at the center of the debate regarding Luke's portrayal of Paul. In the early nineteenth century it was typical to view these speeches as essentially historical encapsulations of the apostolic preaching, but this view was losing ground as more and more interpreters of Acts questioned its historical value. C. H. Dodd was one of the last to make a strong case for the historical value of the speeches.[25] He argued that the speeches of Paul were written in the voice of Luke, but very well could have been based on reminiscences of what the apostle actually said, or at least contained a kernel of early Church *kerygma*, because the *kerygma* of the speeches matches that of Paul's letters. Still, Dodd was unable to hold back the changing currents.

Both Henry J. Cadbury and Martin Dibelius changed the landscape of how the speeches of Acts were interpreted by giving Luke a greater authorial role. Cadbury refuted the idea that the speeches in Acts were historical speeches derived from oral or written sources; instead, they were the product of Luke's pen.[26] It is better to view Luke in the light of how

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[25] Dodd, *Apostolic Preaching*.

[26] Cadbury, "Speeches in Acts," 402-27.

ancient historiographers wrote, rather than through modern conceptions of history and direct

citation. Luke's speeches, like those of Thucydides and other historiographers, presented what

Luke viewed appropriate for Paul or Peter and others to speak. The speeches must be "in

character." Additionally, the speeches in Acts illuminate the events in the narrative; along

these lines, Cadbury compared them to the chorus scenes in a Greek drama.[27] Paul's speeches,

therefore, are colored by Lukan theology, rather than Pauline.[28]

Martin Dibelius's work on Paul's speeches in Acts profoundly impacted European

scholarship.[29] Dibelius argued that Acts is unlike any other text in the New Testament,

including the gospel of Luke, because it is Luke's invention from start to finish. Like the

speeches of ancient historiographers, Paul's speeches in Acts are creative works of the author

(Luke) especially suited for the situation. In other words, the speeches are the historian's art.

Speeches in ancient historiography impart insight to the readers, whether that is with respect

to the total situation, the meaning of the historical moment, the character of the speaker, or

general ideas which help explain the situation.[30] The speeches in Acts 13 and Acts 17 are

typical evangelistic sermons that tell us more about Luke's age, than Paul's historic sermon.

Regarding the function of the Acts 17 sermon, Dibelius writes:

> All questions as to whether Paul really made such a speech, and whether he made it in
> Athens, must be waived if we are to understand Luke. He is not concerned with

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[27] Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, 184; Cadbury, "Speeches in Acts," 402.

[28] Cadbury, "Speeches in Acts," 426-27.

[29] Dibelius's works on Acts are conveniently translated and collected in the volume, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*. His views on Paul in Acts are summed up in his volume *Paul*, 9-13.

[30] Dibelius, *Studies*, 139-40.

portraying an event which happened once in history, and which had no particular success; he is concerned with a typical exposition, which is in that sense historical, and perhaps was more real in his own day than in the apostle's time. He follows the great tradition of historical writing in antiquity in that he freely fixes the occasion of the speech and fashions its content himself.[31]

Luke's concern was with what one *should* preach, rather than an accurate portrayal of what the historical Paul's speeches looked like. In the Miletus speech we gain a better idea of how Luke wanted Paul to be regarded by inserting information in the speech that was not recorded in the narrative, and by giving Paul an encomium that is commensurate with ones that ancient biographers gave to their heroes.[32] Paul's five trial scenes in Acts 22—26 always present Paul as saying the same thing so that Christians in Luke's day would use them as a model in their own defenses.[33] Thus, for Dibelius, the Paul of the speeches is not the historical Paul, but the Paul that is most helpful for the readers of Acts in Luke's day. Today, the majority of Acts scholars would agree with Dibelius's assessment that Paul's speeches reflect Luke more than they do Paul.

Following on the coattails of Dibelius, Philipp Vielhauer examines the content of the Lukan Paul.[34] Vielhauer is interested in the question of whether the author of Acts conveys the theological ideas of Paul. He restricts his study primarily to the speeches of Paul in Acts because that is where Luke characterizes Paul as a theologian. His study uses four theological

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[31] Dibelius, *Studies*, 155.

[32] Dibelius, *Studies*, 155.

[33] Dibelius, *Studies*, 149, 212-13.

[34] Vielhauer, "Paulinism," 33-50. For a brief analysis that contextualizes Vielhauer's essay in post-World War II German scholarship, see Long, "Trial of Paul," 263-66.

categories to compare the Paul of the speeches with the Paul of the letters: natural theology,

law, Christology, and eschatology. None of the four categories shows agreement between the

theology of the Lukan Paul and the Paul of the letters. Paul's natural theology in Acts 17

emphasizes the kinship of humankind to God, whereas Paul's natural theology in Romans 1

emphasizes human responsibility and is a basis of judgment. The Lukan Paul has a much

more positive view of the law than the Paul of the letters. The Christology of the Paul in Acts

downplays the role of the cross and is also lacking the preexistence of Christ. And although

Paul's eschatology in the letters is ubiquitous, it almost entirely disappears in Luke's portrayal

of him in Acts. Thus, in terms of Christology, Vielhauer argues that the author of Acts is pre-

Pauline, yet in the other three categories he is post-Pauline. Luke presents no specifically

Pauline idea, despite the fact that he holds the apostle and the Gentile mission in high esteem.

What is significant about Vielhauer is that he raises the questions of Baur (the comparisons of

the Paul of Acts and Paul of the letters), while fully acknowledging the Lukan authorship of

Paul's speeches. To him, the question is not the historical portrayal of Paul so much as Luke's

acquaintance with or utilization of historically Pauline ideas.

Ernst Haenchen highlighted Luke's characterization of Paul by noting a few significant

discrepancies between Acts and the epistles. First, the Paul in the book of Acts is a great

miracle-worker. He performs numerous healings and exorcisms which give Paul more

legitimacy. Luke places much more emphasis on the miraculous than the Paul of the letters,

who finds his legitimacy in suffering. Second, and most pertinent to our study, the Paul of Acts

is an outstanding orator. "He is a born orator, imposing himself with the eloquence of a

Demosthenes."[35] He can speak before all different groups of people, yet "he is never at a loss

for the right word."[36] He does not need an advocate, but defends himself in the trial scenes. His

speeches gain the interest of entire cities. He addresses angry mobs and quiets them with his

words. He posits himself as an orator in the Antioch of Pisidia synagogue by standing, not

sitting as was the custom.[37] All this stands in stark contrast to the Paul of the letters, who

admits to being a feeble and unimpressive speaker (2 Cor 10:10). Third, the Lukan Paul does

not lay claim to the title "apostle." Whereas in the letters, Paul views his apostleship as being

on par with that of Peter and the other apostles, in the book of Acts, Haenchen claims, Paul is

under the authority of the twelve apostles. Haenchen's concern with history in Acts concludes

that the Lukan Paul is a distortion of the historical Paul.

As German scholarship tended to question the historical value of the book of Acts,

some, especially British scholars, pushed back and asserted Luke's ability as a first-rate

historian and contended that his portrait of Paul is a historically accurate one. Scholars such

as William Ramsay and J. B. Lightfoot responded more directly to the Tübingen school,

whereas F. F. Bruce, Colin Hemer, and W. Ward Gasque responded to the twentieth century

critics like Dibelius and Haenchen. A representative example is perhaps Bruce's essay, "Is the

Paul of Acts the Real Paul?"[38] Here Bruce outlines a number of topics related to the person of

[35] Haenchen, *Acts*, 114.

[36] Haenchen, *Acts*, 114.

[37] Haenchen, *Acts*, 408.

[38] Bruce, "Real Paul," 282-305.

Paul, his background and history (lineage, religious training, conversion, etc.) and shows that for the most part the epistles and Acts either agree with one another, or are compatible with one another. Bruce argues against the idea that the speeches in Acts express Luke's theology rather than Paul's. He analyzes three of Paul's speeches in Acts (Acts 13, 17, 20) and shows how they are compatible both with Pauline ideas and content. Bruce is careful to distinguish what he sees as a distorted Paul in Acts (as in Haenchen) and the real Paul who is "seen in retrospect through the eyes of a friend and admirer, whose own religious experience was different from Paul's and who wrote for another public and purpose than Paul had in view when writing his letters."[39] For Bruce, the burden of proof lies with those who question Acts's history rather than those who accept it.

A more moderate view is held by Jacob Jervell, who contends that the Paul of the letters is not completely distorted in his portrayal in Acts.[40] Instead Luke, showing only limited pictures of Paul, is generally historically accurate. It is often argued that Luke's portrayal of Paul as a practicing Jew (Pharisee) and his theological disposition toward Israel's salvation stands in conflict with the epistles. Jervell disagrees. Paul is described as a visionary, a miracle worker, and a healer in the book of Acts, although generally those do not reflect the image of him drawn from the letters. Again, Jervell contends that these images of Paul in Acts are indeed consistent with a historical Paul whose gospel consists of both word and power (*dynamis*) and of preaching and miracles. The portrait of Paul that Luke presents is in line

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[39] Bruce, "Real Paul," 305.

[40] Jervell, "Paul in Acts," 297-306; Jervell, *Unknown Paul*; Jervell, *Theology*, 82-94.

with his overall view of Christian communities and groups, the importance of both *pneuma*

and *nomos* together. Thus, Jervell does not find it strange that Paul is "portrayed as the

charismatic gifted Pharisee."[41]

Unlike Bruce, Gasque and others, the Paul that Jervell sees in Acts is a bit more

complicated. Luke did not necessarily have a direct knowledge of Paul, but he sifted through

historical information and traditions about him, in whatever shape they took. "Luke's problem

was the incessant, ever-growing crop of sayings, rumor, gossip, apologetic, polemic,

veneration, admiration, declaration of aversion, etc., from Paul's foes and friends, and from

Paul himself."[42] The Lukan Paul is not the whole picture, but in order to draw up a picture of

the historical Paul, one cannot do it without the aid of Acts. Thus, Jervell urges us to

reexamine the historical questions of the Lukan Paul.

By the 1970s and 1980s, literary approaches to Acts began to dominate especially in

North America. Robert L. Brawley argues that Luke set out to defend and legitimate Paul's

gospel as being Jewish. He takes issue with the "conventional theory that Luke gives up on the

Jews as hopelessly hardened against the gospel and that he views them as providing

antecedents for Christianity only as a part of the remote past."[43] Paul's gospel was not a

rejection of Judaism, but as Luke seeks to show, a continuation of it. Although he was known

as the apostle to the Gentiles, Paul proclaims to both Jews and Gentiles. He even remained a

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[41] Jervell, "Paul in Acts," 72.

[42] Jervell, "Paul in Acts," 69.

[43] Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews*, 155.

Jew and was associated with the Pharisee party. In his defense speeches Paul insists that he is

on trial for belief in a Jewish promise, the resurrection. Luke's version of Paul's universalism

has room for Jewish believers who keep the law as well as Gentile Christians to be free of the

law. Thus, Luke's portrait of Paul plays a significant role in affirming the continuity of Israel

and the church and the offering of conciliation of Jewish and Gentile believers.

David Moessner's approach to Luke's portrait of Paul combines a close literary

analysis of Luke-Acts with a historical background of prophets during the second temple

period. In "Paul and the Role of the Prophet like Moses in Acts," Moessner argues that Luke's

Paul is best understood in light of Israel's rejection of her prophets. Paul, like Stephen and

Jesus before him, is a rejected prophet and the culmination of Israel's rejection of Jesus. Paul's

final journey to Jerusalem is a carefully crafted narrative that resembles Jesus' travel narrative

(Luke 9:51–19:44) .[44] Moessner points to the parallels of Jesus and Paul in the suffering prophet

motif. Paul is called to "suffering rejection by his own people" (Acts 9:16; 22:18, 21; 26:17).[45] In a

later work, "Paul in Acts: Preacher of Eschatological Repentance to Israel," Moessner draws

more parallels between Jesus and Paul. He suggests that Paul's pronouncements of

eschatological judgment in Antioch Pisidia, Corinth, and Rome reflect Jesus's

pronouncements in Luke's Gospel.[46]

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[44] Moessner, "Prophet like Moses," 203-12.

[45] Moessner, "Christ Must Suffer," 220-56.

[46] Moessner, "Paul in Acts," 96-104.

Eric Franklin offers his own answer to the question of why Luke's Paul differs from the

Paul of the letters.[47] Franklin contends that not only did Luke spend some time with Paul, but

that Paul was his hero, which is why he plays such a pivotal role in the book of Acts. Yet,

Franklin asserts, Luke wrote in a time after Paul, and thus seeks to answer questions more

important to his own generation. One of the issues that Luke addresses was the widespread

Jewish rejection of Jesus. Thus, despite Paul's views that the Christ event ended the continuity

of Israel and the church (the cross, after all, is a stumbling block to the Jews), the Lukan Paul

emphasized the continuity between Israel and the church. Luke saw the fulfillment of God's

covenant in Jesus, and so reconfigures Paul to promote this continuity since it would ease the

relationship between Jewish and Gentile Christians in Luke's generation.

Conrad Gempf's dissertation evaluates Paul's missionary speeches in Acts in terms of

their literary and historical appropriateness.[48] He argues that Luke, like other ancient

historiographers, was concerned with making the speeches fit their own literary (and

sometimes theological) aims while portraying the speaker in character with what the author

would have known of them. He points to Luke's uses of Pauline catchphrases such as

justification (Acts 13:39) as illuminating the balance between the two extremes. Luke uses

justification to serve his own purposes, which, although it is different from the way that Paul

uses it in his letters, shows Luke's attentiveness to making the sermon appear Pauline. He

concludes that Luke leaned toward aligning the speeches more with his literary and

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[47] Franklin, *Luke*.

[48] Gempf, "Mission Speeches"; also Gempf, "Public Speaking," 259-303.

theological goals, yet nevertheless employed speech-in-character in his effort to portray Paul in the light of what he knew of the historical Paul. Gempf's study is particularly relevant to this present study because it analyzes the character of Paul via the speeches in light of both historical Pauline elements as well as Luke's literary aims.

John C. Lentz looks at Luke's portrait of Paul through the lens of Luke's rhetorical strategy and on what the readers or hearers of Acts would pick up. He focuses on Paul's social status, and concludes that Luke intentionally makes Paul appear as having high social credentials: Paul had wealth, good birth, and education. Additionally, Paul excelled at being a Greek, Roman, and a Jew: he held high standing in his home city of Tarsus, was a Roman citizenship, and was a member of the Pharisee party. Of course, the combination of a citizen of Tarsus, a citizen of Rome, and a Pharisee is historically improbable, but Lentz argues that Luke was deliberate in his presentation of Paul, whether or not the historical data conforms to it. Luke further demonstrates Paul's social status by ascribing to him the cardinal virtues. Luke's purpose behind portraying Paul in such a manner, Lentz argues, is to demonstrate that the Christian faith is a viable option for those with status; in other words, conversion to Christianity as shown by Paul does not result in a loss of social status.

In *Profit with Delight*, Richard Pervo contends that the literary genre of Acts is not historiography, but is an example of an ancient popular novel. While the book of Acts does contain some historical material, Luke's emphasis was not historical. Luke wrote the book of Acts in order to entertain, with a secondary goal of edification. Acts is chock-full of adventure

with the figure of Paul is caught up in the middle of it all.[49] In his Acts commentary and in *The*

Making of Paul, Pervo describes the Paul of Acts as Luke's hero, whose credentials as a Greek,

Roman, and Jew are impeccable.[50] Paul is a gifted orator, who has no need of writing letters

because his communities do not have problems.[51] Paul has an "Odysseus-like versatility."[52] Not

only does Luke make a valiant effort to compare Paul with Peter, but he compares Paul with

Jesus. Paul is the savior figure in the book of Acts! Luke's heroization of Paul is not subtle. Yet

despite Luke's efforts to heroize Paul, he fails to confer on him the title of "apostle."[53]

Scholarship on the portrait of Paul in Acts shifts from primarily historical questions

(for example, "Can we trust Luke's portrait of Paul?") to literary and theological questions (e.g.,

How does the Lukan Paul convey Luke's literary and theological interests?). My analysis of the

Lukan Paul builds upon others. Haenchen makes the astute observation that Paul in Acts is an

orator who always has a fitting word for every situation. Gempf shows how Luke portrays Paul

in light of the tension between historical and literary characterizations. Lentz highlights Paul's

different social and ethnic affiliations. Pervo demonstrates the great lengths that Luke takes in

order to heroize Paul. Nevertheless, there are aspects of the Lukan Paul that demand more

attention. How do Paul's divergent speeches all contribute to a single portrait of Paul? What is

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[49] For a listing of adventure in Acts, see Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 14-17.

[50] Pervo, *Acts*; Pervo, *Making of Paul*, 149-156.

[51] Pervo, *Making of Paul*, 153.

[52] Pervo, *Acts*, 595.

[53] Pervo, *Making of Paul*, 156.

the role of ancient texts like the progymnasmata for Luke's characterization of Paul? How does the diversity of characteristics serve Luke's purposes?

Luke, writing in either the late first century or early second century, would have faced different issues than those of Paul. We should not, therefore, rely on Luke for providing us with a perfect picture of the historical Paul. This dissertation is only interested in the Pauline letters to the extent that they highlight certain distinctive elements of Luke's portrait of Paul, which includes topics such as Paul's view of the law, his relationship to the Jerusalem church, and his Roman citizenship. I focus on the literary purposes behind Luke's portrait of Paul which emerges in Acts and my contention is that Luke presents Paul as being all things to all people to make his hero serve as an exemplar in the different social situations that Luke's readers might face.

Chapter 2: Speech-in-Character and Ancient Historiography

2.1. Introduction

My analysis of Paul's speeches in Acts is deeply rooted in the way that Greek and Roman authors presented their characters through speeches. In my analysis, I use the literary-rhetorical exercise known as speech-in-character. Numerous ancient rhetoricians and writers make use of or refer to speech-in-character, but the most thorough explanations of it are found in the progymnastic literature. Therefore, the first section of this chapter surveys the main progymnastic texts from antiquity to better understand how Luke might have employed this exercise. The second section focuses on the composition of speeches in ancient historiography with special attention to issues raised in the first section. Speech-in-character demands that speeches must suit the speaker and the occasion, and it is no coincidence that suitability is a key aspect of speechwriting in ancient historiography. Speeches offer authors an opportunity to display their creativity, yet their speeches must still present the literary speakers in believable ways. The current chapter sets up the historical context for understanding Luke's work by providing resources for inquiry; the following four chapters look closely at Paul's speeches in Miletus, Pisidian Antioch, Athens, and his speech before King Agrippa.

2.2 Speech-in-Character

2.2.1 Greek and Roman Education and the Progymnasmata

We should not think of education in classical antiquity as a static and standardized system.[54] Education was a privately funded enterprise, so each teacher taught with his own autonomy and techniques without a centralized system of oversight. Further variations in educational style would have been caused by differences in geography, culture, and chronology.[55] Thus, when discussing Greek or Roman education we need to remain cautious as we extract certain educational models or trajectories from the literature and physical artifacts that remain from the ancient world. With that in mind, it is possible to provide a general sketch of education in Luke's time. Hellenistic education, for instance, was based on the Athenian model, which began with elementary training in reading and writing, advanced into literature, and, for select students, concluded with specialization in rhetoric or philosophy. This system varied from ancient Jewish systems of education which typically started in the home (the father as instructor) and were based on oral transmission.[56] The Hellenistic model was the most dominant system in place during the Roman Empire and is the one that Quintilian outlines in his *Institutes*.[57] A typical student would be introduced to formal education around the age of seven, and progressed through sequential stages

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[54] My discussion of education in this chapter is limited to the literary aspect of ancient education and does not seek to address other areas such as physical education in the gymnasium or musical training.

[55] Reinhardt and Winterbottom, *Quintilian 2*, xxv.

[56] See Victor, *Colonial Education*, 109-32, and 131 in particular.

[57] See Morgan, "Education," 15-19.

associated with the type of instructor for that stage. For instance, instruction began under a

litterator (γραμματιστής), continued under a grammaticus, then under a rhetor; certain

students might decide also to study with a philosopher.[58] Although this was the typical

arrangement of the education system in the Roman Empire, instructors had varying roles or

abilities within their areas of instruction. Because education was privately funded, only a few

students made it through the later stages; those who could afford the advanced training would

have been the financially elite members of society.

For the primary level of education, students received instruction under the litterator

(or the *ludi magister* or γραμματιστής), which focused on learning how to read, write, and do

arithmetic. Often this basic level of instruction was carried out informally at home.[59] The

student would start by learning the letters of the alphabet and their sounds and shapes,

syllables, and how to pronounce words.[60] Quintilian tells us that one way to facilitate this was

through ivory letter shapes that would give the children enjoyment handling and looking at

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[58] Most students who made it to this stage would chose rhetoric over philosophy (Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia: Classroom Exercises*, 80).

[59] Booth, "Elementary and Secondary Education," 1-14, cited by Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia: Classroom Exercises*, 1-2. See also Bloomer, "Ancient Child," 453.

[60] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Comp*. 25, describes the process as follows: "When we are taught to read, first we learn by heart the names of the letters, then their shapes and their values, then, in the same way, the syllables and their effects, and finally words and their properties, by which I mean the ways they are lengthened, shortened, and scanned; and similar functions. And when we have acquired knowledge of these things, we begin to write and read, syllable by syllable and slowly at first. It is only when a considerable lapse of time has implanted firmly in our minds the forms of the words that we execute them with the utmost ease, and we read through any book that is given to us unfalteringly and with incredible confidence and speed" (Usher, LCL). Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.1.25 notes that children should learn the shape of letters at the same time as they learn the names of the letters, rather than first learning the sequence then their shapes.

something tangible, and learning the names of the letters.[61] Another way to foster learning was

through the use of tablets. Students would copy letters from model tablets (or from ostraca)

prepared by the instructor. In contrast to papyri, which were expensive and not reusable,

tablets and ostraca offered a cost-effective alternative for teachers.[62] Early emphasis was also

placed on teaching the students how to write their own names. Later they would move into

copying passages from Homer, sometimes without even understanding what they were

reading.[63]

Students capable of reading and writing could progress to the secondary level,

learning under a grammarian.[64] At this stage, students would further hone their skills in

reading and writing and develop a better understanding of grammar. The number of students

at this stage is considerably less than the earlier stage, as Cribiore puts it, "the hill of learning

has already lost the majority of its climbers."[65] Wooden tablets from third-century CE Egypt

reveal the type of grammatical exercises that students would perform. These tablets show how

a student would take a single sentence and rewrite it so that the subject (e.g., Pythagoras the

philosopher) is changed into the genitive case, then into the dative case, and lastly into the

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[61] Quintilian, *Inst*. 1.1.26.

[62] Joyal, *Greek and Roman Education*, 124.

[63] Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 135.

[64] Quintilian, *Inst*. 1.4.1.

[65] Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 187.

accusative case.[66] Students at this stage would also begin to work with larger sections of

literature, most notably the Homeric epics. According to Quintilian, some basic elements of

oratory were often taught at this stage, namely aphorisms, chreiae, and ethologiae.[67] Skilled

grammarians would be capable of teaching the progymnasmata, which are a series of

exercises geared to helping students learn elementary principles of rhetoric. A little later,

Suetonius confirms that grammarians often took on the role of teaching aspects of rhetoric.[68]

Despite these trends, Quintilian asserts that rhetorical exercises should belong to the domain

of the rhetor in the tertiary stage of education.[69]

It is not exactly clear when a student should advance to the tertiary level and study

under a rhetor. Typically students studied rhetoric from ages 13 or 14 to 18,[70] but Quintilian

suggests that age should not be a factor but instead the determining factor needs to be the

student's ability. The problem with this is that the roles of the grammaticus and rhetor were

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[66] Joyal, *Greek and Roman Education*, 196. The progymnasmata also instructed students on the use of the dual case (see Theon, *Progymnasmata*, 101.10-15 and Nicholas, *Progymnasmata*, 18 [Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 140]).

[67] Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.9.1-3. The first two topics (aphorism and *chria*) directly map to two exercises in the progymnastic tradition (maxim and chreia), however, there is some debate what the third topic (*ethologia*) actually refers to. According to Morgan, *Literate Education*, 192, *ethologia* likely does not refer to ethopoeia (discussed in detail later in this chapter) but to *aetiologia*, which is related to the exercise of chreia and is "possibly [referring to] moralist delineations of character."

[68] Suetonius, *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* 4.

[69] Quintilian, *Inst.* 2.1.1-3, notes that trends in education during his time show students waiting too long to advance from the grammaticus to the rhetor: "Hence subjects which once formed the first stages of one discipline have come to form the final stages of another, and an age-group which ought to go on to higher studies is kept back in a lower school, and practises rhetoric under the grammatici. So (ridiculous as it is) a boy is not thought fit to go to the declamation master until he knows how to declaim" (Russell, LCL). For a discussion of this see Reinhardt and Winterbottom, *Quintilian 2*, xxx-xxxi.

[70] Reinhardt and Winterbottom, *Quintilian 2*, xxv.

being blurred in Quintilian's day, which complicates the ability to assess a student's readiness.

For Quintilian, the work of the rhetor should at least begin with the exercise of narration,[71]

though besides Quintilian we cannot always be certain where the domain of the rhetor began

and the grammarian left off.[72] Once students advance to this stage, they were moving toward

the goal of learning declamation. A declamation is a fully developed but fictitious oration that

incorporates elements from the student's rhetorical training.[73] Practicing declamations helped

produce speakers who "could think on [their] feet and aspire to persuade law-courts and

political gatherings."[74] Once this goal of being able to declaim well has been reached, they

complete their education and begin work as professionals.

One of the more fruitful resources for understanding rhetoric and composition during

Luke's era is the genre of texts known as the progymnasmata (briefly alluded to above), which

reflect an early stage of rhetorical education for the ancient elite.[75] The Greek word

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[71] Quintilian, *Inst*. 2.1.8-9. I discuss the order of the progymnastic exercises later in this chapter.

[72] See Webb, "*Progymnasmata* as Practice," 296-99; Murphy "Roman Writing Instruction," 61-63; Kaster, [Suetonius] *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, 279-80; Clarke, *Rhetoric at Rome*, 121 and Reinhardt and Winterbottom, *Quintilian 2*, 35-37; for a discussion of whether these exercises were taught by a grammaticus or rhetor.

[73] On declamation see Russell, *Greek Declamation*; Bonner, *Roman Declamation*; Clark, *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education*, 213-61; Pernot, *Rhetoric in Antiquity*, 151-57; and Winterbottom, "Declamation."

[74] Winterbottom, *Roman Declamation*, v.

[75] On the use of progymnasmata in Greek and Roman education, see the following texts: Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia: Progymnasmata*, 9-22; Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*; Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*; Clark, *Rhetoric*, 179-82; Bonner, *Education*; Webb, "*Progymnasmata* as Practice," 289-316; Webb, *Ekphrasis*, 39-49; Morgan, *Literate Education*, 190-92; and Reinhardt and Winterbottom, *Quintilian 2*, 75-77. Unless otherwise indicated, all English translations of the Progymnasmata used here are from Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*. All references to the *Progymnasmata* follow the numbering system derived from the Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci* page numbers. Where applicable, I note the line numbers from Patillon's editions in addition to the Spengel page number.

progymnasmata means preliminary exercises, and the term is used both for the handbooks

containing these exercises and to the exercises themselves. For all intents and purposes, the

progymnasmata functioned as the bridge between learning grammar and literature to

mastering declamation. These exercises equipped students to be competent writers and

speakers in addition to being critical readers and listeners.[76] They teach students how to

function in a society where rhetorical communication is expected. Students at this stage

would have been in their early teens and their "souls were still conceived as soft and

malleable" and so the handbooks are replete with images of shaping and imprinting students

both in rhetoric and moral development.[77] But the progymnasmata were not just concerned

with teaching rhetorical performance; Theon, one author of a progymnasmata, tells us that

the composition of written texts was also in view: "[T]raining in exercises (γυμνάσματα) is

absolutely useful not only to those who are going to practice rhetoric but also if one wishes to

undertake the function of poets or historians or any other writers."[78]

The progymnasmata existed to assist instructors in training pupils to be proficient in

composition, argumentation, and oral expression. Thus, the progymnasmata were written as

aids for the teachers, and not as manuals for the students. In terms of organization, the

exercises progress from being easier in the beginning to more complex and advanced toward

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[76] Webb, "*Progymnasmata* as Practice," 291.

[77] Webb, "*Progymnasmata* as Practice," 290.

[78] Theon, *Progymnasmata*, 70.25-29; See also Theon, *Progymnasmata*, 59.15-17; Webb, *Ekphrasis*, 45.

the end and each exercise builds on a previous one.[79] The exercises at the beginning are

closely related to the type of literary work that the student would have studied with the

grammaticus, whereas later exercises enter the realm of rhetoric. A typical arrangement of the

exercises in the progymnasmata are as follows: (1) *mythos* (fable); (2) *diêgêma, diêgêsis*

(narrative, narration); (3) *chreia* (anecdote); (4) *gnome* (maxim); (5) *anaskeuê* (refutation); (6)

kataskeuê (confirmation); (7) *topos, koinos topos* (topic, commonplace); (8) *enkômion*

(encomium); (9) *psogos* (invective); (10) *synkrisis* (comparison); (11) *êthopoiia* or *prosopopoiia*

(characterization, speech-in-character); (12) *ekphrasis* (description); (13) *thesis* (thesis,

proposition); and (14) *nomos* (law).[80] There are slight differences from this typical

arrangement in each of the progymnasmata. For instance, the first two exercises in Theon's

Progymnasmata are *chreia* and *gnome*. Yet despite minor differences, all of the

progymnasmata share a basic trajectory from simple exercises to more complex and

imaginative exercises. Suetonius tells us that there was also room for variation among

teachers for which methods were preferred and some teachers did not use the same methods

every time.[81]

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[79] Clark, *Rhetoric*, 181; see also Murphy, *Roman Writing Instruction*, 63.

[80] See the chart in Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, xiii.

[81] Suetonius, *Gramm.* 25.4: "As for the method of instruction, however, it was not the case that all teachers used a single system, nor even that a given teacher used the same system at all times, since each man trained his students in diverse ways. They would vary the grammatical constructions of notable sayings in all possible ways; recount fables now one way, now another; present narratives sometimes briefly and concisely, sometimes elaborately and at length; occasionally translate Greek works; compose eulogies or invectives on famous men; take certain arrangements for the exercise of communal life and demonstrate, by turns, that they are useful and necessary or harmful and superfluous, and often argue for or against the credibility of myths—the kind of thing that the Greeks call 'general arguments' and 'destructive arguments' and 'constructive arguments'" (Kaster).

The progymnasmata fostered the development of a speech-writing skillset so that students had a strong foundation to rely on in later stages of their education. Astute students of the progymnasmata made use of sophisticated rhetorical tools such as elaboration to develop complete arguments.[82] Ps.-Hermogenes refers to elaboration (ἐργασία) as the "chief matter" in his treatment of the chreia.[83] He writes that there are three components of elaboration: (1) an encomium, (2) a paraphrase of the chreia, and (3), the rational.[84] Vernon Robbins demonstrates that rhetorical elaboration occurs in the Gospels.[85] Thus successful students could create refined compositions. Cumulative knowledge of progymnastic exercises aided students in building a repertoire of speech elements that would help them construct *complete* speeches; in other words, at this stage they are learning the parts but at a later stage they will practice putting the parts together.[86]

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[82] On rhetorical elaboration, see Mack and Robbins, *Patterns of Persuasion*, 31-67 and Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia: Classroom Exercises*, 79-93.

[83] Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia: Progymnasmata*, 176-77, translate ἐπὶ τὸ συνέχον as "to the chief matter." On 161, they note: "In fact, the reader gets the impression that for Hermogenes the definition and classification are minor but necessary preliminaries to the main point of the chapter [on the chreia]. This center piece, as it were, is the ἐργασία, and Hermogenes' emphasis on this exercise or manipulation provides the most striking difference between his chapter and that of Theon. It may also be the most important feature of Hermogenes' treatment of the chreia."

[84] Ps.-Hermogenes, *Prog.* 7.10-15.

[85] Robbins, "Progymnastic Rhetorical Composition," 121-31, identifies two levels of elaboration and shows how the Gospel of Mark demonstrates both types of elaboration (Mark 7:14-23 and Mark 4:1-34).

[86] See Russell, *Greek Declamation*, 10-11 for a discussion of the relation of the progymnasmata to complete speeches.

The subjects of the exercises at this earlier stage were often mythological figures

whereas historical themes were commonly used in declamation.[87] Ruth Webb describes the

process of progymnastic learning in the following way:

> By offering examples of his own composition, the teacher will imprint them (*tupoō*)
> on his students' minds, so that they can imitate (*mimeisthai*) them. The two verbs
> reveal strikingly how Theon wished to think of the educational process he was
> representing: through his compositions, he shapes, even brands, the students' minds.
> The student, in turn, learns by imitation, by aping the actions of his master until he is
> able to produce an analogous work of his own. In this way, he learns to imitate the
> processes, not merely the forms, of composition. As described by Theon, it is an
> intellectual formation which takes root at the level of habit.[88]

Our extant literary sources do not begin to feature the progymnasmata until the first

century CE (i.e., Quintilian and Theon[89]), but progymnastic exercises likely date much earlier

and were already well established by the time Luke began his education.[90] Four versions of the

progymnasmata dating from the first to the fifth century CE are extant: Aelius Theon (first

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[87] Webb, "*Progymnasmata* as Practice," 301. Gibson, *Libanius's* Progymnasmata, xxi, describes the prevalence of Greek mythology in the progymnasmata. "Knowledge of Greek mythology, important works of literature (especially the Homeric epics), and the highlights of classical Athenian history formed the necessary background to compositional instruction. Through the progymnasmata, students learn to take their knowledge of classical literature—its myths, heroes, and ethical values—and turn it to the service of argument."

[88] Webb, *Ekphrasis*, 41.

[89] See Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.9.1-6; 2.1.1-13; Theon, *Prog*. Theon uses the word *progymnasmata* in his text twice (61.26; 65.30), but seems to prefer the term *gymnasmata* instead (59.18; 60.23, 32; 64.28; 65.19 *et al.*). Quintilian uses the Latin term *primae exercitationes* (*Inst.* 2.4.36) in the context of a discussion on laws. There is no extant Latin equivalent of the progymnasmata until Priscian's *Praeexercitamina,* which is a sixth-century CE translation of Ps.-Hermogenes, *Prog*. (Webb, "*Progymnasmata* as Practice," 293).

[90] The term *progymnasmata* occurs in the fourth-century BCE work known as the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 1436a26, but it is uncertain whether the exercises as we know them date that far back. Some exercises are certainly quite old (thesis for instance), but the majority of exercises developed during the early Hellenistic period and were mostly complete by the second century BCE (See Bonner, *Education*, 250; Clark, *Rhetoric*, 179; Clarke, *Rhetoric at Rome*, 166; Barwick, "Die Gliederung der Narratio," 283, cited in Clarke). Theon, *Prog.* 59.15, demonstrates that the exercises were in use before his time in that he refers to other, preexisting exercises.

century CE), Pseudo-Hermogenes of Tarsus (third or fourth century CE), Aphthonius of

Antioch (fourth century CE), and Nicolaus of Myra (fifth century CE).[91] The four extant

versions resemble each other strongly and offer a fairly standardized set of exercises. In each

case, the author of the progymnasmata defines the exercise, discusses it at length, and gives

examples of how it is used. It is important to note that the progymnasmata train students on

elements of speeches, but are not themselves examples of the completed speeches. For this,

the student can refer to Libanius of Antioch (fourth century CE) who provides a

supplementary collection that gives numerous examples on how to write each exercise.

Studying the progymnasmata is particularly helpful for interpreters of Luke-Acts

because these writings reveal the educational training that Luke would have received. Though

pinning down the exact level of Luke's education is a path fraught with folly since Luke does

not explicitly reveal that information to us, we can point to ways that his literary skills do

suggest familiarity with progymnastic training. Michael W. Martin has shown that the third

Gospel is consistent with training in progymnastic topical instruction[92] and others as well

have identified other aspects of interaction with progymnasmata.[93] As Mikeal Parsons puts it,

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[91] In addition to these, other later examples of the progymnasmata or specific progymnastic exercises exist.

[92] Martin, "Progymnastic Topic Lists," 36-41.

[93] Others have identified places where Luke makes use of exercises from the progymnasmata. For instance, chreia has received a significant amount of attention. On chreia see Stegman, "Luke 12"; Braun, *Feasting and Social Rhetoric*; and Mack and Robbins, *Patterns of Persuasion in the Gospels*. On topos (or common-place), see Malherbe, "Christianization of a Topos"; and Rice, "Rhetoric of Luke's Passion." On *diêgêsis*, see Robbins, "Narrative in Ancient Rhetoric" and Parsons, "Luke 1:1-4 and Ancient Rhetoric." See the introduction (pages 13-15 for interpreters who have identified the use of prosopopoeia in the speeches of Luke-Acts.

Luke "cut his rhetorical teeth, as it were, on the *progymnasmata* tradition."[94] This does not

mean that Luke was a master of rhetoric or that his literary skill is first rate.[95] Here it is

important to make the distinction between progymnastic rhetoric and full rhetorical

discourse.[96] Osvaldo Padilla, for instance, discounts the view that Luke was trained in the

progymnasmata because his writings do not meet standards of one who has completed the

tertiary level of education in rhetoric.[97] Progymnastic education, however, does not in and of

itself churn out a fully-developed rhetor, so arguing that Luke exhibits features found in the

progymnasmata is not the same as arguing he advanced through the highest level of

Hellenistic education. As we saw, the progymnasmata were often taught in the secondary

stage of education, especially in the late first century CE, and they are intended to be "pre-

rhetorical" exercises.[98] Additionally, Luke's two volumes are best categorized as historical

writings and Theon states that in addition to oratorical training, these exercises are also

crucial for those composing historical writings.[99] Todd Penner suggests approaching the book

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[94] Parsons, "Luke and the *Progymnasmata*," 44 and *Luke: Storyteller*, 18.

[95] Perhaps Pervo's (*Acts*, 7) positive but somewhat conservative assessment of Luke's training is apt: "Familiarity with rhetorical technique and contact with such authors as Homer and Euripides suggest an education that had progressed beyond the elementary level, but his stylistic limitations indicate that he did not reach the advanced stages."

[96] See Robbins, "Claims of the Prologues," 67.

[97] Padilla, "Hellenistic παιδεία," 416-437.

[98] Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia: Classroom Exercises*, 81, 83: "Such pre-rhetorical compositions, called *progymnasmata*, provided this intermediary step between the simpler lessons learned under the γραμματικός and the more complex μελέται to be learned at the school of the σοφιστής . . . Only now were students ready to learn rhetoric proper, to master the methods, rules, and models of the discipline that would turn them into orators and the best of them into sophists."

[99] Theon, *Progymnasmata,* 60.1-27.

of Acts through what he calls a "*progymnastic poetics*." This means, in effect, that we think of

Acts not in the context of Cicero's advanced rhetoric, but instead associate Luke with these

preliminary exercises. In other words we must "put ourselves into the mindset of a young

student going through the elementary rhetorical training exercises."[100] Recognizing that Luke

was an educated individual who exhibits familiarity with progymnastic training will yield

fruitful results for understanding the rhetoric of his two volumes because it allows us to

evaluate his work on the basis of specific exercises. Speech-in-character is only one aspect of

this type of study, although it is the central focus of the current dissertation.

2.2.2 The Progymnasmata and Speech-in-Character

The exercise that is most advantageous for understanding Luke's speeches is speech-

in-character.[101] With speech-in-character (ἠθοποιΐα/ethopoeia or προσωποποιΐα/prosopopoeia)

the student creates an imaginary speech for a mythological, historical, or typological

character. This speech should suit what is known about the character and the context of the

speech. This will be spelled out more clearly below when we look at the specific content found

in the progymnasmata. It is an inventive act that elicits the students' creativity by having them

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[100] Penner, "Reconfiguring the Rhetorical Study of Acts," 431. Cicero, of course, is not completely irrelevant and our interest in prosopopoeia is one that Cicero exhibited well (see, for instance, Austin, *Pro M. Caelio*, 90-91), but this should not distract from Penner's point not to judge Luke by standards set in place by Cicero.

[101] I have chosen to use the term "speech-in-character" to describe the exercises of prosopopoeia (as Theon presents it) and ethopoeia (as presented by Aphthonius and Ps.-Hermogenes). The term is awkward and inelegant, yet better captures the meaning of the exercise. Other options are "dramatization," "impersonation," "characterization," and "expression of character." For a discussion of the nomenclature of speech-in-character, see Butts, "Progymnasmata of Theon," 459-60.

place themselves in the speaker's shoes and use words that are appropriate for the speaker.[102]

Quintilian refers to speech-in-character as the place where "the very greatest efforts of

eloquence are displayed."[103] In a work attributed to John of Sardis, the author notes that this

exercise "makes the language alive and moves the hearer to share the emotion of the speaker

by presenting his character."[104] It is important also to consider that speech-in-character

operates on numerous levels. First, the speech contains the author's (student's) words as

much as it contains the speaker's (character's) words. Second, the speech addresses multiple

audiences: the audience who is imbedded in the narrative as well as the audience reading the

literary speech.[105] Thus, interpreting speeches requires an awareness that some things are said

to make the speech fitting to the historical context while other things may be expressed to

convey a point to the readers.

2.2.3 Prosopopoeia in Aelius Theon

Although it is difficult to pinpoint an exact composition date, the *Progymnasmata* of

Aelius Theon comes from the second half of the first century CE, and is the first extant

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[102] Webb, "*Progymnasmata* as Practice," 306.

[103] Quintilian, *Inst.* 2.1.2 (Watson). The language here (*in quibus onus dicendi vel maximum est*) describes a heavy burden put on the speaker. Compare this to the words of Lucian, *Hist.* 58 (quoted later in this chapter), who states that speech-in-character allows the writer to play the orator and show their eloquence.

[104] [John of Sardis], *Comm. Prog. of Aphthonius*, 194 (Kennedy).

[105] On the relationship between the speakers and the audiences, see Patillon, *La théorie du discours*," 303.

example of the progymnastic genre.[106] The work is typically placed in the first century CE

because (1) it shares much in common with Quintilian's *Institutes*,[107] (2) the latest authors

quoted in the work are from the late first century BCE (Theon makes reference to Theodorus

of Gadara and Dionysius of Halicarnassus), and (3) Quintilian cites a certain "Theon" on stasis

theory and a "Theon the Stoic" regarding figures of speech.[108] The Suda, a tenth-century

Byzantine encyclopedia on the ancient Mediterranean world, states that Aelius Theon of

Alexandria was a sophist, and the author of *On Progymnasmata* (Περὶ προγυμνασμάτων), in

addition to other works on rhetoric, composition, and commentaries on Attic orators. Because

this work dates roughly to the same period as Luke, it is the most significant progymnasmata

for our purposes.

Theon treats the topic of speech-in-character in several places. First, while briefly

discussing the various exercises, he notes that prosopopoeia is a historical exercise (ἱστορικὸν

γύμνασμα), though its usefulness is applicable to all types of genres in which characters

speak.[109] It is beneficial in everyday life and conversations, but most useful for written

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[106] On the date of Theon's *Progymnasmata* see Stegemann, 2037-39; Butts, "Progymnasmata of Theon," 2-6; Patillon, *Aelius Théon*, viii-xvi; Weißenberger, "Theon," 499. Heath, "Theon," 11-19, proposing for a fifth-century date of Theon, argues that there is evidence that Theon used Hermogenes's *Progymnasmata* based on what he sees as stylistic changes, elaborations, and other improvements, and because the innovations of Theon's *Progymnasmata* fit well into discussions that were taking place in the fourth and fifth centuries.

[107] Lana, *Progimnasmi*, 108-51, summarized and critiqued by Butts, "Progymnasmata of Theon," 3-6; see also Reinhardt and Winterbottom, *Quintilian 2*, xxx-xxxiv.

[108] Quintilian, *Inst*. 3.6.48 and 9.3.76 respectively. See Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 1.

[109] Theon, *Prog*. 60.23-25. He notes specifically oratory/rhetoric (*rhêtorikon*), dialogue (*dialogikon*), and poetry (*poiêtikon*).

composition.[110] Central to Theon's understanding of speech-in-character is appropriate or

fitting speech. He points to Homer and Euripides as positive and negative examples

(respectively) on their use of language for a character's speech: "Thus we praise Homer first

because of his ability to attribute the right words (οἰκείους λόγους) to each of the characters he

introduces, but we find fault with Euripides because his Hecuba philosophizes

inopportunely."[111] The complaint against Euripides is that his Hecuba sounds more like

Euripides himself than like Hecuba.[112] For Theon, the most convincing examples of

prosopopoeia are Homer, Plato (in the dialogues), and Menander.[113] Later in this chapter we

will see how appropriate speech is an important element of speeches in ancient

historiographical works.

Theon's full treatment of the speech-in-character exercise is detailed in 115.11–118.6. In

general, Theon's chapters on the various exercises follow a tripartite structure of definition,

classification, and procedures (or examples), but in this chapter the second part is mostly

abandoned.[114] The chapter also lacks the usual citations from earlier literature.[115] Theon's

discussion of prosopopoeia gives a brief definition of the exercise, accompanies it with

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[110] Theon, *Prog.* 60.25-27.

[111] Theon, *Prog.* 60.27-31.

[112] See Butts, "Progymnasmata of Theon," 129, who lists *Hec* 251-95 and *Electra* 367-403 and possibly 424-31.

[113] Theon, *Prog.* 68.22-25.

[114] Butts, "Progymnasmata of Theon," 456; see also 224-5.

[115] Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 47.

examples, prompts, and questions,[116] and follows this with a section that outlines instructions

and procedures on creating prosopopoeiai.[117] He defines prosopopoeia as "the introduction of

a person to whom words are attributed that are suitable (οὐκείους) to the speaker and have an

indisputable application to the subject discussed."[118] Theon's definition highlights two aspects

of what is necessary for this exercise; not only does the author compose suitable words for the

speaker (πρόσωπον), but they must also fit the context of the speech as well. He gives

examples of speech-in-character using the form of questions:

> What words would a man say to his wife when leaving on a journey? Or a general to
> his soldiers in time of danger? Also when the persons are specified; for example, What
> words would Cyrus say when marching against the Massagetae? Or what would Datis
> say when he met the king after the battle of Marathon?[119]

Based on these three examples, speech-in-character can be applied to a generic person (e.g., a

man leaving on a journey), or to a specific historical figure (e.g., Cyrus or Datis). This is an

important distinction since ancient authors, including Luke as we will see, use both forms of

characterization. Theon states that it is necessary first to take into consideration information

about the person speaking, their situation and the subject matter, before composing the

appropriate words (λόγους ἁρμόττοντας) for them to speak.[120] He gives some guidelines for

thinking about how different types of people speak given their age, sex, status (ἡ τύχη),

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[116] Theon, *Prog.* 115.12–22.

[117] Theon, *Prog.* 115.23—118.6.

[118] Theon, *Prog.* 115.12-14.

[119] Theon, *Prog.* 115.14-20.

[120] Theon, *Prog.* 115.23-28.

activity, state of mind, and origin. His examples are brief and simplistic but they clarify what

he means by the different ways of speaking:

> Different ways of speaking belong to different ages of life, not the same to an older
> man and a younger one; the speech of a younger man will be mingled with simplicity
> and modesty, that of an older man with knowledge and experience. Different ways of
> speaking would also be fitting by *nature* for a woman and for a man, and *by status* for a
> slave and a free man, and *by activities* for a soldier and a farmer, and *by state of mind*
> for a lover and a temperate man, and *by their origin* the words of a Laconian, sparse
> and clear, differ from those of a man of Attica, which are voluble. We say that
> Herodotus often speaks like barbarians although writing in Greek because he imitates
> their ways of speaking.[121]

Theon contends that the author must address the characterization of the speaker on multiple

levels. In addition to the speaker's characterization, both places (*topoi*) and occasions (*kairoi*)

play a significant role: "speeches in a military camp are not the same as those in the assembly

of the citizens, nor are those in peace and war the same, nor those by victors and vanquished;

and whatever else applies to the person speaking."[122] Lastly, Theon states that each subject has

its own appropriate style: "We become masters of this if we do not speak about great things

vulgarly nor about small things loftily nor about paltry things solemnly nor about fearful

things in a casual manner nor about shameful things rashly nor about pitiable things

excessively, but give what is appropriate to each subject, aiming at what fits the speaker and

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[121] Theon, *Prog.* 115.28—116.9 (italics in Kennedy's translation).

[122] Theon, *Prog.* 116.9-12.

his manner of speech and the time and his lot in life and each of the things mentioned above."[123]

2.2.4 Ethopoeia in Ps.-Hermogenes and Aphthonius

While the Progymnasmata of the third and fourth centuries share many of the same exercises that are found in Theon's first century text, they also begin to take a distinct shape. The Progymnasmata of Ps.-Hermogenes[124] and Aphthonius[125] will be treated together here because they contain similar content. Unlike Theon's *Progymnasmata*, neither Ps.-Hermogenes's nor Aphthonius's texts contain a proper introduction[126]; instead, they both begin with their first exercise, fable (*mythos*). The sequences of exercises follow a very similar order, which varies slightly from Theon's. They both contain the following exercises: fable,

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[123] Theon, *Prog.* 116.12-21.

[124] According to Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 2.7, Hermogenes was born in Tarsus and flourished as a rhetorician from an early age. At fifteen, his rhetorical art gained him an audience with the emperor, Marcus Aurelius. But when Hermogenes became an adult, his rhetorical powers deserted him. All his great work was done in his youth. The Suda attributes to him the following works: *Art of Rhetoric* (Τέχνην ῥητορικήν), *On Issues* (Περὶ στάσεων βιβλίον), *On Types of Styles* (Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου βιβλία), and *On Coele Syria* (Περὶ κοίλης Συρίας). The Suda does not make mention of a Progymnasmata written by Hermogenes. In fact, there is reason to doubt that he is the author of this text. The Progymnasmata follows a different manuscript tradition from Hermogenes's other works and it was sometimes attributed to Libanius instead (Patillon, *Aphthonius, Hermogenes*, 165-7; Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 73. Libanius did compose a Progymnasmata, but it contains only examples of the exercises and not theoretical explanations of them.) The text of the *Progymnasmata* attributed to Hermogenes likely dates to the third century CE (Patillon, *Aphthonius, Hermogenes*, 168). See also Heath, "Hermogenes' Biographer," 44-54.

[125] Aphthonius was a sophist who flourished in the second half of the fourth century CE. He was a student of Libanius and according to the Suda wrote a commentary on Hermogenes, perhaps on his work Περὶ στάσεων (*On Stasis*) (Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*, 60).

[126] A latter introduction was added to Aphthonius, *Prog.*, but dates to the fifth century at the earliest. For a translation of this introduction, see Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 90-95.

narrative, chreia, maxim, refutation and confirmation, commonplace, encomion, syncrisis,

ethopoeia, ecphrasis, thesis, and introduction of a law. Aphthonius adds invective, which is

not treated by Ps.-Hermogenes. More pertinent to our study, however, is their treatment of

speech-in-character. The following chart shows the contents and sequence of their exposition

of this exercise.

Table 2: Ethopoeia in Ps.-Hermogenes and Aphthonius

Speech-in-character (Ethopoeia)	Ps.-Hermogenes	Aphthonius
Initial brief definition	9.1.1-3	11.1.1-2
Clarification of Ethopoeia, Prosopopoeia, and Eidolopoeia	9.1.3—9.2.5	11.1.2-17
Definite and indefinite persons	9.3.1-5	—
Single and double	9.4.1-7	—
Distinctive personalities (old versus young etc.)	9.5.1-4	—
Ethical, pathetical, and mixed	9.6.1-9	11.2.1-10
Present, past, and future sequence[127]	9.7.1-5	11.3.3-4
Brief guidelines regarding style	9.8.1-2	11.3.1-3
Example exercise	—	11.4.1—11.6.8

Both Ps.-Hermogenes and Aphthonius advance the discussion of speech-in-character

with precise terminology. They lead off their section with the same short definition:

"Ethopoeia is the imitation of the character of a proposed speaker." Ps.-Hermogenes adds the

example of what words Andromache might say to Hector. Imitation's (μίμησις) central role

here suggests a dramatic component to this exercise.[128] It is also important to note that they

both start off by defining ethopoeia and not prosopopoeia. This is due to the fact that they see

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[127] Note that the sequence of this topic and the next one are reversed by the two authors.

[128] Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*, 64.

the term ethopoeia as the general term for the exercise whereas Theon preferred

prosopopoeia.

Further, they differentiate three separate types of characterization and use different

words for each type: ethopoeia (speech-in-character), prosopopoeia (personification), and

eidolopoeia (apparition-making). As Aphthonius puts it, ethopoeia occurs when the person is

known but their speech is invented. He gives the following helpful example: "Here Heracles is

known, but we invent the character in which he speaks."[129] Prosopopoeia takes place when an

inanimate object is personified. Both Aphthonius and Ps.-Hermogenes give the example of

Menander inventing Elenchus (Disproof) and Ps.-Hermogenes adds an example of "The Sea"

addressing the Athenians in one of Aelius Aristides's speeches.[130] Lastly, the term eidolopoeia

is reserved for attributing words to the dead. Both list the example of Themistocles's

companions in Aristides's *On the Four*.[131]

At this point, Ps.-Hermogenes addresses a few points about speech-in-character that

Aphthonius does not. Ps.-Hermogenes identifies both definite (e.g., Achilles leaving to go to

war) and indefinite (e.g., an unnamed person leaving home), as well as single (speaking to

one's self) and double (speaking to an audience) forms of speech-in-character.[132] He also

highlights two aspects of the characterization: distinctiveness and appropriateness, which

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[129] Aphthonius, *Prog*. 11.1.7-8.

[130] Ps.-Hermogenes, *Prog.* 9.1.12-15; Aphthonius, *Prog.* 11.1.4-6.

[131] Ps.-Hermogenes, *Prog.* 9.1.3-8; Aphthonius, *Prog.* 11.1-17. See also Lausberg, 370 §826.

[132] Ps.-Hermogenes, *Prog.* 20.

(echoing Theon) suggests that one should use different styles of speeches for a young man versus an old man and a person rejoicing versus one who is grieving.[133]

Ps.-Hermogenes and Aphthonius state that speech-in-character comes in one of three forms: ethical, pathetical, or mixed.[134] An ethical speech-in-character is one that reveals *character* of the speaker, for instance a farmer who sees a ship for the first time. A pathetical speech-in-character reveals the *emotion* of the speaker, for instance, what Andromache would say at seeing Hector's dead body. And a mixed speech-in-character features both, for example what Achilles would say over Patroclus's death when planning war: "the plan shows character, the fallen friend pathos."[135]

The two *Progymnasmata* suggest that the speeches should be attentive to the time of the events recorded within them. Both authors state that the speech should first address things in the present, move to the past, then look to the future. They also offer a few remarks regarding the literary character of this exercise. The last sentence in Ps.-Hermogenes reads: "Let both figures (σχήματα) and diction (λέξεις) contribute to the portrayal." Here Patillon reminds us that speech-in-character is first a literary exercise before a rhetorical one.[136] Aphthonius contends that speech-in-character should pay attention to clarity and conciseness, and should be "fresh, pure, and free from any inversion (πλοκή) and figure

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[133] Ps.-Hermogenes, *Prog.* 21.

[134] Ps.-Hermogenes, *Prog.* 21, Aphthonius, *Prog.* 45.

[135] Aphthonius, *Prog.* 11.2.8-10.

[136] Patillon, *Aphthonios, Hermogenes*, 258.

(σχῆμα)."[137] This quotation is unpacked in the commentary attributed to John of Sardis; here "inversion" is defined in terms of appropriate speech: "'Inversion' means metaphorical diction; for the diction ought to fit the subjects."[138]

The progymnasmata of Nicolaus the Sophist (fifth century CE) presents a very similar definition of ethopoeia as those offered by Ps.-Hermogenes and Aphthonius. Nicolaus states that "[e]thopoeia is speech suiting the proposed situation," and that includes "tak[ing] account of the speaker and the one to whom he is speaking."[139] Nicolaus also reiterates their view that there can be ethical, pathetical, or mixed ethopoeiai, and follows a similar sequence of present, past, and then future.[140] He also explains that this exercise is particularly suited for writing an encomion, prosecuting, and giving counsel.[141]

2.2.5 Ethopoeia in Libanius of Antioch

Libanius of Antioch (314-393 CE) was a famous Greek rhetor from the late Imperial period whose *Progymnasmata* bypasses theoretical discussion of progymnastic exercises to display numerous full-length examples of them in practice. In addition to the collection of his model exercises, Libanius contributed to the literary and oratorical world with his speeches,

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[137] Aphthonius, *Prog.* 11.

[138] John of Sardis, *Comm. Prog.* 208-209 (Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 217).

[139] Nicolaus the Sophist, *Prog.* 64.

[140] Nicolaus the Sophist, *Prog.* 64-66.

[141] Nicolaus the Sophist, *Prog.* 66-67.

declamations, the *Hypotheseis* to the orations of Demosthenes, and 1,500 letters.[142] As part of

his progymnastic legacy, Libanius was Aphthonius's teacher and undoubtedly influenced his

Progymnasmata. Because of his literary and oratorical accomplishments, we know quite a bit

about Libanius.[143] Craig Gibson describes the type of work that Libanius would have

performed: "Life as a sophist in late antiquity was a busy one, entailing such varied activities

as recruiting and teaching students, delivering encomia of visiting dignitaries, creating and

maintaining a professional network, and writing speeches on important political and social

issues for public delivery or distribution. Libanius's activities included all of these."[144]

As pointed out earlier, specific subjects from Greek mythology lend themselves to

repeated analysis in progymnastic rhetoric. This is certainly the case for Libanius's collection

of ethopoeiai: twenty-one of his twenty-seven examples are from mythology.[145] For instance,

the story of the Niobids' death and their mother's response is repeatedly the focus of

ethopoeiai. According to the Iliad, Niobe acted in hubris when she flaunted her dozen

children before Leto's measly two. As a result, Leto's two (Apollo and Artemis) slaughtered all

twelve of Niobe's children. Homer tells us the story but lacks any mention of what Niobe

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[142] Also attributed to him is the work *Epistolimaioi charakteres* (letter-writing instructions); see Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 67-81. According to Weißenberger, "Libanius," 479, the number of Libanius's works that are no longer extant likely matches the number of surviving works.

[143] On Libanius's life and work, see Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*, 150-63; Gibson, *Libanius's* Progymnasmata, xvii-xx; Weißenberger, "Libanius."

[144] Gibson, *Libanius's* Progymnasmata, xviii.

[145] The other six are general examples (e.g., a painter or a prostitute). None of his examples are of historical figures, though this was an acceptable practice even in the fourth century, which is demonstrated by the ethopoeia of Aeschines and Demosthenes in the fourth-century author, Severus of Alexandria. These are published in Amato, *Severus Sophista Alexandrinus*, 21-25.

would have said upon seeing her dead children. Thus, imagining her verbal response in this situation was an ideal prompt for a rhetorical exercise. In fact, this was the example given by Aphthonius in his *Progymnasmata*, and two examples in Libanius's *Progymnasmata* (Ethopoeia 8 and 9). Because the authenticity of Libanius's Ethopoeia 9 has been doubted, it might represent a third person's take on this subject.[146] The subject matter of dead children makes for a very convincing pathetical ethopoeia and each of the treatments of this episode follow the present (Niobe's response to finding her children dead), past (reference to her act of hubris and her relationship with Leto), and future (fate) storyline. Yet all three are very distinct in their approach, which demonstrates that while there are rules to be followed in constructing ethopoeia, creativity is still a necessary ingredient.

Libanius shows us how to craft ethopoeia masterfully.[147] Yet while Libanius's Progymnasmata highlights *his* literary and rhetorical achievement, the vast majority of those writing these exercises were students who would have undoubtedly lacked Libanius's skill. Thus we must keep in mind the educational function of the progymnastic exercises. In addition to literary examples there are many extant classroom examples of ethopoeia.[148] The

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[146] Foerster and Münscher, "Libanios," 2521, refer to this exercise as *weitschweifig und kunstlos* and thus call its authenticity into question. See also Gibson, *Libanius's* Progymnasmata, xxiii, 355.

[147] Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*, 161, refers to his progymnasmata as "rather satisfying" and notes that "[t]hey were apparently much admired for centuries after his death, and many of them are quite good reading."

[148] For a comprehensive list of ethopoeia exercises (both literary and from the classroom) see Amato and Ventrelle, "L'éthopée dans la pratique scolaire et littéraire," 213-31.

nature of these classroom ethopoeia is often more fluid than standard literary works because

they were reworked and reused in the classroom by successive students and teachers.[149]

2.2.6 Propriety and Speech-in-Character

Speech-in-character is not a widely ubiquitous exercise throughout Greek and Roman

rhetorical writings, although its key concept of propriety or suitability does have a long

tradition in these writings. Aristotle addresses propriety (τὸ πρέπον) in book 3 of *On Rhetoric*.

He first insists that for a work to perform its function, its style must be clear and appropriate

(τὸ πρέπον).[150] He then devotes a whole chapter to the importance of propriety.[151]

Appropriateness occurs when the work exhibits emotion (παθητική) and character (ἠθική).[152]

The character must be portrayed accurately, whether young or old, man or woman, Spartan or

Thessalian, rustic or educated; one must also take into consideration the character's moral

state.[153] Other factors involved are the timeliness of rhetoric and the tailoring of the speech to

the emotional situation of the speaker.[154]

Aristotle's successor, Theophrastus (c. 370-c. 285 BCE), was a prolific theorist on the

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[149] Amato, "Ethopoea of Severus," 67.

[150] Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.2.1.

[151] Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.7.

[152] Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.7.1.

[153] Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.7.6-7.

[154] Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.7.8-11.

subject of rhetoric.[155] In his work *On Style*, Theophrastus articulated four virtues of style: correctness, clarity, ornamentation, and propriety.[156] Propriety was a virtue for Peripatetic philosophers because it was "related to their principle, both in ethics and aesthetics, of seeking the mean between extremes."[157]

Cicero argues that one should not use the same style and thoughts in all situations. He writes, "The universal rule, in oratory as in life, is to consider propriety."[158] Thus, there is a different set of appropriateness for "portraying every condition in life, or every rank, position or age, and in fact a similar distinction must be made in respect of place, time, and audience."[159] Cicero builds on Theophrastus's thesis that there should be a middle ground between plain and lofty speech.[160]

In the work of the author called "Longinus," *On the Sublime*, we read that when an author discusses elevated subject matter, he or she must not bring it down with what is sordid (ῥυπαρά) and contemptible (ἐξυβρισμένα), unless there is a strong necessity to do so. Instead, "the proper course is to suit the words to the dignity of the subject and thus imitate Nature,

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[155] According to Diogenes Laertius, he composed some twenty works on the subject, although zero remain extant (Diogenes Laertius, *Vit. phil.* 5.42-50; see also Kennedy, *New History*, 85).

[156] Black, "Oration at Olivet," 83; Kennedy, *New History*, 85; Cicero, *Or. Brut.* 79.

[157] Kennedy, *New History*, 86.

[158] Cicero, *Or. Brut.* 21.71.

[159] Cicero, *Or. Brut.* 21.70-71

[160] Cf. *Or* 6.21; *De Or* 3.45.177. See other texts listed by Black, "Oration at Olivet," 88 n. 2.

the artist that created man."[161] Given this criterion, his treatment of the Iliad's battle of the

gods where earth is torn asunder and hell is laid bare is intelligible. [162] He states that these

Homeric passages are "utterly irreligious and breach the canons of propriety (τὸ πρέπον)

unless one takes them allegorically." Where normally such language would be inappropriate,

it is fitting to Homer's anthropological and theological purposes to "make the men in the *Iliad*

gods and the gods men."[163] As we will see in the next section, Dionysius of Halicarnassus also

treats the topic of propriety in his essays on the orators and as well as his essay *On Literary

Composition.*

Luke certainly made efforts to present Paul's morality in a positive light.[164] My

intention is not to simply conflate the terms propriety and speech-in-character, but instead to

show that the two terms were essentially different ways to describe a similar type of literary

activity.

2.2.7 Speech-in-Character as a Heuristic Device

The expositions of prosopopoeia and ethopoeia found in the progymnasmata should

not be used as strict rubrics by which we measure an author's success at hitting each and

every point. The progymnasmata contain the information that an instructor would relay to

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[161] Longinus, [*Subl.*] 43.5 (Fyfe and Russell, LCL).

[162] He cites a conflated reading of *Iliad* 21.388 and 20.61-65.

[163] Longinus, [*Subl.*] 9.7 (Fyfe and Russell, LCL).

[164] See Lentz, *Luke's Portrait of Paul*, 62-104.

their students, and so they were not intended to be studied as reference manuals for students.

Luke most certainly did not have a copy of the progymnasmata by Theon (or some other

author) sitting in front of him as he wrote the book of Acts. Further, though the various

progymnasmata surveyed above do share a number of similarities in their exposition of

speech-in-character, they each understood the exercise and presented it in their own ways.

With this in mind, it is important to think of speech-in-character, whether prosopopoeia or

ethopoeia, as serving a heuristic purpose. By calling speech-in-character a heuristic device, I

mean that it can point us to the right questions to ask and help us better understand the

thought processes of ancient authors while constructing speeches. This means that when we

read Luke's speeches about Paul, we can ask certain questions to guide our interpretation.

Does the author identify the speaker in generic or specific ways? What is the age of the

speaker? What is his disposition? What is his social status? Who is the audience? Does the

author make use of the speaker's background, character, and rhetorical situation to present a

suitable speech? Is the author's presentation of the character credible? In other words, are

Paul's speeches in Acts consistent with, to some degree, the audience's own perception of

Paul? There is nevertheless a tension between credibility and creativity. We should not gauge

Luke's success solely on his selling a version of Paul that we already know, but as a creative

author Luke's success remains in how well he can sell his own message to his readers while

using Paul as an important tool in his toolbox.

2.3 Speeches in Historiography

Whereas indirect speeches tended to present actual events in historiography, direct

speeches gave the authors more flexibility to exercise their oratorical skills.[165] In this section, I

widen the scope of resources to several ancient historiographers, who will shed light on

speech-writing practices in antiquity. I have selected the following authors (Thucydides,

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Josephus, and Tacitus) because their writings play seminal roles in

ancient historiography or function as helpful comparisons to the book of Acts. Thucydides

articulates speechwriting in historiography and sets the discussion of it for later authors.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus has an acute interest in literary criticism and offers an informed

discussion on propriety. Both Josephus and Tacitus are contemporaneous with Luke and

wrote speeches that are suitable sources of comparison.

2.3.1 Thucydides's *Peloponnesian War*

Since speech-in-character is both an act of the imagination and of imitation,[166] authors

of literary speeches must strike a balance between their own creative efforts and the

suitability of the character giving the speech. In other words, they must uphold a tension

between creativity and believability. Historiographers from antiquity were well aware of this

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[165] Thackeray, *Josephus the Man*, 41-42.

[166] On the relationship of ethopoeia to imitation in the context of rhetoric training, see Perdue, "Pseudonymity and Graeco-Roman Rhetoric," 46-49.

issue and often addressed it in their writings. Thucydides, in a famous passage, is attentive to

the fidelity of the historical speech while he employs at the same time appropriate words for

the situation:

> As to the speeches that were made by different men, either when they were about to
> begin the war or when they were already engaged therein, it has been difficult to recall
> with strict accuracy the words actually spoken [τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων],
> both for me as regards that which I myself heard, and for those who from various
> other sources have brought me reports. Therefore the speeches are given in the
> language in which, as it seemed to me, the several speakers would express, on the
> subjects under consideration, the sentiments most befitting [τὰ δέοντα] the occasion,
> though at the same time I have adhered as closely as possible to the general sense [τῆς
> ξυμπάσης γνώμης] of what was actually said.[167]

There is no shortage of scholarly literature written on this text because of its ambiguous or

seemingly contradictory language.[168] Attaining the *ipsissima verba* of the original speeches is a

nonstarter because as Thucydides remarks "it has been difficult to recall with strict accuracy

the words actually spoken." On account of this, Thucydides aims for what is appropriate or

necessary (τὰ δέοντα) to the context of the speech. This suggests a more liberal approach to

the composition of the speeches. What complicates matters is that Thucydides then states

that he aims to adhere "as closely as possible to the general sense of what was actually said."

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[167] Thucydides, *P.W.* 1.22.1 (Smith, LCL).

[168] See, for instance, the following sampling of works that address this passage: Jebb, *Essays and Addresses*, 359-445; Dibelius, *Studies*, 140-42; Bruce, "Speeches in Acts," 6-7; Adcock, *Thucydides*, 27-42; Glasson, "Speeches," 165; Bruce, "Speeches in Acts 30 Years After," 53-55; Kagan, "Speeches in Thucydides," 71-79; Walbank, "Speeches in Greek Historians," 244-46; Aune, *Literary Environment*, 91-93; Gempf, "Historical and Literary Appropriateness," 85-91; Woodman, *Rhetoric*, 10-15; Porter, "Thucydides 1.22.1," 121-42; McCoy, *Shadow of Thucydides*, 12-14; Garrity, "Thucydides 1.22.1"; Balch, "ἀκριβῶς . . . γράψαι," 229-32; Schmidt: "Rhetorical Influences and Genre," 42-43; Pelling, *Literary Texts*, 112-22; Marincola, "Speeches in Classical Historiography," 121-22. For a list of speeches in Thucydides see West, *Speeches in Thucydides*, 3-15.

Thus there seem to be two guiding principles: suitability and accuracy. Gempf suggests that

suitability and accuracy should not be seen as contradictory terms but two poles on a

continuum, or "limiting factors," according to F. E. Adcock.[169] Thus, for Thucydides the role of

the historian was neither to invent the speeches *ex nihilo* nor to exhibit exact precision with

respect to the historical record.

Because attaining precision is not always possible, Thucydides fills in the gaps with

suitable content. This middle ground between invention and historical fact is sometimes

unsettling to moderns who tend to dichotomize the two, but, as John Marincola reminds us,

we must consider the roles of the speeches as being "contextualized within a particular and

highly developed literary form."[170] What Marincola means by this is that Thucydides was not

writing *the* definitive and complete representation of the Peloponnesian War, but rather a

selective representation of those events reflecting his own aims and perspective. As a result,

the speeches in the *Peloponnesian War* all bear a resemblance to each other; they all have

"uniformly Thucydidean" language.[171] The speakers, irrespective of their backgrounds, speak in

the Attic dialect and repeat similar themes and argumentation.[172] The payoff for our purposes

is that Thucydides, despite incorporating some real speech material, wrote what was

appropriate for his literary agenda. For that reason, teasing out what exact words were

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[169] Gempf, "Historical and Literary Appropriateness," 87; Adcock, *Thucydides*, 28.

[170] Marincola, "Speeches in Classical Historiography," 121.

[171] Aune, *Literary Environment*, 92. This, of course, opens Thucydides up to the same critique that Theon wages against Euripides, see above.

[172] Marincola, "Speeches in Classical Historiography," 121-22.

actually spoken during those events is out of reach. Thus, instead of informing us about what exactly was said, the speeches help us to understand how Thucydides understood historical situations.[173]

Thucydides spearheaded the approach that most Greek historians subsequently adopted. Callisthenes of Olynthus (360 – 328 BCE) builds on Thucydides's aim to present what was appropriate or necessary (τὰ δέοντα) to the context of the speech. He wrote, "Anyone attempting to write something must not fail to hit upon character, but must make speeches appropriate (οἰκείως) to the person and the circumstances."[174] Lucian of Samosata (c. 125 – 180 CE), writing several hundred years later, would offer similar advice: "If a person has to be introduced to make a speech, above all let his language suit (οἰκεῖα) his person and his subject, and next let these also be clear as possible. It is then, however, that you can play the orator and show your eloquence."[175] Suitability and appropriateness (words such as τὸ πρέπον, τὰ δέοντα, and οἰκεῖος) become a concern for historians writing speeches. And, as we will see, Dionysius of Halicarnassus takes this to a completely new level.

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[173] Aune, *Literary Environment*, 92.

[174] *FGrHist* 124 F 44; translation by Marincola, "Speeches in Classical Historiography," 122.

[175] Lucian, *Hist.* 58 (Kilburn, LCL). Hurst, *Lucien de Samosate*, 110, notes that Lucian's statement here is influenced by Thucydides, *P.W.* 1.22.

2.3.2 Dionysius of Halicarnassus

Dionysius of Halicarnassus was a first-century BCE literary critic, rhetorician, and historian whose essays are of immense value for understanding one perspective on speechwriting near the time of Luke. Dionysius took issue with Thucydides's aim to present his speeches in fitting language. In his letter to Pompeius, Dionysius states that Thucydides's failure to have variety in the speeches results in a failure to achieve propriety (τὸ πρέπον).[176] In his essay on Thucydides, he does concede that Thucydides is successful in some respects. Dionysius praises the speeches from both sides that preceded the conflict at Plataea.[177] He states that they sound natural, are suited to the speakers' characters, situationally relevant, pure, clear, and concise.[178] Yet the famous Melian dialogue,[179] according to Dionysius, lacks propriety because of the word choices Thucydides makes for the Athenians. The Thucydidean speeches are "unworthy of the Athenians," do "not fit the situation," and are more suitable for barbarian kings.[180] Of course, Dionysius might justly be accused of taking propriety too far,[181]

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[176] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Pomp*. 3.776-777.

[177] Thucydides, *P.W.* 2.71-75.

[178] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Thuc.* 36.

[179] Thucydides, *P.W.* 2.34-46.

[180] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Thuc.* 38-39.

[181] Usher, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, 459-60: "Nevertheless it is a pity that Dionysius did not approach Thucydides in this essay with a more open mind and more of the adventurous spirit of νεωτεροποιΐα (innovation) and τὸ τολμηρόν (enterprise) which the Spartans had found in the Athenians, and which Dionysius himself had previously found in Thucydides." Similarly Pritchett, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, xxvii: "Dionysius' preoccupation with τὸ πρέπον is the direct result of his rhetorical training and it leads to criticisms which are not convincing,

but his concern for it demonstrates that it was on the radar screen for historians and other

authors near Luke's time.

For Dionysius, paying attention to propriety (τὸ πρέπον) is an important part of

speechwriting in general. He addresses this further in his essays on the orators and *On Literary

Composition*. He calls propriety "the most important and crowning virtue."[182] Lysias is second

to none in executing this, he claims, and should be imitated here. There are two aspects of

propriety according to Dionysius: attention to the proper words befitting the speaker and the

audience.[183] This is elaborated much more fully in *On Literary Composition* where he illustrates

the importance of how to characterize the speaker by drawing on examples from his own

life—he puts words together differently when he is angry, glad, mourning, afraid, etc.[184]

Closely related to his discussions of propriety is the topic of speech-in-character. He praises

Lysias's ability to create proof from character (ἠθοποιΐα), yet for Dionysius the character must

be commendable.[185] Pompous, outlandish, and contrived language have no part in the

characterization.[186] Dionysius writes:

> [Lysias] often makes us believe in his client's good character by referring to the
> circumstances of his life and his parentage, and often again by describing his past
> actions and the principles governing them. And when the facts fail to prove him with

such as his argument...that Thucydides should not have represented Pericles as defending his policy by
reprimanding the citizens in so outspoken a manner but by soothing the anger of the mob."

[182] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Lys.* 9.

[183] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Lys.* 9.

[184] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Comp.* 20.

[185] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Lys.* 8.

[186] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Lys.* 8.

such material, he creates his own moral tone (ἠθοποιεῖ), making his characters seem by their speech to be trustworthy and honest. He credits them with civilised dispositions and attributes controlled feelings to them; he makes them voice appropriate sentiments, and introduces them as men whose thoughts befit their status in life, and who abhor both evil words and evil deeds. He represents them as men who always choose the just course, and ascribes to them every other related quality that may reveal a respectable and moderate character.[187]

Of course, Dionysius's refers to creating a client's good character within a courtroom context, and so morality must not always be a necessity of ἠθοποιΐα, though it often is.

2.3.3 Josephus's *Jewish War*

Flavius Josephus's *Jewish War* serves as a helpful example of how speechwriting takes place in religious historiography of Luke's day. Josephus's writings are often compared to the book of Acts for historical and literary reasons, and for our purposes they provide a good basis of comparison for Luke's speeches, even if the genre of Josephus's writings (namely the *Jewish War* and *Antiquities*) does not match that of Acts perfectly.[188] One of the major speeches in the *Jewish War*, Agrippa II's speech (2.345-401),[189] offers a useful picture of Josephus's approach to

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[187] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Lys.* 19. See also *Lys.* 8 and *Isocr.* 11.

[188] Much has been written on the genre of (Luke-)Acts. A classic treatment of this topic is Gregory Sterling's *Historiography and Self-Definition*, which places the writings of Josephus (namely *A. J.*) and Luke-Acts within the context of apologetic historiography.

[189] There are eight major speeches in the *Jewish War*: Agrippa II (2.345-401), Josephus on Suicide (3.362-382), Ananus (4.163-192), Jesus (4.238-269), Simon (4.271-283), Flavius (5.362-419), Titus (6.328-350 and 34-53), and Eleazar (7.323-336, 341-388). See Varneda, *Historical Method*, 92.

speechwriting.[190] Here, Agrippa attempts to dissuade the Jews from revolting against the

Romans by arguing that Rome's power was no match for anything that the Jews could muster.

Both the length of the speech and its location in the narrative suggests its importance for the

Jewish War. The speech occurs just prior to the revolt and functions as the transition from

peace to war.[191] As an example of deliberative rhetoric, it follows a standard arrangement:

exordium (2.345-47), *narratio* (2.348-57), *confirmatio/argumentatio* (2.358-99), and *peroratio*

(2.400-401).[192]

      The role of God in history and how that affects the politics of war is a salient point in

the speech. Agrippa uses religious and theological reasoning to dissuade Jews from war. He

encourages them to seek out divine assistance, but notes that this already resides with the

Romans because their vast empire could not come into being except by God's help.[193] This is a

view that is more consistent with Josephus's own ideology than with Agrippa's desire to quell

intentions of war. For Josephus, the preservation of the Jews relied on their siding with God

and if they were to oppose him (by going to war), then they would choose a path of hardship

and defeat. At the end of Book 6, Josephus reflects on the Jewish state of affairs after the

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[190] Johnson, *Septuagintal Midrash*, 7-8, features this speech as an example of speechwriting conventions in Hellenistic historiography.

[191] Rajak, *Friends, Romans, Subjects*, 123.

[192] This follows the division by Mason, *Judean War 2*, 266-67; cf. Runnals, *Rhetoric of Josephus*, 747 and the outline by Varneda, *Historical Method*, 93.

[193] Josephus, *B. J.* 2.390. This is comparable to 2.360 where Agrippa II refers to the goddess Fortune who transfers her favor from the Macedonians to the Romans. The concepts are similar but as Mason (*Judean War 2*, 305) points out, Josephus sees Fortune as "fickle and changeable" whereas God is "the rational spirit and mind behind the operations of the universe."

destruction of the Temple and writes: "Howbeit, neither its antiquity, nor its ample wealth,

nor its people spread over the whole habitable world, nor yet the great glory of its religious

rites, could aught avail to avert its ruin."[194] Josephus's stance is that God works through history

and was the source of Rome's power.[195] It is this thought that he puts on the lips of Agrippa to

make him convey Josephus's own interests. Of course, this is not the only place that Josephus

uses his speakers as a platform for his own ideology. The practice is commonplace in the

Jewish War.[196]

Though Agrippa becomes a spokesperson for Josephus's ideology, the speech must

still be convincing not only for the historical occasion but also in its presentation of Agrippa's

personage. The historical Agrippa must not be lost in his lofty oration and Josephus succeeds

here as well. It should be noted that Agrippa himself would have approved of the speech.

Josephus and Agrippa corresponded about the *Jewish War*, and Agrippa not only read drafts of

the work but also signed off approvingly of its contents. He wrote sixty-two letters affirming

the accuracy of Josephus's account and two of these letters are preserved in Josephus's later

autobiographical work.[197] Thus, while Josephus's portrait of Agrippa probably errs on the side

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[194] Josephus, *B. J.* 6.442 (Thackeray, LCL).

[195] Edwards, *Surviving the Web of Roman Power*, 189-90.

[196] See Rajak, *Friends, Romans, Subjects*, 124, for a list of several other examples where Agrippa's speech conveys Josephus's own interests.

[197] Josephus, *Vita*, 365-66.

of being too positive and though Agrippa's rhetorical skills are inflated,[198] there still must have

been enough accuracy in the portrait to present a credible representation of his likeness. The

result is that Agrippa II of the *Jewish War* is a blending of the historical figure with Josephus's

literary aims.

2.3.4 Tacitus's *Agricola*

P. Cornelius Tacitus (56 CE – 120 CE) is most remembered for his *Histories* and *Annals*,

but prior to those works he composed an encomium for his father-in-law, *Agricola* (*De vita*

Iulii Agricolae).[199] Though Agricola died in 93 CE, Tacitus waited until Domitian's death before

undertaking the work because of Domitian's negative opinion of Agricola. It was published in

98 CE. The book contains information about Agricola's life and the conquest of Britannia.

Featured prominently is the battle at Mons Graupius, whose location is somewhere in

present-day Scotland.[200] In the battle, which took place in 83 CE, the Romans defeated the

Caledonians, and Agricola was praised for extending the Roman conquest further than

anyone had accomplished in Britannia. But before this defining battle, the leaders of each

army address their troops in speeches. These speeches are generally considered to be fictitious

compositions written to suit the occasion. Calgacus, an outstanding person of character and

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[198] Rajak, *Josephus*, 80-81. Thackeray, *Josephus the Man*, 44, is probably too harsh in his statements that "the writer of the slipshod letters preserved by the historian was hardly capable of such an oratorical effort."

[199] For a comparison of Tacitus's Agricola and Luke's Paul, see Lang, *Der bonus dux*, 244-76.

[200] On possible locations of Mons Graupius, see Birley, "The *Agricola*," 52.

birth, addresses the Caledonians (*Agricola* 30-32). Tacitus introduces Calgacus's speech with

the phrase *in hunc modum locutus fertur*, which translates as "he is reported to have spoken in

this way."[201] The phrasing is less matter-of-fact than the introduction to Agricola's speech: *ita*

disseruit ("he delivered these words"). The result is that the speech of Agricola has the

appearance of being more authentic than the speech of Calgacus. This, however, is merely for

rhetorical effect. Despite both speeches being inventions of Tacitus, Calgacus's speech has a

lesser "ontological stature" due, in part, to the introductory formula.[202]

Tacitus still gives Calgacus a fair treatment even though Agricola is his hero. Calgacus

is a sympathetic character; his speech expresses concern for survival, freedom, homeland, and

family.[203] It is rich in pathos. But what is most striking is Calgacus's critique of the Romans,

which adds more credibility to Tacitus's composition. Rather than sugarcoating their actions,

Calgacus refers to the Romans as arrogant and greedy brigands, who lust for power. He calls

into question the *Pax Romana* with the following statement: "Robbery, butchery, rapine, these

the liars call 'empire': they create desolation and call it peace."[204] Tacitus was actually

following an established practice of including anti-Roman sentiment; this complements

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[201] Others have translated it differently: Marincola, "Speeches in Classical Historiography," 120: "he is said to have spoken in this manner"; Hutton and Peterson, *Agricola*, 79: "he is reported to have spoken in the following strain"; and Mattingly and Rives, *Agricola and Germania*, 19: "[he] spoke... in words, we are told, like these."

[202] See Laird, *Powers of Expression*, 121-26.

[203] Even in this presentation of the opposition, Tacitus's portrayal reflects what Dionysius of Halicarnassus states about ethopoeia having a moral component (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Lys.* 19).

[204] Tacitus, *Agricola*, 30.5 (Mattingly and Rives).

Tacitus's own training that would have taught him to present both sides of an argument.[205]

Tacitus, who earlier in his career was an accomplished orator, clearly demonstrates his

rhetorical skill in this speech since it convincingly portrays what a leader in that situation

might really have said. Thus it presents the characteristics of speech-in-character effectively.

2.4 Conclusion

Of the ancient authors briefly surveyed above it should be noted that despite each

having their own approach to speechwriting, there is a general tendency to use speeches as a

platform for one's own rhetorical or literary aims while still making the speech suitable to the

speaker and the situation. Polybius, swinging the pendulum in the opposite direction, argued

that the historian's duty is to record what was actually said and should not try to thrill his

readers with his character's probable utterances.[206] Polybius endorsed a stricter view on the

historical nature of the speeches because the historical speaker's words were bound to the

causal effects of that speech, but this does not rule out some instances of appropriate or

template-driven speeches.[207] Speeches, even those of Polybius, were rhetorically shaped. What

Polybius shows us is that there is no consensus theory on speech, but that in general ancient

authors writing histories sought to present credible accounts of speeches that both met the

occasion of the speech yet also hinted at their own literary goals. This analysis puts us on

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[205] See Woodman and Kraus, *Agricola*, 237; Syme, *Tacitus*, 528-29.

[206] Polybius, *Histories*, 2.56.10 (language based on Paton, LCL). See also 3:20.1-5; 29.12.2-10; 36.1.1-7.

[207] Marincola, "Speeches in Classical Historiography," 123-25.

firmer ground when evaluating the speeches of Paul. In the following chapters we will see that

Paul's speeches all contain elements that are based in history and tradition yet the speeches

also provide Luke an opportunity to display his rhetorical artistry.

Chapter 3: Paul as Pastor in the Miletus Speech (Acts 20:18-35)

3.1 Introduction

Luke composed Paul's speech to the Ephesian elders (Acts 20:18-35) to serve as Paul's legacy as a Christian leader. The speech, which is Paul's only discourse to a Christian audience in Acts, is remarkable because the image of Paul in the speech closely resembles Paul's image in the letters. Much of the scholarly literature written on this speech investigates the question of why the portrait of Paul so closely parallels the letters. The purpose of this chapter however is to pay close attention to the creative process by which Luke constructed the particular image of Paul presented in the Miletus speech. Luke employed the rhetorical exercise of *ethopoeia* (speech-in-character or impersonation) to create a convincing and recognizable image of Paul who also serves Luke's theological and literary agendas. The Paul that Luke presents is Paul the pastor *par excellence* who gives instruction and directives to the church leadership of Ephesus.

The present chapter provides a selected history of the interpretation of 20:18-35, an analysis of the speech's audience and genre, and the pastoral image of Paul in the speech. A section devoted to the speech's use of speech-in-character will support the image of Paul found in the speech. Luke intended, I propose, to present Paul as a model elder and to disassociate him from those who were fleecing the flock in Ephesus during Luke's era.

3.2 Scholarship on the Miletus Speech

Scholars on Acts have written extensively on how the Paul of the Miletus speech resembles the Paul of letters through both thematic and linguistic parallels.[208] This raises questions regarding the nature of Luke's sources. Did he have a specific source for the speech? Was he an eyewitness? Did he draw on other sources, such as the letters or tradition about Paul, to compose the speech? Or do the speech's contents owe their origins to Luke's creative mind? One can find representatives of each of these views among the vast array of articles, monographs, and commentaries that treat this text.

On one end of the spectrum are interpreters of Acts who argue that Luke drew on an actual speech that Paul delivered in Miletus. This position tends to be coupled with the view that Luke was either unfamiliar with Paul's letters or did not make use of them. Belonging to this group of scholars are F. F. Bruce, Colin Hemer, and I. Howard Marshall, among others.[209] For Bruce, the fact that the Miletus speech is contained within a "we" section implies that the narrator (i.e., Luke) was summarizing a speech that he heard first hand.[210] To aid in its composition, he suggests that Luke possibly reconstructed the speech from shorthand notes.[211]

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[208] Beginning in 1900, H. Schulze, "Die Unterlagen" argued that the speech was dependent on 1 Thessalonians. Since then, scholars have sought to prove or disprove the dependency of the speech on Paul's epistles. Witherington, *Acts*, 610 has a helpful and concise chart that demonstrates a number of these parallels. See also the lists by Cadbury, "Speeches," 412-13 and Porter, *Paul of Acts*, 117.

[209] See, for instance, Dodd, "Apostolic Preaching," 18-19; Witherington, *Acts*, 611; Bock, *Acts*, 623.

[210] Bruce, "Real Paul," 304.

[211] See Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 377; also see his remarks in "Real Paul," 304.

So Bruce does not see Luke as the creative force behind the speech, but rather the one who heard it and reported it.[212]

Hemer also uses the terminology of reporting: "this is a report of Paul speaking on a real and emotional occasion."[213] He argues that the *we*-sections of Acts reflect Luke's eyewitness account and so, since this speech was contained in one of the *we*-sections, Luke would have been present for this speech.[214] Thus, Luke did not obtain information about the speech via some tradition, but according to Hemer he relied on his own perception of the speech and adapted it to fit his narrative. He states that the speech in its present form is only a summary of the originally delivered version: "The brief summary paragraphs we possess do not purport to reproduce more than perhaps a *précis* of the distinctive highlights. They do not read as transcripts of oral delivery and the responses of the audience to them do not relate realistically to the bald words reported."[215] Thus for Hemer, the speeches in Acts are reliable *summaries* of actual speeches (not creations), which have been stamped with Luke's fingerprint.[216]

Likewise, Marshall sees the speech as being a Pauline speech that Luke composed in his own language. He dismisses arguments that the speech is a Lukan composition, intended

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[212] Bruce argues that Paul delivered the speech and Luke reported and repeated it. Bruce, *Book of Acts*, 392.

[213] Hemer, "Ephesian Elders," 79.

[214] Hemer, *Luke the Historian*, 47.

[215] Hemer, *Book of Acts*, 418; cf. Hemer, "Ephesian Elders," 85.

[216] Hemer, *Book of Acts*, 421.

for later readers, and states that Paul would not use himself as an example in such a way

(contra Haenchen). Instead, Marshall contends that "it is hard to see why Paul should not

have spoken in Miletus, in the way described by Luke, and why Luke should not have had

some memory of the occasion, if there actually was such speech."[217]

The pendulum swings the other direction with scholars like Martin Dibelius who put

much more weight on Luke's role as the creator of the speech. Dibelius's stance on the

speech's origins are connected to his view of the *we-sections*. He argues that the *we-sections*

are derived from an itinerary source, which was "too dull to be legend, too detailed to be

fiction."[218] Luke made use of the source and modified it to match his style and vocabulary; he

also abbreviated and amplified it. One of the examples that Dibelius gives for this

amplification is the Miletus source.[219] He suggests that the speech was not originally in the

source as it was highly artistically composed, and that just because it was located within the

we-section, does not mean it had to derive from that source.[220] Rather, Luke, who was following

examples from ancient historiography, inserted the speech at the critical moment of Paul

leaving the mission field. The speech, he suggests, is not directly related to the historical

occasion but reaches beyond it: it indicates both the past and future destiny of the

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[217] Marshall, *Acts*, 329-30.

[218] Dibelius, *Studies*, 78.

[219] Dibelius, *Studies*, 79.

[220] Dibelius, *Studies*, 199.

community.[221] In other words, Luke wrote the speech to fit into the broader picture that he was painting in Acts. Henry J. Cadbury came to similar conclusions as Dibelius, emphasizing Luke as the creative author of the speech.[222]

Ernst Haenchen upholds Dibelius's analysis that the speech is a Lukan composition. He argues that the way Paul extols himself before the elders whom he had accompanied for three years is enigmatic because the elders would have known his character; however, Haenchen contends, the self-presentation makes sense when one shares Dibelius's position that the speech is actually Luke's witness about Paul. This is the image of Paul that Luke wants his readers to retain.[223] Hans Conzelmann also follows in Dibelius's footsteps and states that Luke composed the details and the speech himself, but he relied on a source for the location of Miletus as the meeting place.[224]

Several scholars emphasize the dual nature of the speech. Jacques Dupont stresses that the Miletus speech was a Lukan composition, but it also shared a number of recognizable features that were typically Pauline.[225] He disregards H. Schulze's theory that Luke used Paul's letters, but affirms the idea that one has to view the speech from two levels: one which shows

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[221] Dibelius, *Studies*, 164, 175-6.

[222] See Cadbury, "Speeches," 402-27, but especially 410 and 425.

[223] Haenchen, *Acts*, 596; He also states on 590 that "Dibelius finally proved the speech to be Luke's work and evaluated it."

[224] Conzelmann, *Acts*, 173.

[225] Dupont, *Discours de Milet*, 29.

how the speech is consistent with other expressions and ideas in Luke-Acts and the other

which highlights the ways in which the speech resembles Paul's letters.[226]

C. K. Barrett agrees that the Miletus speech demonstrates "echoes" of Paul's letters but

he rejects the idea that Luke made use of the letters themselves.[227] He also argues against the

idea that there was a source specifically linked to the Miletus region and that the speech was

not originally a part of the *we*-source. Rather, Barrett contends that it "[s]eems to be

independent of the itinerary" and thus it "was general Pauline tradition that Luke used."[228]

Although the situation surrounding the speech is open to historical objection, Barrett finds

that the portrait of Paul in the speech is consistent with the Paul of the letters: "this historical

Paul and the legendary Paul though not identical are not completely different."[229] The

significance of the passage for Barrett is how it demonstrates that Paul's work is now complete

and that Paul passes down the apostolic work to Luke and his contemporaries.[230]

Jan Lambrecht[231] contends that Luke's composition of the speech was not based on his

knowledge of Paul's letters or any other direct source for the speech, but that Luke worked

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[226] Dupont, *Discours de Milet*, 29-30.

[227] Barrett, "Paul's Address," 110.

[228] Barrett, "Paul's Address," 110; see also Barrett, *Acts*, 2:967.

[229] Barrett, "Paul's Address," 116-7. Barrett, *Acts*, 2:967 writes that 20:19 "contains a striking number of parallels with the Pauline epistles. They are not quotations; they do not prove that Luke had read the epistles…. But they do show contact with the Pauline tradition, so that this verse may be said to depict a man who could have written the letters."

[230] Barrett, "Paul's Address," 119.

[231] Lambrecht, "Paul's Farewell-Address," 307-37.

with motifs and themes in Paul's life that were common knowledge among Christians in

Luke's time.[232] Though "Luke makes Paul speak in a Pauline way,"[233] the speech also clearly

betrays its Lukan language, style and ideas.[234] Lambrecht claims that Luke strategically

structured the speech to emphasize Paul's exhortation to fellow Christians with a two-fold

purpose of warning against dangers that will threaten the Christian community after his

departure and warning about the importance of helping the weak. The speech shows "that

Luke has invested in this passage the best of his redactional and pastoral abilities."[235]

Franz Prast's monograph on the Miletus speech explores the issue of church authority

during the post-apostolic age. For him, the speech is thoroughly Lukan, and Luke does not

seem to be drawing on specific sources about Paul including the letters.[236] The image of Paul

in the speech is framed by the genre of farewell address.[237] Prast contends that Luke promotes

an authority in the church that is not based on successions of particular offices, but rather a

continuity of spiritual authority. The continuity is not about people, but the gospel they

preach.[238]

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[232] Lambrecht, "Paul's Farewell-Address," 322.

[233] Lambrecht, "Paul's Farewell-Address," 321.

[234] Lambrecht, "Paul's Farewell-Address," 325.

[235] Lambrecht, "Paul's Farewell-Address," 337.

[236] Prast, *Presbyter und Evangelium*, 32-34.

[237] Prast, *Presbyter und Evangelium*, 36-37.

[238] Prast, *Presbyter und Evangelium*, 205.

A more recent trend in scholarship has been to reconsider the question of whether Luke had access to and made use of Paul's epistles as a source for the speech. Lars Aejmelaeus argues at length that the Miletus speech was dependent on the letters of Paul.[239] He maintains that the speech reflects Lukan ideology and especially his high view of Paul. Aejmelaeus shows how the speech makes verbal and ideological parallels with Paul's letters, especially 1 Thessalonians and Ephesians, and that the cumulative effect of these parallels suggests literary dependency. After all, it was typical for historians to use sources. Any differences between the Miletus speech and the letters of Paul can be explained by either Luke's lack of sources (he might not have had access to all the letters), or a difference in Luke's and Paul's respective situations.

Steve Walton's *Leadership and Lifestyle: The Portrait of Paul in the Miletus Speech and 1 Thessalonians* is a response to scholarship on two separate fronts. On the one hand he contends with Vielhauer and Haenchen who have argued that the image of Paul in Acts is at a substantial variance with the portrait of Paul's letters, which Walton modestly claims is overstated. On the other end of the spectrum he takes issue with Aejmelaeus, who argues that Luke's composition of the speech is dependent on Paul's letters. Walton contends there is not enough persuasive evidence to demonstrate literary dependency. The heart of Walton's study compares the Miletus speech to Paul's authentic letter of 1 Thessalonians using a hierarchical approach wherein he gives the most sway to lexical parallels (including cognate words and

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[239] Aejmelaeus, *Die Rezeption.*

compound forms), followed by synonyms, conceptual parallels, and parallel styles of argumentation, each in lessening weight. He concludes that the major themes of the Miletus speech (leadership, suffering, wealth/work, death of Jesus) are also present in 1 Thessalonians. The portrait of Paul in the speech sounds like the Paul of the letters. But, he claims that Luke probably did not know the letters and therefore had access to Pauline tradition independent of them. Additionally, Luke should be given more credit for his knowledge of reliable tradition than scholars often acknowledge. Walton asserts that his view is compatible with both the position that Luke knew Paul personally, and the position that Luke had access to independent Pauline tradition. He does not decide between the two. Finally, one of the greater accomplishments of the speech is that when Luke's Paul speaks to a Christian audience as a pastor, he comes across as Paul does when he's writing as a pastor.

Paul Elbert's essay[240] on the Miletus speech review's Walton's work and offers a few criticisms particularly in the realm of Luke's use of tradition for the speech. Walton takes issue with the idea that Luke had access to the letters because Luke does not present Paul as a letter-writer and further the use of the letters is not more noticeable elsewhere in the book of Acts. Elbert argues that this "may presuppose that Luke, in his great project, should have to inflexibly function in a predetermined and unnecessarily prescribed manner and not be allowed to freely function in the expected tradition of narrative-rhetorical composition, as illustrated by Theon of Alexandria (c. 50 CE)."[241] It could be that Luke is clarifying or

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[240] Elbert, "Paul of the Miletus," 258-68.

[241] Elbert, "Paul of the Miletus," 264-65.

improving on what Paul wrote, rather than simply quoting him. Paul's discursive style that was directed to specific in-house audiences may not have been accessible to a wider audience until Luke took it, adapted it for his speech, and made it more understandable as part of a "pastoral remedy." Elbert asserts that this type of activity "lies within the pastoral province of an independently thoughtful Roman-trained intellectual functioning in Theonic tradition."[242] As an author with a "first century narrative-rhetorical perspective," Luke would have naturally sought out Paul's writings to complement his other sources and to "confirm the professed accuracy of his portrayals."[243] Elbert further argues that direct quotes in the book of Acts would be superfluous, since Luke most likely would have thought it better to make Paul speak, rather than to quote him.

In his monograph on the date of Acts, Richard Pervo argues for a second century composition of the book and bases part of his argument on Luke's use of Paul's letters. The lion's share of Pervo's analysis of Luke's use of the epistles deals with the Miletus speech. He contends that Paul's image in the speech is a familiar one; here Paul talks like the Paul of the letters. Thus, Luke knew some of Paul's letters rather than simply having some other vague tradition regarding Paul. The exact level of Luke's acquaintance with the letters cannot be known with certainty.[244]

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[242] Elbert, "Paul of the Miletus," 265.

[243] Elbert, "Paul of the Miletus," 265.

[244] Pervo, *Dating Acts,* 125, asserts that Luke probably did not have the degree of knowledge of Paul's letters that Aejmelaeus suggests since Luke was not a "walking concordance" (cf. the criticism of Aejmelaeus in Walton, *Leadership and Lifestyle,* 210).

Pervo describes Luke as wanting to "make Paul speak in the manner Paul employed when in his pastoral mode," which Luke's audience would find familiar.[245] Similarly, Luke was faced with the task of transforming the material from that directed to a broader spectrum of believers to a group comprised solely of leaders, adapting the advice to reflect a later generation, presenting Paul as the model in varied circumstances (one that conforms to the model of Jesus), being succinct, and making the speech appear genuinely Pauline.[246] Central to his thesis is the pastoral image of Paul in the speech.

> "The difference between this speech and the epistles is that in the letters Paul is *being* a pastor. Here he shows others how to embrace that charge and to fulfill the pastoral task. With regard to both the task of handing down the Pauline tradition and the content of the tradition itself, the speech belongs to a milieu that is a good half-century later than its dramatic date. Miletus also demonstrates that the author of Acts was quite conversant with 'authentic' Pauline tradition viewed through Deutero-Pauline lenses, a fact that further helps to establish the date." (115)

Pervo's defense of a literary dependency rests on two main things, which those who argue for first-hand acquaintance with Paul will have a difficult time refuting: (1) that the speech shows acquaintance with deutero-Pauline perspectives and (2) that Paul speaks as he writes.[247] Whereas Walton did not find the speech to have much in common with Ephesians and 2 Timothy, Pervo does. Also, it was Luke's familiarity with Paul's written style that gave him the ability to compose in this style.

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[245] Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 117-18, "Luke expected his audience to appreciate this similarity, to be familiar, in short, with the letters of Paul—perhaps through having heard them read in Christian assemblies."

[246] Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 123-25.

[247] Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 125-26.

3.3 Luke's Characterization of Paul in the Speech

Most interpreters of the speech in Acts 20 would agree that Luke used Pauline tradition in one shape or form, whether that is a specific tradition about the speech, general tradition about Paul, or the epistles. Similarly, most would also agree that Luke played a significant role in shaping the final form of the speech since his language shines through the speech as well. The best explanation for this is that Luke employed the rhetorical exercise of speech-in-character (ἠθοποιΐα) to construct the image of Paul the pastor. This is Luke's imagination at work. Though it has been suggested that Paul's address employs speech-in-character,[248] the topic has not been pursued in depth. In this chapter I argue that speech-in-character operates on two fronts for Luke. First, he uses knowledge about Paul to create an image that is familiar and credible. Second, he characterizes Paul in the speech based on conventions common to speech-in-character, paying attention to such things as Paul's audience, the type of speech, as well as his age, disposition, and social status. Paul's status as a pastor will prove to be central to Luke's characterization of him in the speech.

3.3.1 Luke's "Familiar" Paul

Luke creates a familiar and credible image of Paul by drawing on information about Paul from his sources. This relates to what Theon states regarding the necessity of knowing

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[248] See Johnson, *Acts,* 367 and Watson, "Paul's Speech," 190, 192.

the speaker's personality (τὸ πρόσωπον).[249] Aphthonius adds a relevant comment about the invention of a character: "what words would Heracles say when Eurystheus gave his commands. Here Heracles is known, but we invent (πλαττόμεθα) the character in which he speaks."[250] When creating the speech for a person, having information about the person is most helpful. Thus, this image of Paul draws on his language, style, and theology, which Luke's audience would recognize. For instance, Paul had the practice of including his audience as fellow observers of his manner of living. In 1 Thessalonians Paul writes: "You know what kind of persons we proved to be among you for your sake" (1 Thess 1:5c), and "You yourselves know, brothers and sisters, that our coming to you was not in vain" (1 Thess 2:1).[251] Luke intersperses the speech with language that reflects this sentiment. He refers to Paul's previous activity in the region, he appeals to the audience's knowledge of Paul's activity, and he mentions shared experiences between Paul and the audience. Phrases such as "You yourselves know how I lived among you" (20:18), "among whom I have gone about proclaiming the kingdom" (20:25),

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[249] Theon, *Prog.,* 115.23-24 (for the translation of τό πρόσωπον as "personality" see Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 47).

[250] Aphthonius, *Prog*., 11.5-8.

[251] There is a difference in the choice of the verb *know* between the parallels in Acts and 1 Thessalonians. In 20:17 Luke uses ἐπίστασθε and in 20:34 he uses γινώσκετε; the examples listed in 1 Thess 1:5c and 2:1 are οἴδατε. Walton, *Leadership and Lifestyle*, 157-8, cites nine occurrences of similar language in the letter which all use the verb οἶδα (1 Thess 2:1; 3:3; 4:2; 5:2; 1:5; 2:2; 2:5; 3:4; 2:11). In Acts 20, Luke uses other words for *know* in the speech not because it is itself Pauline (Paul never uses ἐπίστασθε), but because it is a common Lukanism in the speeches (see 10:28; 15:7; 19:25). Thus it is a Pauline strategy that is rewritten to suit Luke's authorial style. Nevertheless, the definitions of the ἐπίστασθε, γινώσκετε, and οἴδατε carry very little distinction in these phrases. See L&N, 335-5 (§§28.1.3), who defines the three knowing verbs as "to possess information about" with ἐπίσταμαι having the "implication of an understanding of the significance of such information."

and, "You know for yourselves that I worked with my own hands" (20:34), connect Paul with his audience in a way that sounds like the Paul of the letters.

Paul stressed the importance of self-sufficiency and hard work. In 1 Thessalonians 4:11-12, he exhorts the church in Thessalonica to work with their hands so that they might not be dependent on anybody else. This concept is also supported by statements about the apostles laboring and working with their own hands in 1 Corinthians (4:12) and the advice in Ephesians to encourage a thief not to steal but to labor and work with their own hands and even provide for others in need (4:28). Furthermore, in 1 Corinthians Paul asserts that as an apostle he has the right to receive financial aid from the Corinthians, although he thought it better not to accept their money (9:3-16). We find similar language and themes in the Miletus speech where Paul states that he did not covet anyone's money or apparel, that he worked with his hands to provide for himself and his companions, and was an example of hard work (20:33-35).

Luke also drew on words that would have been associated with Paul. For instance, the verb νουθετέω (to warn) in 20:31 is a *hapax legomenon* in Luke-Acts, but is used by Paul several times.[252] Likewise the verb φείδομαι (to spare) in 20:29 is found elsewhere only in Romans, the Corinthian correspondence, and 2 Peter.[253] To a lesser extent, this also applies to the word ταπεινοφροσύνη (humility) in 20:19, which is a *hapax* in Luke-Acts, but is used by Paul in Philippians and is present in other deutero-Pauline texts.[254] While it is important not to make

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[252] Rom 15:14; 1 Cor 4:14; Col 1:28; 3:16; 1 Thess 5:12, 14; 2 Thess 3:15.

[253] Rom 8:32; 11:21; 1 Cor 7:28; 2 Cor 1:23; 12:6; 13:2; 2 Pet 2:4, 5.

[254] Phil 2:3; Eph 4:2; Col 2:18, 23; 3:12; cf. 1 Pet 5:5.

too much out of lexical parallels, the current examples are consistent with the view that Luke used particular words to color his speech with more of a Pauline flair.

An important aspect of Luke's characterization of Paul in the speech can be seen in the way that he draws on Pauline theology or theological terms. The soteriological significance of Jesus's blood gives us insight into Luke's creative process. Paul encourages the elders "to shepherd the church of God[255] which he obtained with his own blood." (20:28)[256] Outside of this passage, Luke shows little interest in the use of blood in a soteriological sense,[257] but here he includes it as an important component of his image of Paul. Therefore, Luke captures Paul's language, even if it is not ultimately what interests him. Hans Conzelmann says that it gives the speech "a Pauline Stamp."[258] Eric Franklin states it is "an accommodation to Paul's beliefs rather than an expression of [Luke's] own theology."[259] It certainly does have a Pauline ring to it as Rom 3:25 and 5:9 demonstrate similar thinking. Thus, Luke's construction of Paul's character consists of being faithful to Paul's thoughts, which at times may not be Luke's own interests. This does not mean that they contradict Luke's interests, but rather that they add to the credibility of Luke's portrayal of Paul.

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[255] Some significant manuscripts such as $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$ A C* D E instead report that it is the "church of the Lord" (ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου), which is a phrase common in the LXX. The reading "church of God" (ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ) adopted by NA[28] is supported by ℵ B vg sy et al. See Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 425-27.

[256] Or alternatively "the blood of his own *son*." On the difference in translations and the textual variants, see Barrett, *Acts*, 2:976-77 and Walton, *Leadership and Lifestyle*, 94-98.

[257] Cf. Luke 22:20.

[258] Conzelmann, *Theology*, 201. See also 230 n. 1.

[259] Franklin, *Christ the Lord*, 66. C. F. D. Moule, "Christology," 171, states that "the situation, like the theology, is precisely that of a Pauline epistle, not of preliminary evangelism."

The theological terms in 20:24 have proved to be interesting in terms of the composition of the speech. The phrase "testify to the good news of God's grace" (or "the gospel of the grace of God"[260]) indicates that Luke drew on some Pauline source, whether or not that was the letters.[261] Haenchen states that here Luke wanted "to let a specifically Pauline catchword ring out."[262] Barrett suggests that it is curiously both Pauline and unpauline.[263] Witherington simply calls it "typically Pauline."[264] Pervo refers to the phrase as an example of "Lucanizing Paulinism."[265] The issue is that the Paul of the letters never used the exact phrase *gospel of the grace of God.* Though the separate terms are definitely Pauline, the exact phrase never occurs in Paul's letters or elsewhere in Luke-Acts or the New Testament.[266] Walton contends that it may have its origins in 1 Thessalonians,[267] but more likely is its relationship to Eph 3:2, 6-7.[268] By using these keywords, Luke created a caricature of Paul, or perhaps an image

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[260] As translated in the KJV, RSV, NASB, and ESV.

[261] Holladay, *Acts*, 398, calls it "an unusual expression" that "captures the bifocal dimension of Paul's preaching witness: the welcome, refreshing news of God's initiative in extending grace to humanity."

[262] Haenchen, *Acts*, 592. See also Plümacher, *Lukas*, 67.

[263] Barrett, "Paul's Address," 112.

[264] Witherington, *Acts*, 621. He also, on 622 n. 246, pushes back against Barrett's assessment that the phrase is "superficially Pauline." Witherington states that Paul's speech is not to be taken as a "full exposition of the Pauline message" and that because the phrase does not occur in the letters "does not make it un-Pauline in substance."

[265] Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 120.

[266] Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 120-21 looks at possible parallels of the phrase in early Christian literature.

[267] Walton, *Leadership and Lifestyle*, 177-78.

[268] Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 120-21; Pervo, *Acts*, 522.

of him that is (as Pervo states) "Ultra Pauline."[269] Though Luke's attempt at conforming his

Paul to the Paul we know from the letters may only been superficially successful here,[270] the

intent to make it sound like the traditional Paul is clear.

3.3.2 The Audience: The Ephesian Elders

Theon's discussion of prosopopoeia states that in addition to knowing the speaker's

personality (see above), it is necessary to know also the speech's audience, the occasion,

subject matter, as well as aspects about the speaker such as their age, state of mind, and social

status.[271] Thus in the sections that follow, the topics of the speech's audience and genre

(subject matter), as well as Paul's age, state of mind, and social status will be treated.

The narrative audience of the speech helps identify both the portrait of Paul and sets

the stage for the content of the message. In 20:17, we learn that the audience comprises the

elders of the church (τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας) in Ephesus, yet a few issues related to

this audience must be addressed: (1) What is the relationship between Paul and these elders?

(2) Why does Paul address the elders in Miletus and not Ephesus? (3) Why does Paul's only

address before a Christian audience consist of a group of elders and not general body of

believers like his epistles generally do?

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[269] Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 120.

[270] Barrett, "Paul's Address," 112, states that Luke's phrasing here used words that are "superficially Pauline, but improbably represent words that Paul actually used."

[271] Theon, *Prog*., 115.23—116.21.

In Acts 14:23, Luke identifies the role that Paul (and Barnabas) played in establishing church leadership.[272] There it indicates that the apostles appointed elders in the churches that they founded in Lycaonia and Pisidia. In the phrase χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς κατ᾽ ἐκκλησίαν πρεσβυτέρος, the preposition κατά functions distributively, which suggests that they appointed elders in *each* church that they established.[273] Although Luke does not explicitly state that Paul appointed elders in Ephesus, Paul's practice of installing elders was already established in the narrative and so it makes sense to consider that the elders mentioned in 20:17 were installed by Paul during his three-year stay in Ephesus.[274]

Both the speech and the surrounding narrative suggest that Paul shared an intimate relationship with these elders. Paul included his audience as fellow observers of his manner of living. Thus, he intersperses the speech with references to his previous activity in the region, appeals to their knowledge of his activity, and makes mention of shared experiences. The phrase ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ("You yourselves know") in 20:18 is emphatic in order to highlight the speech's *ethos*. A similar statement is made in 20:34: αὐτοὶ γινώσκετε ("you yourselves know"). Then in 20:25, Paul also includes them in his personal history with them when he states that he has gone out proclaiming the kingdom among them (ἐν οἷς διῆλθον κηρύσσων τὴν βασιλείαν). Since Paul is able to establish that his audience is aware of his actions, it adds to the credibility

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[272] The issue of whether the use of πρεσβύτεροι is anachronistic is irrelevant to our current study. For discussion of that consult Pervo, *Acts*, 362 and Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 535.

[273] See Bock, *Acts*, 482; cf. Parsons and Culy, *Handbook*, 283.

[274] As does Kurz, *Farewell Addresses*, 36.

of the speech (*ethos*), but it also creates *pathos* since, as Pervo puts it, it forms a bond that

binds the communicator to the audience.[275] They were not only familiar with Paul, but also

knew his actions and behavior. Lastly Luke informs the readers that Paul's stay in Ephesus

lasted three years (20:31), which is an ample amount of time for Paul to foster strong

relationships with the Ephesian elders. After the completion of the speech, the narrator

includes what Johnson describes as "an unusual amount of emotional outpouring"[276] as a

result of the elders' relationship to Paul and their response to his departure. Their weeping,

embracing, kissing and sorrowfulness toward Paul solidify the strong relationship that Luke is

trying to convey between the speaker and the audience.

It is easy to see why Luke might designate the audience as elders from Ephesus, but

there is a bit of controversy as to why Luke did not locate the speech in that city. The city of

Ephesus is perhaps the most important of Paul's missionary destinations. According to 20:31,

Paul resided in that city for three years, which is the longest he stayed in any one city. Luke

dedicates more narrative space to this city than any other mission location and the effects of

Paul's mission in this city are of a colossal scale.[277] In fact, Luke's interest in Ephesus has led

scholars to argue that Luke himself may have hailed from the city.[278] Thus, the fact that Paul

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[275] Pervo, *Acts*, 519.

[276] Johnson, *Acts*, 366.

[277] For instance, Paul's mission there resulted in "all the residents of Asian heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks" (19:10; see also 19:20). The whole narrative of Acts 19 which concludes with a city-wide riot shows that Luke wants his readers to understand the extent of the Gospel's influence on the city.

[278] Pervo, *Acts*, 5, argues that the geographical perspective and focus of the implied author is Ephesus.

addresses elders from Ephesus, and not for instance Philippi, makes sense for Luke's narrative purposes.[279] Who better to benefit from Paul's departure speech than the leaders from a town that continues to play a major role in the development of early Christianity into Luke's era? Though it makes perfect sense why Paul would entrust such an important speech to the elders *of* Ephesus, it is less clear why he did not address them *in* Ephesus.[280] Luke informs us that Paul landed in Miletus because he "had decided (κεκρίκει) to sail past Ephesus so that he might not have to spend time in Asia, because he was in a hurry to be at Jerusalem, if possible, on the day of Pentecost" (20:16). The rare use of the pluperfect tense (κεκρίκει) indicates a thought-out decision to skip Ephesus, rather than an impulse.[281] According to the narrative, the reason for bypassing Ephesus and landing in the near-by city of Miletus was due to haste—had Paul landed in Ephesus he certainly would have been caught up with more work than he had time for.[282] On the other hand, Conzelmann argues that this reason for landing in Miletus is "strange," because it would have taken considerable time (5 days) for the elders from Ephesus to reach Miletus and because Samos would have functioned as a better meeting

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[279] The epistles of Paul might lead one in a different direction. Whereas the letter to the Ephesians lacks personal details and strong affection, these qualities are certainly present in the letter to the Philippians.

[280] See the discussion of the speech's location in Trebilco, *Early Christians in Ephesus*, 172-76.

[281] Johnson, *Acts*, 356; Bock, *Acts*, 621. Contra Horsley, "Inscriptions," 135, who states that Paul would have had no control over the ship's destinations as simple passengers and not charterers.

[282] See, for instance Barrett, *Acts*, 2:959; Lambrecht, "Paul's Farewell-Address," 331.

place.[283] Would a ship have docked a week in Miletus, a less important port than Ephesus?[284]

Perhaps the reason of danger also played a role because Paul's last visit to Ephesus did not end

so well. This is the view put forward by Conzelmann who states, "It is clear that Paul could no

longer enter Ephesus, but Luke cannot say this."[285] Likewise, Witherington suggests that Paul

bypassed Ephesus on account of the ongoing danger.[286] There was also speculation that Paul

did not stay in Ephesus because of excess silt in the harbor.[287] Still, others theorize that Luke

locates the speech in the city because of a source that connects the city with a speech of Paul.

Barrett, for instance, states that Luke may have had a tradition that Paul addressed a local

church at Miletus and so the circumstance of Paul speaking in Miletus is historical, but the

audience of elders may not be.[288] Or, perhaps Luke did not have a source that connected a

speech to Miletus, but he drew on local Ephesian tradition that had a Paul who never returned

to Ephesus.[289] Given the specificity of the location combined with how impractical the

location seems, it makes more sense that the location is derived from tradition. Nevertheless,

Luke saw it fit to locate the speech here and not in Ephesus. He does not describe the setting,

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[283] Conzelmann, *Acts*, 171. Others suggest different timeframes: Haenchen, *Acts,* 590, suggests longer than the two days that a messenger would take; Dupont, *Discours de Milet*, 27, estimates three days; Hemer, *Book of Acts*, 125, "two or three days."

[284] Barrett, "Paul's Address," 108-9.

[285] Conzelmann, *Acts*, 171.

[286] Witherington, *Acts*, 600.

[287] Horsley, "Inscriptions," 135.

[288] Barrett, "Paul's Address," 109.

[289] Pervo, *Acts*, 514-15.

whether outside or inside etc., but this vagueness actually works in favor of his narrative (more on that below).

Another significant aspect of the speech's audience is that Luke makes mention only of the elders, and not a general Christian body. Typically the Paul we know from the letters addressed whole churches and not simply groups of Christian leaders.[290] The distinction is an important one because the audience is inextricably linked with the type of message Paul delivers. Rather than the typical paraenesis or corrective statements that Paul delivers to churches via letters, here he is entrusting the leaders, his successors in Asia, with his ministry. Luke also chooses not to elaborate on the leadership structure of the Ephesian churches nor mention how many elders are present for Paul's address. Thus, like the location, specific details about the audience of the speech also remain vague. Pervo correctly acknowledges that this vagueness was "probably intentional and certainly effective, for it allows these words to soar above and beyond space and time, reaching out to believers of every generation.... Luke says more by saying less."[291] The speech's audience and location contribute to Paul's image in the passage by showing the significance of Paul's role in Asian Christianity because the church elders travel from Ephesus to Miletus (abandoning their posts, so to speak) to receive instruction and directives from Paul, the example Christian leader.

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[290] The letter to Philemon and the Pastoral Epistles are all addressed to individual Christian leaders, rather than a group.

[291] Pervo, *Acts*, 515.

3.3.3 The Genre: Farewell Address

The Miletus speech is one of the more notable examples of a farewell address (Abschiedsrede) in the New Testament.[292] Farewell addresses are common in ancient Jewish literature and share similar features with the literary genre of "testament" that was prevalent during the Second Temple period.[293] Numerous examples of farewell addresses exist in the Hebrew Bible,[294] the apocrypha,[295] and pseudepigrapha.[296] These farewell addresses typically begin with a reference to the speaker's (imminent) death and the summoning of their heirs or successors. Although the content of farewell discourses differ, the speakers often relate some of the following common elements: they give directives to their successors, give moral exhortation, bless their successors, oversee the transfer of authority figures, relate details about their past, refer to the "deeds of the fathers" as models, warn about the future, and prophesy about the end.[297] Thomas C. Alexander makes a strong case for the use of Greco-

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[292] See Munck, "Discours d'adieu," 155-70; Schürmann, "Das Testament," 310-40; Dupont, *Discours de Milet*, 11-21; Michel, *Die Abschiedsrede*; Plümacher, *Lukas*, 48-50; Barrett, "Paul's Address," 107-121; Prast, *Presbyter und Evangelium*, 36-41; Alexander, "Paul's Final Exhortation," 135-6; Kurz, *Farewell Addresses*, 33-51, Watson, "Paul's Speech," 185; Aejmelaeus, *Die Rezeption*, 79-83; Barrett, *Acts*, 2:963-4; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 674; Walton, *Leadership and Lifestyle*, 55-65; Nielsen, *Until it is Fulfilled*, 140-202; MacDonald, "Paul's Farewell," 189-203; Pervo, *Acts*, 517.

[293] On the "testament" genre and its limits see Kolenkow, "Testaments," 259-67; Collins, "Testaments," 325-55, Hollander, "Testamentenliteratur," 176-77 and "Testamentary Literary" 568; and Kugler, "Testaments," 1295-1297.

[294] For example, Jacob (Gen 49.1-50), Moses (Deut 33), Joshua (Josh 23-24), Samuel (1 Sam 12:1-25); David (1 Chron 28:1—29:20).

[295] For example, Mattathias (1 Macc 2:49-70) and Tobit (Tob 14:1-11).

[296] For example, T. 12 Patr., T. Job, and T. Mos.

[297] See Munck, "Discours d'adieu," 159; Michel, *Die Abschiedsrede*, 48-54; Kurz, *Farewell Addresses*, 32.

Roman "leave-taking" scenes as relevant background material in addition to Jewish farewell

discourses.[298] Alexander surveys numerous works of Greco-Roman history, biography, and

philosophical literature[299] and distills the typical features of Greco-Roman farewell addresses:

imminence of separation, permanence of separation, prior indication of death, presence of

intimate acquaintances, summoning of acquaintances by the speaker, self-references, concern

for future problems of acquaintances, instructions regulating future conduct, reminder of

former teaching, consequences of keeping or neglecting the speaker's instructions, oath,

concern for succession, words of consolation, conduct in relation to the deity, philosophical

discussion, burial instructions, specific final words, appeal to the deity through sacrifice

and/or prayer, grief of survivors, parting gestures, and death of the speaker.[300] According to

Alexander, Paul's Miletus speech embodies a number of these characteristics and has

affinities with scenes in Greco-Roman literature that show the speaker departing by ship,

rather than last words before the speaker's death.

The speech exhibits the following characteristics that are common among farewell

discourses. Paul sends for and gathers the group of elders who represent the succession of the

movement into a post-Pauline period (20:17). He refers to his past conduct (20:18-21, 31, 33-35)

and innocence (26-27). He presents himself as a model to follow (20:34-35). He exhorts the

[298] Alexander, "Paul's Final Exhortation," 74-138.

[299] History: Herodotus, Sallust, Tacitus, Herodian, Ammianus Marcellinus. Biography: Xenophon, *Cyr.*; Tacitus, *Agricola*; Plutarch, *Vit. par.* Philosophical literature: Plato, *Phaed.*; Xenophon, *Mem.*, Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 30; Diogenes Laertius, *Vit. phil.*

[300] Alexander, "Paul's Final Exhortation," 109-114.

elders, passes down specific Jesus tradition (20:28, 35), and warns them regarding future

destructive teachers (20:29-30). Finally, Paul refers to his permanent departure and destiny

(22-25), which is followed by a negative emotional response from his audience (37-38).

In order to better understand Luke's presentation of Paul in the speech, it is important

to evaluate the types of figures that are featured in farewell addresses. In the farewell

discourses referred to above, the speakers are generally fathers (or patriarchs), religious

leaders, political leaders, or philosophers. People who deliver farewell addresses have the

social status of authority positions. This is also the case for Paul and will play a role in how we

identify Paul's status below. Farewell addresses are often concerned with the preservation of

tradition and the genre tends to have a conservative aspect to it.[301] This may also play a role in

the reason why Luke's Paul in the speech does not stray far from the image we find in the

letters.

3.3.4 Paul's Age

Central to Luke's ability to construct an appropriate speech for the context includes

his capacity to describe how a speaker in a particular life-setting would talk. Thus, following

Theon's lead, we will now look at how Luke depicts Paul's age, state of mind, and social status

within the speech. Luke does not explicitly state Paul's age in the latter half of Acts. We are

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[301] Kurz, *Farewell Addresses*, 50, writes that the genre "is especially concerned with maintaining community tradition and the authority to preserve that tradition for later generations. The very genre has a conservative aspect to it. It is not primarily concerned with progressive unfolding of the tradition nor with adapting it to changing circumstances."

told that Paul was a νεανίας at the time of Stephen's martyrdom, a young man between the

ages of 24 and 40.[302] Yet a long time progresses in the narrative between this event and the

Miletus speech, and thus we are left in the dark regarding Paul's age. Though Luke never

makes this explicit,[303] there are components in the speech that suggest that this is an older

Paul who speaks. The farewell discourse genre typically features an older person facing death,

who gives their successors (or offspring) directives to take following their departure.[304] Paul

informs the elders that they will not see his face again, which is a reference to the imminent

end of his life. He lists among his aspirations the idea of completing his course (δρόμος) and

ministry.[305] Though the speech contains warning and premonitions about the future, its main

focus is on the past, which is consistent with Aristotle's notion that those who are past their

prime "live in memory rather than in hope; for the life that remains to them is short, but that

which is past is long."[306] According to Theon both experience and knowledge are indicators of

age, and in the speech Paul speaks as one who possesses both.[307] He speaks with authority; he

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[302] BDAG, 667.

[303] Paul himself, in Philemon 9, refers to himself as a πρεσβύτης (old man), roughly the age of 50-56 (BDAG, 863).

[304] In the HB tradition Jacob and Moses are strong examples of this (see Kurz, *Farewell Addresses*, 16-32) and in the Greco-Roman tradition Socrates and Cyrus are good examples. For instance, Xenophon describes Cyrus as "a very old man" whose life was "far spent" (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 3.7.1). (For a survey of farewell addresses in Jewish and Greco-Roman traditions and their relationship to the Miletus speech, see Alexander, "Paul's Final Exhortation," 63-147.) See also Malherbe, "Paulus Senex," 198.

[305] Similar language is used by the Pastor in 2 Tim 4:7 to describe his activity at the end of his life.

[306] Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.13.12 (Freese, LCL).

[307] Theon's characterization of old age is certainly more positive than Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.13.1-16, which compares old age with the more-balanced prime of life.

takes on the role of exhorting the elders to oversee and care for the church. He reiterates that

he has not held back from sharing with them anything that is profitable, nor did he shrink

from declaring to them "the whole purpose (βουλή) of God" (20:27). He passes down the

tradition of his own teaching, his behavior, and has the insight to warn the elders of future

detractors of the faith. He entrusts them with specific Jesus tradition: "It is more blessed to

give than to receive" (20:35). Though Luke might not be overtly interested in establishing

Paul's age, he does establish Paul's image as one who speaks as a πρεσβύτης having experience

and age. This does not mean that Luke presents him as frail or pessimistic about his future,

but rather Paul accepts his fate gracefully.

3.3.5 Paul's State of Mind or Disposition

Theon also suggests considering the state of mind, or the disposition (διάθεσις) of the

speaker.[308] He states, as an example, that one who is in love will have a different disposition

from one who is temperate. Similarly Hermogenes states that one who rejoices will have a

different speech from one who grieves.[309] An important aspect of ethopoeia for both

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[308] Theon, *Prog.*, 116.4: "And by state of mind for a lover and a temperate man" κατὰ δὲ διάθεσιν ἐρῶντι καὶ σωφρονοῦντι).

[309] ἄλλος δὲ γεγηθότος, ἄλλς ἀνιωμένου. Hermogenes, *Prog.*, 9.5.3-4.

Hermogenes and Aphthonius is whether the speech is ethical (ἠθιϰαί, emphasizing character),

pathetical (παθητιϰαί, emphasizing emotion), or mixed (μιϰταί).[310] According to Hermogenes:

> "Ethical are those in which the characterization of the speaker is dominant
> throughout; for example, what a farmer would say when first seeing a ship; pathetical
> are those in which there is emotion throughout; for example, what Andromache
> would say over the dead Hector; mixed are those which have a combination of ethos
> and pathos; for example, what Achilles would say over the dead Patroclus; for there
> would be pathos because of the slaughter of Patroclus and ethos in Achilles' plans for
> the war."[311]

Paul's speech fits within the third category since it prominently features both ethical

and pathetical concerns. In terms of ἠθιϰαί, one can point to Paul's examples of humility

(ταπεινοφροσύνη), selfless attitude toward his own life, his attitude toward possessions,

temperance in the face of uncertainty, and his work ethic. Throughout the speech Luke goes

to great lengths to describe Paul's character as a model of excellence not only to the

immediate audience, but to Luke's larger audience as well. The strong presence of pathos in

the speech has already been highlighted by Pervo, who calls it "a miniature masterpiece of

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[310] Hermogenes, *Prog.*, 9.6.1-9; Aphthonius, *Prog.*, 11.2.1-10; this is an important aspect of ethopoeia as seen in the ancient romance genre because of the strong emotional component of many romance characters (see Hock, "Rhetoric of Romance," 455-59).

[311] Hermogenes, *Prog*., 9.6.1-9. Similarly Aphthonius, *Prog*., 11.2.1-10, writes: "Pathetical are those showing emotion in everything; for example, what words Hecuba might say when Troy was destroyed. Ethical are those that only introduce character; for example, what words a man from inland might say on first seeing the sea. Mixed are those having both character and pathos; for example, what words Achilles might say over the body of Patroclus when planning to continue war; for the plan shows character, the fallen friend shows pathos." In the fifth century, Nicolaus the Sophist, *Prog*. 64, writes, "For example, if we speak on the theme, 'What words a coward would say when going to battle,' we shall give attention to the character generally belonging to cowards; but if we speak on, perhaps, 'What words Agamemnon would say after taking Ilium,' or Andromache when Hector fell, the emotions of the situation will give a supply of things to say."

pathos."[312] Here we can point to Luke's repeated use of the word *tears*, Paul's struggles, his uncertain future, and his probable demise.[313]

3.3.6 Paul's Social Status: The Pastor

More important than Paul's age or state of mind is the issue of his social status, which functions here differently than in the other sections of Acts. In terms of the larger narrative of Acts, John C. Lentz argues that Luke presents Paul as having a high social standing as a citizen of Tarsus, a Roman citizen and Pharisee. This social status is made evident by his strong social credentials (wealth, noble birth, and education) and his possession of the cardinal virtues.[314] This characterization of Paul is more evident in narrative and discourse where Paul deals with inquiring outsiders and the governing authorities, but Luke did not find it necessary to highlight these aspects of Paul's social status in the Miletus speech. Rather, Luke presents Paul as having a status within the Christian community that is fitting to his Christian audience. Thus, he is Paul the pastor *par excellence*. He holds a position of authority, which we expect as someone who is delivering a farewell address. His authority, however, comes not from wealth,

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[312] See Pervo, *Profit*, 67-69; quotation from 67.

[313] For more on the emotional language of the farewell scene see Lee, *Luke-Acts and 'Tragic History'*, 246-52.

[314] Lentz, *Luke's Portrait of Paul*. Lentz does not address the Miletus speech since it does not offer anything substantial to his analysis. Still, one can easily point to places in the speech that connect Paul with the traditional set of virtues: he possesses φρόνησις (wisdom or prudence) while warning the elders about the future of the church; he possesses ἀνδρεία (courage or endurance) when he willingly accepts his own uncertain fate; he possesses δικαιοσύνη (justice or righteousness) when he speaks of finishing the course and ministry that he received from the Lord Jesus; he possesses σωφροσύνη (soundness of mind or self-control) in that he keeps his composure while offering sound advice despite the overtly emotional atmosphere of his departure.

nor noble birth, nor citizenship, but rather his position before God. Luke characterizes him as

God's agent, one who shares religious tradition and receives testimony from the Holy Spirit.

His status in the speech is judged on the basis of his obedience to God's authority, which is

why the speech emphasizes his humble service to God and his being bound to the Spirit. The

virtues that Luke bestows on him, for example ταπεινοφροσύνη, are consistent with his pastoral

discourse. When Theon brought up the issue of status, he juxtaposed the status of a free man

with that of a slave. Luke's presentation of Paul shows that though he enjoys a certain

authority over the elders, he utilizes the language of being a slave in 20:19 (δουλεύων τῷ κυρίῳ

μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης). Therefore, Luke's view of social status within the Christian

community does not follow the same rules as it does outside of it. Paul does not address the

Christian elders as Paul the Roman citizen, but as Paul the humble pastor. Luke is careful to

change his status in response to the change in the social context. The speech emphasizes

Paul's pastoral care by the references to his model lifestyle and view toward money, his

concern for the church's future, his course and service, and his use of the shepherd-flock

motif.[315]

Before addressing the various components of Paul's role as a pastor, first it is necessary

to evaluate the terminology of *pastor* and to briefly look at Paul's style of pastoral care in the

speech. One might question whether it is correct to argue that the prevailing image of Paul in

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[315] On the "pastoral" concerns in Paul's letters see Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians*; Best, *Paul and His Converts*; Barton, "Paul as Missionary and Pastor," 34-48; Thompson, "Paul as Missionary Pastor," 25-36; as well as the dated work by Chadwick, *Pastoral Teaching*, which even has a chapter devoted to the Miletus speech, 195-220. On a more recent work that explores this speech in the context of pastoral theology, see Tidball, *Ministry*, 103-4.

the speech is that of a pastor, especially since Paul never uses the term for himself in the letters and Luke never explicitly refers to him as such.[316] The term might also come across as anachronistic since modern connotations of a "pastor" differ from the way Luke presents Paul here. However, the author of Ephesians does use the term *pastor* (ποιμήν) in Eph 4:11 for a specific office in the church. There, the office or role of the pastor is closely associated with that of the teacher.[317] The imagery of pastors/shepherds in biblical traditions signify guidance, oversight, care, and protection.[318] Luke even uses the same imagery in this speech; the church is referred to as a flock (ποίμνιον) and the verb ποιμαίνω ("to herd, tend") is used with reference to the elders. Though the term *pastor* might not have been central to Luke's vocabulary, it effectively describes the role that Paul plays in the speech, since it emphasizes his concern for the church, its future, and its leadership.[319]

Paul's style of pastoral care might best be understood by using the term *psychagogy*, which includes such things as spiritual exercises, psychotherapy, and psychological and

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[316] Best, *Paul and His Converts*, 22.

[317] In the list of offices outlined in Eph 4:11, the grammar of the final two offices (τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους) suggests that the two offices are connected. Barth, *Ephesians*, 2:438-39, sees pastors and teachers as a singular office and translates the phrase "teaching shepherds." Best, *Ephesians*, 392-93, argues that if there is a distinction between the two groups, that it is not a rigid one and that the two groups represent distinct roles that could be carried out by the same person. He also opts for translating ποιμήνες as *shepherds* rather than *pastors* because it retains the imagery and avoids the modern overtones associated with the word *pastor*. Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 250, notes that the two roles had overlapping functions.

[318] See 1 Sam 17:34; Ps 23:1; Jer 23:2; Ezek 34:11; Zech 11:16; CD 13:7-11; John 10:11-18; 21:16; Heb 13:20; 1 Pet 2:25; 5:1-4; Ignatius *Rom* 9.1; *Phil* 2.1.

[319] An alternative to simply *pastor* is Thompson, "Paul as Missionary Pastor," 27-28, who suggests that the term "missionary pastor" better describes Paul's role in the letters since he is not only interested in making converts but also ensures "that they complete the journey toward transformation into the image of Christ" (36).

pastoral counseling.[320] Abraham Malherbe demonstrates that Greco-Roman moral

philosophers had an extensive system of psychagogy (pastoral care) which Paul adopted and

adapted for his own purposes in the letters.[321] Many of the Greco-Roman techniques of

psychagogy that Malherbe claims Paul uses in the letters are also found in this speech, such as

Paul using himself as a model, his education of character through speech, his use of

paraenesis, and his concern for the community's preservation. Although the Miletus speech

does not have all of the same concerns as Paul's letters, Malherbe's approach to looking at

Paul's pastoral role in the letters via psychagogy may provide insight into our analysis of Paul

the pastor in Acts 20. Malherbe highlights a few examples of Paul's psychagogy in the speech,

such as his claim that he did not shrink from declaring what was profitable, his public and

private teaching, his individual attention, his description of rival teachers as fierce wolves, his

style of paraenesis, and his views regarding money and work ethics.[322]

3.3.6.1 The Model Elder

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[320] Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians,* 81. See also Malherbe, *Letters to the Thessalonians*, 323-27; and Malherbe, "New Testament, Traditions," 787, where he gives an alternative definition of psychagogy as "aimed, through character education, at the attainment of virtue and happiness, an achievement of which one could justly be proud."

[321] Malherbe, "Paul: Hellenistic Philosopher or Christian Pastor," 3-13.

[322] Malherbe, *Paul and the Popular Philosophers*, 152-54. See also Cukrowski, "Pagan Polemic,"249-50.

A significant component of Luke's portrayal of Paul in the Miletus speech is that of a model elder.[323] In 20:18-21 and 20:26-27, Paul defends his previous actions before the Ephesian elders. He reminds them of his manner of living in Ephesus, how he served with humility, endured trials at the hand of Jews, proclaimed to them what was profitable, taught in public and private, testified to both Jews and Greeks, and held back nothing from them. This testimony not only functions as an apology for Paul's manner of living, but it helps identify the type of activity a Christian leader should follow. Paul's reference to his own activity as exemplary is made even more explicit in 20:31-35. The NRSV translates πάντα ὑπέδειξα ὑμῖν (20:35) as "in all this I have given you an example."[324] The verb ὑποδείκνυμι could simply mean *to indicate, tell* (e.g., Tob 1:19; 4:2; Luke 12:5; Acts 9:16), but it also can convey the idea of *drawing a pattern* as it is used here (and Luke 3:7; 6:47).[325] The author of the Fourth Gospel uses the noun ὑποδείκνυμι (example) for Jesus's example at the farewell scene.[326] Here, Luke's Paul connects with Paul of the letters who repeatedly referred to himself as an exemplar for his readers (1 Cor 4:16-17; 11:1; Phil 3:17; 1 Thess 2:9; 2 Thess 3:7, 9).

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[323] Bartlett, *Ministry*, 132; Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 509; Adams, "Suffering of Paul," 135-138, compares Paul's example of endurance in the passage with two other similar references: Acts 14:22 and 15:26.

[324] Here πάντα should be understood as an accusative of respect (Conzelmann, *Acts*, 176); cf. Lake/Cadbury, 4:263 and Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 383, who take it adverbially, "always." Beza (D*) reads πασι instead of παντα.

[325] Johnson, *Acts*, 365. The two definitions that BDAG lists for the verb are (1) to direct someone's attention to someth., *indicate, point out* and (2) to give instruction or moral direction, *show, give direction, prove, set forth* (BDAG, 1037).

[326] See also 2 Macc 6:28; Heb 4:11; Jas 5:10; and 2 Pet 2:6; *1 Clement* 5:1; 6:1; 46:1; 55:1; 63:1; cf. Sir 44:16; 4 Macc 17:23. (de Boer, *Imitation of Paul*, 203).

The purpose of Paul's model lifestyle functions on two levels. First, Luke had legitimate concerns about the state of the church in his own day and sought to demonstrate what elders should do and how they should act. During Luke's time, there were opponents who arose "not sparing the flock" and seeking to "entice the disciples to follow them" (20:29-30). Paul served as the example of how to combat such opponents through vigilant admonishment (20:31). Although the root of the opponents' disruptive activity is not clearly spelled out by Luke, it seems that at the heart of the issue is the misappropriation of church funds for personal gain. Paul's example counters this destructive greediness by demonstrating the proper approach to money.[327] First he exhorts his audience that those who are sanctified need not rely on money, but find fulfillment in the *spiritual* inheritance (κληρονομία) from God (20:32), then he discusses his own attitude toward money: he did not rely on anyone else to provide it for him (20:33), but worked for his own wage and even paid for his companions, keeping both in mind the needs of the weak and the words of Jesus that further serve to counter the greediness of the opponents (20:34-35). Luke's interest in Paul's example of one who works with his hands is not necessarily intended to instill a specific tradition of manual labor among early Christian elders, but functions to resist greed by extolling self-giving activity.[328] The second purpose of Paul's example in this passage is to elevate the image of Paul in Luke's day. By showing that Paul is the exemplar, not some other Christian leader, Luke

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[327] The Pastorals relate similar concerns and responses (Pervo, *Acts*, 525).

[328] de Boer, *Imitation of Paul*, 205.

makes Paul the hero in the scene[329] and negative consequences of the work of these "wolves"

in Ephesus do not derive from Paul and should not be associated with him because he warned

against such people.

In Jewish, Greek, and Roman examples of farewell discourses the speaker may refer to

their life as exemplary. Paul's reference to his dealings with money and work has a precedent

in Samuel's farewell speech (1 Sam 12:3-5). There Samuel declares his innocence regarding the

abuse of private property and money and the people affirm his innocence. Paul's stance on

these matters is that he too has not used his position of authority for his own gain, but rather

he worked for himself and even himself provided for those in need.[330] Paul alludes to the

church's ultimate authority with his quotation of Jesus: "It is more blessed to give than to

receive" (20:35). At Seneca's farewell address, according to Tacitus, he wanted to leave his

friends with "the noblest possession yet remaining to him, the pattern (*imago*) of his life,

which, if they remembered, they would win a name for moral worth and steadfast

friendship."[331] Similarly, the greatest endorsement that Luke can give for Paul in the speech is

reference to his unimpeachable lifestyle, which is a model for future generations of Christian

elders.

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[329] Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 509, refers to Paul in this context as an "Oberapostel."

[330] Kurz, *Farewell Addresses*, 48-49.

[331] Tacitus, *Annals*, 15.62 (Church et al). See also Alexander, "Paul's Final Exhortation," 81, 111.

The use of self-example was widespread among rhetoricians and moral philosophers in antiquity.[332] According to Seneca, people put more faith in their eyes than in their ears and it is easier to follow by example than to follow precept. He also mentions that the disciples of Zeno, Socrates, and Epicurus all benefited from their examples.[333] In 1 Thessalonians Paul's method of pastoral care drew on that of the moral philosophers, especially the use of the nurse and father images. However, Malherbe claims there were distinct differences between Paul and the philosophers especially as it relates to their self-understanding and their task, because for Paul it draws attention to God's initiative and power, not Paul's own accomplishments.[334] The same can be said for Paul in the Miletus speech because he draws attention to God's ability to work in the church, he has the interests of others in mind (not himself), and closes the speech with the quotation from Jesus who serves as the ultimate exemplar.

3.3.6.2 Paul's Course and Ministry

Paul uses the words δρόμος and διακονία to illustrate the tasks which he received from the Lord (20:24). Both terms are consistent with Paul's own description of his activity in the letters. Δρόμος may refer more generically to the course of a human life (e.g., Jer 8:6 and 23:10),

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[332] Fiore, *Function of Personal Example*, 26-163; Malherbe, "Exhortation," 246-49; Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians*, 52-60.

[333] Seneca, *Ep*. 6.5-6. Cited by Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians*, 52-53. See also Pseudo-Isocrates, *Demon*. 11, 36; Seneca, *Ep*. 11.9-10; 100.12; Pliny the Younger, *Ep*. 8.13; Lucian, *Nigr*. 26; pseudo-Crates, *Ep*. 19.

[334] Malherbe, "Exhortation," 247-48; Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians*, 58.

the course set out for the sun's path (1 Esdras 4:34), or to athletic competitions of racing,

whether a horse race (or race track), or human contests.[335] The last definition is the most

relevant for Luke's Paul, who in addition to this verse also refers to John the Baptist's life as a

δρόμος in 13:25. This is consistent with the widespread usage of athletic metaphors in Greco-

Roman and Hellenistic Jewish sources,[336] as well as Paul's use of similar racing metaphors in 1

Cor 9:24-27 and Phil 3:14. The closest parallel to 20:24 is 2 Tim 4:7 wherein the Pastor describes

the close of his life: "I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race (δρόμος), I have kept

the faith." Thus, according to Luke's Paul, to be a Christian leader means to have race-like

endurance, goal-oriented determination, and a strenuous display of effort, which goes hand-

in-hand with the portrait one finds of Paul throughout the narrative sections of Acts.

Διακονία represents a task that Paul was given, especially with respect to his bearing

witness to a specific message. The word, which frequently occurs in both Luke-Acts and Paul's

letters, describes either a general service or a specific instance of service, often with an

economic connotation.[337] In some variant readings of 20:24, the language more closely

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[335] Bauernfeind, "δρόμος," *TDNT* 8:233; Quinn and Wacker, *Letters to Timothy*, 786-87.

[336] Keener, *Acts*, 2:2064 nn. 828-30.

[337] In Luke-Acts the word is used for both general ministry and specific instances of service. Martha was distracted by much διακονία (Luke 10:40). Peter notes that Judas once had a share in the διακονία of the apostles (1:17, 25). In Acts 6, both the distribution of food and the service of the word are described as διακονία (6:1, 4). The disciples collected monetary relief (διακονία) which Paul and Barnabas delivered to the church in Judea (11:28-30; 12:25). Lastly, when Paul makes his final visit to Jerusalem and greets James and the elders he recounts what God accomplished among the Gentiles through his διακονία (21:19). In the letters of Paul the word is used for general service (Rom 11:13; 15:31; 1 Cor 12:5; 16:15; 2 Cor 6:3; 11:8) or even as a spiritual gift (Rom 12:7). In 2 Corinthians, the word occurs twelve times and describes various types of ministries. The law is a διακονία of death and a διακονία of condemnation, which is contrasted with the new covenant διακονία of the Spirit and righteousness (2 Cor 3:7-9; 4:1). In 2 Cor 5:18-20, Paul refers to the διακονία of reconciliation, which he received from God to act as an

parallels Col 4:17. Instead of ἔλαβον (NA28), some readings have παρέλαβον,[338] which conforms

to Col 4:17: βλέπε τὴν διακονίαν ἣν παρέλαβες ἐν κυρίῳ. Otherwise, the variant readings make

little difference to the actual meaning of Paul's statement in 20:24. Both texts (Acts 20:24 and

Col 4:17) refer to the concept of a διακονία as something that can be given *from* or *in* the Lord.

It is also possible for Paul's διακονία here to refer at least in part to the collection (cf. 19:22 and

2 Cor 8:9; 9:13).[339] Yet perhaps the thought behind the διακονία most closely resembles that of 2

Cor 5:18, where Paul refers to "God, who reconciled us to himself through Christ and has given

us the ministry (διακονία) of reconciliation." Not only does the idea of giving someone the

διακονία parallel 20:24 (and Col 4:17), but the nature of the διακονία is closely tied to the act of

delivering a message in 20:24. In 2 Cor 5:18-20 the διακονία of reconciliation is associated with

the *message* of reconciliation with which the ambassadors for Christ are entrusted. The idea of

διακονία in 20:24 is elucidated by the epexegetical infinitive διαμαρτύρασθαι. For Luke's Paul, to

have a διακονία means to bear witness to the gospel of God's grace.

3.3.6.3 The Shepherd-Flock Motif

Luke draws on pastoral and shepherding imagery to enhance his portrait of Paul as a

pastor. The imagery is found primarily in 20:28-31 and is based on the references to the church

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ambassador who brings the God's message of reconciliation to those who need to hear it. Διακονία is also used for the collection in 2 Cor 8–9 (8:4; 9:1; 12-13).

[338] NA28 reads τὴν διακονίαν ἣν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, but in place of ἣν ἔλαβον the text of P41[vid.74vid] D 614. 1505 reads ἣν παρέλαβον and D gig vg[cl] reads τοῦ λόγου ὃν (ἣν D[2]) παρέλαβον.

[339] Johnson, *Acts,* 362.

as a flock (ποίμνιον), the elders' task of caring (ποιμαίνειν) for the church, the warning against

fierce wolves (λύκοι βαρεῖς), and the exhortation to be alert (γρηγορεῖτε). There is reason to

believe, however, that this motif begins as early as 20:26 where Paul indicates that he has been

a faithful steward of the gospel because he is innocent of the blood of all people. This may

reflect not only Paul's activity in Asia, but also his preaching to both Jews and Gentiles

elsewhere. In Acts 18:6 he makes a similar claim to the Jews in Corinth who opposed and

reviled him: "Your blood be on your own heads! I am innocent (καθαρός)." Lövestam argues

that Paul's statement καθαρός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος πάντων (20:26) draws on the specific

background of the sentinel (or watchman) in Ezek 33:1-9. There the prophet is given the task

of a sentinel to warn the people of Israel on behalf of YHWH. If a sentinel warns the people of

coming danger, but the people do not heed the warning, then the sentinel is innocent of their

blood (33:4-5). Likewise, in the Miletus speech Paul declares his innocence of the blood of all

because he did not hold back from declaring the whole counsel of God (20:27). In the verse

immediately following this statement, Paul makes clear references to the church as God's

flock and the elders as shepherds, but how does the imagery of the watchman coincide with

that of the shepherd-flock motif? According to Aubert, these two images are related because

watching and shepherding are often coupled together in the Hebrew Bible, early Jewish

traditions, early Christianity and the Greco-Roman literature.[340] Furthermore, the shepherd-

flock motif comes out of the chapter in Ezekiel that follows the Watchman/sentinel chapter.

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[340] Aubert, *Shepherd-Flock Motif*, 272-73.

The background to the shepherd-flock motif does not seem to have its origins in the writings of Paul, but rather Ezekiel 34. Among the numerous references to the motif in the Hebrew Bible Ezekiel 34 is particularly favored within early Christianity.[341] There, shepherds are given the task of looking after God's people, but instead they look to benefit themselves. The result is that the flock is scattered and vulnerable to danger. God dismisses the shepherds and appoints himself to shepherd his own people. Though Acts 20 does not indicate that the shepherds/elders have done a poor job, Lövestam does observe some important similarities between the two texts. In Acts 20 the people of God are referred to as the flock belonging to God, which is entrusted to the protection of shepherds. Paul's speech emphasizes what might happen to the flock if they are not given good oversight from the shepherds. The very imagery of the flock suggests the vulnerability of the church, since flocks are often associated with the open countryside.[342] The enemies of the flock, described as fierce wolves, reinforces this concept. Because the church[343] after Paul's departure will be without its apostolic guidance, it will be vulnerable to outside, non-apostolic teaching and thus those who have been brought up under Paul are given the task of retaining the purity of the church. Like Ezekiel's sentinel and like Paul's example, but unlike the shepherds of Ezekiel 34, the Ephesians elders must care for the church in order to be free from the responsibility of it going astray. This motif,

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[341] Here Lövestam, "Paul's Address," 4-5, refers to Brown, *John*, 1:397, who sees it as a pertinent piece of the background to the Good Shepherd imagery in John 10:1-21.

[342] Aubert, *Shepherd-Flock Motif*, 289-90.

[343] Luke possibly has a universal church in mind here when he uses the phrase παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ ("all the flock") in 20:28.

therefore, functions to describe Paul's audience as shepherds and thus Paul's role in the

speech is that of a master shepherd who instructs, guides, and cares for the other shepherds.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter considered the distinct portrait of Paul as a pastor in the Miletus address

(20:18-35). It looked at some of the more central issues regarding the composition of the

speech, since the image of Paul here uniquely resembles the image of Paul in the letters.

Scholars have attributed this similarity to Luke's use of an actual speech of Paul's, his use of

general tradition, or his use of the letters. Though we cannot be certain about Luke's sources

(and I make no attempt here to discuss the sources in detail), we can be certain that Luke was

dependent on some Pauline sources that helped shape the character of the speech. The

chapter then sought to better understand Luke's characterization of Paul in the speech

through the rhetorical exercise of speech-in-character, which is described by Theon and other

rhetorical theorists (see chapter 2). One of the first tasks of creating a speech-in-character is

being familiar with information about the speaker so that the characterization of that person

is convincing. Here Luke purposefully drew on his sources to make Paul in the speech sound

like the Paul that his readers would have recognized. Other aspects of the characterization

were based on the audience and the subject matter (or genre) of the speech. Then we looked

at specific aspects of Luke's characterization of Paul based on suggestions by Theon: Paul's

age, his state of mind, and his social status. The discussion of his social status focused

primarily on his role as a pastor within the speech, and we buttressed this claim by

investigating how Luke used Paul as a model elder, described his course and ministry, and used the shepherd-flock motif.

Speech-in-character is a creative process by which the author invents speech for the speaker, and so to some extent it will jointly represent the styles and ideologies of both the author and the person speaking. Luke succeeds on two fronts in the speech; he presents a familiar-sounding Paul while still allowing his own theology and narrative purposes to be revealed in the text. Luke's stamp on the speech is most noticeable in the interconnections with other portions of his narrative. Here the issue of the speech's appropriateness (or πρέπον) comes into play. Earle Hilgert defines πρέπον for the speeches in Acts based on how well Luke constructs "the inner thematic ties between the narrative that provides the setting for the speech, and the content of the speech itself."[344] We can point to various parallels of Luke's language, style, and ideology,[345] such as Paul's decision to go to Jerusalem[346] as well as parallels to Jesus's portrayal in the Gospel of Luke in the farewell address at the Last Supper (Luke 22.14-18),[347] the promotion of humility, and his attitude toward possessions.[348] Thus despite

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[344] Hilgert, "Speeches in Acts," 90.

[345] Lambrecht, "Paul's Farewell-Address," 325-26. Some of the examples of linguistic parallels: παραγίνομαι, ἐπίσταμαι, ἐπιβαίνω (20:18).

[346] Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:254-55.

[347] On the parallels between Paul's farewell discourse and Jesus' farewell discourse, see Walton, *Leadership and Lifestyle*, 100-117.

[348] Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:259-60.

portraying a convincing image of Paul, Luke's own voice and purposes are not eclipsed by Paul's.

Additionally, the image of Paul in the Miletus speech demonstrates propriety because Paul's character suits the context well. Here he is not the interpreter of Israel's Scriptures that we will find in Paul's address to the Synagogue in Pisidian Antioch, nor is he the philosopher of Mars Hill, but he is the pastor who addresses Christians at Ephesus and perhaps beyond. He does not cite Jewish Scripture (at least directly) nor does he make reference to the Greek poets, but rather he calls to his audience's attention the words of Jesus because to them they bear authority. If Luke's readers were acquainted with his letters, then the character of Paul that Luke creates with this speech would have been both familiar and authoritative. The reason, we propose, that the portrayal of Paul in this speech resembles the Paul of the letters so closely when the other speeches do not is due to the fact that the social context of this speech resembles the contexts of his letters. The letters are not aimed at winning converts but addressing established Christian communities or individuals. The social contexts of the speeches in Pisidian Antioch or Athens, as we will see, do not necessitate the same language and, as a result, present a different image of Paul.

Chapter 4: Paul as Prophetic Interpreter in the Pisidian Antioch Speech (Acts 13:16-47)

4.1 Introduction

Luke places the Pisidian Antioch episode at a critical location in the narrative of Acts. It occurs near the beginning of Paul's first missionary journey and it is the audience's first opportunity to hear one of Paul's speeches. Previously "Saul" had played second fiddle to Barnabas (13:7), but shortly before arriving in Pisidian Antioch his name changes from Saul to Paul (13:9). In Pisidian Antioch Paul's prominence rises and he emerges as the narrative's central figure. Luke portrays him as an expert interpreter of Scripture, who possesses the qualities of a prophet, and is able to speak as a gifted orator. Paul's audience comprises Jews and God-fearers in the Diaspora, and although Acts mentions similar scenarios in Paul's missionary activity, it is only here that Luke gives us a speech to Diaspora Jews. The speech receives initial success from the Jews in Antioch, but after droves of Gentiles accept the message as well, Paul's Jewish audience turns on him. This precipitates Paul's statement that he will turn to the Gentiles.

The specific concern of our analysis in this chapter is how Luke characterizes Paul in the speech. Luke's portrayal answers the question of what Paul's evangelistic message to a Jewish audience would look like. The initial answer is that Paul's proclamation to Jews closely resembles Peter's sermons. In fact, Paul's sermon should be read in the light of Peter's speech

at Pentecost. Yet Luke's purpose is not simply to cast Paul in Peter's image, but to give Paul's

message credibility and to serve as a model for how to evangelize to Jews by the way it relies

heavily on scriptural interpretation. Luke's portrait of Paul draws on both indefinite and

definite forms of characterization, highlights Paul's ability to cite and interpret Jewish

Scripture, and demonstrates that Paul is both a prophet and an effective orator. In addition to

investigating these aspects of the Lukan Paul, this chapter briefly surveys a selected history of

scholarship on this speech and looks at the background and role of Paul's Pisidian Antioch

speech for the overall unit, followed by a discussion of the narrative audience and genre of the

speech.

4.2 Scholarship on the Speech

Those who study Paul's Pisidian Antioch sermon often notice how it parallels Peter's

Pentecost sermon and many of the speeches in between Acts 2 and 13. Luke, it is often argued,

has a set style for these missionary speeches, but to what end? Does this phenomenon reflect

genuine sermons from Luke's day or earlier, or are they part of Luke's theological interests to

cast early preaching in a certain style? By doing this, Luke blurs the distinct portraits of the

early Christian missionaries. More importantly, since the Pisidian Antioch speech invites

comparison of Paul with Luke's first protagonist, Peter, what does this mean for the way Paul

is to be understood in this speech?[349] Should Paul's preaching be understood with the full

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[349] For a survey of the comparisons between Peter and Paul in Acts scholarship, see Baker, "Peter and Paul."

weight of apostolic authority, even though Luke almost never describes him as an apostle? What about the historicity of the speech or its role in the narrative?

Martin Dibelius categorizes Paul's speech in Pisidian Antioch as a missionary sermon (*Missionspredigt*) along with other similar speeches in Acts 2, 3, (5), 10, and 13. He argues that the speech is typical of a Christian sermon (*christlicher Predigt*) from Luke's day, circa 90 CE,[350] and therefore is of a more general type, not aiming to be true to Paul's personal characteristics.[351] These missionary sermons share the same elements and so the unique characteristics of Peter or Paul in the speech are not pronounced. Dibelius outlines the following features of missionary sermons: "Regularly an introduction showing the situation at the time is followed by the kerygma of Jesus' life, passion and resurrection (2.22-24; 3.13-15; 5.30, 31; 10.36-42; 13.23-25), mostly with emphasis upon the fact that the disciples were witnesses (2.32; 3.15; 5.32; 10.39, 41; 13.31); to this is added evidence from the scriptures (2.25-31; 3.22-26; 10.43; 13.32-37) and an exhortation to repentance (2.38f.; 3.17-20; 5.31; 10.42f.; 13.38-41)."[352] Whereas other speeches in the book of Acts are more tailored to specific audiences, missionary speeches were common to all Christians—meant for the *readers* of Acts, not literary audiences noted in the text.[353] These sermons exhibit "how the gospel is preached and

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[350] Dibelius, *Studies*, 165; *Aufsätze*, 142.

[351] Dibelius, *Studies*, 105; *Aufsätze*, 93-94.

[352] Dibelius, *Studies*, 165. See also *From Tradition to Gospel*, 16-17; *Formgeschichte*, 15.

[353] Dibelius, *Studies*, 133.

ought to be preached!"[354] Specifically regarding the Antioch speech, Dibelius takes issue with

the generic introduction (13:16-22), which, he states, any Jewish speaker could have recited.[355]

The problem is that it does not seem to relate to the rest of the speech, though he then notes

(somewhat caustically) that the boringness of the first part emphasizes all the more the

magnificence of the new proclamation found in the second part.[356]

Ulrich Wilckens primarily discusses six missionary speeches (Acts 2:14-39; 3:12-26; 4:9-

12; 5:30-32; 10:34-43; 13:16-41) and works from Dibelius's view that these speeches are Lukan

constructions, yet he takes issue with Dibelius's thesis that they contain kerygmatic material

in use during Luke's own day. Wilckens gives more weight to Luke as the inventive source of

this material and argues that speeches are not witnesses to primitive Christian theology, but

reflect Luke's own theology at the end of the first century. This is made clearest by how well

the content of the speeches fit their context in the book of Acts.[357] Wilckens's understanding of

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[354] Dibelius, *Studies*, 165; *Aufsätze*, 142: "So predigt man — und so soll man predigen!" In his essay, "First Christian Historian" he uses the speeches of Peter and Paul's Pisidian Antioch speech to show how Peter and Paul each function as the "type" of Christian missionary. Dibelius, *Studies*, 132: "Similarity between Peter and Paul appears just as clearly when Paul makes a speech in a synagogue in Asia Minor which is identical in construction with the speeches of Peter in the first part of Acts. Here there can be no question of attempting to standardise the characters involved, for in that case, Paul would have to make several such speeches in order to be the equivalent of Peter. The author's sole concern is to introduce a typical sermon, to show how the gospel was preached in the Christian community or how, in his opinion, it ought to be preached."

[355] Dibelius, *Studies*, 166.

[356] Dibelius, *Studies*, 166-67: "This opening, which apparently has no underlying meaning, is not without a certain charm, for such a quiet introduction will emphasise all the more the effect of the new proclamation which Paul immediately joins to the reference to King David."

[357] Wilckens, *Missionsreden*, 186. Dupont, "Discours Missionaires," 145-55, pushes back on Wilckens's thesis that the missionary speeches are entirely Lukan inventions because the Christological titles used in the speeches reflect an earlier period. See also the critique in Gasque, *History of the Interpretation*, 230.

Paul in the speeches is dependent on how he places the speeches in Acts 1–17 into one of two

categories: those before Jews (1–13) and those before Gentiles (14 and 17). While Paul's speech

in Pisidian Antioch relates to the Lukan program of speeches to Jews, Wilckens argues that the

speeches in Lystra (14:14-17) and Athens (17:22-31) draw on traditional patterns found in 1

Thess 1:9-10 and Heb 5:11–6:2.[358] The Pisidian Antioch speech, however, plays a unique role as it

is the turning point from speeches to Jews to speeches to Gentiles.

Eckhard Plümacher agrees with Wilckens's point that the missionary speeches

represent Luke's point of view, but he argues that Wilckens failed to correlate these speeches

to Hellenistic historiography.[359] Luke's mission speeches are placed at crucial turning points in

the history, a practice that he shared with other historiographers such as Livy and Dionysius

of Halicarnassus.[360] In other words, Luke used speeches to determine the course of history.[361]

Paul's speech in Pisidian Antioch precipitates the shift to the evangelization of the Gentiles

(13:46). This speech also follows the same outline and conveys the same basic message as the

mission speeches of Peter; these speeches bear witness to Jesus at the beginning of the

church's history, steer its development, and legitimize its existence as it transitioned from

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[358] Wilckens, *Missionsreden*, 81-91.

[359] Plümacher, *Lukas*, 36.

[360] Plümacher, *Lukas*, 336-38; Plümacher, "Mission Speeches," 251-60. Plümacher argues that Luke shared practices with these historians, but makes no claim for direct dependency on them. Regarding Luke's relationship to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plümacher ("Mission Speeches," 266) writes: "What the two writer share are views that were probably widespread within the broad sphere of Hellenistic historiography, though even this assumption would be difficult to verify given the fragmented condition of Hellenistic history writing available to us."

[361] Plümacher, "Mission Speeches," 258-59.

predominantly Jewish believers to Gentile converts.[362] Further, Plümacher suggests that Acts

1–15 is written in a Septuagintal style, which he asserts is due to Luke's efforts at archaisms

much in the same way that Hellenistic historiographers imitate classical styles. To

demonstrate this, Plümacher points to Acts 13 (among other passages) because of its clear

dependence on Septuagintal language.[363] Luke's use of Septuagintisms (especially when he is

not quoting the Septuagint) serves the purpose of giving the earlier period of Christianity's

history a special character, paralleling the practice of Hellenistic historiographers.[364]

C. A. Joachim Pillai has written two complementary volumes on the Antioch speech.

The first volume looks at traditional issues related to the speech's historical setting, text, and

literary nature while maintaining, he argues, a neutral point of view: "In such an investigation,

there is no room for any preconceived ideas, either about the meaning of the speech or its

historicity."[365] For Pillai, attention to both historicity and meaning must be carefully

conducted because the two are interconnected. One cannot have an unbiased investigation

into the speeches while excluding either historicity or meaning. Here Pillai takes issue with

Dibelius who interprets the speeches from a literary viewpoint (independent of the issue of

historicity), but fails because "he works out the meaning of the speech in such a way that the

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[362] Plümacher, "Mission Speeches," 260-62 (especially 262).

[363] Plümacher, *Lukas*, 44-46. For many of the references he cites the commentaries of Haenchen, *Acts*; Conzelmann, *Acts*; and Lake and Cadbury, *Acts of the Apostles*.

[364] Plümacher, *Lukas*, 70-72. For a general critique of Plümacher, see Soards, *Speeches*, 139-43.

[365] Pillai, *Early Missionary Preaching*, 6.

question of historicity is already compromised."[366] He aims for a middle ground between

absolute historicity and free creation by Luke, stating that "there is room for historical realism

which takes into consideration both the event and the account, both tradition and

composition, both historicity and redaction work."[367] In terms of the speech's composition,

Pillai argues that Luke, "with great redactional ability," assembled pieces of traditional

material[368] that Paul used (along with 13:23 and 13:32 which are Paulinisms) in order to create a

Pauline speech that concentrates on the theme of promise and fulfillment.[369] Pillai outlines his

interpretation of the speech in his second volume. It builds on the thesis that it contains both

apostolic origins and distinctively Pauline elements. The speech first contains a history of

prophetic preparation and then a history of salvific fulfillment, which is centered on the

person of Jesus: "the *elected* One who is *liberated* according to *promise* from the pangs of death

by resurrection."[370] Pillai maintains that the speech reflects the entire span of redemptive

history in an exceptional manner, unparalleled by any other New Testament passage.

Narrative criticism sheds light on Paul's role in Acts 13. The beginning of Paul's

missionary activity in Acts 13 contains echoes of Peter's ministry in Acts 1–4 and Jesus'

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[366] Pillai, *Early Missionary Preaching*, 5.

[367] Pillai, *Early Missionary Preaching*, 121.

[368] These are outlined in Pillai, *Early Missionary Preaching*, 64-65: vv. 17-22: *logos paraklêseôs* ("the word of consolation"); vv. 24 and 25: material connected with the Baptist; vv. 26b-31a: *Kerygma* proper (*logos tês sotêrías*); v. 31b: *Martýrion* (Jerusalem witness); vv. 33-37: *Testimonia* (proof from Scripture); vv. 38-39: Core of *Didaché* (Pauline interpretation); and vv. 40 and 41: Eschatological *paraenesis*.

[369] Pillai, *Early Missionary Preaching*, 120.

[370] Pillai, *Apostolic Interpretation of History*, 105.

ministry in Luke 3–5, according to Robert C. Tannehill.[371] All three characters make important

speeches at the beginning of their ministry (Luke 4:18-21; Acts 2:14-40; 13:14-41); Paul's speech

resembles Jesus's speech in terms of setting and Peter's speech in terms of content. All three

speeches cite Scripture to interpret the mission that is beginning, they all refer to the

inclusion of the Gentiles, they all result in opposition, and they all occur shortly before the

healing of a lame man.[372] The Antioch speech builds on Peter's speech at Pentecost because it

illuminates Paul's reference to Jesus' resurrection as the fulfillment of the promise to David.

Tannehill notes that the speech in Solomon's portico also helps the readers to understand why

Paul must speak to the Jews first (see especially 3:25-26).[373] The speech does not simply

portray a Jewish coloring to fit the synagogue scene, but "reflects a view that characterizes

Luke-Acts from the beginning, the view that Jesus is the Davidic Messiah who fulfills specific

promises of God to the Jewish people."[374] Thus, Tannehill contends that Luke portrays Paul in

Pisidian Antioch as one who participates in the Lukan program of identifying Jesus as the

Davidic Messiah.

Josef Pichler's monograph looks at Paul's reception in Acts and in particular how Luke

presents Paul in the Pisidian Antioch speech.[375] He argues that Paul, who himself was not an

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[371] Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:160.

[372] Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:160.

[373] Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:174.

[374] Tannehill, *Narrative Unity,* 2:174

[375] Pichler, *Paulusrezeption*.

apostle according the qualifications of Acts 1:22, preached the same gospel as the apostles. The

sermon in Pisidian Antioch has the same structure as Peter's first sermon, and even Peter

shared qualities that were attributed to Paul. For Pichler, Pauline preaching is one and the

same with the apostolic message.[376] He also contends that Luke presents Paul as a role model

of the church intended to bring unity. Paul is not the gifted theologian, but the exemplary

missionary who represents both the Jewish and Roman worlds.[377]

    Coleman A. Baker applies social identity and narrative theory to the parallels of Peter

and Paul in Acts. His monograph argues that the figures of Peter and Paul in Acts are

"prototypical of a common superordinate Christian identity,"[378] which is inclusive of both

Judean and non-Judean Christ followers. Baker observes the "echoes" of Jesus and Peter in

Luke's characterization of Paul in Pisidian Antioch and notes that in this passage Paul is

"acting as the metonymic representation of Jesus and thus as prototypical of Christian identity

as he expands the mission established by Jesus and carried forward by Peter."[379] Paul's speech

(like Peter's speeches in Acts 4:1-4; 5:16-18) elicited a mixed response from the audience that

further solidified Paul's status as a prototypical leader of the Christ group. In other words, the

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[376] Pichler, *Paulusrezeption*, 321: "Die paulinischen Predigt ist apostolische Predigt, und die apostolische Predigt ist selbstverständlich paulinische Predigt."

[377] Pichler, *Paulusrezeption*, 320, 358-59.

[378] Baker, *Identity*, xv.

[379] Baker, *Identity*, 144.

author of Acts upholds Paul as possessing a superordinate identity by characterizing him in a

similar fashion to Peter.[380]

Wenxi Zhang's *Paul Among Jews* looks at the relation of the Antioch speech to the

inaugural addresses of both Jesus (Luke 4) and Peter (Acts 2) and contends that the addresses

possess significant literary functions in Luke-Acts (both introduce the literary figures,

foreshadow their ministries, and announce main themes explored in Luke-Acts).[381] Paul's

inaugural address in Acts 13 is no different. First, it serves as a model of Paul's preaching to

Diaspora Jews. Luke mentions a number of occasions where Paul would have preached to

Jews in Damascus, Jerusalem, Salamis, and Antioch of Syria, but he never expands on the

nature of these addresses until the Pisidian Antioch speech.[382] Later sermons to Jews in Lystra,

Philippi, Corinth etc. would have followed this same pattern. Second, the speech interacts

with the narrative of Acts where Paul preaches to Jews, especially as it relates to the theme of

fulfillment from the Scriptures. Zhang calls this speech "the golden thread that connects the

different narratives of Paul's ministry among Jews."[383] His study not only demonstrates the

significance of Paul's Antioch address in the progression of Luke-Acts, but it also adds to

characterization of Paul as a Jew who is zealous for Judaism even in his ministry to Gentiles.[384]

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[380] Baker, *Identity*, 146.

[381] Zhang, *Paul Among Jews*, 105-109, 193.

[382] Zhang, *Paul Among Jews*, 151.

[383] Zhang, *Paul Among Jews*, 194.

[384] Zhang, *Paul Among Jews*, 198-201.

This survey of scholars who treat the speech shows a distinct shift from an interest in Luke's source material for the missionary speeches to the speech's contribution to Luke's *Paulusbild* in the narrative. Dibelius's view that missionary speeches preserved Christian preaching from Luke's day was overturned by Wilckens who noted that the speeches were written by Luke since they fit Luke's literary context. Plümacher advanced the discussion by bringing in the Hellenistic historiographical tradition and showing how the missionary speeches occur at critical moments in the narrative. Tannehill argues that Luke's presentation of Paul in the speech is not only in line with Peter in Acts, but also with Jesus in the Gospel. Pichler's view is that Luke wanted to portray Pauline preaching as the same as apostolic preaching and to uphold Paul as an exemplary missionary. Similarly, Baker combines narrative criticism and identity theory to show that Paul and Peter alike possess similar statuses within early Christianity. And Zhang argues that the speech not only demonstrates Paul's zealousness for Judaism, but it also functions as a model of Paul's preaching to Diaspora Jews.

Most scholarly treatments of the speech maintain that Luke constructs an image of Paul that somehow intentionally relates to the image of Peter in Acts, rather than drawing on source material or early Christian kerygma. I argue that speech-in-character helps us to understand better the way that Luke presents Paul. Not only does Luke employ a general type of speech-in-character (ἠθοποιΐα) in which both Peter and Paul participate, but Luke also specifically presents the speech with Pauline coloring. Luke leaves with his readers the image of Paul both as a qualified interpreter of the Jewish Scriptures and as a prophet. Rather than

focusing on how the missionary speeches blur the distinctive portraits of Peter and Paul, we should understand the speech as Luke's way of casting the two figures in the same light—Acts 13 serves as a way of introducing Paul's ministry by giving it the same endorsement he gives to Peter's ministry.

4.3 Location and Setting

4.3.1 The City of Pisidian Antioch

The city of Pisidian Antioch[385] plays a pivotal role in Luke's narrative: it is here that Paul delivers his first major speech (his only missionary sermon to a Jewish audience) and, as a result of the sermon, Paul's evangelism shifts its focus from Jews to Gentiles (13:46). Paul visited the town of Pisidian Antioch while it was experiencing an Augustan revitalization. Since Augustus had re-founded the city as a Roman colony in 25 BCE, it contained an interesting mixture of both Roman citizens and native Anatolians. New imperial cult constructions were complementing the landscape that already had a prominent temple for the local deity, Mên Askaenos. Steven Mitchell notes that the dynamic between Roman

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[385] The city is sometimes referred to as *Antioch-towards-Pisidia* (see Strabo 12.6.4; Levick, *Roman Colonies*, 18, 33 n. 2) because it technically resided in Phrygia, near or facing Pisidia. There is also an interesting textual variant in 13:14 regarding the name. Some manuscripts (D E L Ψ 33. 81. 323. 614. 945. 1241. 1505. 1739. 𝔐 lat; See Boismard, *Texte Occidental*, 214) read Antioch *of* Pisidia (Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Πισιδίας) whereas Alexandrian texts (𝔓⁴⁵·⁷⁴ A B C 453. 1175) read Pisidian Antioch (Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν Πισιδίαν). The latter form may be a result of a later reorganization of the regions (See Barrett, *Acts*, 1:627-28; Ropes, *Text*, 119). On Pisidian Antioch's history, background, and interaction with Christianity see Mitchell, *Anatolia*; Mitchell, "Antioch of Pisidia"; Mitchell and Wealkens, *Pisidian Antioch*; Levick, *Roman Colonies*; Schnabel, *Mission*, 1092-94; Gill, "Antioch, Pisidian"; and Ramsay, "Colonia Caeasarea."

citizens and poorer locals may have been a source of tension at the end of the first century.[386]

Keener states that "Pisidia was remembered for its rugged, independent, warrior traditions."[387]

There also is not much evidence that there was a large Jewish population in the city during

Paul's day.[388] There is no reason to doubt that there was a Jewish population, but however

large or small it was, it would have likely been overshadowed by the influx of Roman veterans

after Augustus declared it a Roman colony. Given this information about Pisidian Antioch,

one wonders why Luke chose to locate Paul's only substantial missionary address to a Jewish

audience here. Solutions to the question of *why Antioch* often boil down either to historical or

to literary reasons.

The first theory involves the South-Galatian thesis and Paul's ailment mentioned in

Galatians. William Ramsay popularized the South-Galatian thesis, which maintains that the

churches that Paul addresses in the letter to the Galatians were not the Gentiles of Northern

Galatia, but the churches of the Roman political region of Galatia, thus including Pisidian

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[386] Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:178.

[387] Keener, *Acts*, 2:2033

[388] There is little archaeological data in support of a strong Jewish community in Asia Minor. Ramsay, *Cities*, 255-59 cites an inscription about a certain Δεββῶρα, which was located in Apollonia of Phrygia. The inscription refers to her as an Antiochian, which Ramsay connected to nearby Antioch of Pisidia. Others, such as Levinskaya, *Diaspora*, 150 argue that the Antioch in question is more likely to be a further Antioch such as Carian Antioch on the Maeander or Syrian Antioch (see also Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2:8-9 n. 60; cf. Levick, *Roman Colonies*, 128 n. 1; *MAMA* VII p. x, n. 1.: "Deborra has done much service in the illustrative exegesis of Acts 13. This identification, which was never more than one of three or four possibilities, is made highly improbable by the new copy and restoration in M.A.M.A."). Literary evidence suggests that there were Jews in the region. According to Josephus, two thousand Jewish families were relocated from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to Phrygia on the orders of Antiochus III in the early third century BCE (Josephus, *A. J.* 12.147-53, esp. 149).

Antioch.[389] If believers in Antioch were among the recipients of Paul's letter to the Galatians,

then the text of Galatians could be used to describe why Paul evangelized them in the first

place. Galatians 4:13-14 states that Paul preached to the Galatians because of a physical

infirmity (ὅτι δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός). Ramsay, following J. B. Lightfoot,[390] connects this

ailment with Paul's thorn in the flesh (σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί) briefly mentioned in 2 Cor 12:7.[391]

Ramsay theorized that Paul suffered from malaria and the increase in elevation from Perga to

Pisidian Antioch would have improved his condition.

The second theory draws on archaeological data and a connection to the text of Acts

13. While Paul and Barnabas were in Paphos they impressed the proconsul of Cyprus, Sergius

Paulus, who "believed" and was "astonished at the teaching about the Lord" (13:7, 12). Since

that episode immediately precedes the Pisidian Antioch episode and because archaeological

data indicates that the family of Sergius Paul(l)us had an estate in the region of Pisidian

Antioch,[392] some interpreters argue that it was Sergius Paul(l)us who prompted Paul and

Barnabas to go to Antioch. Thus, in the words of R. L. Fox, "[Sergius Paulus] directed them to

the area where his family had land, power and influence. The author of Acts saw only the

[389] See Ramsay, *Church*, 8-15. On the development of Ramsay's view of the South Galatian theory, see Bruce, "Galatian Problems 2," 250-53. Ramsay draws comparisons between the Pisidian Antioch speech and the letter to the Galatians in *Cities*, 299-303.

[390] Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 186-91. Lightfoot concludes that Paul suffered from epilepsy, whereas Ramsay believes the ailment to be malaria.

[391] Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 94-97; Ramsay, *Galatians*, 422-28; cf. Bruce, *Book of Acts*, 251; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2:6.

[392] Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 6-7; see also Hemer, *Book of Acts*, 109; Keener, *Acts*, 2:2037-38.

impulse of the Holy Spirit, but Christianity entered Roman Asia on advice from the highest society."[393] Whether or not Luke actually knew of a connection between Sergius Paulus and Pisidian Antioch remains speculative, but this type of connection would not reside outside the realm of Luke's interests.

A third theory regarding the choice of Pisidian Antioch relates to its prominent position on a major Roman road, the Via Sebaste. It should be noted that Paul's route from Perga to Pisidian Antioch is not clearly mentioned in the text, but it simply states that the missionary group διελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Πέργης παρεγένοντο[394] εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν Πισιδίαν (13:14). Mark Wilson outlines three possible routes: (1) an eastern route that goes through Mistea/Claudiocaesarea and around the eastern side of Lake Caralis with a length of 149 miles and the most rugged of the three routes; (2) the central route, which takes a treacherous north-south road through Adada and is the shortest of the three routes at 114 miles; and (3) the western route, which goes along the tame Via Sebaste through Comama and Apollonia at 156 miles.[395] Wilson argues that, despite being longest of the three routes, the western route (along the Via Sebaste) was the safest and easiest route, and thus the option that Paul most likely would have chosen.[396] The Via Sebaste would not have terminated at Pisidian Antioch, but

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[393] Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, 293-94; See also Keener, *Acts*, 2:2037-38; Witherington, *Acts*, 403-4.

[394] 𝔓[74] and A read ἐγένοντο.

[395] Wilson, "Route," 472-80.

[396] Wilson, "Route," 482. This is also the route endorsed by French, "Roman Roads," 52 and Mitchell, *Pisidian Antioch*, 12. Though Wilson supports the western route for Paul's journey from Perga to Pisidian Antioch, he argues that on Paul's journey back through Pisidian Antioch he would have taken the central route (482-83).

would have continued on to Iconium and Lystra.[397] Had Paul been traveling along the Via

Sebaste, whether historically or only in Luke's literary imagination, then the Roman colony of

Pisidian Antioch would have made a logical stopping place. Pisidian Antioch would have been

preferable to Cremna (a more-isolated Roman colony)[398] because of its prominent size,

location, and status.[399] Paul's custom in Acts was to target important cities and since the Paul

of Acts is a Roman citizen, there might have been a preference to visit Roman colonies,[400] even

though the narrator attributes Paul's missionary itinerary to theological reasons.[401] Thus, Luke

either was attracted to the location for both practical and theological reasons, or he was

drawing on tradition that placed Paul here.

Clare K. Rothschild suggests that Luke narrated Paul in Pisidian Antioch to function as

the background for the letter to the Galatians.[402] She upholds the North Galatian view, yet

argues that Luke uses Pisidian Antioch to narrate how the "churches of Galatia" (Gal 1:1) were

established, which complements Luke's narration of how all the other churches of Paul's

letters were founded. "Ramsay is correct that 'Luke' depicts Paul in Pisidian Antioch and other

cities ... in order to show him evangelizing those to whom Galatians was written; and, at the

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[397] French, "Roman Roads," 52.

[398] Keener, *Acts*, 2:2036.

[399] Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2:7; Levick, *Roman Colonies*, 75-78, 122.

[400] Keener, *Acts*, 2:2037: "Paul normally targeted strategic cities, especially Roman colonies and major metropolitan areas."

[401] Acts 13:2, 4 expresses that the Holy Spirit was directing their route. See also 1:8; 8:29; 10:19-20; 11:12; 16:6-10; 21:11.

[402] Rothschild, "Pisidian Antioch."

same time, Betz is correct that Acts is not historically accurate."[403] In the same essay,

Rothschild argues that Luke's choice of Pisidian Antioch was made on the basis of its Roman

features[404] and argues that Acts 13 forms an *inclusio* with Acts 28 (from "Little Rome" to "Big

Rome"). The *inclusio* would have both predicted and sanctioned Paul's arrival in Rome.

Rothschild may be on to something by highlighting the Roman characteristics of

Pisidian Antioch, but perhaps she overemphasizes the Romanness of the city for the

narrative.[405] If Luke's intentions were to create an *inclusio*, the narrative certainly fails to draw

attention to the Roman features of the city. For instance, when Paul arrives at Philippi, Luke

points out that it is a Roman Colony and Paul's citizenship plays a role in the outcome of the

episode.[406] In Pisidian Antioch, however, the setting is a synagogue and the focus of the speech

is on how Jesus is the fulfillment of Israel's Scriptures. Despite this, there are features in the

speech and in the narrative that complement Luke's conception of the Gentile mission. Not

only does Paul's speech mention the rejection of Jesus by the Jews in Jerusalem (13:27-28) and

the inadequacy of the Mosaic law (13:38-39), but it is the Gentiles who ultimately respond

positively to Paul's message (13:45-49). In 13:47, Paul cites Isa 49:6 in which the Lord says, "I

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[403] Rothschild, "Pisidian Antioch," 339.

[404] Rothschild, "Pisidian Antioch," 348 quotes Mitchell, *Pisidian Antioch*, 9 (who was drawing on the work of Levick, *Roman Colonies*, 78), "Antioch was designed to be a *new Rome* on the borders of Phrygia and Pisidia."

[405] Pervo, *Acts*, 320, notes that Luke does not indicate that Antioch and Lystra are Roman colonies and no governing rulers make an appearance in these scenes. "Insofar as one can tell, the cities of southern Asia Minor are governed by mobs."

[406] Acts 16:12, 21, 37-38.

will give you as a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth."[407]

Thus, there is no better place than a distinctively Roman city to function as the location where

the Scriptures endorse the Gentile mission.

4.3.2 The Synagogue Setting

The setting Luke provides for Paul's sermon is a synagogue: καὶ [εἰσ]ελθόντες εἰς τὴν

συναγωγὴν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων ἐκάθισαν (Acts 13:14b).[408] Because Luke's depiction of Jesus

in the Nazareth synagogue shares much in common with the Pisidian Antioch scene, it is

helpful for further understanding how Luke describes the setting in Acts 13.[409] Both Paul's

group and Jesus entered the synagogue on the Sabbath (Acts 13:14; Luke 4:16).[410] Paul and

Barnabas sat down for the reading of the Law and Prophets (Acts 13:14-15). In the Nazareth

episode, Jesus was the one who read from the Prophets: he stood up (Luke 4:16) and a scroll

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[407] Acts 13:47: τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. Isa 49:6 LXX: ἰδοὺ τέθεικά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. Luke's version varies from the LXX in two places. First, Luke omits ἰδού before τέθεικα. This can be explained by the fact that there is an ἰδού in the previous verse. Second, Luke omits εἰς διαθήκην γένους after σε. There is actually no parallel to the omitted phrase in the Hebrew and so Luke may have drawn on a more faithful version of the LXX than is available to us (Barrett, *Acts*, 1:657).

[408] For works on the synagogue during the Second Temple period see Runesson et al., *Ancient Synagogue*; Catto, *First-Century Synagogue*; Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 19-159; Fine, *Ancient Synagogue*; Binder, *Into the Temple Courts*; Urman and Flesher, *Ancient Synagogues*; and Gutmann, *Synagogue*.

[409] Pervo, *Acts*, 331, states that "[d]etails about the reading of the Law and Prophets slow the narrative, providing verisimilitude and evoking the dramatic passage that opened the inaugural sermon of Jesus (Luke 4:16-20)." For studies on the synagogue in Luke and Acts see McKay, *Sabbath and Synagogue*, 162-71; Catto, *First-Century Synagogue*,152-98

[410] The two verses have very similar language. Acts 13:14: καὶ [εἰσ]ελθόντες εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων. Luke 4:16: καὶ εἰσῆλθεν . . . ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν συναγωήν.

with the text of Isaiah was given to him to read (Luke 4:17). After reading he rolled up the

scroll and gave it back to the attendant and sat down (Luke 4:20), and a statement follows

about the Scripture being fulfilled in him (Luke 4:21). In the Antioch episode, after the reading

of the Law and Prophets, the ἀρχισυνάγωγοι invited Paul and Barnabas to deliver a λόγος

παρακλήσεως for the people (13:15b). Paul stands up and delivers a sermon (13:16-41).

A typical synagogue service as Luke presents it took place on the Sabbath and

included a reading from the Law and the Prophets, followed by a homily or sermon. The

audience sat while the reader/speaker stood up.[411] The synagogue official (ἀρχισυνάγωγος)

invited visitors to share a λόγος παρακλήσεως, given (we presume) they were qualified to do

so.[412] Luke also gives another example of a synagogue visitor, Apollos, who spoke boldly in an

Ephesian synagogue (Acts 18:24-26); although no details are given about his arrangement or

position at the synagogue, it appears that guest speakers were customary. What Luke does not

describe is any reference to prayers or singing during the synagogue episodes.[413] What he says

about the reading of Torah, however, is supported by both Philo and Josephus, who affirm that

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[411] One important note is that Jesus sat while he expounded on the reading (Luke 4:20-21), but Paul stands when he delivers his sermon (Acts 13:16). Haenchen, *Acts*, 408, suggests that based on Luke 4:20, it was customary for the person speaking to sit, thus when it was notable that Paul stood, which "for his Hellenistic readers, presents Paul as a Hellenistic orator."

[412] Some have suggested that teachers would have worn certain apparel to indicate their status as teachers. See Keener, *Acts*, 2:2045 nn. 678, 679.

[413] McKay, *Sabbath and Synagogue*, 174: "[T]here is no reference to any activities such as prayer or the singing of psalms that would indicate a service of worship."

there were Torah readings on the Sabbath.[414] The mid-first century CE Theodotus inscription also indicates that the synagogue was used "for the reading of the Law and the teaching of the commandments."[415] As for the custom of reading the Prophets (Haftarah) in addition to the Torah, there is not much evidence from the first-century CE apart from Luke-Acts.[416]

4.4 Luke's Characterization of Paul in Pisidian Antioch

4.4.1 The Audience: Jews and God-fearers

The audience for Paul's synagogue sermon comprises both Jews and God-fearers. Three times he uses the vocative to address his audience. He first calls them "You Israelites, and others who fear God" (13:16b), then "My brothers, you decedents of Abraham, and others who fear God" (13:26a), then simply "Brothers" (13:38). These three sets of vocatives relate to the tripartite structure of the speech. The first section (13:16-25) rehearses the story of Israel, the second (13:26-37) shows how the Gospel is the fulfillment of Scripture, and the third (13:38-40) is a brief Pauline conclusion.[417] The use of ἀδελφοί as an address (13:26) highlights the familial language of Paul's Jewish audience who are participants in the kinship of Abraham's

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[414] Philo, *Legat.* 156; *Somn.* 2.127; Josephus, *A. J.* 16.43; *C. Ap.* 2.175. McKay, *Sabbath and Synagogue*, 61-88, argues that the Sabbath was used to study Torah. See also Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 135-42; Catto, *First-Century Synagogue*, 118-20.

[415] Schiffman, "Public Reading of the Torah,"46-47.

[416] See Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 142-43. He cites a third-century Tosefta (T Megillah 3:1-0) that may preserve information from the first century, but that is difficult to determine with accuracy.

[417] Following Sterling, "LXX in Luke-Acts," 102-111.

children.[418] Paul also delivered a defense speech (ἀπολογία) in 22:1-21 before a Jewish audience

in Jerusalem and addressed them as "brothers and fathers," which bears similarity to the use of

ἀδελφοί in 13:26, 38. In contrast to the Pisidian Antioch speech, Luke notes that in Paul's

Jerusalem speech, he spoke in the "Hebrew" language (τῇ Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ).[419] Luke makes no

mention of the language used in Pisidian Antioch, but given the Diaspora setting it is safe to

assume it was Greek.

In 13:16b, Paul refers to his Jewish audience as "Israelites" (ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται), which

would have been a conspicuous address in a Diaspora setting.[420] Pillai suggests that Paul's use

of the words "Israel" and "people" at the beginning of the speech "recall[s] forcefully God's call

to the chosen people, and the long history of divino-human relationship."[421] Keener contends

that it provides a connection between the Diaspora Jews and those in Judea.[422] Since Paul's

sermon in Pisidian Antioch shares much in common with Peter's missionary sermons, it is not

unexpected that they use the same language for the address (2:22; 3:12; 5:35). This

complements the central role that the theme of Israel plays in the speech as well as the larger

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[418] Jervell, "The Divided People of God," 50-51.

[419] Acts 21:40; 22:2. Most agree that Aramaic is meant here (Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 701; Barrett, *Acts*, 2:1027-28; Bock, *Acts*, 658; on the use of Hebrew and Aramaic as in first-century Palestine, see Fitzmyer, "Languages," 38-46;).

[420] Pillai, *Apostolic Interpretation*, 8, states that "in the Hellenistic world it was not usual to refer to Jews as 'Israel' except in liturgical formulae stemming from the Bible."

[421] Pillai, *Apostolic Interpretation*, 8.

[422] Kenner, *Acts*, 2:2056. Although Paul also draws a distinction between the two groups in the speech at 13:26-29.

Lukan narrative.[423] In the speech Paul makes note of Israel's election and the promise of a savior (Jesus) for Israel (13:17, 23). Paul also declares that the message of salvation has been sent to the children of Abraham (13:26). Tannehill states that these references to Israel in the speech show that Luke aligns Paul in Acts with the "promise traditions," which first appear in the infancy narrative but are also recalled in Acts.[424] Thus the concern for Israel in the speech must be read in light of Luke's overarching interest in Israel's role.

A central component of Luke's understanding of Israel is the way in which it relates to the Gentiles. The audience of the Antioch speech alludes to this. The inclusion of God-fearers (οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν) in 13:16 and 13:26 complements Paul's Jewish audience because it represents a people who occupy space between Jew and Gentile. God-fearers are Gentiles who have shown interest in or made a commitment to Judaism, but beyond this there is no definitive definition of a God-fearer in antiquity.[425] Because Luke only mentions their presence, but falls short of describing their faith and roles among the Jewish community, the readers of Acts must recall the information that Luke supplies about the God-fearer Cornelius (10:1-2, 22). After the conclusion of Paul's speech, Luke refers to the God-fearers in 13:43: "many Jews and devout converts to Judaism (τῶν σεβομένων προσηλύτων) followed Paul and Barnabas." It is possible to translate τῶν σεβομένων προσηλύτων as *devout proselytes*, although it

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[423] Johnson, *Acts*, 230.

[424] Tannehill, "Story of Israel," 137.

[425] See the excursus on God-fearers in Acts by Pervo, *Acts*, 332-34, which includes a considerable bibliography on God-fearers in antiquity (332 n. 12).

is not clear that Luke intends to describe fully-fledged converts. The problem is that the

adjectival form of σέβω typically refers to God-fearers (13:50; 16:14; 17:4, 17; 18:7) whereas the

noun προσήλυτος is used in Acts for Gentile converts to Judaism (2:11; 6:5). Does Luke have in

mind God-fearers or proselytes? Or perhaps the text has been tampered with?[426] Pervo calls

this phrase a "puzzling expression" that is "not likely to be resolved."[427] While Luke might not

be concerned with our pursuit of clarity, he does show that interested or committed Gentiles

were welcomed members within the community at the Pisidian Antioch synagogue.

Paul's message initially received the interest and support from the synagogue

audience. Yet once the message gained the popularity of the Gentiles in the city (13:44: "almost

the whole city gathered to hear the word of the Lord"), the Jews changed their tone. Luke

states that they were filled with jealousy and opposed (ἀντέλεγον) what he had spoken. After

reproving their critics, Paul and Barnabas informed them of their decision to turn to the

Gentiles, quoting Isaiah 49:6: "I have set you to be a light for the Gentiles, that you may bring

salvation to the ends of the earth" (13:47). Thus, the extent to which the people in the

synagogue were willing to take Isaiah 49:6 in their outreach to the Gentiles fell far short of

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[426] See for instance Haenchen, *Acts*, 413; Lake and Cadbury, *Acts of the Apostles*, 158. See also Lake, "Proselytes and God-fearers," 74-96. There are no major textual variants for this phrase which could bring into question the text as it stands. Levinskaya, *Diaspora Setting*, proposes the theory that Luke had in mind converts to Paul's message but this only obscures Luke's language further (see also the critique of Keener, *Acts*, 2:2092 n. 1076).

[427] Pervo, *Acts*, 341-42. He explores the idea that there may have been an interpolation in the text (either the adjective σεβομένων or the noun προσηλύτων), although he does not have certainty about this, only that between the two options σεβομένων is the more likely candidate for an interpolation because it makes little sense to introduce a new word (προσήλυτοι) here.

Luke's universal understanding of the passage.[428] Luke's problem and the reason for the

negative response to Paul's message was that the Jews in Pisidian Antioch were willing to be a

light to the Gentiles as long as the Gentiles were willing to abide by their rules and remain

insignificant in number, yet because the number of interested Gentiles overshadowed the

number of Jews, it no longer fit into their understanding of their relationship to Gentiles and

became a significant problem for them. This becomes a major issue within the church, which

Acts 15 tries to address.

Theon informs us that for speech-in-character to be effective one needs to keep in

mind the audience to whom the speech is addressed. How well does Paul's speech address his

narrative audience of Jews and God-fearers? Luke excels at making sure that Paul uses the

proper vocative addresses and argues from the Jewish Scriptures using Jewish modes of

biblical interpretation. In this respect, Paul is a Jew speaking to Jews on their terms and

therefore Luke's characterization of Paul does take audience into account. Yet when we look

at Paul's actual argument, we notice that he makes certain presuppositions that the narrative

audience would not accept, but are accepted by Luke's readership. For instance, Paul argues

from the standpoint of faith in the resurrection. Dupont states that Paul's argument would not

be convincing to a Jewish audience that did not already share a belief in the lordship of the

risen Christ: "[Paul's] exegesis of Psalm 2:7 presupposes faith and moves entirely within the

sphere of faith. Paul's line of reasoning proceeds, as Peter's does, *ex fide in fidem*, offering an

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[428] Tannehill, "Rejection by Jews," 83-84, reminds us that the Gentile mission was a part of God's purposes announced in Scripture and highlighted at the beginning of Luke's story (2:30-32; 3:6) and so Paul's turn to the Gentiles should not be understood as an afterthought or second choice.

exposition of Christian belief rather than an extrinsic demonstration for it."[429] Additionally,

would the narrative audience even have known of John the Baptist, Jesus, or Pilate?[430] Thus,

despite seeking to cast this speech within its synagogue setting, Luke allows his concerns for

the broader audience (his readers) to shine bright as well.

4.4.2 The Genre: Missionary Speech

The genre of the speech is directly dependent on the nature of Paul's audience—Jews

in a synagogue. As was outlined in the history of interpretation section of this chapter, this

speech is often called a missionary speech/sermon (*Missionsrede/Missionspredigt*) that shares

many of the same components as the speeches of Peter in Acts 2, 3, 5, and 10.[431] The audiences

of these speeches are either Jews (2; 3; 5) or God-fearers (10), the same two elements of the

Pisidian Antioch audience. Dibelius spells out the shared content of these speeches and finds

them in Paul's speech: introduction followed by kerygma of Jesus' life (13:23-25), reference to

the disciples as witnesses (13:31), evidence derived from Scripture (13:32-37), and an

exhortation to repentance (13:38-41).[432] This speech is peculiar among Paul's speeches in the

way that it relates to Peter's and Stephen's speeches: the scriptural argumentation and the

selection of Israel's history complements the earlier speeches and should be read in light of

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[429] Dupont, "Messianic Interpretation," 117. See also Johnson, *Acts*, 238-39; Pervo, *Acts*, 334.

[430] Pervo, *Acts*, 334; Lake and Cadbury, *Acts of the Apostles*, 152.

[431] Pichler, *Paulusrezeption*, 23, criticizes the terminology "Missionsreden" in light of the Christian readership of Acts.

[432] Dibelius, *Studies*, 165.

them. Thus, the identification of the Pisidian Antioch speech as a *Missionsrede* distinguishes it from Paul's other main speeches. The difference in genre also constitutes a difference in the way Luke portrays Paul. By design the Paul who speaks in Pisidian Antioch looks more like Peter than the Paul of the rest of Acts in order to show that Paul's message is consistent with that of the apostles. Luke uses comparison (*synkrisis*) to characterize Paul, although he does add certain "Pauline" elements to color the speech, which we will discuss below.

4.4.3 General and Specific Forms of Speech-in-Character

Luke's portrait of Paul should strike the audience as familiar for two reasons. First, it is familiar in the sense that Paul's speech resembles the other missionary speeches of Acts and the portrait of Paul in the episode bears similarity to Luke's portrait of Peter in Acts. Readers of Acts have already encountered similar forms of characterization. Second, the portrait is also familiar because it contains elements that Luke's audience would have associated with Paul from the letters or other traditions. On account of these factors the speech is both un-Pauline and Pauline. According to Theon, speech-in-character (προσωποποιΐα) can take shape in a general or a more specific format (the examples of a man leaving on a journey and Cyrus, respectively).[433] This speech utilizes both types of subjects. The part of the speech where Paul recites Israel's history up to David and argues that Jesus is the fulfillment of Davidic covenant

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[433] Theon, *Prog.*, 115.14-18.

reflects a more general missionary format.[434] The Pauline elements in the speech such as the use of the verb δικαιόω suggest that Luke draws on Pauline tradition as well to fill out the characterization.

Tannehill—as demonstrated in the history of interpretation section above—has shown how the narrative sequence of Acts 13 mimics that of Luke 3–5 and Acts 1–4. Paul, like Jesus and Peter before him, delivers a major address shortly after the inauguration of his ministry. The setting of Paul's synagogue sermon resembles Jesus' synagogue sermon while the content of Paul's sermon reflects the content of Peter's addresses.[435] Both comparisons have been viewed in this chapter already, but perhaps it is important to reconsider how Paul's sermon in Acts 13 parallels Peter's speech in Acts 2. M. D. Goulder placed the text of the two sermons in parallel columns and concludes that the themes, text, and exposition are identical: "They reveal at once the tell-tale correspondence which assures us that the same mind has woven the two fabrics side by side."[436] The reason for such parallel in Luke's characterization of Paul is that he has developed a generic speech-in-character that applies to both Peter and Paul. Libanius's examples of generic speech-in-character include a prostitute, a coward, a eunuch, and a painter.[437] In the same way Luke has a generic set of characterization for his

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[434] Dibelius, *Studies*, 166, criticizes the retelling of Israel's history for being too general: "Any Jewish speaker might have spoken along the same lines."

[435] Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:160; also Johnson, *Acts*, 236-37.

[436] Goulder, *Type and History*, 82-83.

[437] Libanius, *Prog.* 9.18-20, 26-27.

early Christian missionaries such as Peter, Stephen, and Paul, and Luke's characterization of

Paul in the earlier part of the speech conforms to this generic format.[438]

When Luke inserts some Pauline coloring into the speech (13:38-39), it is a bit

surprising since up to this point Luke has used the same brush strokes to paint both Peter and

Paul.[439] Here Luke uses the verb δικαιόω to make a modest attempt at giving some credibility

to his protagonist's speech by drawing on a keyword and concept that is traditionally

associated with Paul.[440] That Luke attempts to give the speech a Pauline impression in these

verses in widely acknowledged,[441] but the degree to which Paul in Pisidian Antioch conforms

to Paul of the letters is a matter of debate.

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[438] Duncan, "Peter, Paul, and the Progymnasmata," 354, argues that there was a generic "apostolic" speech-in-character that Luke was using: "That is to say, these speeches often appear designed as responses not so much to the question 'what would Peter say?' or 'what would Paul say?' as to the more general question, 'what would an apostle' say in a given rhetorical situation?"

[439] Johnson, *Acts*, 237, "[W]e are somewhat startled at the conclusion of the speech with its Pauline coloration."

[440] The verb is a mainstay in Rom (2:13; 3:4, 20, 24, 26, 28, 30; 4:2, 5; 5:1, 9; 6:7; 8:30, 33) and Gal (2:16-17; 3:8, 11, 24; 5:4). Most newer English translations tend to translate this verb in 13:38-39 as "freed" or "set free" (e.g., RSV, GNT, CEV, NASB, NRSV, NASB), rather than the more traditional/literal translation of "justified" (KJV/NKJV, ASV, NET, HCSB), although the NLT and CEB convey the idea of justification without using those words. Interestingly, the NIV uses both "set free" and "justification."

[441] Bauernfeind, *Apostelgeschichte*, 177 notes that Luke was simply trying to note that Paul preached justification by faith and that this passage should not be put under a theological microscope. Vielhauer, "Paulinism," 41, states that "Acts intends to let Paul speak in his own terms." Haenchen, *Acts*, 412: "The words καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων κτλ are evidently intended to reproduce Pauline theology." Plümacher, *Lukas*, 67: "Ausschlaggebend ist aber, daß es zwei Stellen in lukanischen Pl-Reden gibt, an denen Lk sich tatsächlich bemüht zu haben scheint, seinem Pl ein individuelles, d.h. paulinisches Gepräge zu geben: 13:38f. und 20,24." Schille, *Apostelgeschichte*, 296. Polhill, *Acts*, 304. Witherington, *Acts*, 414: "[T]he language of justification and faith in Christ certainly echoes the basic Pauline message and suggests at the least that Luke knew that message." Pervo, *Acts*, 340: "For the reader, this shorthand is pure Paulinism...." Although Munck, *Acts*, 123: "This was not, as has so often been assumed, Pauline theology but already Jewish-Christian dogma, as can be seen from Acts xv 10-11; Gal ii 15-16." Sterling, "LXX in Luke-Acts," 110: "The offer of salvation is the most Pauline formulation in Luke or Acts."

Some interpreters of the speech find 13:38-39 completely compatible with Pauline thought. For instance, Prat writes: "There is not one idea, hardly one word, which is not characteristic of his style and language. Everything in it is typical: the opposition between faith and the law, the impotence of the latter, the remission of sins by the mediation of Christ, and justification by faith in the person of the Redeemer."[442] Pillai builds on Prat's thesis and argues that the vocabulary of the speech is consistent with Paul's vocabulary in the letters, although he does warn against making hasty generalizations.[443] Moving beyond vocabulary, he suggests that ideas in the speech are characteristically Pauline such as the harmony of the Old and New Testaments/old and new Israel, the seed of David realizing the promises, and the death of Jesus verifying the prophecies.[444] He compares the speech with the exordium in Romans (1:2-6), which (he argues) "succinctly summarize[s] the contents of the whole speech." Other aspects of Romans also lend to his view.[445] Pillai argues that no part of the speech is in "open disharmony" with Paul's writings and that even the speech's common material belongs as much to Paul as it does to Peter or Luke.[446]

On the other end of the spectrum, Vielhauer argues that Luke misses the mark in his attempt to allow Paul to speak in his own terms. The main problem is that Luke, according to

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[442] Prat, Theology of Saint Paul, 55-56.

[443] Pillai, *Early Missionary Preaching*, 32-35, 105-106.

[444] Pillai, *Early Missionary Preaching*, 105; quoting Prat, *Theology*, 1:56.

[445] Pillai, *Early Missionary Preaching*, 106-7.

[446] Pillai, *Early Missionary Preaching*, 121.

Vielhauer, equates "forgiveness of sins" with justification, which is not how Paul conceived it.

Rather, forgiveness of sins is a Lukan concept that he develops in Peter's speeches (2:38; 3:19;

5:31; 10:43).[447] Luke was unaware of the "central significance and absolute importance" of

justification by faith since he thought it applied primarily to the Gentiles. Vielhauer sees the

law posing a much greater problem for Paul than it did for Luke.[448]

Pervo, like Vielhauer, thinks that Luke failed to understand Paul correctly in these

verses. He takes issue with Luke's phrasing "freed (δικαιωθῆναι) by the law of Moses" since Jews

in the Diaspora would not have found the Torah deficient. Thus, the reference to justification,

he states, is a "somewhat etiolated reflection of Paul's arguments with 'Judaizing'

Christians."[449] He takes for granted Luke's dependence on Paul's letters and argues that the

equation of justification with forgiveness of sins suggests that Luke is influenced by deutero-

Pauline thought.[450] Lastly, though Paul's doctrine of justification is meant to give the speech "a

proper splash of Pauline color," it actually (ironically) becomes another point of commonality

between Paul, Jesus, and Peter, since the doctrine of justification is most clearly spelled out on

Peter's lips (Acts 15:7-11) and first articulated by Jesus in the Parable of the Pharisee and

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[447] Vielhauer, "Paulinism," 41. See also Conzelmann, *Acts*, 106. Barrett, *Acts*, 1:651 critiques Vielhauer on this point.

[448] Vielhauer, "Paulinism," 42-43. Pervo, *Acts*, 340 n. 87 responds to Vielhauer: "It is likely that Luke *did* know its significance but attempted to blunt its edges. Luke will not say that Torah is of no value to Jews."

[449] Pervo, *Acts*, 340.

[450] Pervo, *Acts*, 340; he also states that the influence of Galatians on the speech is patent (335).

Publican (Luke 18:9-14).[451]

One of the main points of 13:38-39 is that Luke wanted to give a Pauline stamp to the otherwise common speech. In this respect, he was successful. There is little debate whether or not the jargon in these verses point the reader to Paul, but the degree to which Luke truly captures Pauline thinking is controversial. Barrett concludes his treatment of the passage by praising Luke for his Pauline devotion, but casting doubt on his understanding of Pauline theology.[452] The problem of 13:38-39 is that it is simply too small of a sample to determine exactly what Luke knew about Paul, his letters, or how much he understood Pauline theology. There does seem to be some discrepancy, especially with respect to Luke's use of the "forgiveness of sins" (which may reflect more closely the deutero-Pauline letters),[453] yet it is not certain whether this is due to a misunderstanding on Luke's part or Luke's desire to represent Paul within his (Luke's) own theological framework. Sterling contends that "Luke simply used a Pauline formulation alongside one with which he was comfortable, 'forgiveness of sins', to represent the Pauline mission."[454] Either option is viable and does not take away

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[451] Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 59-60.

[452] Barrett, Acts, 1:651: "On a central question of faith Luke shows his devotion to Paul but less than full understanding of his theology." Similarly Walker, "Acts and the Pauline Corpus," 16, writes: "It is far from clear, from this passage, that Luke really understands the doctrine [of justification], and it is evident that the doctrine holds little real interest for him."

[453] E.g., Col 1:14; Eph 1:7. Keener, *Acts*, 2:2075 has a helpful chart showing parallels from 13:38-39 among Luke's writings, Paul's writings, and other texts in the New Testament.

[454] Sterling, "LXX in Luke-Acts," 110.

from the fact that Luke successfully captures some elements of Pauline thought to balance the otherwise Petrine speech.

As was demonstrated in the Miletus speech, Luke did have a more complete picture of the traditional Paul, so that what he gives us in Acts 13 is only a small sampling. This little bit of Paulinism should be attributed to Luke's efforts at creating a specific speech-in-character. The speech seeks to answer the question: "What would Paul say to Diaspora Jews and God-fearers?" and since not even the letters address this issue directly Luke had to draw on whatever Pauline tradition he had available to him to answer the question. Additionally, the genre of a speech embedded in a narrative is going to reflect to some degree the narrative author's viewpoint. Still, Luke knew what would strike his readers as Pauline and was successful at accomplishing this. It only becomes an issue when the critical eye of biblical scholarship presses the issue of his understanding of Paul so severely—something that Luke would not have anticipated.

4.4.4 Paul's Interpretation of Scripture

Luke's portrayal of Paul's mode of interpreting Scripture is most clearly defined in the Pisidian Antioch speech and is the most important component of Luke's *Paulusbild* in the speech. Central to the Lukan identity of Paul is his role as an interpreter of Israel's Scriptures. Yet in order to have a fuller picture of the way that Paul interprets Scripture in the speech, it is first necessary to look at Jesus' statement in Luke 20:41-44 and Peter's Pentecost speech in Acts 2:14-36. Paul constructs his argument on what Jesus started and Peter developed, and they

share a steady progression in context and tone.[455] Luke is the creative force behind these speeches, which becomes clear when one considers how they relate to each other.

Jesus, when in the Temple in Luke's Gospel, asks, "How can they say that the Messiah is David's son?" (20:41). Before allowing any time for a response he clarifies his question: "For David himself says in the book of Psalms, 'The Lord said to my Lord, "Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies your footstool."' David thus calls him Lord; so how can he be his son?" (20:42-44, citing LXX Psalm 109:1). Here Jesus is not calling into question the validity of the Davidic Messiah, but affirming it. The Messiah is both David's Lord and from David's line.

Peter, after attributing the Pentecost episode to the prophecy of Joel 3:1-5, reasserts the Davidic messiahship of Jesus and ties it to his resurrection.[456] To make his argument he cites LXX Psalm 15:8-11, which contains the phrase, "For you will not abandon my soul to Hades, or let your Holy One experience corruption" (2:27, 31). Peter declares that this cannot be understood as a reference to David because he died and thus his body experienced corruption. Instead, Peter asserts that David foresaw this and spoke regarding the resurrection of the Messiah whom Peter identified as Jesus, since God raised him, exalted him, and placed him at his right hand. The exaltation, according to Peter, is what David had in mind when he wrote LXX Psalm 109:1, "The Lord said to my Lord, 'Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies your footstool.'"

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[455] Goulder, *Type and History*, 82.

[456] See Johnson, *Septagintal Midrash*, 36-40.

Paul's Pisidian Antioch speech recites a selective and brief history of Israel from their time in Egypt to the reign of David.[457] Paul describes David from God's perspective with a quotation: "I have found David, the son of Jesse, to be a man after my heart, who will carry out my wishes" (13:22). This quotation is a composite of three separate verses: Psalm 89:20 (LXX 88:21), 1 Sam 13:14, and likely Isa 44:28.[458] The composite quotation shows that Luke's presentation of David draws on multiple sources, one of which was not originally intended to describe David (Isa 44:28).[459] From David, Paul's speech takes a giant leap forward to John the Baptist. He quotes John, which seems to be a paraphrase of statements that John makes in Luke and the Fourth Gospel: "What do you suppose that I am?[460] I am not he. No, but one is coming after me; I am not worthy to untie the thong of the sandals on his feet" (Acts 13:25).[461] The main function of the John quotation is to dissociate John with any claims that he was the

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[457] The figures from Israel's history that Paul features in the speech are Abraham (13:26); Moses (13:39), judges (13:20), Samuel (13:20), Saul (13:21-22), David (13:22-23, 34-36), John (13:24). This focuses much less on the patriarch's than Stephen's rehearsal of Israel's history, which includes the following figures: Abraham (7:2-8, 16-17, 32), Isaac (7:8, 32), Jacob (7:8, 12, 14-16, 32, 46), 12 Patriarchs (7:8-9, 11-16), Joseph (7:9-16, 18), Moses (7:20-44), Aaron (7:40), Joshua (7:45), David (7:45-46), Solomon (7:47), and prophets (7:52).

[458] Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 265; Bock, *Proclamation*, 242-43; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 512; cf. Wilcox, *Semitisms*, 21-24.

[459] The citation is strikingly similar to 1 Clem. 18:1, which also joins Psalm 89:20 and 1 Sam 13:14: "I have found a man after my own heart." Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 265 argues that this reading is based on Acts, whereas Pervo, *Dating*, 301-5 argues that there is a strong case for Acts being dependent on 1 Clem.

[460] NA28 prefers the reading τί ἐμέ ($\mathfrak{P}^{74}$ ℵ A B) over τινά με ($\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ C D E L Ψ 𝔐). See Barrett, *Acts*, 1:638 and Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 360.

[461] The citation parallels John's statements in the Fourth Gospel more closely than that of Luke. The phrase "I am not he" (οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ) shows similarity to the phrasing of οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ in John 3:28 as well as ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμί in John 1:20. The part about not being worthy to untie the Messiah's sandals conforms neither to John 1:27 or Luke 3:16 but bears resemblance to both in difference places. On the connections between Acts and John 1:19-27, see Dodd, *Historical Tradition*, 253-59.

Messiah and to give credibility to the role of Jesus as the promised one. Whether or not the

narrative audience would have known John the Baptist is irrelevant, since the speech is

intended for Luke's audience who, by this point, is well acquainted with him. John's

quotation, however, is not likely to carry the same weight as those from the LXX.

Paul then elaborates on Jesus' credentials and how he fulfills Scripture in 13:26-31, then

in 13:32-33 he focuses on the Davidic promise already mentioned in 13:23. Not only does Paul

refer to this as good news (εὐαγγελίζω), but also credits God as the one who promised

(ἐπαγγελία) it to the ancestors and fulfilled the promise by resurrecting Jesus (13:32-33).[462] Paul

then cites the second Psalm[463] (2:7) as a proof of the resurrection: "You are my Son; today I

have begotten you" (13:33). When the apostles prayed for boldness (Acts 4:24-30), they recite

the first part of this Psalm in order to identify Jesus as the Lord's Anointed of Psalm 2:1 (Acts

4:25-26).[464] In Paul's speech as well, the Psalm carries a messianic connotation that

emphasizes Jesus's sonship. For proof of the resurrection Paul relies on the same argument

that Peter makes in the Pentecost speech: Jesus is the resurrected Messiah because his flesh

(unlike David's) never saw corruption. Here Paul cites the second and third quotations that

make up this triplet. He draws on the last phrase in LXX Isaiah 55:3 (ὑμῖν . . . τὰ ὅσια Δαυιδ τὰ

πιστά) but adds the introductory δώσω so that the quotation says, "I will give you the sacred

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[462] Bock, *Proclamation*, 244-45 states that this introductory formula (13:32-33) introduces the three quotations of Psalm 2:7; Isa 55:3; and LXX Psalm 15:10.

[463] On the ordering and numbering of the Psalms in the ancient versions, see Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 363-65.

[464] See also the messianic use of Psalm 2 in 4QFlor.

and inviolable Davidic promises."[465] The third quotation is a familiar one (cited in Peter's speech), LXX Psalm 15:10: "You will not let your Holy One experience corruption." Paul explains this series of quotations by pointing out that David saw corruption, but Jesus did not. Thus, forgiveness of sins and justification is brought about through him. Paul completes the sermon with a final warning from the "Prophets": "Look, you scoffers! Be amazed and perish, for in your days, I am doing a work that you will never believe, even if someone tells you" (Acts 13:41, citing LXX Hab 1:5). The final quotation is prophetic in that it foretells the ultimate response of Paul's Jewish audience who rejects his message. As a result of this rejection Paul makes one last citation in the brief follow-up speech (13:46-47) that should be listed among the ones in the larger speech. He announces his plans to turn to the Gentiles (13:46) and cites Isa 49:6: "I have set you to be a light for the Gentiles, so that you may bring salvation to the ends of the earth."[466] Thus, at a pivotal point in Luke's narrative Paul appeals to the book of Isaiah to give scriptural support for a newly minted emphasis on the Gentile mission.

The direct citations show that the Lukan Paul has a proclivity for drawing on the Psalms and Isaiah with complementary references to 1-2 Samuel and Habakkuk. This speech was not intended to be read in isolation but understood within the context of the other missionary speeches. Thus, Paul's speech picks up on a theme that began with Jesus's citation of LXX Psalm 109:10, which designates that the Messiah is both David's Lord and his son. Peter

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[465] This translation follows the language of Pervo, *Acts*, 329.

[466] The citation of LXX Isa 49:6 likely draws on the Alexandrian tradition; see Pao, *Isaianic New Exodus*, 97.

uses the same passage in his Pentecost address to highlight the exaltation of the Messiah. But Peter also starts a new trajectory by identifying Jesus as the Messiah on the basis of his resurrection. Here he cites LXX Psalm 15:8-11 and focuses on the part where it states that the Lord will not allow his Holy One to experience corruption. Paul then makes the same argument as Peter when he quotes LXX Psalm 15:10 and declares Jesus to be the Messiah on account of his flesh never decaying like David's. Paul's speech also draws on Psalm 2, the same messianic Psalm used in the apostles' prayer (4:24-30). These examples show that the Lukan Paul uses Scripture, especially the messianic Psalms, in a way that reflects the broader appropriation of Scripture in Luke-Acts. Paul reads Scripture the same way that Peter does. The apostles locate scriptural passages that foretell of the Messiah and then show how these apply to Jesus. Darrell Bock refers to this method as "proclamation from prophecy."[467]

Gail O'Day's study on the citation of Scripture seeks to understand the relationship between intertextuality and characterization in the speeches of Acts.[468] She argues that simply looking at the citation of Scripture through Luke's voice does not capture everything that Luke is doing because it overlooks the characterization of the person quoting the Scripture.[469] She specifically looks at Peter's speeches in Acts 1, 2, 10, and 15 (James' speech) and the progression he makes from the direct citation of Scripture to the inclusion of his own experience alongside Scripture. O'Day concludes that Luke both interprets Scripture through his characters and

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[467] Bock, *Proclamation*, 257.

[468] O'Day, "Citation of Scripture," 207-21.

[469] O'Day, "Citation of Scripture," 212.

also interprets his characters through his use of Scripture. The same approach can be applied

to Paul. In the Pisidian Antioch speech, Luke chooses to demonstrate Paul's interpretive

prowess, since Paul rarely cites direct passages of Scripture elsewhere in Acts.[470] The Lukan

Paul's interaction with Scripture demonstrates that Paul is a capable interpreter of Scripture

who is at home constructing complex arguments founded in biblical exegesis. Paul also relies

on Scripture to justify his status as a missionary to the Gentiles. What the citations do not

accomplish is making the Paul of Acts closely resemble the Paul of the letters. It is true that

Paul cites both the Psalms and Isaiah extensively in Romans and the Corinthian letters, but

the citations in the speech are not from the same passages as the citations in the letters.[471] The

selections from Psalms and Isaiah reflect Luke's vision more than the vision of Paul that we

can discern through the letters.

There have been various proposals regarding Paul's mode of interpretation in the

speech. For instance, J. W. Bowker argues that Paul's speech is an example of a synagogue

homily.[472] He theorizes that the sermon "rests on a *seder* reading" of Deut 4:25-46.[473] Paul does

not overtly cite Deut 4, but Bowker notes that "part of the skill of the teacher was to allude to

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[470] In 23:5 he cites Exod 22:28 and in 28:26-27 he cites Isa 6:9-10.

[471] A possible exception to this is Paul's citation of LXX Isa 49:8 in 2 Cor 6:2 (cf. the quotation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47).

[472] Bowker, "Speeches in Acts," 96-111. See also Bock, *Proclamation*, 241-42.

[473] Bowker, "Speeches in Acts," 102-4. At the beginning of the sermon Paul refers to the exodus from Egypt, the wilderness period, and the conquest in a way that reflects language from Deut 4:37-38. Another possible reference to Deut 4 is 13:31 as well as the citation of Hab 1:5, which Bowker states points to Deut 4:32.

and to imply the readings for the day without necessarily quoting them in direct form."[474] It

may also be a *haftarah* (non-Torah reading) on 2 Sam 7:6-16 and a Proem of 1 Sam 13:14.

Bowker notes that complete confidence on the nature of the homily cannot be determined

because the base text is never explicitly mentioned, but there are definite signs that this fits

the proem homily form. Dale Goldsmith contends that the citations of Psalm 2, Psalm 15, and

Isa 55 are actually used to create a *pesher* interpretation 2 Sam 7.[475] He shows how the

language of 2 Sam 7:11-16 appears in Paul's speech (in albeit modified forms) and concludes

that citations from the Old Testament in 13:33-37 are not the result of "random selection" but

are "carefully conceived on linguistic and theological grounds to show the Jews *how* God

fulfilled his promise to David in II Sam 7 — namely, by raising Jesus from the dead."[476]

Although 2 Sam 7 is certainly in the Luke's mind, to call the text a *pesher* puts an undue

generic restriction on the speech.

For Luke Timothy Johnson, Luke's scriptural interpretation reflects his interests as a

creative author while being consistent with ancient Jewish scriptural interpretation.[477]

According to Johnson, Luke made use of multiple modes of scriptural interpretation in the

speeches of Acts: targum, *pesher*, and haggadah. In Stephen's speech (7:2-53), Luke employs a

targumic style that interweaves the biblical text and his own narrative goals in the same vein

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[474] Bowker, "Speeches in Acts," 103.

[475] Goldsmith, "Pesher," 321-24. He notes that a similar practice is demonstrated in 4Q174 (Florilegium), which also connects Psalm 2 with a pesher on 2 Sam 7. See also Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 169, 209.

[476] Goldsmith, "Pesher," 324.

[477] Johnson, *Septuagintal Midrash*.

as Jubilees and the *Biblical Antiquities* while remaining faithful to the language of the LXX. In

the Apostles' prayer (4:24-30), Luke exhibits a *pesher* interpretation of Psalm 2 that resembles

the *pesher* on Psalm 37 from Qumran (4QpPsalms). What Luke accomplishes in Paul's Pisidian

Antioch speech (13:32-37) is more complex. Johnson notes three important aspects of Luke's

scriptural interpretation in the speech: (1) that Luke relies on specific readings in the LXX over

the MT, (2) that Luke develops his argument over the course of several speeches, and (3) that

Luke makes use of a haggadic style of midrash that depends on word association and the

context of the scriptural citations which are just as important as the explicit citations

themselves.[478] Luke is obviously familiar with Jewish interpretive practices and uses them to

give Paul credibility as a speaker addressing Jews.

The scriptural citations in the Pisidian Antioch speech also shape Luke's

characterization of Paul with respect to the Gentile mission. In Acts 13, Paul is at a crossroads

in his proclamation to Jews. The speech shows a progression from the promise of salvation to

Israel to a universal invitation. Paul's review of Israel is a positive one (in contrast to Stephen's

survey in Acts 7)[479] and he does not count the Jerusalem Jews' rejection of Jesus against those

in the Diaspora. Rather Paul sees his narrative audience as sharers in the promised message of

salvation (λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας) (13:26). To this audience (ὑμῖν), Paul claims that "forgiveness of

sins is proclaimed" through Jesus (13:38). Yet he extends the invitation beyond the children of

Abraham and the God-fearers to include a more universal group: "by this Jesus everyone who

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[478] Johnson, *Septuagintal Midrash*, 46.

[479] Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 507.

believes (πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων) is set free" (or "justified").[480] It is at this point that Paul uses the Hab 1:5 citation as a warning against not complying with God's universal work. The quotation associates the Gentile mission with the word ἔργον (Luke even emphasizes this word by inserting an extra ἔργον in the citation).[481] Though the passage originally referred to Yahweh's response to Habakkuk regarding Judean injustices,[482] the Lukan Paul has now retrofitted it to refer to the work he was doing in Pisidian Antioch. Thus, he supersedes Habakkuk as the one who proclaims God's work;[483] his preaching fulfills Scripture.

Paul's citation of Isa 49:6 in 13:47 further solidifies Paul's universal evangelistic outlook. Because the Jews in Pisidian Antioch "judge[d] themselves not worthy of eternal life," Paul declares that he and Barnabas are now "turning to the Gentiles" (13:46).[484] As justification for this move he quotes Isa 49:6 with the introductory remark "thus the Lord has commanded us" (13:47). This shows us that the Lukan Paul viewed Scripture as being of contemporary application.[485] Not only does the Isaiah passage find new application in Paul's ministry, but it

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[480] Similar language is found in Peter's speech before Cornelius (10:43).

[481] Sandt, "Quotations in Acts 13," 45.

[482] Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, 83, 94, dates it to the reign of Jehoiakim (609-605 BCE); see also Sandt, "Quotations in Acts 13," 43; cf. Sweeney, *Minor Prophets*, 2:454-56, 464-65.

[483] Brawley, *Text to Text*, 121.

[484] Tannehill, "Rejection by Jews," 83, argues that the turning to the Gentiles in this pericope (Acts 13:46) should be understood first and foremost within the context of Pisidian Antioch, not necessarily the rest of the narrative since Paul still evangelizes to Jews first which is made clear by his preaching in the synagogue in the next town (Acts 14:1). *Narrative Unity*, 2:175, lists the following passages as following a similar pattern to event in Antioch of Pisidia: 18:5-7; 19:8-9; 22:17-21; 28:23-28.

[485] Allison, "Old Testament in the New Testament," 486.

helps shape how Luke wanted Paul to be perceived. Paul is the one who is the light, the one

who brings salvation ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. The same language is used at the beginning of Acts

where Jesus informs the apostles that they will be his witnesses ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς (1:8). It is

Paul who takes on the role of being the witness to the ends of the earth as the narrative of Acts

makes clear. The Lukan Paul embodies the Isaiah Scripture and, thus, interprets Scripture by

allowing it to become applicable and fulfilled in his own life. This relates to the prophetic

characteristics of the Lukan Paul which, are examined in the next section below.

4.4.5 The Prophetic Paul

The episode in Pisidian Antioch significantly contributes to the Lukan Paul's image as

a prophet.[486] This is a theme that enters Luke's narrative at various points in Paul's career but

becomes most salient in Acts 13. By the time that Paul and Barnabas arrive in Pisidian

Antioch, Luke's audience has already associated Paul with the prophetic tradition. Paul is

named among a group of prophets, and functions in a prophetic role in the scenes leading up

to his synagogue sermon.

At the beginning of Acts 13, before Paul and Barnabas leave on the missionary journey

that would include the stay at Pisidian Antioch, Luke numbers the two men among the

prophets and teachers in Syrian Antioch: "Now in the church at Antioch there were prophets

and teachers (προφῆται καὶ διδάσκαλοι): Barnabas, Simeon who was called Niger, Lucius of

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[486] On Luke's presentation of early Christian leaders as prophets, see the recent works by McWhirter, *Rejected Prophets*; and Johnson, *Prophetic Jesus*. See also Myers and Freed, "Paul Among the Prophets"; and Moessner, "Paul and the Pattern of the Prophet."

Cyrene, Manaen a member of the court of Herod the ruler, and Saul." Then the Holy Spirit

called (προσκαλέω) them for a work (13:2), and sent them out through an oracular commission

(13:4).[487]

Paul's role as a prophet is clarified in Cyprus. There he encounters Bar-Jesus (Elymas),

a magician who accompanied the proconsul Sergius Paulus and whom Luke designates as a

ψευδοπροφήτης.[488] When Bar-Jesus opposed Paul's message and tried to dissuade the proconsul

away from the faith (13:8), Paul responded with a judgment oracle while being filled with the

Holy Spirit[489]: "Son of the devil, enemy of all righteousness, full of all deceit and wickedness,

will you not stop making crooked the straight paths of the Lord? And now,[490] behold, the hand

of the Lord is upon you and you will be blind, unable to see the sun for a period of time" (13:10-

11a). Once the oracle was spoken, Bar-Jesus was blinded and the proconsul responded

positively to Paul's message (13:11b-12). Both the language and the imagery of the punitive

prophecy allude to the Old Testament. Numerous exegetes observe the biblical language of

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[487] On the prophetic nature of the episode, see Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity*, 265-66, who notes that "the close relationship between prophetic utterance and a divine commission which is ratified by the Christian community" has parallels in 1 Tim 1:18 and 4:14. Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 1:56, observes that times of prayer and worship are conducive to divine revelations.

[488] According to Haenchen, *Acts*, 398, Luke likely thought of Bar-Jesus as the proconsul's court astrologer because "the decisive sign of a prophet is in Luke's eyes knowledge of the future." Pervo, *Acts*, 325, theorizes that Bar-Jesus would have helped the proconsul by performing interpreting dreams, astrological forecasting, divinations, and proving the occasional curses.

[489] Sronstad, *Prophethood*, 106: Filled with the Spirit is Luke's technical term for prophetic inspiration. See also Johnson, *Prophetic Jesus*, 42-44.

[490] Pervo, *Acts*, 326 (citing Westermann, *Prophetic Speech*, 155), notes that the καὶ νῦν construction may be used to introduce an oracle of judgment.

Paul's oracle, most notably Deut 28:28-29.[491] The contest between Paul and Bar-Jesus is also

reminiscent of the contest between Elijah and the Baal's prophets at Mount Carmel (1 Kings

18:19-40), and Jeremiah and the false prophet Hananiah (Jer 28:1-17).[492] Paul speaks through the

inspiration of the Holy Spirit (πλησθεὶς πνεύματος ἁγίου), but it is his own words, whereas

typically in the Old Testament the prophet speaks the words of Yahweh. Aune suggests that

Paul's inspired prophecy looks more like prophecies in the Greco-Roman tradition than the

Old Testament.[493] In terms of Luke's characterization of Paul in the episode, Paul is portrayed

as the true prophet in contrast to Bar-Jesus's role as the false prophet. Paul's prophetic role is

in continuity with Jesus and Peter in Luke's narrative,[494] a point that is amplified in the

following scene at Pisidian Antioch.

When Paul does arrive at Pisidian Antioch, Luke advances the characterization of Paul

as a prophet in two ways: the rejected prophet motif and Paul's embodiment of scriptural

prophecy. As has been noted, Paul's synagogue scene closely resembles the Nazareth

synagogue episode in Luke 4:16-30. There Luke explicitly identifies Jesus as a prophet through

the rejection motif. After Jesus associated himself with the fulfillment of the Isaiah passage,

the synagogue crowd called into question the veracity of his statements. Jesus responded,

"Truly I tell you, no prophet is accepted in his hometown" (4:24). Then, after inciting the

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[491] Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 82-83. Also, Lake and Cadbury, *Acts of the Apostles*, 146; Haenchen, *Acts*, 400, 403; Conzelmann, *Acts*, 100; Plümacher, *Lukas*, 47 n. 58; Pervo, *Acts*, 326.

[492] Kurz, *Acts*, 207.

[493] Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity*, 269-70.

[494] Johnson, *Acts*, 226.

Gentile mission, Jesus barely escaped the angry mob alive. Luke develops the theme of Jesus as a rejected prophet throughout Luke-Acts[495] and Paul picks up the theme in his sermon. He holds the residents and rulers of Jerusalem responsible for failing to recognize Jesus and for not understanding the prophetic oracles about him (13:27). When the speech begins to address the gospel's universalism, Paul cites Hab 1:5 as a warning against not believing the work of God (13:40). At this point, the rejection of Jesus in the passage quickly turns to the rejection of Paul (and Barnabas). The Jews begin to contradict Paul's words and revile him (13:45). Paul condemns the crowd for casting God's word aside and judging themselves unworthy of eternal life. At this point Paul informs his Jewish audience that he and Barnabas will turn to the Gentiles and quotes Isa 49:6. Paul receives more positive responses from the Gentiles (13:48-49), but Jews complete the rejection of Paul and Barnabas by expelling them from the town. The scene ends with Paul shaking the dust off his feet, which also can be understood as a prophetic gesture.[496] Thus Paul is portrayed as a rejected prophet in continuity with Jesus, Peter, and Stephen.

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[495] McWhirter, *Rejected Prophets*, 57-74; Ray, *Narrative Irony*, 106-11; Tiede, *Prophecy and History*, 120-22; Pao, *Isaianic New Exodus*, 99.

[496] The action of shaking dust off one's feet in the New Testament has to do with a warning of judgment, not purification. In Luke, when Jesus sends out the Twelve he instructs them to shake the dust off their feet against those towns which do not receive them εἰς μαρτύριον ἐπ' αὐτούς (Luke 9:5). Similarly, when Jesus sends out the seventy-two missionaries in the following chapter, he tells them to speak against those who do not receive them: "Even the dust of your town that clings to our feet we wipe off against you" (Luke 10:11). Cadbury, "Dust and Garments," 271, notes that the shaking of dust is a way for Paul and Barnabas to "clear themselves of all further responsibility for the impenitence of the doomed city. . . . It was an act towards a whole city, not towards individuals." Bruce, *Book of Acts*, 268: "The original idea behind the gesture was that the community against which it was directed was doomed (possibly self-doomed) to destruction—a destruction so thorough that it extended to its very dust, which must therefore be removed."

Paul's embodiment of Scripture clarifies his role as a prophet. The citations from Habakkuk and Isaiah are particularly noteworthy in this regard. When Paul cautions his audience against disbelieving God's work, he prophetically foresees the rejection of his gospel later in the episode. This caution comes by way of the Habakkuk 1:5 citation, wherein Paul assumes Habakkuk's prophetic role.[497] Paul places himself in the Scripture so-to-speak and refocuses the attention from the turbulent times of the late seventh-century CE prophet who casts light on the Babylonians, to his current situation of casting light on the Gentile mission. The Scripture no longer has Nebuchadnezzar in its crosshairs, but now highlights what God is doing in the first century CE. Paul's prophetic warning also falls in line with Jesus's announcement of coming judgment against an obdurate people in Luke 21.[498] Paul also does not consider the Habakkuk citation as an empty threat since his later action of shaking off the dust from his feet indicates that he views the rejecters as doomed (13:51).

The Isaiah 49:6 citation extends Paul's role as a prophet in the episode. Brawley notes that the servant referred to in the Isaiah passage was originally "Israel" according to 49:3 but is redefined in 49:5-6 as "the prophet whom God calls for the sake of Israel." This ambiguity between Israel and the prophet, he claims, allows readers to develop "dual revisions" in light of the two places that Isa 49:6 is quoted in Luke-Acts. In Luke 2:32, Simeon refers to Jesus as φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν καὶ δόξαν λαοῦ σου Ἰσραήλ and here in Acts 13:47 Paul uses the verse to characterize his own missionary work: τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως

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[497] According to Brawley, *Text to Text*, 120: "[Paul] displaces Habakkuk and supersedes him as a light...."

[498] Moessner, "Paul in Acts," 101.

ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. Brawley claims that Jesus supersedes *Israel* as a light while Paul and Barnabas

supersede the *prophet* as a light.[499] Thus, for Luke, Paul and Barnabas stand as a beacons of the

Gospel who boldly proclaim God's universalistic message despite the complaints of their own

countrymen.

4.4.6 Paul as Orator

Part of Luke's overall characterization of Paul in Acts is to exhibit his skill as an orator

and there are a few elements within this speech and its context that convey this: Paul's stance

and gesture, the rhetorical structure of the speech, and the audience's response.

After taking up the call for a λόγος παρακλήσεως (13:15), Paul stands up and motions

with his hand (κατασείσας τῇ χειρί) as he begins to speak (13:16). The act of standing up while

delivering an address in a synagogue is atypical, and thus, according to Haenchen, "Luke

probably, for his Hellenistic readers, presents Paul as a Hellenistic orator—hence also the

orator's gesture, which would be superfluous in a synagogue."[500] Yet there is not much data to

go on to support Haenchen's view definitively that by standing Paul stood out among his

contemporaries in first-century synagogues.[501] Standing alone cannot prove that Luke

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[499] Brawley, *Text to Text*, 122.

[500] Haenchen, *Acts*, 408.

[501] Haenchen, *Acts*, 408, does acknowledge that Philo (*Spec.* 2 §67, 102) describes a person standing in a synagogue. The contrasting example is that of Jesus who stood up to read the prophet Isaiah, but sat down before speaking to the audience (Luke 4:16-21). See also Barrett, *Acts*, 1:629 who on the whole repeats the sentiment of Haenchen, but notes that "[i]n any case Paul would not have been sitting on the βῆμα, and standing may have been necessary if he was to be seen and heard."

portrayed Paul as an orator, thus Haenchen's second point about the gesture must also be considered. Barrett notes that the gesture "suggests a Greek rhetor rather than a synagogue preacher."[502] Quintilian discusses hand gestures in the *Institutes* in the context of speech delivery.[503] There he mentions the various types of gestures that one can use while speaking, especially at the exordium stage. Similarly, Thelyphron, in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, mimicked an orator's gesture: "He extended his right arm, shaping his fingers to resemble an orator's: having bent his two lowest fingers in, he stretched the others out at long range and poised his thumb to strike, gently rising as he began."[504] This shows that there were typical hand gestures for orators and it is likely that Luke was calling attention to Paul as an orator by way of the gesture.[505]

The structure and content of the speech indicates familiarity with Greek rhetoric even though it contains Jewish exegesis.[506] C. Clifton Black argues that the Pisidian Antioch speech reflects classical rhetorical norms "to an impressive degree."[507] There is some debate on whether to categorize the speech as epideictic or deliberative. The main distinction is whether or not the end of the speech calls for a change in mind or a change in action. George Kennedy

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[502] Barrett, *Acts*, 1:629.

[503] Quintilian, *Inst*. 11.3.92-116; see also Shiell, *Reading Acts*, 146.

[504] Apuleius, *Metam*. 2.21 (Hanson, LCL). The translator notes that this sentence is particularly difficult because "Apuleius is using military metaphors to describe a standard rhetorical pose."

[505] Gestures are typical in Acts: 12:17; 13:16; 19:33; 21:40; 26:1. See Parsons, *Acts*, 191.

[506] See the Scriptural Interpretation section above.

[507] Black, "Rhetorical Form," 10.

contends that it is a piece of epideictic rhetoric because it aims at belief rather than action.[508]

Witherington disagrees and sees it as deliberative rhetoric "meant to urge a change not just in

belief but also in behavior, as vv. 40-42 makes clear."[509] Yet it is difficult to claim that 13:40-42

"make clear" a change in behavior, since these verses are a warning against not believing and

its consequences. Epideictic is most likely the type of rhetoric intended. In terms of the

rhetorical structure of the speech, it seems that the speech includes an *exordium* (13:16b), a

narratio (13:17-25), a *propositio* (13:26), a *probatio* (13:27-37), and a *peroratio* (13:38-41).[510] Luke

has paid careful attention to fit the speech into these rhetorical sections.

One last element that shows Luke's intentions to highlight Paul's role as an orator in

the speech is evidenced in the crowd's responses. The purpose and goal of rhetoric is not

merely decoration but persuasion,[511] and thus whether Paul's audience was persuaded can be a

useful measure. There are actually multiple responses because there are multiple groups who

respond (Jews, God-fearers, and Gentiles) and the responses seem to change over the course

of a week. The initial response is very positive from the Jews and God-fearers: "But while they

exited the synagogue, people urged them to speak again about these things on the next

Sabbath. After the meeting of the synagogue broke up, many Jews and devout converts

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[508] Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 124. Followed by Black, "Rhetorical Form," 10.

[509] Witherington, *Acts*, 407.

[510] See, for example, Black, "Rhetorical Form," 8-10; Satterthwaite, "Classical Rhetoric," 357-59; Witherington, *Acts*, 407; Parsons, *Acts*, 192-92; cf. Soards, *Speeches*, 79. Porter, *Paul of Acts*, 132 warns against using rhetorical outlines because of the short nature of the speeches.

[511] Satterthwaite, "Classical Rhetoric," 375-76.

(προσηλύτων) to Judaism followed Paul and Barnabas who spoke to them and urged them to continue in God's grace. The next Sabbath nearly the whole city came together to hear the word of the Lord" (13:42-44). This certainly does not describe a response to a failed argument, but instead endorses Paul's ability as an orator to captivate or intrigue his audience. At this point the reception of Paul's sermon among his Jewish audience is very positive and is not unlike the success of Peter's Pentecost sermon, although in terms of conversion numbers Peter's sermon remains unmatched (2:47). Yet the influence of Paul's sermon expanded far beyond the Jewish audience to include nearly the whole city. This is certainly hyperbole on Luke's part in order to highlight Paul's abilities as a gifted orator. Haenchen writes that "Luke abandons all realism of presentation for the sake of depicting Paul as a great orator and successful missionary."[512]

Once Paul's Jewish audience saw the crowds of Gentiles, "they were filled with jealousy; and blaspheming they contradicted what was spoken by Paul" (13:45). Thus, Paul's first initial positive response from the Jews turns sour. The reason that Luke gives for the opposition is the crowd's jealousy (ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου). Luke, however, has already prepared his audience to expect this negative result and therefore is careful not to detract from Paul's rhetorical skill. In hindsight, the sermon predicted the negative response from the Jews in the form of the Habakkuk 1:5 citation, in which Luke's readers may have viewed Paul's audience as the "scoffers" unable to believe in God's work.[513] More significant are the narrative connections

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[512] Haenchen, *Acts*, 413-14.

[513] Holladay, *Acts*, 274.

within Luke-Acts to Jesus's reading at the synagogue. Both messages delivered by Paul and Jesus were met with initial acceptance, followed by the crowd's opposition. In both cases, the inclusion of the Gentiles played a major role in creating the opposition. In the Nazareth episode, Jesus introduces the Gentile mission by reminding his audience about Elijah's visit to the widow at Zarephath and Elisha's cleansing of the leper Naaman the Syrian (Luke 4:25-27). The crowd immediately responded by being filled with rage, then droving him out of town, and nearly hurling him off a cliff (Luke 4:28-29). Likewise, for Paul and Barnabas, the Gentile mission incited the Jews at Pisidian Antioch to drive them out of town (13:50). Thus, Luke creates Paul's characterization through comparison with Jesus by showing similarities between the beginnings of their respective missions.[514] Luke will continue to make such comparisons through the narrative and speeches in the remaining sections of Acts.

Despite the Jewish rejection of Paul and Barnabas, there was a silver lining. After Paul declared his turning to the Gentiles, there was another, greater response: "When the Gentiles heard this, they were glad and praised the word of the Lord; and as many as had been destined for eternal life became believers. Thus the word of the Lord spread throughout the region" (13:48-49). So the overall effect of Paul's mission was positive. Ironically Paul's sermon to Jews and God-fearers ended up having the most impact on Gentiles, but nevertheless it was a very successful speech in terms of Luke's overall program to reach the ends of the earth.

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[514] This involves the progymnastic exercise of syncrisis, see Theon, *Prog.* 112–115.

4.5 Conclusion

Readers of the Pisidian Antioch scene will undoubtedly pick up on its ironic outcome. Paul's great sermon to Jews ends up becoming the turning point for Paul's Gentile mission. The outcome of Acts 13 and the Jewish rejection of Paul are programmatic for much of Paul's missionary activity that follows. Luke intends for his readers to understand this sermon as typical for the way that Paul preached to Jewish audiences. It is a Lukan creation and so rather than trying to pinpoint the historical value of the speech, we should understand its role in Luke's *Paulusbild*. Luke showcases Paul's prowess as an interpreter of Scripture, his prophetic qualities, and his effectiveness as an orator. He cannot be blamed for the lack of success among the Jewish audience. Rather it was quite the opposite; as a result of the sermon's success it caused the Jewish audience to reject Paul's message on account of jealousy. Luke does not want his readers to view Paul's sermon as flawed. It serves not only as a model for Paul's Diaspora preaching, but it also functions as a model for how Luke's readers could preach to Jews. Thus, Luke encourages his readers to know the Scriptures well in order to proclaim Jesus as the Messiah through them. This episode also serves as a warning for Luke's readers who if they do experience some resistance from their preaching to Jews, they are in good company with both Jesus and Paul.

Chapter 5: Paul as Philosopher in the Areopagus Speech (Acts 17:16-34)

5.1 Introduction

Paul's Areopagus speech is the most famous speech in the book of Acts and the one that has engendered the most critical scholarship. It is here that Luke, through Paul, fully develops his message to the Gentiles in the greatest of Greek settings—the city of Athens. It is Luke's way of "giving a classical pulpit to the classical sermon."[515] Luke draws on tradition about Socrates and places his speaker squarely in this tradition. Paul, like Socrates, has a message that the people of Athens will not want to hear. In Acts, this important speech serves as a highpoint in Paul's mission to the Gentiles, despite the fact that Paul himself ascribes no real importance to his visit to Athens.[516]

Though the speech exhibits how Luke's Paul addresses a Greek audience, it is not Paul's first Gentile encounter. Some Gentiles were present at Paul's Pisidian Antioch speech (Acts 13:16, 44-48), and the subsequent Lystra episode (Acts 14:8-18) contained a short speech specifically directed at Gentiles without Jews in the audience. The Lystra episode plays a strategic role in the narrative of Acts, especially in terms of Paul's mission to the Gentiles.

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[515] Dibelius, *Studies*, 75.

[516] Dupont, *Salvation*, 30, observes that the amount of space allotted to Athens and Corinth in Luke's narrative is disproportionate to the length of stay and success found in these respective cities. The reason being, "Cultivated man that he was, Luke appears to have been sensitive to the prestige of Athens."

Lystra is the site of the major interaction between Gentiles and missionaries prior to the

Jerusalem meeting (15:1-29). In many ways, the Lystra episode (14:8-20a) foreshadows later

instances when Paul's gospel encounters paganism in its various forms (e.g., Acts 17:16-34; 19:1-

41; 28:1-10). The apostles arrived in Lystra after "unbelieving Jews" in Iconium stirred up the

people against Paul and Barnabas (14:1-6). Despite being on the run, the apostles managed to

make the best of their situation and preached to the Lycaonians in the region (14:7). The

Lycaonians first received the missionaries with hospitality, then with misunderstanding, but

ultimately with rejection.

One of the defining differences between the speeches in Lystra and Athens is their

respective locations. Lystra was located in central Asia Minor, far removed from the hustle

and bustle of urban life.[517] Granted, it was a Roman colony (founded by Augustus in 25 BCE),

around the same time that Provincia Galatia was established.[518] Yet Lystra failed to gain

success as a Roman colony due to its remote location and the small number of Italian

settlers.[519] For Luke's purposes, any Roman influences were of little importance. According to

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[517] On the background to city of Lystra, cf. Béchard, *Paul Outside the Walls*, 322-37, 376-77; Calder and Cormack, *Monuments*, xi-xiii, 1-10; Potter, "Lystra," 4:426-27; Hill, *Greek Coins*, xxv, 10; Levick, *Roman Colonies*; Mitchell, *Anatolia,* 1:77, 90; Ramsay, *Cities*, 407-19; and Wordelman, "Gods Have Come Down."

[518] On the dating of Lystra's establishment as a Roman colony, see Levick, *Roman Colonies*, 37, 195-97. Regarding the Provincia Galatia more broadly, see Levick, *Roman Colonies*, 29-41; Hansen, "Galatia," 377-95. It was one of six Roman colonies founded by August in the region: Pisidian Antioch, Cremna, Parlais, Comama, Olbasa, and Lystra. According to *Res gest. divi Aug.* 28, Augustus himself states that he settled colonies in Pisidia. Levick, *Roman Colonies*, 33-34, argues that these six colonies were founded during the Augustan period, whereas Ninica and Germe were founded during the reign of Domitian. In 6 BCE, Augustus connected the colonies with a paved highway, the Via Sebaste.

[519] Levick, *Roman Colonies*, 197.

Béchard, it represented both the world's most ancient and most primitive of places.[520] Thus,

Luke uses the Lystra episode to exemplify what happens when Paul introduces his gospel to a

rustic town in the interior of Asia Minor. The whole town recognizes the miraculous power of

the gospel and, as a result, the city's religious practices are affected. Paul's speech, delivered to

prohibit the people from worshipping him and Barnabas, exhorts the Lycaonias to turn from

"worthless things" to the living God, drawing heavily on natural theology. The apostles are

successful in persuading the audience from sacrificing to them, but only by a little.

The reader of the Lystra speech may ponder why Luke chose to abbreviate it. It is

likely that Luke only intends this to be a precursor to another dramatic scene in Acts, the

Areopagus address. There are some strong parallels between the two speeches, thus lending

support for the view that Luke's approach to the Gentiles in Acts is consistent. Neither speech

mentions Jesus by name, both have an emphasis on natural theology, and both suggest that

while God overlooked the ways of past generations, he now demands repentance.[521] Thus, full

interpretation of one speech requires familiarity with the other, and vice-versa.[522]

5.2 Scholarship on the Areopagus Speech

Eduard Norden's 1913 monograph, *Agnostos Theos*, drives much of the discussion

about the Areopagus speech in the first half of the twentieth century. He argues against the

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[520] Béchard, *Paul Outside the Walls*, 377.

[521] Dupont, "L'Aréopage," 409, addresses the topic of *le silence* in the speeches.

[522] See, for instance, Béchard, *Paul Outside the Walls*, 355-431.

position that the speech can be traced back to Paul, seeing it instead as an insertion into the text of Acts by an editor (ca. 100 CE), since the speech is incongruent with other passages in Acts. Norden proposes that the speech resembles the account of Apollonius of Tyana's visit to Athens, and the redactor of Acts used a report of this visit to construct the speech. Norden holds that the speech contains both Jewish-Christian and Stoic elements (he uses the terms "jüdisch-christiliche Grundmotiv" and "stoische Begleitmotiv").[523] While few ultimately accepted Norden's conclusions, he helped to pave the way for other interpreters of Acts 17 to locate the speech in its ancient historiographical context.

In contrast, Lake and Cadbury find the local details given by the speech to be consistent with evidence from contemporary sources. They contend that Acts 17 "commends itself at once as a genuinely historical narrative."[524] On the question of whether the speech originated with the editor of Acts or was in the source, they decide, since it both relates to other speeches in Acts (e.g., Lystra speech) and "is similar to what Paul probably would have said" (e.g., Rom 1.19 and 1Thess 1:9-10), that "[p]ossibly no final decision can be reached."[525] While the speech possesses a strong secular style, it is not "consciously based on Stoic models," but is rather Jewish in origin.[526] In a supplementary article Cadbury elaborates that the Lystra speech (Acts 14:15-17) illuminates Paul's address in Athens: it is in Lystra that Paul

[523] Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 3-30.

[524] Lake and Cadbury, *Acts of the Apostles*, 208.

[525] Lake and Cadbury, *Acts of the Apostles*, 208-9.

[526] Lake and Cadbury, *Acts of the Apostles*, 209.

equates the "unknown" god with good works and this, Cadbury claims, draws on the language

from Jewish writings such as the Wisdom of Solomon, rather than Stoic thought as Norden

contends.[527]

Martin Dibelius's treatment of the Areopagus scene helps lay the groundwork for

understanding Paul's sermon as a Lukan invention with a specific literary-theological

agenda.[528] He argues that the setting of the speech was present in the itinerary source, which

would have originally included 17:17 and 17:34, and also mention Paul's standard missionary

strategy (17:17) and its outcome (17:34). This information, Dibelius claims, is "too dull to be

legend, too detailed to be fiction,"[529] and so Luke is unlikely to have invented these details.

Instead, the mention of Dionysius the Areopagite in the itinerary source (17:34) inspired Luke

to write a sermon for Paul on the Areopagus.[530] Luke composed the narrative preceding the

sermon, along with its local Athenian coloring, to introduce and complement the sermon. The

purpose of the sermon was to exemplify the way that a Christian missionary should preach to

cultured Gentiles.[531] Dibelius rules out the possibility of the sermon originating with the Paul

of the letters because the natural theology and other facets of the sermon are inconsistent

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[527] Cadbury, "Speeches in Acts," 409.

[528] See Dibelius, "Paul on the Areopagus," and "Paul in Athens." Both essays are reprinted in *Studies*, although they originally appeared in 1939 and make the same general argument.

[529] Dibelius, *Studies*, 78.

[530] Dibelius, *Studies*, 75.

[531] Dibelius, *Studies*, 79.

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with his letters.[532] He claims, indeed, that its theology is foreign to the entire New Testament.[533] Interestingly, the speech supports a general monotheistic view until the very end, when Paul refers to the man (Jesus) and the resurrection, but does not even use a proper noun to identify him by name. Thus the speech is "a hellenistic speech about recognizing God, and about recognizing him philosophically."[534] Although, according the narrative of Acts, Paul's success in Athens was not evident, the speech was successful at anticipating a new trajectory of Christian thought, upheld by the apologists and later Christians, who sought to understand God in philosophical terms.

In my introductory chapter, I briefly alluded to Philipp Vielhauer's view of Paul's natural theology in the Areopagus speech.[535] Now I will elaborate on his position. Vielhauer pursues the question of whether Luke incorporated genuinely Pauline ideas in his speeches. He follows Dibelius's interpretation of the speech, arguing that it is dependent on Hellenistic, specifically Stoic, ideas. Paul's statements in Romans 1 conflict with the views of this speech on natural theology. In Romans, Paul declares that ignorance of God is inexcusable (1:20), whereas in Acts 17 God has overlooked the times of ignorance (17:30). The natural theology in Romans 1 "functions as an aid to the demonstration of human responsibility and is thereafter immediately dropped," whereas in Acts 17 natural theology is "evaluated positively and

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[532] Dibelius, *Studies*, 59-63, 71.

[533] Dibelius, *Studies*, 71. He cites Schweitzer, *Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus*, 6-10; cf. Schubert, "Place of the Areopagus Speech," 247.

[534] Dibelius, *Studies*, 81.

[535] Vielhauer, "Paulinism," 33-50.

employed in missionary pedagogy as a forerunner of faith: the natural knowledge of God needs only to be purified, corrected, and enlarged, but its basic significance is not questioned."[536] In this matter, Vielhauer finds Paul in Acts 17 closer to Justin and the apologists.[537]

Bertil Gärtner also addresses the question of whether the speech has its origins in Paul. The speech's content, he argues, reflects Diaspora preaching adapted by Christian Gentile missionaries. Disagreeing with Vielhauer, he further asserts that because the speech does not obviously clash with Paul's letters, scholars should not be so quick to insist that it is not Pauline. After all, there is only a limited amount of data to work with in determining what is or is not Pauline.[538] Instead, Gärtner affirms the Pauline character of Acts 17, though Luke is responsible for its terminology and literary form.[539] Arguing for a Pauline basis for the speech, Gärtner also opposes the opinion that the speech has its origins in Hellenistic thought. Thus he swings the pendulum away from the Hellenistic background and argues that the speech presents the ideology of "Jewish Diaspora preaching and its method of presenting the One God—not, however, the strongly Hellenised brand of Jewish Diaspora theology, but the more 'orthodox' one."[540] Gärtner excludes Hellenism and promotes the Jewishness of speech to a

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[536] Vielhauer, "Paulinism," 36.

[537] Vielhauer, "Paulinism," 37.

[538] Gärtner, *Areopagus Speech*, 250.

[539] For a summary of his opinion, see Gärtner, *Areopagus Speech*, 250 and the footnotes he references to earlier sections of his monograph.

[540] Gärtner, *Areopagus Speech*, 71.

fault, because he fails to take into consideration the eclectic nature of ancient thought. Pervo

aptly describes the issue with Gärtner's approach: "The task is not the selection and rejection

of various backgrounds, with 'Jewish background' occupying a privileged position, but the

development of a profile of the sermon in the context of ancient thought."[541]

Hans Conzelmann contends that the speech is a literary creation of Luke and thus not

dependent on an earlier source or speech. It does not represent Paul's own thoughts but

instead it "documents for us how a Christian around A.D. 100 reacts to the *pagan* milieu and

meets it from the position of his faith."[542] Still, Conzelmann asserts, the speech should not be

used as a "model sermon" by missionaries, because Luke composed it to show how Paul at this

one time dealt with philosophers in Athens.[543] Conzelmann also argues that "the heart of the

speech is indeed Stoic," but a Stoicism that is filtered through Hellenistic Jewish sources and

there are no "precisely specific elements of Stoic philosophy" present.[544] The lackluster

response to the speech should not be seen as a failure of Paul to convert, but a failure of the

Athenians to believe.[545] The story reflects the situation in Luke's own day: if Paul was not

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[541] Pervo, *Acts*, 430, note 51.

[542] Conzelmann, "Areopagus," 218; see also Conzelmann, *Acts*, 147.

[543] Conzelmann, "Areopagus," 227.

[544] Conzelmann, *Acts*, 147-48; Conzelmann, "Areopagus," 225.

[545] Conzelmann, *Acts*, 147; Haenchen, *Acts*, 526.

successful at converting philosophers, then Christians who experienced the same results at

Luke's time are in good company.[546]

Paul Schubert's essay[547] strikes a balance between an exclusively Hellenistic (e.g.,

Dibelius) view and an exclusively Jewish (e.g., Gärtner) view. He argues that the speech is

thoroughly Lukan and a synthesis of both influences.[548] More importantly, he demonstrates

how the speech compares with the other speeches in Acts. Schubert takes issue with

Dibelius's statement that the Areopagus speech is a foreign body (*Fremdkörper*): "[Dibelius]

has not seen that these speeches (chaps. 2, 3, 7, 10, and 13) were all pointing to the Areopagus

speech, each in its own way."[549] Schubert recalls preceding speeches (e.g., the Lystra speech)

that contain numerous antecedents to this speech such as God as creator, God not living in

human-made shrines, God setting allotted seasons and boundaries, nature moving human

hearts to seek God, acting in ignorance, the call for repentance, and the fixed day of

judgment.[550] Schubert points to Paul's statement in Acts 20:26-27 that he held back nothing in

proclaiming the whole plan of God, and argues that the thematic Lukan idea of βουλὴ τοῦ θεοῦ

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[546] Conzelmann, "Areopagus," 227: "If the philosophers were not even converted by a sermon of Paul, they will certainly not be converted today. Thus the Christians find their own experience substantiated: these circles do not respond to Christian missions even 'today'; the truth of the faith is established in spite of its being rejected by the wise."

[547] Schubert, "Place of the Areopagus Speech," 235-61.

[548] Schubert, "Place of the Areopagus Speech," 248.

[549] Schubert, "Place of the Areopagus Speech," 247.

[550] Schubert, "Place of the Areopagus Speech," 253-59.

finds it culmination in the Areopagus speech, which is a high point in Luke's narrative.[551] This further supports Schubert's thesis that Luke's overarching theology prominently appears in all of the speeches, including Acts 17.

David Balch, following the suggestion of Abraham Malherbe, looks at the first century BCE Stoic philosopher and historian Posidonius as a backdrop to the Areopagus speech.[552] He argues that the speech appeals both to a "Posidonian understanding of divine providence in nature" as well as "a Stoic understanding of providence in history."[553] Balch points out elements in Luke's narrative (e.g., Acts 12:20-23) where Luke in a manner similar to Posidonius displays the providential judgment of the impious. Balch questions the claim of Jacob Jervell that the Areopagus speech "is more or less a foreign body within Acts."[554] Instead, Balch confirms Conzelmann's thesis that the speech relates to the larger narrative (διήγησις) of Acts. The last part of Balch's essay demonstrates points of contact between the Areopagus speech and Dio Chrysostom's *Oration* 12, which is manifestly dependent on Posidonius.[555]

We now notice a major shift in the scholarly interest in the Areopagus speech, with more attention going to rhetorical aims. Karl Olav Sandnes argues that the speech is an example of deliberative rhetoric, which makes use of the rhetorical strategy of *insinuatio*, or

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[551] Schubert, "Place of the Areopagus Speech," 259-60. See Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 190-91 for a critique on Schubert's overemphasis on the importance of the Areopagus speech.

[552] Balch, "Areopagus Speech," 52.

[553] Balch, "Areopagus Speech," 66-67.

[554] Balch, "Areopagus Speech," 58, 67, citing Jervell, *The Unknown Paul*, 17.

[555] Balch, "Areopagus Speech," 72-79, especially 73.

subtlety "characterized by indirect speaking, even to the extent of hiding or avoiding some aspects of the issue."[556] Paul takes this indirect and cryptic approach in his proclamation of the gospel. He reveals very little about the "man" (Jesus), which causes his audience to be discontented with the speech due to the lack of information. Some of Paul's auditors ask for further information (17:33), which was the intended rhetorical effect of the speech. Sandnes adds that while others noticed the depiction of Paul as Socrates in the speech's prelude, the elements in the speech itself that continue this depiction have been overlooked. The dialogical style that Socrates employed would cause curiosity and questions from his conversation partners. Sandnes argues that this is the same technique used by Paul in the speech.[557] He states: "The undeniable distinction between Socrates' questions and Paul's indirect way of introducing Jesus should not distract us from seeing that both are aiming at questions allowing both philosopher and missionary to develop the teaching further on another occasion."[558]

C. Kavin Rowe argues that Luke situates the speech within an "overtly political context," rather than simply a "peaceful philosophical dialogue."[559] This speech, like others in Acts, attracts the attention of governing authorities. Rowe points out that though Paul indeed defends himself against the charge of preaching something new (and thus avoids the same

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[556] Sandnes, "Paul and Socrates," 16.

[557] Sandnes, "Paul and Socrates," 24.

[558] Sandnes, "Paul and Socrates," 25.

[559] Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 31.

fate of Socrates), he does not compromise his proclamation of Jesus' resurrection before the governing authorities.[560] The speech is not merely in conversation with pagan philosophies, and does not simply translate the gospel into pagan philosophical terms. Instead, Rowe insists that Luke transforms pagan philosophy by removing these philosophical allusions from their original contexts by embedding them into the Christian storyline.[561] He writes: "by changing the hermeneutical context of the allusive phrases, Luke alters, even subverts, the intent of the phrases in their original interpretive structure(s). He thereby changes profoundly (and with rhetorical subtlety) their meaning: drafting pagan testimony into the service of the gospel allows pagan philosophy to speak truth not on its own terms but on Luke's."[562] Luke's call to embrace a new life (μετάνοια in 17:30) demonstrates the political nature of the speech.

This is the most celebrated and controversial speech in Acts. Certainly, my survey of scholarship on the Areopagus address is by no means exhaustive, but what I have done here is to highlight some of the major treatments of this passage. What has been lacking to now has been an interest in thoroughly pursuing the question of Luke's *characterization* of Paul in the speech, which is the primary interest of the current study. To show this, I build on the work of Sandnes and others, in combination with the progymnasmata, to engage the way that Luke presents Paul in Athens.

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[560] Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 39.

[561] Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 39-41.

[562] Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 40.

5.3 Location and Setting: Areopagus of Athens

The location plays a pivotal role in Luke's construction of the speech, and ultimately, the image that Luke draws of Paul. Establishing the location of the speech, as we have seen, is an important element for speech-in-character. Theon notes that "[w]hat is said is also affected by the places and occasions when it is said."[563] He elaborates on this and compares speeches made in a military camp to those made in an assembly of citizens.[564] Thus, the location of Athens is a guiding element for the construction of the speech. The setting of Paul's famous speech in Athens is in large measure responsible for the speech's fame. We can assume that Luke knew this as well, which is why Paul's two speeches to Gentiles look so different—Lystra was no Athens. By the time of Luke's writing, Athens has had a long and glorious history. No other city better represents what it means to be Greek. The city had certainly lost some of her appeal and stature, but Athens nevertheless remained an iconic, historical center of Greek culture and philosophy.

Luke implies that Paul ended up in Athens almost by accident.[565] He was proclaiming the word of God in Berea, but Jews from Thessalonica drove him from the city. The text states that "the believers immediately sent Paul away to the coast" (17:14a). The closest sea to Berea is the Thermaic Gulf on the north end of the Aegean Sea, which lies about 20 miles east by south

[563] Theon, *Prog.* 116.9.

[564] Theon, *Prog.* 116.10

[565] Athens was not part of the missionary journey's original plan, which was to revisit the churches from the first missionary journey (15:36). This plan was altered when Paul received a vision of a Macedonian urging him to come to Macedonia (16:6-10). Still, Athens was not yet part of the plan.

of Berea. But the shore of the Aegean was apparently not a sufficiently safe distance from the

Macedonian Jews who were upset with Paul's mission. Luke tells us that "[t]hose who

conducted Paul brought him as far as Athens" (17:15a). The point that his protectors delivered

him all the way to Athens, a considerably longer trip, confirms just how receptive the Bereans

were to Paul's message (17:11-12). When Paul arrives in Athens, the Athenians would not be

nearly as receptive. Now, Paul was alone in Athens—he sent away his Macedonian protectors

and was waiting for Silas and Timothy, who remained in Berea (17:14b).

Luke expends very few words to describe Athens, likely depending on his audience's

own knowledge of the city to fill in any gaps. He does not even provide the name of the port

where Paul landed.[566] The first piece of descriptive information about Athens that Luke gives

us is that the city was full of idols (17:16). He states that while Paul was waiting for his

companions, he was "deeply distressed" when he saw the city full of idols. Luke mentions a

synagogue, an agora, the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers, and the Areopagus. In the speech

Paul makes mention of the altar dedicated to the unknown god. Culturally, Luke paints the

Athenians with a broad stroke—"Now all the Athenians and the foreigners living there would

spend their time in nothing but telling or hearing something new" (17:21). Then in the speech,

Paul perceives that the Athenians are "extremely religious" (17:22). Despite Luke's succinct

description of the city, he creates a highly memorable scene that captures much of the city's

essence. Haenchen puts it well when he states that "Luke conjures up in a few sentences the

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[566] Debate over where Paul landed in Athens is irrelevant to this current study. Luke does not concern his readers with it and it does not get us any closer to understanding the character of Paul in the passage, nevertheless, a discussion of Paul's landing site can be found in Keener, *Acts*, 2572-74.

whole individuality of Athens as it was at that time, in order to give the right background to

the apostle's sermon."[567]

Modern researchers point out that the city of Athens in Paul's day lacked much of the

size and luster of its glory days in the classical period. By this time, other cities such as

Alexandria, were garnering a reputation that would surpass Athens in terms of population

and cultural learning. Athens even played second fiddle to Corinth, the region's Roman

capital. Commenting on Corinth's ascension above Athens, the poet Horace would refer to

Athens as *vacuae Athenae*, or empty Athens.[568] Yet for Luke, Corinth would serve a different

purpose in Paul's career—it was still Athens that represented the heart of Hellenism. Pliny the

Elder, writing in the second half of the first century CE, simply referred to Athens as a free city,

which "requires no further advertisement here as her celebrity is more than ample."[569] When

Pliny the Younger was discussing the exceptional language and literary skills of a certain

Terentius Junior, he writes, "you would think Athens his home, not a country house."[570] Athens

also remained a destination for advanced study of rhetoric and philosophy. For instance, both

Cicero in the first century BCE and Plutarch in the first century CE both studied in Athens.

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[567] Dibelius, *Studies*, 76.

[568] Horace, *Ep.* 2.2.81, cited in Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 601. Nevertheless, Athens had some distinct cultural advantages over Corinth. Cadbury, *Book of Acts in History*, 44, notes that Corinth's art treasures were carried off to Rome, but such was not the case for Athens (see also Rackham, *Acts*, 302).

[569] Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 4.24 (Rackham, LCL).

[570] Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 7.25.4 (Radice, LCL).

Later, Julian the Emperor would attend the university in Athens along with Gregory

Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea.

Because Athens continued to represent Greek culture, intellectualism, rhetoric, and

philosophy, it is no wonder that Luke located the grandest of Paul's speeches in this town. In

fact, the description of the city may be based on literature; the author of Acts may not have

even had first-hand knowledge of the city. Such was the opinion of A. D. Nock, who writes,

"[B]rilliant as is the picture of Athens, it makes on me the impression of being based on

literature, which was easy to find, rather than on personal observation."[571] Accounts like

Pausanias's description of Athens more or less confirms Luke's portrayal of the city. He

describes a steady stream of statues, sanctuaries, temples, inscriptions, and other images

throughout Athens.[572] The reputation of Athens was enough to justify placing Paul in the city.

In addition to Athens' reputation, Luke likely chose this city for Paul's important

speech because of tradition. It is true that Paul himself never writes about a major speech in

Athens (or any other speech for that matter), but according to 1 Thess 3:1 he did spend time in

the city. Whether Luke knew this from reading Paul's epistle or simply from other Pauline

tradition, it may have been just enough information to inspire his narrative and speech.

Athens was certainly within Paul's sphere of travel. He worked in and out of the Aegean region

and for this reason, Athens was a logical choice over other intellectual and cultural centers,

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[571] Nock, *Essays,* 2:831.

[572] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1. Pausanias was writing after Luke, but still serves the point. Pervo, *Acts*, 427, cites a passage from Chariton's, *Chaereas and Callirhoe* (1.11.5-7), which portrays Athenians as talkative and litigious. Aelius Aristides delivered a famous panegyric on Athens, the *Panathenaicus* (155 C.E.).

such as Alexandria. Luke could also have placed Paul's philosophical speech in Tarsus, which would have literarily paralleled Jesus' hometown address in the Nazareth synagogue (Luke 4). Yet even this draw (and despite Tarsus being a town of considerable cultural and philosophical capital) was not strong enough compared to Athens. One element in the episode where Luke may point to tradition is 17:34, which specifies the names of two converts: Dionysius the Areopagite and woman named Damaris.[573] Scholars like Dibelius and Haenchen argued that these names provided material from which Luke drew.[574] More recently it has been argued that Luke fabricated the names to contribute more local color to the episode.[575]

5.4 Luke's Characterization of Paul in the Areopagus Speech

5.4.1 Audience

Despite the highly elliptical character of Luke's narration of the Athens episode, he does mention Paul's audiences several times. Paul first encounters Jews and Godfearers in the synagogue (17:17a), which is consistent with Luke's portrayal of his missionary methods in Acts.[576] Then he argues with anyone hanging around in the marketplace (ἀγορά) (17:17b). At

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[573] Codex D omits καὶ γυνὴ ὀνόματι Δάμαρις, but this is certainly a defective reading. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 407.

[574] Dibelius, *Studies*, 74, 130; Haenchen, *Acts*, 526-27.

[575] See Gill, "Dionysios and Damaris" and Pervo, *Acts*, 442.

[576] Conzelmann, *Acts*, 32, states that Paul's interaction in the synagogue is not dependent on a source, but "simply carries out the Lukan schema."

this location, Paul drew the attention of both Epicureans and Stoic philosophers (17:18). He

was brought to the Areopagus (17:19), which may or may not represent still another group of

auditors. Both Athenians and foreigners are mentioned generally just prior to Paul's speech

(17:21).

When Luke writes that the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers brought Paul to the

Areopagus to inquire about his message, he does not make clear the significance of the term

"Areopagus." This has generated quite a bit of scholarly conjecture, since the term could be

applied to either the location (the Hill of Ares), or to the council (ἡ ἐξ Ἄρειον πάγον Βουλή). If

Luke had the former in mind, the scene would simply present Paul as a speaker before a

crowd of fellow academics or philosophers; if the latter was Luke's intention, then he would

be suggesting that Paul was standing on trial of sorts. The verb ἐπιλαμβάνομαι lends itself to

both views: it could simply mean that they took hold of Paul, or that they took him into

custody.[577] Johnson argues that the tone of Paul's speech seems more like a friendly discussion

rather than a formal hearing.[578] Rowe is not so quick to dismiss the notion of the council,

however.[579] He notes that the ἀγορά was already an acceptable location for carrying out

philosophical discussions and there might not be an obvious reason to move Paul to the hill

simply to hear more of his message. Additionally, if the council is not intended here, then the

careful work that Luke did to compare Paul to Socrates in this scene is lost. Rowe's response,

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[577] BDAG, 374. For the latter meaning, see Acts 21:33.

[578] Johnson, *Acts*, 314.

[579] Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 29-30.

following T. D. Barnes,[580] was that the place is not necessarily separate from the council: "The worry, therefore, that Luke did not discriminate between the two different senses of 'Areopagus' actually displays well the false alternative inherent in the modern effort to separate them. There is no exegetical need to distinguish clearly between the two senses of Areopagus."[581]

In the Roman period, there were roughly one hundred members in the Areopagus, which resembled a municipal or colonial senate.[582] If in fact Luke intends Paul's audience to be members of the Areopagus council, then it is no longer the street philosophers, the Epicureans and Stoics, but people of considerable wealth and status; some well-to-do Romans were members of this body, and all former Athenian archons were as well.[583] Lucian paints a picture of one of these wealthy Areopagites (Laches of Colyttus), who withholds his inheritance from his moocher of a son, Chaereas.[584] The Areopagus was the effective government and chief court of Athens during the Imperial period,[585] but one does not get the impression that any real punishment is on the line because no formal charges are ever

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[580] Barnes, "Apostle on Trial."

[581] Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 30. Not all recent commentators agree, though. Keener, *Acts*, 3:2600, who cites a number of earlier commentaries and studies, maintains that the council was meeting at the Stoa Basileios, which was just off the agora. Barnes, "Apostle on Trial," 408-10, challenges the view that the council met at the Stoa Basileios.

[582] *NewDocs* 1:82: "Its diverse functions – judicial, financial, foreign relations, determination of citizen status – make plain that it was the governing body of the *polis*."

[583] Keener, *Acts*, 3:2601-2.

[584] Lucian, *Dial. meretr.*, 7.296-297.

[585] Barnes, "Apostle on Trial," 411-13.

introduced.[586] Pervo suggests that the event is "a sort of trial before the Council."[587] Barnes

notes that the Areopagus council, like the Roman senate, was rather informal.[588] Conzelmann

points out that the council sometimes met for educational purposes and he suggests that this

may be the case here.[589] Additionally, the philosopher Cleanthes was brought before the

Areopagus so that they could determine how he made his living.[590]

In any case, Paul's address and the surrounding narrative suggest a broader audience

than just the aristocratic Areopagites. Paul addresses his speech to the Athenians in general

(ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι),[591] and makes broad statements about their religiosity. Patrick Gray states

that the speech turns the criticism that Paul was the σπερμολόγος back on the Athenians, who

are the "real babblers" and whose "imperceptiveness earns low marks from the narrator."[592]

But we should be cautious not to assume that Luke has a monolithic audience in mind, and

certainly the Epicureans and the Stoics who initiated the move to the Areopagus were

present.[593] We are now dealing with a wholly different audience than the one to which Paul

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[586] Gärtner, *Areopagus Speech*, 53.

[587] Pervo, *Acts*, 428.

[588] Barnes, "Apostle on Trial," 413-14.

[589] See Conzelmann, *Acts*, 139, who cites Plutarch, *Cic.* 24, but see also Barnes, "Apostle on Trial," 413.

[590] Diogenes Laertius, *Vit. phil.* 7.168-169; cited in Johnson, *Acts*, 314.

[591] It has been pointed out that this was an acceptable address in the court (Witherington, *Acts*, 520, who cites Demosthenes, *Exord.* 54).

[592] Gray, "Implied Audience," 210-11. Similarly Keener, *Acts*, 2613: "Ironically, it is not Paul, called a σπερμολόγος in 17:18, who is a dilettante but the Athenians."

[593] Barrett, "Areopagus," 72, suggests that the Epicureans and Stoics are mentioned in Luke's audience, to the exclusion of other philosophical schools (e.g., Pythagoreans, Cynics, Peripatetics) because the tenets of

preached in Lystra. This is an educated audience,[594] which is part and parcel of the local

coloring that Luke is trying to accomplish. Others present were those mentioned in 17:34,

including non-council observers.[595] Gray notes that there were different types of responses to

Paul's message in 17:34 and this reflects a more diverse audience.[596]

In addition to those specifically mentioned as auditors of Paul's memorable speech,

Luke undoubtedly hoped that this Athenian audience would represent Greeks more

universally. Paul delivers the speech after the Jerusalem council in which the governing body

of the church approves the Gentile mission. Before the Jerusalem council he had preached to a

Gentile audience in Lystra (14:15-17), and now Paul takes his message, with the support of the

Jerusalem leadership, to the heart of Greek civilization. The significance of the Areopagus

speech is not simply how Paul addressed a specific group of people in Athens, but it

demonstrates the Lukan Paul's message to Greek civilization more broadly.[597] Haenchen

remarks that Paul appears to address all of Athens in his speech and "Athens again represents

the whole of Greek culture and religiosity."[598]

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these two schools play a specific role in Paul's speech, whereas Gray, "Implied Audience," 213, states that unlike typical Athenians, both the Epicureans and Stoics were opposed to superstitions (cf. δεισιδαίμων in 17:22).

[594] Klauck, *Magic*, 77, writes: "Paul is no longer dealing with an unenlightened provincial crowd, but with an educated city public."

[595] Dionysius is given the title "Areopagite," which implies that the others mentioned by Luke in the verse were not Areopagites.

[596] Gray, "Implied Audiences," 217.

[597] Wilson, *Gentiles*, 216.

[598] Haenchen, 528. Also, Bruce, *Book of Acts*, 334-35.

5.4.2 Paul's State of Mind

It is not uncommon for Luke to highlight Paul's emotional responses to his surroundings.[599] In 17:16, Luke notes that Paul was "deeply distressed," but the Greek is a little more colorful than the NRSV indicates. A more accurate (but wooden) translation of παρωξύνετο τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ is "his spirit within him was provoked to anger." The verb παροξύνω is a "strong word"[600] meaning "to cause a state of inward arousal, *urge on, stimulate*."[601] It indicates that Paul had a "severe emotional concern" or, to put it more idiomatically, "his heart was eating him."[602] The verb, used sparingly in the New Testament,[603] is employed frequently in the Septuagint, occurring over fifty times, which includes several instances of reporting God's indignation toward Israel's idolatry.[604] One example of this is Deut 9:18, which describes Moses's response after descending from the mountain and discovering the people's idolatry. He fasted for forty days and nights on account of the people's sins, who did evil before the Lord, "to provoke him to anger (παροξῦναι αὐτόν)." This is

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[599] For example, in 16:18, Paul was "very much annoyed" by the insistence of the slave girl in Philippi who declared that he and his companions were slaves of the Most High God (16:18). The verb indicating his annoyance, διαπονέομαι, means to "feel burdened as the result of someone's provocative activity" (BDAG, 235).

[600] Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 331.

[601] BDAG, 780. See also LSJ, 1342-43: "to be provoked at a thing."

[602] L&N, 88.189.

[603] The only other use of παροξύνω in the New Testament is 1 Cor 13:5 where Paul describes what love is not: "it is not provoked." The cognate παροξυσμός is used in Acts 15:39 to describe the schism between Paul and Barnabas following the Jerusalem council.

[604] Keener, *Acts*, 3:2574, cites Deut 9:18, Psalm 105:28-29, and Hos 8:5.

the verb that Luke chose to describe the ill effect that Athenian idolatry had on Paul. As modern readers we may appreciate the Athenian aesthetic or splendor, not thinking twice about what these seemingly innocuous statues and temples would have represented. But the same does not go for Paul, for whom these objects represented something religiously powerful which he opposed. Unlike us, Paul was not far removed from interactions with Greek pagan culture. As Bruce puts it, "The beauty of the sculpture of Pheidias apparently made no appeal to one brought up in the spirit of the Second Commandment, and could not move him from his fundamental attitude to idolatry."[605]

Paul's response introduces pathos to the situation. The great Areopagus speech is not simply an academic exercise for Paul, but one that is prompted by an emotional response toward Athenian religiosity. A response that either conveys his righteous indignation toward idolatry, or expresses his pity toward the people caught up in the situation. Nevertheless, the emotion of being provoked in the spirit did not translate to his speech, which is reserved and devoid of emotion. That said, the very thing that caused him to be provoked – Athenian religiosity – is the impetus of the speech: "I see how extremely religious you are in every way" (17:22). This was probably meant to convey a double meaning. For the Athenians, δεισιδαιμονέστερος was a compliment for being very religious, yet for Paul, their religiosity was excessive or superstitious.[606] It was a smooth trick that would have satisfied the audience of

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[605] Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 331.

[606] On the ambiguous nature of the word, see BDAG, 216; Johnson, *Acts*, 314; Bruce, *Book of Acts*, 335; Witherington, *Acts*, 520; Haenchen, *Acts*, 520.

the speech as well as the audience of Acts. And it shows that Luke's Paul is able to operate

with a high level of emotional control (when needed) and give what has the appearance of an

academic discourse despite what would have been Paul's state of mind as Luke notes it. Paul's

decorum in the episode is impeccable. This contrasts with the Lystra episode where the

apostles tore their clothes and cried out in speech—there you get a better sense of the

apostles' raw emotions.

5.4.3 Paul as Philosopher

In this speech, the author of Acts gives Paul the vocation of a philosopher, a role

distinct from that of a pastor (Acts 20), a prophet (Acts 13), or defense attorney (Acts 26). In

the narrative and in the speech, Luke uses imagery drawn from tradition about Socrates to

create Paul in the image of a philosopher. Luke also interacts with elements of Stoic and

Epicurean philosophy to buttress this portrait. This does not mean that Luke intends the

speech to be a full-scale philosophical treatment, but rather a sample to create an image.[607] By

constructing Paul as a philosopher, Luke hopes to show that Paul possesses both knowledge

and ability to debate and dialogue with the intellectual elite of Athens.

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[607] See, for instance, Johnson, *Acts*, 319: "[W]e should not ask of Luke a more profound engagement with Greek Philosophy than he could manage in these few lines placed in the mouth of Paul. His compressed sentences represent something of a sample of the far more sustained efforts at negotiating the religious and philosophical perceptions of the Greek world and those of Torah...."

There is little doubt that Luke intends to compare Paul's visit to Athens with the activity of Socrates.[608] Commentators representing a spectrum of views on the historicity of the passage concede at least some allusions made to Socrates.[609] In antiquity, Socrates was a well-known figure, who was often upheld as a model philosopher, and so comparing a person with Socrates was a common convention.[610]

Immediately after the formulaic reference to Paul's activity in the synagogue, Luke mentions that Paul conversed in the marketplace (ἀγορά) every day with anyone fortunate to pass by. Here Luke presents Paul as an indiscriminate preacher more in line with a contemporary street-corner preacher than the purposeful missionary working out of a synagogue. But this too is a clear parallel to Socrates's activity of dialoguing with—perhaps even pestering—people walking by in the marketplace. Xenophon provides us with the following description:

> Moreover, he was always visible. For in the early morning he used to go on walks to the gymnasia, and when the agora was full he was visible there, and for the remainder of the day he was always where he might be with the most people. And he spoke for the majority of the time, and it was possible for anyone who wished to hear him.[611]

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[608] Luke makes an earlier allusion to Socrates in Acts 5:29 when Peter and the apostles declared, "We must obey God rather than any human authority." See Keener, *Acts*, 3:2604.

[609] Keener, *Acts*, 3:2604 n. 3043, provides a basic bibliography of scholars who point out allusion to Socrates in this passage. Keener himself argues that the episode is an adaptation of genuine Athens tradition, but that the parts that compare Paul with Socrates are added (Keener, *Acts*, 3:2567-68). See also the bibliography in Sandnes, "Paul and Socrates," 20 n. 16. Hommel, "Areopagrede," 150-51, offers an opposing view.

[610] For example, the following figures from antiquity have been compared with Socrates: Chrysostom, Philostratus, Favorinus, and Apollonius.

[611] Xenophon, *Mem*. 1.1.10 (Bonnette). See also Plato, *Apol*. 17C and 19D; Dio Chrysostom, *Socr*. (*Or. 54*) 3; and Lang, *Socrates in the Agora*.

Luke uses the verb διαλέγομαι to describe the way that Paul conversed with the Athenian bystanders. The verb (to which our English word *dialogue* owes its origins) means to engage in a speech interchange, to converse, to discuss, or to argue.[612] Plato uses this same verb for Socrates's conversations with his fellow Athenians.[613] Sandnes argues that in this setting, the verb carries the connotation of dialogical teaching in the same vein as Socrates.[614]

Paul's dialogue in the ἀγορά drew the attention of the Epicureans and Stoics. Some called him a σπερμολόγος, a poser or scrapmonger (17:18b).[615] The word originally referred to birds picking up grains of seed, but was applied to people who would pick up small scraps of intellectual thought, then disperse them like nuggets of philosophical wisdom. Often these scraps were not substantial enough to stand on their own right. Or the person spouting these snippets would not have the requisite knowledge to know what to do with them. Either way the person would come across as a dilettante. Plutarch employs this line of thought when he described the philosopher Aristippus as one who "gleaned a few odd seeds and samples of Socrates' talk."[616] Demosthenes popularized the word in *On the Crown,* when he referred Aeschines as a σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς (a scandal-monger, a market-place loafer).[617]

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[612] BDAG, 232.

[613] Plato, *Apol.* 19D; see also Dio Chrysostom, *Socr.* (*Or. 54*) 3; Diogenes Laertius, *Vit. phil.* 2.5.21.

[614] Sandnes, "Paul and Socrates," 21

[615] BDAG, 937.

[616] Plutarch, *Curios.* 516C (Helmbold, LCL). See Johnson, *Acts,* 313. Instances of the σπερμολόγος can be found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 19.5; and Plutarch, *Cohib. ira* 456D.

[617] Demosthenes, *Cor.* 127 (Vince and Vince, LCL).

Rowe notes that calling Paul a σπερμολόγος suggests that he was ignorant of the primary sources and a philosophical poser.[618] Whereas Luke hoped to cast Paul as a new Socrates, the impression that these marketplace philosophers had was the he was merely an amateur trying to make it in the big leagues.

Other philosophers suggested that Paul was a preacher of foreign divinities (17:18c). The inclusion of δοκεῖ ("seems") lessens the accusation. Nevertheless, this is the same accusation that was placed against Socrates. Xenophon tells us that the indictment against Socrates was that he "commits an injustice by not believing in the gods in which the city believes and by bringing in new and different divine things (*daimonia*); he commits an injustice also by corrupting the young."[619] In 17:20, the Athenians claim that Paul is "introducing" foreign things. Here the verb εἰσφέρω resonates with traditions that Socrates introduced (εἰσφέρω) new gods.[620] The accusation of introducing new gods becomes a literary trope for philosophical integrity.[621] For example, Lucian, writing about his teacher Demonax, states that "[h]e too had his Anytus and his Meletus who combined against him and brought the same charges that their predecessors brought against Socrates, asserting that he had never been known to sacrifice and was the only man in the community uninitiated in the Eleusinian

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[618] Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 28.

[619] Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.1.1 (Bonnette). See also Plato, *Euthyphr.* 3B; Plato, *Apol.* 24B-C; and Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 7.11.2.

[620] See Sandnes, 21-22. On the use of the verb εἰσφέρω in this sense, see Xenophon, *Apology*, 10-11.

[621] Johnson, *Acts*, 313-14. Keener, *Acts*, 3:2598, refers to Socrates as "the now-conventional model for Greek philosophers."

mysteries."[622] Thus, the charge brought against Paul not only highlights the fact that the subject of his preaching was completely new and foreign to Athens, but that Paul's preaching actually makes him at home in the city by comparing him with the city's greatest philosopher.

Luke explains that the confusion about Paul's foreign divinities (plural) was due to the fact that he preached Jesus *and* the Resurrection. The inference is that the Athenians mistook this as a reference to two separate divinities, Jesus and Anastasia. The accusation of introducing new Gods brought with it heavy consequences. Socrates's fate is well known. Joshua Jipp warns against underestimating the hostility of Athens toward foreign deities.[623] Those attempting to introduce a foreign god often met the fate of death, even representatives of foreign divinities whose gods were accepted in the city were often killed.[624] This is no light issue and though Luke never explicitly indicates that Paul's life is in danger, Luke may have wanted his readers to appreciate the risk that Paul was taking as a new Socrates.

Paul's arrest is another Socratic element of the narrative. As mentioned above, the verb ἐπιλαμβάνομαι in 17:19 could mean either to grasp or to arrest. Here it likely means to take one into custody, and while Luke does use this verb to describe the arrest of Jesus in Luke 23:26, he probably intended to parallel Socrates's arrest in this episode rather than Jesus's, due to all the other parallels to Socrates.

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[622] Lucian, *Demon.* 11 (cited in Johnson, *Acts*, 314).

[623] Jipp, "Areopagus Speech," 572-73.

[624] See, for example, Julian, *Or.* 5.159 (cited in Jipp, "Areopagus Speech," 572).

In addition to the narrative, Paul's speech also embodies Socratic tradition and methodology. First, his address to the men of Athens (ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι) is reminiscent of Socrates's defense speech.[625] Plato's *Apology* is littered with the phrase or variations of it.[626] Second, the mixed result of the speech is significant for the characterization of Paul: "After hearing about the resurrection from the dead, some scoffed, but others said, 'We will hear you again concerning this.'" The speech only teased at some of Paul's message regarding the resurrection. The brief and cryptic reference to Jesus's resurrection in 17:31 certainly raises more questions than it answers,[627] but this goes hand in hand with Luke's characterization of Paul as Socrates, according to an observation made by Sandnes.[628] Socrates's dialogical style— guiding his audience to insight through asking questions—was intended to create curiosity and engender questions from the conversation partner.[629] Of course, Paul is not asking questions in his speech, but Sandnes is not deterred by this distinction,[630] because Paul leaves his audience asking the question: "who is this man mentioned at the end of the speech?" Certainly Sandnes's theory about the allusion to Socratic method in the speech is only

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[625] Cf. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 130, who notes that the more appropriate address would have been, "Gentlemen."

[626] Plato, *Apol.* 17A, 29D, 30B-D, 35C-E, 38B-C, etc. See also Lucian, *Demon.* 11.

[627] Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 2:220.

[628] Sandnes, "Paul and Socrates," 23-24.

[629] Sandnes, "Paul and Socrates," 24, provides the example of Socrates discussion with Euthydemus (Xenophon, *Mem.* 4.2): "The lengthy dialogue with Euthydemus shows that Socrates' dialogical style is intended to cause curiosity and questions in Euthydemus."

[630] Sandnes, "Paul and Socrates," 24, "[Paul] seems to beg the questions rather than ask them."

compelling to scholars who are already looking for parallels to Socrates, but the search for

parallels in the speech is warranted given the parallels in the narrative leading up to it.

Nevertheless, the speech addresses numerous themes that would have appealed to

philosophical engagement more generally, including: objects of worship, unknown deities,

creation, temples and shrines, the allotment of times and seasons, searching for God, being

God's offspring, idols, and coming judgment. It has long been argued that Luke specifically

interacts with Stoicism in this episode,[631] and others have pointed out connections with

Epicureanism.[632] Luke himself alludes to both groups as being part of the audience and so

readers should expect stereotypical language for both groups in the speech. This is the point

raised by Barrett who argues that Luke's reference to these groups of philosophers prepares

the readers to allusions to them. The Lukan Paul plays the two groups off each other. Barrett

writes, "Paul enlists the aid of the philosophers, using in the first place the rational criticism of

the Epicureans to attack the folly and especially the idolatry of popular religion, and then the

theism of the Stoics to establish (against the Epicureans) the immediate and intimate

nearness of God, and man's obligation to follow the path of duty and of (true) religion, rather

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[631] See for example, Pohlenz, "Paulus und die Stoa," 69-104; Eltester, "Gott und die Natur in der Areopagrede," 202-27. Balch, "Areopagus Speech," 52-79. Summarized by Barrett, "Paul's Speech on the Areopagus," 72: "The unity of mankind (v. 26), the divine appointment of seasons and natural boundaries (26), the divine environment in which men live and move—often enough conceived pantheistically by Stoics (28), the natural kinship of men with God, summed up in the words of Aratus (τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν, 28): all of these are familiar points of contact between the speech and well-known Stoic doctrines." Stoicism is often associated with the Paul of the letters as well, for example Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics,* and deSilva, "Paul and Stoa."

[632] Neyrey, "Acts 17," 121: "Epicureans were popularly known in terms of stereotypes, in particular their atheism, their denial of providence, and their rejection of theodicy. Luke understands the Epicureans in Acts 17 precisely in terms of a stereotype, namely, their denial of theodicy." See also Schnabel, *Missionary*, 173.

than that of pleasure."[633] Keener uses the language of dividing and conquering. He compares

Paul's approach to the audience of Stoics and Epicureans to Paul's dealing with the Sadducees

and Pharisees in 23:6-10. In the end, Luke's Paul finds more in common with the Stoics, just as,

in 23:6, he sides with the Pharisees.[634] Yet the result of the Areopagus speech does not

generate a lot of commotion such as occurs in 23:9-10. The narrative does not make it clear

that Luke is inviting these two opposing groups to a boxing match.

In 17:28, Paul cites two poets to support the tenet that God is not far from humanity.[635]

The first quotation is "In him we live and move and have our being." This quotation is usually

attributed to the Cretan poet Epimenides,[636] although others have attributed it to Plato or

Posidonius.[637] The problem with identifying the author of the quotation is that it does not

appear in the exact same form in the extant literature. On the basis of meter, Renahan doubts

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[633] Barrett, "Areopagus Speech," 75. Whereas Barrett sees Luke incorporating some positive elements of Epicureanism into the speech, Jerome Neyrey, "Acts 17," argues that Epicureanism is sharply critiqued in the speech. For Neyrey, Luke's use of the Christian doctrine of theodicy stands in contrast to the popular stereotype in which Epicureans deny providence and theodicy. By theodicy, Neyrey means "the argument that God's providential relationship to the world entails a just judgment of mortals, especially a judgment that takes place after death, where rewards and punishments are allotted" (119). Luke refers to theodicy in the form of a *topos* (a complex idea digested and reduced to a simple, easy-to-remember formula) and plays off of a common stereotype that Epicureans denied providence and theodicy. He plays the stereotypes of Stoics against Epicureans in this speech in a similar manner to the stereotypes of Pharisees and Sadducees (Acts 23). "Luke has cast the characters and the issues in such a way as to argue that Christian theology belongs to the common, acceptable doctrine of God held by good and reasonable people, whether Hellenistic Stoics or Jewish Pharisees" (133).

[634] Keener, *Acts*, 3:2581, notes that Paul may have been diving and conquering his audience as he does elsewhere in Acts (e.g., 23:6-10).

[635] It is generally accepted that Paul quotes two separate poets in 17:28, although this is not unanimous, especially since 17:28a does not have a strict verbal parallel to any piece of extant literature written prior to Acts.

[636] Most notably Rothschild, *Paul in Athens*.

[637] Hommel, "Platonischen bei Lukas," 193-200; Balch, "Areopagus Speech," 78.

that it is a quotation from Greek poetry and ultimately argues that it was written by the author of Acts.[638] Similarly, Rowe asserts that because the phrase is open to a range of philosophical views and Luke knows the power of general allusion, "he avoids identifying directly the God of Israel with any particular pagan construal of θεῖος (e.g., the Stoic one) and thus preserves the space in which to maintain his critique of idolatry."[639] Thus we can move away from Stoics or Epicureans and think more generally about the philosophical engagement of the verse. When we come to the second quotation in 17:28, "For indeed we are his offspring," we are on more solid ground to argue that it derives from the fifth line of Aratus's *Phaenomena*. Aratus himself studied Stoicism in Athens, possibly under Zeno,[640] and as such, Paul's citation certainly would have buttered up some of the Athenian Stoics in his audience. Both quotations add to the philosophical texture of the speech and further serve Luke's intention to present Paul as a philosophically adept speaker who can engage the intellectual elite of Athens.

Socrates was Athens' greatest saint, executed for his pursuit of truth. Socrates was also the model philosopher and even during his lifetime (or shortly afterward) he was already a "uniquely significant propaganda image."[641] Paul's trip to Athens was Luke's chance to put his hero on par with this great historical figure. Gentiles had already compared Paul to great

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[638] Renehan, "Classical Greek Quotations," 38: "To the best of our knowledge, ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν, while undeniably a splendid and sublime phrase, is not poetry; presumably it is the author of *Acts*' own creation... To begin with, there is no discernable meter" and "[w]hoever first proposed this interpretation no longer understood Greek metrics, not even the dactylic hexameter."

[639] Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 37.

[640] Renehan, "Classical Greek Quotations," 40.

[641] Aune, *Literary Environment*, 36.

figures. In Lystra, the Lycaonians mistook him for Hermes, the spokesperson of Zeus (14:12), but the exposure one gets in Lystra is small potatoes compared to the great historical city of Athens. In other words, Paul was about to walk onto the world's greatest stage and Luke found it necessary to make the comparison to Socrates to increase his credibility and to validate his message. Luke was pulling out all the stops. As the philosopher *par excellence*, Paul trumped the philosophers who accused him of being a dilettante;[642] he turned the tables and presented them as the misguided ones.[643]

There is no question that the result of the speech is less than stellar. There were no throngs of Athenians begging to be baptized. No one was hailing Paul as a stunning intellectual. Instead, some mocked Paul because of the resurrection and others expressed interest to hear him again (17:32). The last verse in the episode indicates that Paul did get some followers in Athens, namely Dionysius the Areopagite and a woman named Damaris (17:34), but this pales in comparison to other speeches in Acts. If, however, we gauge the success of the speech solely on the number of conversions, then we have misunderstood Luke's point. If Luke hopes to cast Paul in the image of Socrates, we should not expect the Areopagites to respond any differently than the assembly responded to Socrates. Socrates never gained widespread acceptance during his own time and he certainly did not change the

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[642] σπερμολόγος in 17:18.

[643] Jipp, "Areopagus Speech," 570: "Luke characterizes Paul as Socrates redivivus, the great Athenian philosopher, and thereby casts Paul as hero and the philosophers as narrative antagonists. Paul, as Socrates redivivus, is the knowledgeable philosopher, while those who oppose him, the Stoics and Epicureans, are misguided and ignorant in their antagonism to Paul."

mind of the assembly. In fact, had Paul converted many on account of his speech, it would

undo the comparisons to Socrates, and so Paul's mixed success in Athens adds further support

that Luke presents Paul in the image of Socrates.

5.4.4 Paul as Orator

Paul's Areopagus address is a highly celebrated speech and it is here on this most

famous stage that he embraces the conventional role of an orator.[644] Luke constructs this

image of an orator in three ways: the context, the description of Paul, and the content of the

speech. The context of a speech in Athens begs for a display of seasoned oratory as it was the

home of the greatest Greek orators such as Demosthenes, Lysias, Isocrates, and others.

Certainly Luke did not intend to elevate his hero to the same oratorical stratum as

Demosthenes or Cicero. But Luke does present a confident Paul who could rise to the

occasion and, in the words of Richard Pervo, deliver "an apposite, witty, erudite, and well-

crafted address."[645] In fact, Pervo expresses the combination of setting and Paul's performance

well: "By small but deft touches of local color, the narrator has produced an enduring portrait,

a silver-tongued oration in a golden old setting."[646]

Luke frames his description of Paul in the descriptive language of an orator. For

instance, Paul stood up in the middle of the Areopagus (17:22). The verb σταθείς ("standing") is

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[644] This is developed further in his speech before Agrippa II in Acts 26.

[645] Pervo, *Acts*, 425

[646] Pervo, *Acts*, 426.

critical to his portrayal as an orator as this was the standard posture of a Greek orator.[647]

Luke's Paul overcomes the title σπερμολόγος in 17:18 by addressing his audience, not in a timid

or defensive fashion, but confidently and intellectually, citing some of their own sources in his

speech. He follows the standard of employing the customary vocative ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι for the

address, which not only shows that he plays by the rules of a public speaker,[648] but that he

does so with language that recalls the great Athenian orators.[649] This opening would have

served to win the goodwill of his audience and make them more receptive.[650]

The content of the speech also supports the idea that Luke portrays Paul as an orator.

Given the context of the situation, one might expect a judicial speech, but instead Luke

provides us with a deliberative speech.[651] Dean Zweck argues that the author of Acts portrays

Paul "as a rhetor giving an oration on the topic of religion."[652] Zweck evaluates the rhetorical

structure, primarily focusing on the exordium, and contends that the speech conforms to

standard conventions of deliberative speech, having three major parts: an exordium with a

propositio, a *probatio*, and a *peroratio*. One can find the same divisions elsewhere in similar

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[647] Haenchen, *Acts*, 520: "Paul assumes the attitude of the orator." See also Soards, *Speeches*, 96.

[648] Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 130, suggests that Paul's address was more suitable for heliastic (popular Athenian) courts than the Areopagus, which would have preferred a simple "Gentlemen." Nevertheless, Kennedy contends that the longer form used by Paul suits the function of the speech.

[649] For instance, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Lysias, although they generally prefer to add the interjection ὦ beforehand. The majority of Demosthenes speeches have the phrase ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι in the first line of the text.

[650] Cicero, *De or.* 2.80.

[651] Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 129.

[652] Zweck, "Exordium," 103.

types of religious speeches.[653] The speech also features elements indicative of elevated language that would have been appropriate for a speaker in this situation.[654]

It should be noted that Luke's portrayal of Paul as an orator should not take away from the larger portrayal of Paul as a philosopher in this context. Historically the two disciplines, rhetoric and philosophy, had been at odds with each other, although by the first century CE they were more compatible. The two disciplines find their quintessential reconciliation in the figure of Cicero, who was a master of both rhetoric and philosophy. Cicero does not attribute his public speaking ability to his training in the rhetorical schools, but rather his learning in Plato's academy.[655] Likewise for Luke, the roles of philosopher and rhetor do not pose any potential conflicts. He simply demonstrates to his readers that Paul is a learned and adaptable individual who can hold his own no matter the context or setting.

5.5 Conclusion

By using the lens of speech-in-character on the Areopagus speech, we are prompted to bring specific questions to the speech that often do not get as much press in traditional exegesis. Historically scholars have been mostly interested in the sources of the speech (does it trace back to Paul, a pre-Acts source, or a Lukan invention?), how well it fits into the

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[653] Zweck, "Exordium," 99-100. He cites Cicero, *Nat. d.* 2.1-168 and Dio Chrysostom, *Dei cogn.* both of which have similar structure as the Areopagus Speech.

[654] Keener, *Acts*, 3:2618.

[655] Cicero, *Or. Brut.* 12; Gildenhard, *Creative Eloquence*, 6.

narrative of (Luke-)Acts, how it relates to other speeches in Acts, or the cultural background of the speech (Jewish or Hellenistic). My analysis of the speech focuses on the creative touches that Luke uses to construct his image of Paul to the Greeks. Thus, I take for granted the Lukan authorship of the speech, and since speech-in-character often means a speech written for a known entity (e.g., Paul), the author of the speech would draw on information about that person. Therefore, Luke draws on tradition about Paul to formulate the Athens speech. Nevertheless, it is still Luke's speech. We know that the Paul of the letters was certainly no stranger to philosophy[656] and Luke amplifies those philosophical threads and makes them the primary aspect of this presentation.

Luke effectively, perhaps not perfectly, constructs a credible speech for Paul of Tarsus to educated Greeks. We can only conjecture about what sources Luke had available to him regarding Paul's life, thought, and activities. This may have included personal experience, familiarity with the letters, other traditions about Paul, or some combination of these. Allusions to real Pauline tradition may be found, for instance, in there having been a speech in Athens, the natural theology of the speech, or reference to the concept of repentance. Given the limited data in the ancient sources, it is expected that scholars have taken widely different views on how well the speech reflects Paul's ideas. Though I do not offer a new solution here, I do not think that Luke's success of recreating Paul for the occasion should be underestimated.

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[656] The following works draw connections between the Paul of the letters and philosophy: De Witt, *St. Paul and Epicurus*; Malherbe, *Paul and the Popular Philosophers*; Glad, *Paul and Philodemus*; and Engberg-Pederson, *Paul and the Stoics*.

The simple fact that some scholars are able to downplay or rule out differences between the speech and the letters indicate that Luke was at least close enough for our purposes.[657]

The question now becomes whether or not Luke intended this portrayal of Paul to have a broader application for his audience. As noted above, Paul did not persuade most of his audience members. Though we should not overlook the converts that Luke mentions, one gets the sense that it was not a widely successful speech. If that is the case, should the same speech, or one similar to it, be used by Luke's auditors in their own respective encounters with the Greeks? Or, in other words, is the speech itself, or Paul's approach in the speech, paradigmatic?

Some have argued on the basis of 1 Cor 2:1-5 that Paul viewed his refusal to use "persuasive words of wisdom" among the Corinthians as a reference to his failed Areopagus address; a thing not to be repeated. This view has widely been dismissed.[658] Instead, Luke may have been taking a cue from another passage in 1 Corinthians, whether he knew it or not: "To those outside the law I became as one outside the law…so that I might win those outside the law" (9:21). Luke presents Paul as a Greek to the Greeks and it seems likely that Luke attempted to make the speech paradigmatic, to some degree in terms of content, but mainly in the approach of proclaiming the gospel to others on their level. Dupont argues that the speech is in fact a model, and one that anticipates Christian apologists in the second

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[657] See, for instance, Witherington, *Acts*, 533-35.

[658] For a critique of this view, see Stonehouse, *Paul before the Areopagus*, 31-40.

century.[659] And scholars have long noted these similarities to the speeches of the second

century Apologists.[660] David Reis actually demonstrates the enduring value of this speech on

Justin Martyr who proposes Socrates as a model for Christians, clearly echoing Acts 17.[661] Not

all speeches to Gentiles would have looked the same. Compare the Lystra speech. Had Luke

recorded a speech for Paul in Ephesus, one which *almost* happened (19:30), it would have

reflected a different approach as well. But what Luke leaves the readers with is a model speech

that informs his readers to tailor their messages, like Paul, in the appropriate fashion. Then we

are able to agree with Martin Dibelius, who states that Luke "let his Paul preach, preach in one

of the most distinguished places in Greece, in the way that he thought the Greeks ought to be

preached to at the time."[662] This is how Luke addresses the speech-in-character prompt of

"How would Paul address an audience of educated Greeks in Athens?" He elevates Paul here

as he has done in the other speeches of Acts. Paul is the pastor par excellence (Acts 20), the

prophet and teacher of Israel's Scripture (Acts 13), and now the philosopher who rises to the

occasion.

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[659] Dupont, "L'Aréopage," 380-81, 403.

[660] For instance, Vielhauer, "Paulinism," 37: "[The Areopagus speaker's] distance from Paul is just as clear as his nearness to the apologists."

[661] Reis, *Areopagus as Echo Chamber*, 259-77 (274 in particular).

[662] Dibelius, *Studies*, 77.

Chapter 6: Paul as Defense Attorney in the Speech before Agrippa (Acts 26:1-32)

6.1 Introduction

Paul's speech before Agrippa II is both the last of his three defense speeches and the last major speech in the book of Acts. Although it may not be Paul's most memorable, since its subject matter was treated earlier, it is notable for being Paul's most elegant speech. More extensively than anywhere else Luke here uses Paul's own voice to inform the audience about his former life and conversion, and to show how Christianity engages the cultural context of the Mediterranean. In the Areopagus speech, Paul delivered Christianity's message to Greece, and now we are told how Christianity engages Rome: this speech is addressed to a client-king and a Roman procurator. However much this speech represents the expanding interaction between Christianity and Rome, however, it is still very much centered on the specifics of Paul's life and thus the title Paul's *Apologia pro vita sua*[663] is fitting.

Luke paints the portrait of Paul in Acts 26 as a defense attorney.[664] A successful defense requires the performance of a skilled orator, who makes a suitable case before his esteemed audience, using an elegantly constructed speech that justifies his past actions. More

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[663] Bruce, *Book of Acts*, 461.

[664] Following the format introduced by Theon, Luke here answers the question: "What words would Paul say when giving his defense before the Roman court?"

than in any other place, here Luke seeks to demonstrate that Paul is an orator that can hold his own despite the high stakes and elevated setting.

6.1 Contextualizing the Speech among Paul's other Defense Speeches

Narratively and thematically, Acts 26 is connected to two earlier defense speeches (Acts 22:1, 3-21 and 24:11-21), separated by sections of narrative. After Paul arrives in Jerusalem, he meets with James and the elders, who convince him to take a vow in order to publicly counter the perception that he did not abide by the law (21:17-26). Then Jews from Asia accuse Paul of bringing Greeks into the temple (21:27-28). This causes an uproar; the crowd seizes Paul, takes him outside of the temple, then beats him until the Roman soldiers arrest him (21:29-36). Somehow, Paul convinces the tribune to allow him to address the crowd (21:37-40). The first of the three defense speeches is entirely composed of a personal narrative (22:1, 3-21). Paul recites his Jewish lineage, his persecution of Christians, the Damascus-Road conversion, his encounter with Ananias, and his commission to go to the Gentiles. At the mention of the Gentiles, the crowd cries out against Paul (22:22-23). The tribune seeks to flog him, but when Paul announces his Roman citizenship, the tribune instead thinks it better to send Paul to the Jewish council (22:24-30).

At the council, Paul manages to offend the high priest, then takes advantage of a theological rift between the Pharisees and Sadducees by siding with the Pharisees and affirming belief in the resurrection (23:1-8). Consequently, the Pharisees find nothing lacking in Paul, but when a violent outcry ensues, Paul is brought back to the barracks, where the Lord

appears to him, encourages him, and foretells his trip to Rome (23:9-11). Following a

conspiracy to murder Paul, the tribune sends him securely to Felix the governor in Caesarea

(23:12-30). At Caesarea, Felix puts Paul under guard until his accusers arrive for a hearing

(23:31-35). At the hearing, the high priest's attorney, Tertullus, delivers a short speech accusing

Paul of being an agitator of Jews around the world, a ringleader of the Nazarene sect, and a

profaner of the temple (24:1-9). With Felix's permission (24:10), Paul delivers his second

defense speech (24:11-21). Paul rejects the accusation that he was disputing in the temple or

stirring up riots. In fact, he argues, there is no proof that can be brought against him. Instead,

Paul contends that the Way is consistent with the ancestral Jewish religion and that the same

goes for the belief in the resurrection. Returning to the topic of the initial accusation in the

temple, he ultimately maintains that he is really on trial for his belief in the resurrection. Felix

delays his judgment and after two years Festus succeeds him as procurator (24:22-27).

Festus gives Paul the option to be tried in Jerusalem, but Paul instead appeals to the

emperor, insisting that he has done no wrong to the Jews (25:1-12). At this point Agrippa II and

Bernice come to Caesarea to welcome Festus and they subsequently learn about Paul's case.

Agrippa asks to hear Paul, and Festus uses this as an opportunity to write out the official

charges against Paul (25:13-27). Paul's third and final defense speech, before Agrippa, is the

longest of the three speeches (26:2-23, 25-27, 29), and is also heavily autobiographical: after

some initial pleasantries (the *captatio benevolentiae*), Paul recounts his Jewish résumé, his

persecution of Christians, his conversion experience, his commissioning to the Gentiles, and

his belief in the resurrection. There is no doubt that this third speech echoes the first speech,

but also more fully develops its content. It is also successful! Agrippa's response at the end of

the speech states that Paul has done nothing wrong and that he could have been freed had he

not appealed to Caesar (26:30-32).

Understandably, the three defense speeches are often grouped together and analyzed

as a set, due to their similar form and function.[665] All three speeches belong to the judicial (or

forensic) species of rhetoric. In all three speeches (or their immediate context) the noun

ἀπολογία (22:1) or the verb ἀπολογέομαι (24:10; 26:1, 24) is used at the beginning to alert the

reader to the type of speech being employed. Each speech also contains a narrative of Paul's

own experiences. Despite being delivered to different audiences for different specific

purposes, they all reflect Paul's testimony while he is in custody. For these reasons, it is

legitimate to group them together for analysis.

While comparing all three speeches, it quickly becomes clear that the speeches in 22

and 26 are particularly similar, while the second speech (24:10-21) contrasts with the other two

significantly. The second speech primarily takes up recent history, rather than Paul's former

way of life, or his persecution of Christians. It is the speech that most carefully argues for his

innocence of any wrongdoing while he was worshipping in Jerusalem. That said, there is still

continuity between the three speeches regarding the reason why the Lukan Paul perceived he

is on trial. Beginning in 23:6, when Paul defends himself before the Sanhedrin, he notes that

he was on trial for the resurrection. At this juncture, the appeal to the resurrection appears to

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[665] For example: Veltman, "Defense Speeches"; Long, "Trial of Paul"; Neyrey, "Forensic Defense Speech"; Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul*; and Hogan, "Forensic Speeches."

be a rhetorical ploy—a way out for Paul by dividing the Sanhedrin—yet it is a topic that is

central to the message that Paul communicates in his speech before Agrippa:

> And now I stand here on trial on account of my hope in the promise made by God to
> our ancestors, a promise that our twelve tribes hope to attain, as they earnestly
> worship day and night. It is for this hope, your Excellency, that I am accused by Jews!
> Why is it thought incredible by any of you that God raises the dead? (26:6-8)

Our focus now narrows down to the speeches in 22 and 26. They both begin with a recital of

Paul's Jewish résumé. The first speech is more detailed (Jew, place of birth, place of

education), whereas the latter speech takes that information for granted. Then, in 26:5, Paul

adds the important detail that he was a Pharisee.

Table 3: Acts 22:3 and Acts 26:4-5 in Parallel

Acts 22:3	Acts 26:4-5
I am a Jew, born in Tarsus in Cilicia, but brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, educated strictly according to the law, being zealous for God, just as all of you are today.	All of the Jews know my way of life from youth, a life spent from the beginning among my own people and in Jerusalem. They have known for a long time, if they are willing to testify, that I have belonged to the strictest sect of our religion and lived as a Pharisee.

The persecution of Christians becomes a major theme in both addresses. In the former

speech, Paul persecutes the "Way," whereas in the latter speech he acted against "the name of

Jesus of Nazareth." The latter account is also more vivid.

Table 4: Acts 22:4-5 and Acts 26:9-11 in Parallel

Acts 22:4-5	Acts 26:9-11
I persecuted this Way up to the point of death by binding both men and women and putting them in prison, as the high priest and the whole council of elders can testify about me. From them I also received letters to the brothers in Damascus, and I went there	Indeed, I myself was convinced that I ought to do many things against the name of Jesus of Nazareth. And that is what I did in Jerusalem; with authority received from the chief priests, I not only locked up many of the saints in prison, but I also cast my vote against them when they were being condemned to death. By punishing

in order to bind those who were there and to bring them back to Jerusalem for punishment.	them often in all the synagogues I tried to force them to blaspheme; and since I was so furiously enraged at them, I pursued them even to foreign cities.

Both speeches also recount Paul's conversion on the road to Damascus. There is no shortage of interest in Paul's conversion in Acts because in addition to being represented in these two speeches, it is also related in Acts 9:1-19. None of the three accounts are exactly the same, which has engendered quite a bit of discussion.[666]

Table 5: Acts 22:6-11 and Acts 26:12-18 in Parallel

Acts 22:6-11	Acts 26:12-18
"While I was on my way and approaching Damascus, about noon a great light from heaven suddenly shone about me. I fell to the ground and heard a voice saying to me, 'Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me?' I answered, 'Who are you, Lord?' Then he said to me, 'I am Jesus of Nazareth whom you are persecuting.' Now those who were with me saw the light but did not hear the voice of the one who was speaking to me. I asked, 'What am I to do, Lord?' The Lord said to me, 'Get up and go to Damascus; there you will be told everything that has been assigned to you to do.' Since I could not see because of the brightness of that light, those who were with me took my hand and led me to Damascus.	With this in mind, I was traveling to Damascus with the authority and commission of the chief priests, when at midday along the road, your Excellency, I saw a light from heaven, brighter than the sun, shining around me and my companions. When we had all fallen to the ground, I heard a voice saying to me in the Hebrew language, 'Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me? It hurts you to kick against the goads.' I asked, 'Who are you, Lord?' The Lord answered, 'I am Jesus whom you are persecuting. But get up and stand on your feet; for I have appeared to you for this purpose, to appoint you to serve and testify to the things in which you have seen me and to those in which I will appear to you. I will rescue you from your people and from the Gentiles—to whom I am sending you to open their eyes so that they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, so that they may receive forgiveness of sins and a place among those who are sanctified by faith in me.'

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[666] See for example, Pervo, *Acts*, 629-30; Keener, *Acts*, 2:1600-1602; Marguerat, *Actes*, 1:319-22; and Lohfink, *Conversion*.

More interesting than what Paul saw or heard is Jesus' declaration in the Acts 26 speech.

There was no mention of the Gentiles at this stage in the Acts 22 speech because Luke saves

that to the end of the speech—the point at which it gets interrupted. Yet because Paul's

audience in Acts 26 will not respond the same way as the crowds in Jerusalem, Luke can safely

insert the commission to the Gentiles within the dialogue between Jesus and Paul. In Acts

22:12-16, Paul speaks with Ananias after his Damascus-Road experience and Ananias does hint

at a mission to the Gentiles ("you will be his witness to all the world [πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους]

of what you have seen and heard," 22:15), yet Ananias does not use the keyword *Gentile*, which

surely would have ended the speech even more prematurely. It is not until Paul returns to

Jerusalem and falls into a trance that Jesus gives him the commission in Acts 22:

> "After I had returned to Jerusalem and while I was praying in the temple, I fell into a trance and saw Jesus saying to me, 'Hurry and get out of Jerusalem quickly, because they will not accept your testimony about me.' And I said, 'Lord, they themselves know that in every synagogue I imprisoned and beat those who believed in you. And while the blood of your witness Stephen was shed, I myself was standing by, approving and keeping the coats of those who killed him.' Then he said to me, 'Go, for I will send you far away to the Gentiles.'" (22:17-21)

Because the speech before Agrippa does not end at the mention of the Gentiles, Paul is able to

recount his evangelical labors in Damascus, Jerusalem, Judea, and to the Gentiles, and reassert

that all that he has proclaimed has been consistent with the prophets and Moses: "that the

Messiah must suffer, and that, by being the first to rise from the dead, he would proclaim light

both to our people and to the Gentiles" (26:23). Yet, the speech in Acts 26 is still interrupted.

At this point, it is Festus who interjects the remark that Paul is out of his mind and that too

much learning has made him mad (26:24). Paul uses the opportunity to address Agrippa

asking him if he believes in the prophets (26:25-27), and Agrippa admits to nearly being converted himself (26:28). As I work through the various concerns of the Acts 26 speech, I will make reference to the two previous defense speeches where appropriate.

6.3 Scholarship on the Speech before Agrippa

The literature surveyed in this section concern issues related to the formal elements of the speech (Veltman, Neyrey), formal and functional elements of the speech (Hogan), literary-critical approaches (O'Toole, Hickling), literary-rhetorical approaches (Long), as well as particular aspects of the speech, whether legal issues (Tajra) or connections with moral philosophy (Malherbe). Both Hickling and Malherbe are particularly interested in investigating the way that Luke portrays Paul in the speech, though they arrive at different conclusions.

Veltman tabulates the formal elements of Luke's defense speeches alongside 23 other ancient apologies selected for comparison: (1) opening framework, (2) introduction, (3) body, (4) conclusion, and (5) closing framework. He rates the sources on their degree of agreement with Luke, dividing them into Latin historians, Greek historians, Jewish historians, romance literature, and martyrdom literature. Closest in form to Paul's apologies are the Latin historians, but Veltman argues that it is likely that Luke's composition "reflect[s] a general pattern of historiography rather than following a particularly Latin model."[667] Thus Veltman

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[667] Veltman, "Defense Speeches," 249.

upholds traditional models that put Luke within historiography, rather than romance

literature. He also calls into question "the validity of the form-critical assumption that the

ancient writers were closely bound to existing literary form."[668] Veltman observes a high

degree of variation among the ancient writings and even within individual authors (e.g., Livy),

which causes him to conclude that there was no standard literary *form* that was followed.

O'Toole takes a literary-critical approach and asks what the role of Christ is in Acts 26,

especially as it relates to the topic of his resurrection, contending that this speech is the

climax of Paul's defense because "the speech, dialogue, and conclusion stand over against the

rest of Paul's apology as Luke's most intense, complete, and final statement in Paul's

defense."[669] O'Toole looks first at the significance of Agrippa II, who is the first judge qualified

to hear Paul's case due to its religious nature. Second, he argues that the real audience of the

speech is not actually Agrippa II but Luke's readers; thus, attention must be paid to word

choices that may have one meaning for Agrippa II and another for Luke's readers. Third, he

compares Acts 26 with 22, which share a pattern not found in the other defense speeches.

O'Toole points to certain additions made in the Acts 26 speech, all of which deal with the

resurrection. Fourth, he identifies a relationship between Acts 25–26 and Luke 23:1-25 (the

hearing of Jesus before Pilate and Herod Antipas). O'Toole argues that the "similarity of

structure and content shows not only a similarity but a real link between Paul and Christ;"

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[668] Veltman, "Defense Speeches," 251.

[669] O'Toole, *Christological Climax*, 14-15.

Paul carries on the task of Christ.[670] He argues that the structure of the speech begins with a *captatio benevolentiae* (23:2-3), followed by two major sections introduced by μὲν οὖν (26:4-8 and 9-23) each of which have two major parts highlighting Paul's experience (26:4-5 and 9-21) then "the consequence of Paul's experiences formulated in terms of the Scriptural promises, especially the resurrection" (26:6-8 and 22-23).[671] O'Toole's detailed exegesis of the speech confirms his view that the christological climax and unifying element of the speech, that is, the resurrection of Christ, is Luke's principle aim, while other aims, such as Paul's innocence, are secondary.

C. J. A. Hickling's short, but dense, essay addresses the portrait of Paul in Acts 26.[672] He is sensitive to narrative-critical concerns and argues that Paul in Acts 13–19 (the popular thaumaturge) is not the same as the Paul that emerges in 21–26. Implicit in the narrative are the following aspects of the *Paulusbild*: "Courage, dignity, resourcefulness, and excellence in rhetoric, combining to produce repeated success in impressing his hearers with his own innocence and with the truth of his message."[673] The sections leading up the Agrippa speech are readdressed in Acts 26, where they more fully present the heroic Paul.

William R. Long draws on ancient rhetorical literature to illuminate Paul's trials in Acts. For him, this literature has the potential to determine the kind of speech and its various

[670] O'Toole, *Christological Climax*, 25.

[671] O'Toole, *Christological Climax*, 28.

[672] Hickling, "Portrait of Paul," 499-503.

[673] Hickling, "Portrait of Paul," 500.

parts, and ultimately to discerning Luke's purpose(s) in narrating Paul's trial.[674] Long notes

that there are "good *a priori* reasons to believe that [Luke] had exposure to the essentials of

Hellenistic rhetorical education" but he makes no specific claims that Luke read or studied

any particular rhetorical work.[675] He surveys the three speeches in Acts 22, 24, and 26 and

focuses primarily on showing how the parts of the speeches are drawn from rhetorical

tradition. Thus, in his treatment of Acts 26, he divides the speech into the following four parts:

exordium (26:2-3), narration (26:4-11), proof (26:12-18), and peroration (26:19-23).[676] He also

notes that in this speech Luke embellishes Paul's language as an attempt to "present the most

compelling defense for Paul that was possible."[677] He concludes from the three speeches that

the major point Luke makes is that Paul's missionary activity is in fact consistent with his

being a faithful Jew.[678]

In the last chapter of his dissertation, Long addresses the question of why Luke

worked so hard to portray Paul as faithful to his Jewish heritage. This section takes a close look

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[674] Long, "Trial of Paul," 160.

[675] Long, "Trial of Paul," 215-16.

[676] Long, "Trial of Paul": The exordium "presents the clearest instance of the device mentioned by the rhetoricians of linking the praise of the judge with the furtherance of one's own case" (240). In the narration "Paul emphasizes even stronger than in chapter 22 that his strict Jewish upbringing and practice still characterize his life" (241). Regarding the proof, here Luke places emphasis on "the immediate communication of the meaning of the revelation of Jesus" (242). This is contrasted to the Acts 22 speech, where more emphasis is placed on the witnesses, but for Paul's audience (Agrippa), revelation is an acceptable proof because divine communication is "part and parcel of Judaism" (242). Added to this is the scriptural and early Christian traditions that serve as a background to Jesus's "rise and stand upon your feet" language, thus putting Paul in good company (242-43). Lastly, the peroration exhibits a "rhythmic balance of phrases" and "vigorous clarity" (243) and the insistence on the fulfilment of Jewish scriptural hope only makes sense if the defendant is seen as a faithful Jew (244).

[677] Long, "Trial of Paul," 239.

[678] Long, "Trial of Paul," 256.

at the Lukan *Paulusbild*. Following a detailed survey and analysis of the *Paulusbild* in German

tradition,[679] Long draws on the *narratio* sections of the defense speeches that indicate that

Paul was a faithful Jew and argues that Luke intended the *Paulusbild* in Acts to "defend Paul's

life and work against Jewish-Christian attacks."[680] He investigates anti-Pauline sentiment in

the late first century, and the Jewish character of Luke-Acts, both of which, Long contends,

confirm his *Paulusbild* thesis. Luke knew the letters (or at least Galatians) and reinterprets

statements from it that are critical of the law and circumcision to further show Paul's fidelity

to Judaism. Lastly, Long ambitiously pursues the question of the place of composition and

purpose of Luke-Acts: to introduce Paul's literary activity to Greek-speaking Syria.[681]

     Jerome H. Neyrey pushes back against Veltman and argues that the speeches in 22-26

are structured according to a form that derives from the rhetorical handbooks.[682] He draws on

the components of forensic speech that Quintilian outlines: the exordium (*prooemium*), the

statement of fact (*narratio*), the proof (*probatio*), the refutation (*refutatio*), and the peroration

(*peroratio*).[683] Neyrey focuses on the first three parts. The exordium (the first component) and

the conventional topics addressed in it, explain the autobiographical statements of Paul in the

first part of his defense speeches. This also explains why Paul's social status, education, and

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[679] Long, "Trial of Paul," 260-93.

[680] Long, "Trail of Paul," 307.

[681] Long, "Trial of Paul," 362.

[682] Neyrey, "Forensic Defense Speech"; see also Malina and Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul*, 64-99.

[683] Quintilian, *Inst.* 3.9.1.

piety are highlighted in the speeches: in order to bring more credibility to Paul's character. In the *narratio* (the second component) of Paul's speeches, Paul sets out "to prepare the mind of the judge"[684] by employing the following three traditional element: addressing the main question, providing a line of defense, and the point for decision by the judge.[685] For Paul's defense speeches, one might initially think that he is on trial for "teaching men everywhere against the people and the law and this place" (21:38), but in fact Paul himself repeatedly states that he is on trial on account of the resurrection. The line of defense is the heavenly command. This makes the legitimacy of the resurrection the point for the judge's decision.[686] Then, in terms of proof (the third component), Paul not only serves as his own witness—"a valid legal witness to the resurrection," but also mentions other potential corroborating witnesses, for example "all the Jews" (26:4), the high priest and the whole council of elders (22:5), and his traveling companions (22:9; 26:13-14). Lastly, Paul's Jewish audiences would have picked upon his commissioning as a prophet.[687] At the end of Neyrey's essay, he gives a chart summarizing the points of contact between the elements highlighted in rhetorical handbooks on forensic defense speeches and the speeches of Acts 22–26. Of these speeches, Paul's speech before Agrippa most completely contains the elements highlighted by Neyrey.

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[684] Neyrey, "Forensic Defense Speech," 214, citing Quintilian, *Inst.* 4.2.4-5.

[685] Quintilian, *Inst.*, 3.11.6-7.

[686] Neyrey, "Forensic Defense Speech," 213-216.

[687] Neyrey, "Forensic Defense Speech," 219-220.

Abraham Malherbe argues that the author of Acts generally presents Paul as a moral

philosopher. He picks up on the phrase οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν γωνίᾳ πεπραγμένον τοῦτο ("for this was

not done in a corner") in 26:26 and notes that it coincides with this presentation, which has

been overlooked by scholars who typically point to the widespread activity of Christianity as

the meaning of the phrase.[688] Yet Malherbe draws on texts from antiquity to demonstrate that

doing activities in a corner is a philosophical trope for having no significance or for not

engaging in public life.[689] Combined with Festus's claim that Paul's learning is making him

mad (26:24) and Paul's response to Festus (26:25), the boldness (παρρησιαζόμενος) of Paul's

speech (26:26), and Paul's near-persuasion of Agrippa to become a Christian, Malherbe makes

the claim that Luke's apologetic aim is to "present Christianity in Paul's person as

philosophical."[690]

Harry W. Tajra examines the defense speeches and Paul's incarceration through the

lens of Roman and provincial law.[691] He judges Luke to be knowledgeable in Roman law, its

nomenclature, and its procedure. Despite not having an abundance of contemporary sources

for every legal issue that Luke brings up in the narrative, Tajra finds Luke to be consistent with

the available evidence. His treatment of the passages, including Acts 25-26, follow a systematic

(verse-by-verse) approach highlighting legal and juridical issues as they crop up. He attempts

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[688] Malherbe, "Not in a Corner," 201-202.

[689] Malherbe, "Not in a Corner," 202-206; Plato, *Gorg.* 485D; Seneca, *Ep.* 68.2; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 1.29.36, 55-57; 2.12.17; 3.22.95-97.

[690] Malherbe, "Not in a Corner," 206.

[691] Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul.*

to avoid conflating Luke's legal accuracy with historical truth and notes that in Paul's speech

before Agrippa Luke is primarily interested in apologetics and not interested in presenting a

detailed legal defense.[692] This apologetic aim tends to cast Paul and Christianity in a favorable

light in the eyes of Roman rule.

Hogan addresses the questions of the form and function of the defense speeches in

Acts by investigating what ancient rhetorical tradition states about forensic speech writing.[693]

He draws on the rhetorical manuals such as Quintilian, Cicero, and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*,

and observes that trial scenes in Acts, like those in the ancient novels and histories, shows

dependence on rhetorical tradition. Thus, Hogan attempts to appreciate the speeches in Acts

within a larger literary context that encompasses both narrative and rhetoric. He finds that

the speech before Agrippa is difficult to analyze according to categories of judicial rhetoric

since the scene does not depict a formal trial and because it ends with an interruption. The

Jewish accusations against Paul were not sufficient for a Roman trial and Festus was still

trying to determine what to charge Paul with, therefore Paul delivers a generic declaration of

innocence. With this in mind, "one should not be overzealous in trying to find all the parts of a

forensic speech."[694] Paul is declared innocent by Agrippa, but because of Paul's appeal, his case

is not resolved. In fact, the book of Acts never officially resolves Paul's case, although the

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[692] Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul*, 164.

[693] Hogan, "Forensic Speeches."

[694] Hogan, "Forensic Speeches," 172-73.

author of Acts does prove Paul's innocence outside of the trial by way of Paul's survival of the

shipwreck and snakebite (Acts 27-28).

6.4 Location and Setting: Trial Scene at Caesarea Maritima

Caesarea Maritima[695] is an important geographical point for Luke's purposes in Acts.[696]

Philip the Evangelist locates his ministry there (8:40; 21:8, 16), and it becomes the place of

Cornelius's conversion (10–11). Herod Agrippa I dies in Caesarea (12:19-23). Paul himself travels

through Caesarea, landing at and leaving from its harbor (9:30; 18:22; 21:8). Thus, by the time

that Caesarea becomes the location of Paul's imprisonment and trials (23:23, 33; 25:1-6, 13),

Luke's readers are already familiar with it.[697]

More than any other city in Palestine, Caesarea represents Roman presence. It was

originally a relatively small harbor founded by Phoenicians located roughly 50 km north of

modern-day Tel Aviv. Later the site became known as Strato's Tower, named after the fourth

century BCE Sidonian king, Strato. The site became dilapidated by the time of Herod the

Great in the late first century BCE, but had the potential to be a sizable port since no major

harbor existed in the region. Herod was attracted to the location and according to Josephus,

"entirely rebuilt [it] with white stone, and adorned [it] with the most magnificent palaces,

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[695] Or Caesarea Palestinae. Bibliography on Caesarea: Keener, Acts, 2:1732-1734, 3:3327. Rapske, *Paul in Roman Custody*, 155-58. Hohlfelder, "Caesarea," 798-803. Holum and Hohlfelder, King Herod's Dream. Levine, Caesarea. Smallwood and Rajak, "Caesarea in Palestine." Viviano and Holum, "Caesarea Maratima." See also Josephus, *A. J.* 15.331-339; *B. J.* 1.408-15.

[696] In all, there are 15 occurrences of it in Acts.

[697] On Paul's custody, see Rapske, *Paul in Roman Custody*, 156-58.

displaying here, as nowhere else, the innate grandeur of his character."[698] Caesarea became

Herod's great building accomplishment for the Romans, just as the Second Temple became

his great building accomplishment for the Jews. In fact, the building project was a way for him

to demonstrate not only his loyalty to the Romans (it was named after Caesar Augustus), but

also to increase the region's economy and solidify Herod's own legacy.[699] Caesarea had all the

amenities of a first-rate Roman city: temples, a theatre, an aqueduct, a sewer system, and

paved streets. Yet it was the harbor itself that sets Caesarea apart from its rival towns. The

harbor, known as Sebastos, was an incredible feat of engineering, only made possible by

advances in underwater-setting concrete during the Roman period.[700] It was larger than

Piraeus in Athens and was unrivaled by any other port in the eastern Mediterranean. Though

it never surpassed Alexandria in terms of traffic, that surely was its intended purpose.

When Herod the Great died in 4 BCE, the client-kingdom transformed into a tetrarchy

ruled by Herod's sons. Judea was given to Archelaus, but he did not gain Augustus's

confidence, and a decade after Herod's death Judea was made into a proper Roman province.

Thus, from 6 CE onward, Caesarea was home to the Judean prefects and procurators. Caesarea

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[698] Josephus, *B. J.* 1.408-409 (Thackeray, LCL). Here "white stone" is a reference to marble.

[699] Hohlfelder, "Caesarea," 799.

[700] Souza, "Harbours," 645 (cited by Keener, *Acts*, 2:1733).

would later play a pivotal role in the beginning of the Jewish War,[701] and following the war,

Vespasian made the city a Roman colony, *Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Caesarea*.[702]

When the tribune Lysias transfers Paul to Caesarea, the reader might expect a speedy

judgment, but this is far from the account Luke provides. Luke informs us that Paul was

initially moved to Caesarea when Lysias learned of the plot to take Paul's life.[703] In the letter to

Felix, Lysias explains that Paul is a Roman citizen, and that the charge against him involved

Jewish law, but was nothing deserving death or imprisonment (23:26-30). So Paul arrived in

Caesarea for what initially seems like an expedient trial, but instead Paul's release was put on

hold by Felix who wanted to be bribed (24:26) and then by Festus, who hoped to gain political

collateral from the Jews (24:27). Such was par for the course under Roman jurisdiction as

delays in the legal process and extended incarcerations were not uncommon.[704]

It is here in Caesarea that Paul negotiates his two identities of Jew and Roman citizen.

Had Paul not been a Roman citizen, the tribune would have had him beaten while still in

Jerusalem. His citizenship is also what gave Lysias the incentive to save him from the plot and

to escort him to Caesarea. It is also due to his citizenship that he had the option of appealing

to Caesar. Yet at the same time, Paul's Jewishness is most important here because he is being

accused by the Jewish high priest and his legal team for offenses against Judaism. In the

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[701] Josephus, *B. J.* 2.284-296.

[702] Pliny, *Natural History*, 5.14.69.

[703] Rapske, *Paul in Roman Custody*, 155: "As cases for Roman determination were often referred there [Josephus, *B. J.* 2.271-73] it would have had ample facilities for imprisoning individuals."

[704] See Rapske, *Paul in Roman Custody*, 316-23 on the topic of extended incarcerations in antiquity.

defense speeches, Paul goes to great lengths to reaffirm his beliefs as a true embodiment of Judaism. Thus, Paul has no problem navigating these two identities, despite (and perhaps fittingly) the city of Caesarea's own difficulty in maintaining a peaceful coexistence between Jews and Romans.[705]

6.5 Luke's Characterization of Paul in the Speech before Agrippa

In the following section I analyze various aspects of the speech as it relates to Paul, using categories that I have culled from the progymnasmata. This includes Paul's audience for the speech, the language that he uses in the speech, the narration which recounts his "way of life" or personal history, his state of mind, and finally the characterization of his social status as a capable orator.

6.5.1 Paul's Audience

Typically, the literary audiences of Paul's speeches are described by general categories (elders, Lycaonians, Jews, etc.) but in Paul's last defense speech, Luke explicitly names the three main audience members and they are known, historical figures: Porcius Festus, Julia Bernice, and Marcus Julius Agrippa (II). Agrippa II is the most significant one mentioned. Agrippa was also significant for Luke's purposes as a king, because, as attentive readers will

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[705] Caesarea was home to the outbreak of the Jewish War and saw major strife between Jews and Romans between 66 and 73 CE.

remember, the Lord told Ananias in a vision that Paul was a "chosen instrument" who would

appear before Gentiles and kings in his name (9:15).

Porcius Festus[706] became procurator sometime around 60 CE and inherited Paul's

case, now two years old, from Marcus Antonius Felix (24:27). Not much is known about Festus

apart from the account given here in Acts and the few paragraphs devoted to him by

Josephus.[707] He was an equestrian and his name indicates that he was likely a part of the

illustrious Porcii family of Tusculum. Festus governed for a relatively short period and died

while in office. Josephus highlights the struggles Festus faced with the *Sicarii* and the Roman

relationship with the Judeans in general, the "principle plague of the country" as Josephus

puts it in the *Jewish War*.[708] It is no wonder that Luke's brief description of Festus highlights

the constraints laid upon a procurator of such a volatile province.[709] Thus, Festus finds in Paul

a possible political pawn to be used in his complicated game with the Jews. Unfortunately for

Festus, Paul does not play along and instead chooses to take his chances at the emperor's

court.

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[706] Boismard and Lamouille, *Actes*, 257-58; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:467-68; Keener, *Acts*, 4:3447-48.

[707] Josephus, *B. J.* 2.271; *A. J.* 20.182, 185-88, 193, 197, 200.

[708] Josephus, *B. J.* 2.271.

[709] Twice Luke states that Festus's dealings with Paul were motivated by his wanting to do the Jews a favor (24:27; 25:9).

Julia Bernice, born ca. 28 CE, was a prominent member of the Herodian dynasty.[710] She was the daughter of Agrippa I, sister to Drusilla and Agrippa II. From 41 to 44 CE she was briefly married to Marcus Julius Alexander, son of Alexander the Alabarch, who died in 44 CE. Shortly afterward, Bernice remarried her paternal uncle, Herod of Chalcis. Bernice and Herod of Chalcis had two children. After the death of her second husband in 48 CE, Bernice remained a widow. In 66 CE she unsuccessfully petitioned the procurator Gessius Florus on behalf of the Jews.[711] She had a close relationship with her brother Agrippa II and the two are presented as being together, as is the case in the book of Acts (25:13, 25; 26:30). Contemporary portrayals of Bernice often present her as scurrilous, which would have been a typical Roman expectation for a queen.[712]

Much more is known about the history and background of Agrippa II.[713] Agrippa II (Marcus Julius Agrippa) was born in 27/28 CE to Agrippa I and Cypros. He was brought up in Rome in the court of Claudius and was a friend of Titus. When Agrippa I died in 44 CE, Claudius initially planned to make Agrippa II his father's successor, yet after the advice from counsel stating that he was too young, Claudius instead installed Cuspius Fadus as the

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[710] Josephus, *B. J.* 2.218-21, 309-14. See also Allison, "Bernice 2," 3:917-18; Braund, "Bernice," 1:677-78; and Bond, "Bernice," 1:434.

[711] Josephus, *B. J.* 2.309-14.

[712] Braund, "Bernice," 1:678.

[713] O'Toole, *Christological Climax,* 15-19; Kerkeslager, "Agrippa," 613-16; Braund, "Agrippa," 98-100; Bond, "Agrippa," 79-80; Keener, *Acts,* 4:3473; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:471-83; On the client-king relationship with Rome, see Braund, *Friendly King*.

procurator of Judea.[714] Five or six years later, around 49/50 CE, Claudius gives Agrippa the modest kingdom vacated by his uncle, Herod of Chalcis (Bernice's second husband). Then, in exchange for that, Claudius offered him the tetrarchy of Philip (Batanaea, Trachonitis, and Gaulanitis), the tetrarchy of Lysianius (Abila), and the territory of Varus.[715] Then Nero added parts of Galilee and Perea.[716] His close relationship with his sister, Bernice, who lived with him has caused some suspicion of incest, although the accuracy of that claim is disputed.[717] Agrippa II was the last king in the Herodian dynasty. He likely died before 93/94 CE.[718]

Like Paul, Agrippa had to navigate the tensions generated by Roman rule over Jewish subjects. Agrippa's relationships with Rome and the Jews are complicated.[719] Walaskay calls him a half-way figure because he was "neither fully Jewish nor fully Roman."[720] Josephus tells us that while in Rome, Agrippa championed Jewish causes and successfully petitioned Claudius on behalf of the Jews.[721] There is even rabbinical tradition stating that Agrippa (or his steward) spoke with the famous Rabbi Eliezer (ben Hyrcanus) regarding questions of the

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[714] Josephus, *A. J.* 19.360-63.

[715] Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:472.

[716] Braund, "Agrippa," 99; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:472-73.

[717] Kerkeslager, "Agrippa," 615.

[718] Rajak, "Iulius Agrippa," 756.

[719] Perhaps the authors of the updated Schürer have been too pessimistic in their treatment of his pro-Roman sympathies. See Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:474-5. This is the critique of Braund, "Agrippa," 99.

[720] Walaskay, *And So We Came to Rome*, 57.

[721] Josephus, *A. J.* 15.407; 20.10-14, 134-135.

law.[722] As we will see, Luke puts a positive spin on Agrippa's dealings with the Jews. Agrippa had serious difficulties ruling the Jews and ultimately was unable to stave off the Jewish revolt, though it is doubtful a king more sympathetic to the Jews would have been able to maintain good relations with Rome.

Approaching the speech through the lens of speech-in-character means that we consider the way that the audience would have shaped the writing of the speech. Luke casts Agrippa in a positive light with respect to his loyalty to and knowledge of Judaism. First, Paul compliments Agrippa for his expertise in the customs and controversies of the Jews, which stands in contrast to Festus who had just recently been appointed as procurator in Jerusalem (26:3, 24-26). Paul has stood on trial before a Jewish body (Sanhedrin) and before Roman procurators (Felix and Festus), but now he stands before one who is uniquely capable of judging matters related to Jewish customs *and* Roman law. Second, Paul also suggests that Agrippa is more than intellectually interested in Judaism, but is himself a believer in the prophets, although still not willing to exhibit faith in Paul's message (26:27-29). Nevertheless, when it comes to people in positions of authority, Agrippa is about the best person that Paul could ask for. Third, Paul used elevated language which would have been more suitable for his royal audience, although admittedly he does begin to speak rather frankly with the king by the end of the speech.

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[722] Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:475; Braund, "Agrippa," 99; O'Toole, *Christological Climax*, 17.

When we consider the audience of a particular literary speech, it is important to distinguish between the audience embedded in the narrative and the audience of the literary work. Paul's use of the vocative case[723] to address Agrippa could not make it clearer that Agrippa is the narrative audience. Festus chimes in on the speech to remind us that he is present as well (26:24). Yet Agrippa, and to a lesser extent Festus and Bernice, are little more than narrative audience members. O'Toole has argued that "inconsistencies" in the speech imply that Agrippa could not have been the "real audience." He raises the issue of Luke's interpretation of the charges against Paul, versus the real charges that the Jews would have expressed,[724] and he notes certain elements in the speech which make more sense when applied to a broader audience than simply Agrippa.[725] Yet this is nothing new—in each of the speeches we have already looked at, there is a difference between the narrative's audience and the readers who stand to benefit from it as well.

6.5.2 Paul's Language

The elevated language of Paul's speech before Agrippa makes it a suitable piece for the courtroom scene Luke provides.[726] Here we are concerned with the style of the speech, not

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[723] Acts 26:2, 7, 13, 19.

[724] That is, the Jews would not have really put someone on trial for belief in the resurrection since the Pharisees, a large group within mainstream Judaism, already believed that.

[725] O'Toole, *Christological Climax*, 19-20.

[726] Luke never explicitly tells us the language Paul uses to deliver his address (cf. 21:40; 22:2). Given the context, Latin may have been the preferred language. It was certainly the language endorsed by Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.1, and the Lukan Paul was a citizen of Rome, and thus probably had the ability to speak Latin (see Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul*, 86.). Nevertheless, since Luke presents the speech in the Greek language, that is the only way we can

necessarily its content because, as Demetrius writes, "an unimpressive treatment of an

impressive topic produces inappropriateness (ἀπρεπές)."[727] This elevated style has not gone

unnoticed by the commentary tradition. Fitzmyer calls it a "finely crafted discourse, one of the

finest in Acts."[728] Haenchen states that "Luke has designed the speech carefully"[729] and it

contains "elegant language."[730] Johnson notes that this is Paul's "most elegantly constructed"

speech, featuring "elevated dictions, subtle syntax, and paranomasia [sic] that delighted

Hellenistic rhetoricians."[731] To achieve prosopopoeia, Luke makes use of stylistic elements that

either classicize the language or fit rhetorical practice. The opening statement makes this

clear: "I consider myself fortunate that it is before you, King Agrippa, I am to make my defense

today because of the Jews" (26:2). First, Paul gives a "complimentary exordium" like Tertullus's

in 24:2-4.[732] Second, Paul uses the anarthrous form of Ἰουδαίων, which was a common way of

referring to opponents in Attic speeches.[733] Third, Paul uses the verb ἥγημαι (26:2), which is

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analyze it. Besides, given that the defense speech took place in a provincial context, Greek may have been just as credible as Latin in this context.

[727] Demetrius, *Eloc.* 75.

[728] Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 754.

[729] Haenchen, *Acts*, 690.

[730] Haenchen, *Acts*, 682.

[731] Johnson, *Acts*, 440-41: He continues: "Luke's skill in *prosōpopoiia* has not failed him in this final challenge."

[732] Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 421, 440. De Zwaan, "Greek Language in Acts," 34-35 notes how "strange" the contrast is between Paul's opening remarks (26:2) and "the changed style of ending" in 26:22-23.

[733] BDF §262; Lake and Cadbury, *Acts of the Apostles*, 314.

the perfect form of ἡγέομαι with the present tense meaning. This, "classical use,"[734] fits with the

situation where "Paul would put on (or attempt to put on…) a higher style than he would

naturally use."[735] Of this use of the perfect (in contrast to Phil 3:7), Moulton remarks that it is

"one of the literary touches characteristic of the speech before Agrippa."[736]

Although the speech does not consistently sustain such elevated language

throughout[737] (and not that it should[738]), there are many other indications that Luke's intent

was for Paul to speak in a manner suitable for the situation.[739] Both Bock and Long make

reference to the length of the sentences in the speech, which would have been a common

feature of speeches in that situation.[740] The following are further examples of ornamentation

or embellishment in the speech, which in Quintilian's words lend "additional brilliance."[741] In

26:4, Paul uses the classical form ἴσασι rather than the more common οἴδασιν form, thus

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[734] BDF § 341.

[735] Barrett, *Acts*, 2:1149.

[736] Moulton, *Grammar*, 1:148.

[737] Barrett, *Acts*, 2:1150, argues that the "attempt at literary style…breaks down completely" in 26:3, which is, in his view, a "defective sentence." Not everyone shares Barrett's view (see Dana and Mantey, *Grammar*, 95; cf. Porter, *Idioms*, 91, 184, who acknowledges the possibility of it being an accusative absolute).

[738] Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.3.42, channels Cicero, *Part. or.* 6.19-20, when he discourages a style excessively uses ornamentation.

[739] Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, 224: "As Acts progresses the style becomes prevailingly more secular and perhaps reaches its climax in the speech of Paul before Agrippa, where in grammar alone Professor Blass noted half a dozen quite classical idioms unusual in the New Testament."

[740] Bock, *Acts*, 713; Long, "Trial of Paul," 237.

[741] Quintilian, *Inst*. 8.3.61.

drawing from "the cultured literary language."—the only example of this usage in the NT.[742]

Other classical forms in the speech would include ἔδοξα ἐμαυτῷ (26:9),[743] ἀκριβεστάτην

(26:5),[744] the genitive of the articular infinitive (26:17-18),[745] οὐδὲν ἐκτὸς λέγων (26:22),[746] and

παθητὸς (26:23).[747] Litotes was also a means of ornamentation,[748] which Luke employs in the

speech (26:19, 22, 26), although Luke used this technique elsewhere extensively.[749] Another

telltale sign of increased attention to style in speech is Paul's use of the optative in response to

Agrippa's remark that Paul almost convinced him to become a Christian. Paul states, "I *would*

(εὐξαίμην) to God" that Agrippa and everyone else might become as he is, a Christian (26:29).

Here Luke employs the optative in the apodosis (with ἄν) of an incomplete fourth class

condition.[750] The optative, while certainly not unknown to Luke, was used sparingly by him

and other Greek authors of his day.

By embellishing Paul's language in the speech, Luke creates an image of Paul as a

capable speaker who is able to rise to the occasion of giving his own defense before judges and

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[742] BDF §3; Parsons and Culy, *Acts*, 491; Barrett, *Acts*, 2:1151.

[743] BDF §283; Haenchen, *Acts*, 684.

[744] BDF §60: exhibiting "literary language"; Barrett, *Acts*, 2:1151.

[745] BDF §400: belonging to "a higher stratum of Koine"; Long, "Trial of Paul," 239.

[746] BDF §430; Long, "Trial of Paul," 239.

[747] BDF §65; Long, "Trial of Paul," 239.

[748] Rowe, "Style," 128.

[749] See Cadbury, "Litotes in Acts."

[750] Parsons and Culy, *Acts*, 505: "Presumably, the implicit protasis would be something like, 'If I could' or 'If it were up to me.'"

kings. It would have been unwise for an unskilled person to present a defense before judges of

such high standing as Agrippa and Festus. The longer sentences in Acts 26 and the elevated

language of this speech further the credibility of Paul's defense by making it sound more

reasonable—one is more likely to accept the content of Paul's message if the presentation of it

is pleasant as well. No one argues that this is exemplary "grand" style, but it certainly

represents a strong attempt within the limitations of Luke's abilities.[751]

6.5.3 Paul's "Way of Life"

Paul's speech before Agrippa is Luke's best example of a forensic defense speech and,

because the most prominent feature of this speech genre is the *narratio*, it is not surprising

that this speech contains a significant amount of autobiographical material. In fact, directly

following the *captatio benevolentiae* (26:2-3), Paul states that his "way of life" (βίωσις) is

common knowledge to all the Jews. This is Luke's way of alerting the audience that they are

now hearing the *narratio*. The *narratio*, or statement of facts, is a common element of forensic

defense speeches because it provides the speaker an opportunity to persuasively relate the

necessary facts of the case (i.e., his side of the story).[752] In our instance, the narrative is

embedded within a speech and so the principles of speech-in-character are employed.

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[751] Long, "Trial of Paul," 237. On Luke's speechwriting capabilities, Cadbury, "Speeches in Acts," 424-25, writes: "Even Luke, cultivated though he was, could not pass muster by the Atticist standards. Critics of the secular school would scrutinize his speeches particularly…. But it is difficult to suppose that the Areopagus speech or the address before Agrippa could have secured such continuous admiration unless there were real skill in them, even if the skill was Luke's rather than Paul's."

[752] Quintilian, *Inst.* 8(12).

Nevertheless, good narrative also embodies the principle of suitability. Theon states that for a narrative to be credible "one should employ styles that are natural for the speakers and suitable for the subjects and the places and the occasions."[753]

By using the word βίωσις in Paul's speech, Luke not only directs Paul's audience to consider his *manner* of living, which the word connotes,[754] but simultaneously builds on his image of Paul as a capable speaker (as demonstrated in the *captatio benevolentiae* in the preceding verses), since the rare use of the word βίωσις illustrates how Paul employs impressive vocabulary for rhetorical effect.[755] Luke accomplishes something important here. Professional orators had the reputation of saying whatever is necessary to win their case, thus they were seen as manipulators of truth and not honest advocates.[756] But here, Paul has the best of both worlds because he is a capable orator who is able to appeal to the virtue of his own character in his narrative. Paul chooses to defeat the trumped-up charges of Tertullus and the Jewish high priest by having them and other Jews attest to his moral character (26:4: "All the Jews know my way of life").

Theon and the other authors of progymnasmata argue that understanding the speaker's background is central to constructing a fitting speech. Here Luke allows Paul to fill

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[753] Theon, *Prog*. 84 (Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 33).

[754] This is a scarce word (*MM* 112). Here it is a *hapax legomenon* in the NT, but it can be found in the prologue to Sirach (l. 14), where it means to live according to the law (διὰ τῆς ἐννόμου βιώσεως).

[755] Holladay, *Acts*, 471.

[756] For instance, Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 8.6. See also, Keener, *Acts*, 4:3358; Plato, *Theaet*. 164CD; Epictetus, *Diatr*. 3.23.20; Marcus Aurelius, *Med*. 1.7; Musonius Rufus, *Lect*. 8.7 (King, *Musonius Rufus*, 42).

in that earlier period of his background rather than providing it in the narrative. All three of

the defense speeches in Acts 22–26 record autobiographical information, although only the

speeches in 22 and 26 provide information on Paul's earlier life. The Agrippa speech does not

reveal much that was not already known about Paul from the narrative or previous speeches,

yet it places additional emphasis on two areas of Paul's past life. First, the description of Paul's

persecution of Christians is more elaborate in the Agrippa speech (26:9-12) than in the

Jerusalem speech (22:4-5). Second, the Agrippa speech significantly enlarges the dialogue of

Jesus at Paul's conversion (26:14-18). Overall the speech is a carefully crafted discourse that

expands on previously known information. Additionally, Paul's narrative in the speech

contains the "essential elements" of ancient rhetorical conceptions of narrative.[757]

Luke's reference to the persecution of Christians is simply another example where his

characterization of Paul draws on what would have been a widely known tradition about

Paul,[758] a feature necessary for creating speech-in-character. For instance the section

recording Paul's former life is similar to Paul's letter to the Philippians which also rehearses

Paul's Jewish qualifications and accomplishments, including his zeal exemplified by his

persecution of Christians (Phil 3:4-6). In the Agrippa speech, Luke's Paul recites his

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[757] Crouch, "Persuasive Moment," 337: "In his Proof (26:9-18), Paul tells a story explaining why he changed from persecutor to preacher. The story contains the essential elements of narrative common to ancient rhetoric: character, action, place, time, manner, and cause (*Progymnasmata* V.5-38, 477-81). For example, the character—Paul (Saul, in the story); the action—a journey to Damascus; the cause—he was sent by the chief priests; the time—a light from heaven shining brighter than the sun; characters involved—Paul and those on the journey with him; and so forth. Thus, the elements of the story would have been satisfactorily complete to Paul's listeners (and to the readers of Acts)." See also, Hogan, "Forensic Speeches," 173.

[758] Paul refers to his persecution of Christians in 1 Cor 15:9 and in Gal 1:13 he states that his readers have heard of his former activities as a persecutor of the church.

persecution of Christians in more explicit detail than in Philippians and in the earlier speeches of Acts. Here Luke presents Paul as persuaded to do many things against the name of Jesus (26:9), which he did by incarcerating Christians on authority of the high priest, endorsing the death sentence of Christians (26:10), punishing them in the synagogues, trying to force them to blaspheme, and pursuing them to foreign cities (26:11). In both the Agrippa speech and in Phil 3, Paul's personal history functions as a rhetorical device to highlight the significance of his conversion experience. In Phil 3:7-8, his pre-Christian "accomplishments" are dismissed as losses, or to put it more crudely, σκύβαλον. Here in the speech, however, it warrants an extended description of his encounter with Jesus on the road to Damascus. The extended Jesus dialogue in the speech not only magnifies the importance of the conversion event, but makes God the source of Paul's call and mission. Thus, it was not an issue of whether or not Paul broke some earthly law, but whether Paul was obedient to the heavenly vision (26:19). Paul's post-conversion accomplishments are also all-the-more significant when weighed against the mad animosity he exhibited toward the Way. Thus, the expanded narrative elements in the Agrippa speech are not simple ornamental flourishes, but substantively augment Paul's personal history, motivation, and calling.

6.5.4 Paul's State of Mind

While describing speech-in-character, Theon writes: "On account of disposition (or

state of being),[759] [different words would be appropriate to] one in love and one exhibiting

self-control."[760] Theon uses the example of self-control (σωφρονοῦντι) which we will see in this

section is how the Lukan Paul characterizes himself. There is a fascinating theme that recurs

in this episode having to do with sane behavior. According to Luke, Paul's state of mind while

persecuting Christians was "insanely furious" (26:11). BDAG describes the meaning of

ἐμμαίνομαι as "to be filled with such anger that one appears to be mad."[761] Taken alone, the

verb might not raise any eyebrows, but the broader context of the speech indicates that Luke

is contrasting Paul's state of mind before and after his conversion. Paul's description of his

conversion is done in relatively benign terms with respect to his state of mind, despite its very

extraordinary circumstances: "I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision" (26:19).

Luke also shows that Paul's state of mind *after* the conversion was in the right place.

His post-conversion beliefs (namely the resurrection) are not incredible: "why is it so

unbelievable among you that God should raise the dead?"[762] Of course it would not have been

difficult for certain factions within Judaism (particularly Pharisees) to believe in resurrection.

Resurrection fits well within the scope of possibility for a God who has no limits on his power,

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[759] The word διάθεσις is used here.

[760] Theon, *Progymnasmata*, 116.4.

[761] BDAG, 322. See also Josephus, *A. J.* 17.174, where the word is used of Herod I's enraged state during his illness.

[762] In this context ἄπιστος means incredible, not unbelieving (BDAG, 103). Perhaps the wording "among you (plural)" (παρ᾽ ὑμῖν) is worded so as not to be a direct indictment against Agrippa, rather than directed at unbelieving Jews in Luke's day (Keener, *Acts*, 4:3503 contra Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 757).

and further, Paul claims to add nothing to what the prophets and Moses already said (26:22). To deny resurrection as a possibility is to reject the omnipotence of God and the credibility of Scripture. As Paul would later say, none of the events he spoke about were done in a corner and therefore are easily confirmed. In the context of the speech, Luke uses the phrase to demonstrate Paul's sanity and theological compatibility with mainstream Judaism. The statement also, in a way, anticipates Festus's accusation that Paul's mental state is compromised: "You are out of your mind, Paul! Too much learning is driving you insane!" (26:24). Festus's remark implies that Paul's "enthusiasm seems to have outrun better judgment."[763]

It was not uncommon to charge someone with madness in a court setting. It may come from an opponent,[764] but in Paul's case it comes from the Roman official. Perhaps Festus, by accusing Paul of being mad, was trying to shame him.[765] Yet up until this point, Luke does not portray Festus as Paul's opponent. He simply has a difficult time conceptually accepting what Paul states. The interchange between Festus and Paul shares some similarities with the scene in the *Acts of Appian*, where the Emperor states: "Appian, I am accustomed to chasten (σωφρονίζειν) those who rave (μαινομένους) and have lost all sense of shame. You speak only so long as I permit you to." Appian's response is not unlike Paul's: "By your *genius*, I am

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[763] BDAG, 610.

[764] Apuleius, *Apol.* 52-53.

[765] See Keener, *Acts*, 4:3535; Plutarch, *Cic.* 27.1 mentions various tactics of shaming the opponents as common practice by orators.

neither mad (μαίνομαι) nor have I lost my sense of shame."[766] Yet that is where the similarities

between the two accounts end. Appian insults the emperor, and was clearly not interested in

appeasing the ruler as Paul did. Neither was Luke's Paul interested in any sort of insanity

plea[767]; rather, he reasserts the soundness of his argument, claiming that he speaks words of

truth and sanity. The last phrase (ἀλήθεια καὶ σωφροσύνη) in 26:25 may also be taken as a

hendiadys and thus translated as the sober truth.[768]

So what was the basis of Festus's accusation against Paul? Was Paul frenzied or

fanatical? Or was he drunk in the spirit in the same way that onlookers viewed the disciples at

Pentecost?[769] Demosthenes was accused of being in a frenzied state (or like a Bacchanal) while

delivering speeches.[770] This would put Paul in good company, but is unlikely Festus's point.

Rather, the key to understanding the nature of Paul's madness according to Festus resides in

the part of the accusation that says "much learning." Festus's comment about Paul comes as a

double-edged sword. On the one side it argues that Paul is operating outside the bounds of

typical human behavior (negative), but on the other side it admits that Paul is a person who

has come into possession of a great deal of knowledge, a point which Luke's Paul has already

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[766] Acta Appiani 82-87 (Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 70); cited in Pervo, *Acts*, 635.

[767] On the legal dimensions of a defendant's mental condition, see Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul*, 169.

[768] Johnson, *Acts*, 439; Witherington, *Acts*, 749.

[769] See Acts 2:13. This would make sense in light of Paul's response that he speaks true and "sober" words (26:25).

[770] Plutarch, *Dem.* 9.4. The word used is παράβακχος.

emphasized elsewhere.[771] Thus, Festus concedes that Paul has come to his madness as a result

of his intellectual achievement. Philosophers, and Cynics in particular, were often understood

as crazy.[772] In many ways Paul's behavior in the speech reminds us of Diogenes of Sinope, who

publicly spoke not "caring whether his audience commended or criticized him" (irrespective

of their wealth or status) with the result of being called "crazy" or eliciting other usual

responses.[773] Similarly, Luke describes Paul's speech with παρρησιάζομαι,[774] a term common to

for describing philosophical frankness of speech, and Diogenes even called παρρησία the most

beautiful thing in the human world.[775]

Paul's response to Festus's accusation, speaking words of σωφροσύνη, is another factor

that suggests the author has a philosophical context in mind. Σωφροσύνη is a philosophically-

charged word, particularly among Stoic philosophers.[776] It is also contrasted with μανία.

Xenophon contrasts the concepts of σωφροσύνη and μανία as opposites, in the same manner

that he contrasts pious/impious, beautiful/ugly, just/unjust, courage/cowardice etc.[777] Thus,

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[771] For example, 22:3: "I studied under Gamaliel and was thoroughly trained in the law of our ancestors."

[772] Dio Chrysostom, *Virt.* (*Or. 8*) 36; *2 Tars.* (*Or. 34*) 2. See Keener, *Acts* 4:3537 for further references to philosophers being portrayed as mad.

[773] Dio Chrysostom, *Isthm.* (*Or. 9*) 7-8.

[774] The verb is used six other times in Acts to describe boldness of speech by the disciples and Paul (9:27-28; 13:46; 14:3; 18:26; and 19:8). The noun παρρησία occurs in 2:29; 4:13, 29, 31; and 28:31. See Winter, "ΡΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ," 185-202; Schlier, "παρρησία κτλ," *TDNT* 5:871-86.

[775] Diogenes Laertius, *Vit. phil.* 6.69.

[776] Arius Didymus, *Epitome of Stoic Ethics*, 2.7.5f; 2.7.11g; Lucian, *Icar.* 30. Musonius Rufus, *Lect.* 3.3 (with respect to women); 4.4 (equality of the virtue among men and women), 5.4; 18B.5 (with respect to food).

[777] Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.1.16 (see Haenchen, *Acts*, 688; Johnson, *Acts* 439).

Paul's claim that he speaks prudently is a very suitable response to the accusation of madness. The point that Luke makes regarding Paul's state of mind in the speech was that his pre-conversion persecution of Christians was insane and that it was not until his conversion that he learned how to live sanely, despite any misunderstandings from outsiders such as Festus. Paul does not simply leave it there, but he brings in Agrippa and states that Agrippa understands these matters and that nothing has escaped his notice (26:26).

6.5.5 Paul's Social Status: Defense Attorney

Social status was an important part of speech-in-character. Theon states that before constructing appropriate words for the speaker, they should have considered the character's social status among other factors.[778] Professional orators would have advanced to high levels of education (see Chapter 2 of this dissertation), and enjoyed an elevated status as elite members of Roman society.[779] In this speech Paul takes on that role himself when he functions as his own defense attorney. This stands in contrast to Ananias the high priest, who hired outside help for his rhetorical needs. It was relatively uncommon for a litigant to represent himself in court, as even trained orators typically hired advocates.[780] Certainly it was not unheard of to defend oneself in court, but the act of doing it does stand in stark contrast to the typically

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[778] Theon, *Prog.* 115.

[779] See Steel, *Roman Oratory*, 43-61.

[780] Bablitz, *Actors and Audience*, 82-83.

practice of hiring an advocate. Thus Luke's Paul is shown to be both confident and competent.

It is important to remember that Paul's speech should be judged within the limits of Luke's skill as a writer. Thus, an excellent speech according to Luke's writing may not be the same caliber as a speech by Demosthenes, Lysias, or Cicero. Cadbury remarked, nearly 85 years ago, that judging the Paul's speeches "by Luke's own standards" would prove to be interesting.[781] I argue that one avenue of judging Paul's speech before Agrippa, by Luke's own standards, is to compare it to another speech that Luke wrote, specifically the one speech delivered by a professional orator. Certainly Luke's portrayal of Tertullus would betray what he knows about professional speechwriting, and so if Paul's speech is of the same caliber as Tertullus's speech (24:1-9), then we can determined that Luke intended to portray Paul as a capable orator.

When Luke introduces Tertullus, he intentionally designates him as a professional orator by using the word ῥήτωρ (a speaker in court, *advocate*, *attorney*).[782] An advocate was not necessarily a legal expert, but a trained speaker.[783] Advocates were susceptible to criticism because they were less interested in the pursuit of truth, than in persuasion through rhetorical

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[781] Cadbury, "Speeches in Acts," 425.

[782] BDAG, 905. See also Keener, *Acts*, 4:3357; *MM* 563-64 for examples of this word in papyri. Trites, "Legal Scenes and Language," 282: "The noun ῥήτωρ, occurring only in xxiv I, means not merely a 'public speaker' but a 'speaker in court', in this case the man who leads the attack against Paul and delivers the *Anklagerede*."

[783] Keener, *Acts*, 4:3357, citing Crook, *Advocacy*, 175.

means. Thus, Luke gives Tertullus a disadvantage to his readers who are more likely to think of

him in juxtaposition to Paul, who speaks with honesty.[784]

The purpose of Tertullus's speech is to bring formal charges against Paul while Paul

was incarcerated under Felix. The basis of Tertullus's case is that Paul causes social discord

and attempted to desecrate the temple. The speech is very short, an abbreviated form of what

should have been much longer. Still, the brevity of the speech has not deterred scholars from

analyzing its rhetorical structure.[785] The speech contains an *exordium* (24:2b-4), a brief

narratio (24:5-6), and a peroratio (24:8).[786] In terms of content, there are three main parts: (1) a

theatrical *captatio benevolentiae*, (2) the (unsubstantiated) charges against Paul, and (3) a plea

for Felix to consider the case.

The exordium (24:2b-3) is comprised of a *captatio benevolentiae* ("grasping for

goodwill"), which was designed to win the favor of the listeners.[787] According to Cicero,

winning the favor of the speaker's hearers was one of the three main pillars of persuasive

speech,[788] and thus the *captatio benevolentiae* became an effective tool in the orator's toolbox.

The *captatio benevolentiae* also functions as a critical place in the speech to present the ethos

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[784] See Keener, "Rhetorical Techniques," 224.

[785] Soards, *Speeches*, 117-18; Pervo, *Acts*, 594-95; Winter, "*Captatio Benevolentiae*," 515-521; Keener, *Acts*, 4:3358-59.

[786] Pervo, *Acts*, 594.

[787] See Calboli Montefusco, "Captatio benevolentiae," 1079-1080; Aune, "*Captatio benevolentiae*," 89; Winter, "*Captatio Benevolentiae*."

[788] Cicero, *De or.* 2.115. The other two pillars are "the proof of our allegations" and "the rousing of their feelings to whatever impulse our case may require."

or character of the speaker.[789] Tertullus's *captatio benevolentiae* is striking to a modern reader because of its slick-tongued style. Here we have reference to Felix's rule of peace and his fortuitous actions, a spirit of thankfulness, as well as a worthy title (κράτιστε Φῆλιξ).

In light of its ancient context, Tertullus's exordium is not unusual, although excessive flattery was discouraged by rhetoricians and other writers.[790] Winter produces a few examples of *captationes benevolentiae* from antiquity that serve as helpful comparisons with Tertullus's: (1) "Since your innate benevolence, My Lord Prefect, has ever anticipated all needs being myself in manifold ways oppressed and wronged, I hasten to appeal to you in order to obtain justice."[791] (2) "Since your ingrained justice, my Lord Prefect, is extended to all men, I myself having suffered injustices fall back on you, expecting to receive a legal remedy."[792] (3) "Conscious of your love of equity, my lord prefect, and your solicitude of all, especially the women [wives] and widows."[793]

Tertullus completes the exordium with an acknowledgement of the worthiness of Felix's time, and sensitivity to time restrictions in legal presentations. Brevity of speech was considered a virtue, one which Quintilian praises,[794] but it was also a necessity in the

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[789] Malina and Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul*, 67.

[790] Keener, "Rhetorical Techniques," 225.

[791] P. Fouad 26, ll. 31-35 (157-59 CE), cited in Winter, "*Captatio Benevolentiae*," 508.

[792] P. Oxy. 2131, l. 7 (207 CE), cited in Winter, "*Captatio Benevolentiae*," 510.

[793] P. Ryl. 114, ll. 3-5 (circa 280 CE), cited in Winter, "*Captatio Benevolentiae*," 511.

[794] Quintilian, *Inst*. 8.3.82. See Keener, "Rhetorical Techniques," 227 and Johnson, *Acts*, 410

courtroom. In fact, water clocks were used in the courts in order to restrict the length of

speeches,[795] but certainly Tertullus's short speech as Luke presents it would not have been

subject to criticism on account of being too long. Since there was very little left of Tertullus's

speech after the *captatio benevolentiae*, a real speech would have been extended, whether or

not Luke was drawing on an actual longer discourse.[796] Likely, Luke composed it simply to

form a counterpart for Paul's speech that follows.

Tertullus's charges against Paul are overblown and refuted by Paul in the speech that

immediately follows.[797] Keener rightly asserts that Tertullus uses the convention of rhetorical

exaggeration in his claim that Paul was "an agitator among all the Jews throughout the world"

(24:5).[798] It is important to note that the charge of sedition was of no little significance. It

would have placed Paul in direct opposition to Felix whose job it was to maintain *pax*

Romana. Tertullus's invitation for Felix to investigate the matter fully was not merely a

rhetorical statement that would have sounded as though Tertullus's assertions were true,

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[795] Lucian, *Bis acc.* 15, 16, 19 (cited in Johnson, *Acts*, 410).

[796] Conzelmann, *Acts*, 198, who points to Lucian, *Bis acc.* 16ff., to show that Luke composed the speech, not as an extended speech, but simply in accord with rhetorical style. Marshall, *Acts*, 374, considers it "a mere resumé" of an actual speech.

[797] On the charges against Paul, see Cadbury, "Roman Law," 305-6; Sherwin-White, *Roman Society*, 49-53. For procedure of *extra ordinem* cases, see Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul*, 115-16.

[798] Keener, "Rhetorical Techniques," 228-229. Keener 228 n. 45 cites the following ancient sources on this convention: Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.11.15; *Rhet. Herenn.* 4.33-44; Cicero, *Or.* 40.139; Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.6.73-76; Demetrius, *Eloc.* 2.124-27; 3.161.

since Felix was not under obligation to take on the case.[799] The speech ends with an *inclusio*, as the word "accuse" (κατηγορέω) occurs both at the beginning in 24:2 and in the end at 24:8.[800]

Tertullus's speech represents, for Luke, a typical speech of a professional orator (ῥήτωρ). There are different opinions on whether or not the Tertullus speech is actually a great specimen of oratory.[801] One suggestion is that Tertullus's speech began with a bang, but fizzled out: "His speech is a near parody of rhetorical correctness; it contains fashionable rhetorical flourishes but ends with a somewhat flat appeal to the governor to examine the case for himself."[802] Whether or not Luke successfully composed a great piece of oratory for Tertullus is secondary to the point that this was Luke's *attempt* at accomplishing this. Luke intended the reader to see Tertullus as one who "knows his trade and is a dangerous opponent."[803]

Paul also gives a speech before Felix, directly following Tertullus's, and the passage functions as a "rhetorical duel" of sorts.[804] His speech before Felix (24:10-21) and (more importantly for us) his speech before Agrippa, both demonstrate that, according to Luke's own presentation of the speeches, Paul was more than a capable speaker. Kennedy observes

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[799] Keener, "Rhetorical Techniques," 233.

[800] Pervo, *Acts*, 597.

[801] Winter, "*Captatio benevolentiae*," 520, cites scholars on both ends the spectrum: "the work of an orator of fairly insignificant ability when contrasted with ancient authors" or "a clever piece of oratory."

[802] Schwarz, "Trial Scene," 129; similar sentiment is stated by Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 421: "Tertullus begins his speech with a great flourish, after the rhetorical fashion of the times; the rest of the speech, unfortunately, does not fulfill the promise of the exordium, and it tails away in a lame conclusion."

[803] Haenchen, *Acts*, 657.

[804] Pervo, *Acts*, 593.

that, unlike Paul's speech in Jerusalem, this one has the appearance of a prepared speech.[805]

Luke even sets up the imagery of an orator when Paul speaks: "Then Paul stretched out his

hand and gave his defense" (26:1).[806] This gesture, along with the rhetorical structure

(described below), and the elegant language of the speech (already described above), indicate

that Luke is putting forth a strong effort to present Paul as a capable attorney for his self-

defense.

Rhetorically, the form of the speech conforms to typical forensic or judicial rhetorical

structures.[807] As Neyrey points out, the speech contains an exordium (*prooemium*), statement

of fact (*narratio*), and proof (*probatio*), but not necessarily in consecutive order.[808] Of all Paul's

defense speeches, the Agrippa speech most fully demonstrates the various elements of the

forensic defense speech.[809] Winter attempts to outline the speech into five units: *exordium*

(26:2-3), *narratio* (26:4-18), *confirmatio* (26:19-20), *refutatio* (26:21), and *peroratio* (26:22-23).

Regardless of how the speech gets divided up (and there are certainly many attempts)[810] the

rhetorical elements of forensic speech are present, the most prominent of them being the

narratio.

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[805] Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 137.

[806] Haenchen, *Acts*, 682: "Paul assumes—despite the chains!—the attitude of the orator."

[807] See Long, "Trial of Paul," 217, for a summary of judicial speeches.

[808] Neyrey does not focus on all five of the features of forensic rhetoric and so does not discuss the refutation (refutatio), and the peroration (peroratio).

[809] Neyrey, "Forensic Defense Speech," 220-221, shows how all four defense speeches fit this description. See the section devoted to Neyrey in the history of interpretation section above.

[810] See the survey of approaches in Pervo, *Acts*, 626-627; Keener, *Acts*, 4:3492-94.

The *exordium* (26:2-3) begins with a *captatio benevolentiae* (26:2-3), which while not as overt as Tertullus's it is stronger than the one found in Paul's speech before Felix (24:10). Paul compliments Agrippa as a capable judge because of his familiarity with Jewish customs and controversies. Paul implies that if a capable and knowledgeable judge like Agrippa were patiently to hear his case, then he would be exonerated. Thus, as in Tertullus's speech, Paul's *captatio benevolentiae* implies that the speaker's case is the truthful one and that simply examining the evidence will bring this to light. Again, this was standard practice and it was important to begin the speech with this type of remark.[811] Still, the contrast between Tertullus's *captatio benevolentiae* and Paul's lends credence to the view that Tertullus is complimenting for the sake of persuasion, whereas Luke wishes to uphold Paul as the honest speaker. The *captatio benevolentiae* also serves to buttress the characterization of Paul as a Jew who is, despite the accusations against him, amenable to Jewish customs.

In the following verses, Paul makes a case for his good character (*ethos*),[812] which according to Aristotle may be "the most effective means of proof."[813] Similarly, in developing *ethos*, Cicero instructs orators to "paint their characters in words, as being upright, stainless, conscientious, modest and long-suffering under injustice."[814] This is particularly important for Paul in this speech because he is addressing an audience who does not know his past

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[811] Crouch, "Persuasive Moment," 334; Quintilian, *Inst.* 4.1.23.

[812] Neyrey considers this still part of the *exordium*, whereas Winter considers it the beginning of the *narratio*.

[813] Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1.2.1356a (Freese, LCL).

[814] Cicero, *De or.* 2.184; cited in Neyrey, "Forensic Defense Speech," 211 and Lentz, *Luke's Portrait*, 106.

behaviors and has no one else to be his character witness.[815] To combat this, Paul calls on his

accusers to act as his character witnesses, which is "a bold rhetorical move."[816] This show of

confidence confirms Paul's request for Agrippa to examine the case for himself. Certainly Paul,

as Luke wants his readers to think, must be innocent on any charges brought against him if he

has the willingness to let his good character be upheld by his accusers. They might accuse him

of certain spurious actions, but they cannot deny Paul's résumé. Paul's pre-Christian history

included his role as a Pharisee, which Luke calls the "strictest sect of our religion" (26:5). This

is reminiscent of Paul's own rehearsal of his qualifications in Phil 3:3-6, which he calls his

"reason for confidence in the flesh."

Rhetorically, Paul shifts the focus from his own character to God's authority, by

claiming that he is on trial for the promise that God made to his Jewish ancestors (26:6-7).

This ethical appeal to God is an instance of what Kennedy calls "radical Christian rhetoric,"

that is, appealing to a higher authority with little interest in logical argumentation

(enthymemes).[817] Crouch points out that, according to Theon, actions are justified (in some

cases) if they are "acceptable to gods or to ancestors."[818] While Paul makes the belief in the

resurrection a main issue, something that a Roman court will not have any interest in proving

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[815] Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 138, notes that Paul may have had friendly witnesses to support his claims, but they might not have been able to come forward or they may have lacked the stature to have been effective in court.

[816] Crouch, "Persuasive Moment," 335.

[817] Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 7.

[818] Crouch, "Persuasive Moment," 336; Theon, *Prog.* 11.44, 54-55.

or disproving, it is a legitimate rhetorical move that would have been appreciated by Paul's primary audience (Agrippa), as well as Luke's readers/hearers.

Paul is eventually interrupted and the speech remains unfinished, although Luke, with all his narrative control, had Paul say everything he needed to say.[819] Overall the speech is a success both for Paul and Luke's literary aims. Paul's evangelistic aims were gaining traction with Agrippa, who admits that given the fuller presentation, he would be convinced of Paul's assertions (26:28).[820] With respect to Paul's legal case, Agrippa likewise admits that Paul had done nothing deserving death or imprisonment (26:31). Here Agrippa's declaration of Paul's innocence joins similar statements of Lysias (23:29) and Festus (25:18, 25). More importantly, had Paul not appealed to Caesar, he could have been set free (26:32).[821] This unusual statement sounds as though Paul was stuck in a bureaucratic quagmire from which no one could release him but the emperor.[822] However the real actor in Luke's narrative is divine and this actor wishes to bring Paul to Rome and no royal declaration of innocence is going to thwart that narrative aim.

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[819] Interruption is a narrative device commonly employed by Luke. See Smith, *Rhetoric of Interruption*, who places interrupted speech of Luke-Acts within its broader ancient literary context; for Smith's treatment of Festus's interruption of Paul, see 236-40. Pervo, *Acts*, 635, refers to its function as a "double underline." See also, Kilgallen, "Did Peter Actually Fail," 409, for the narrative intentions of Peter's interrupted speech in Acts 11:15.

[820] Holladay, *Acts*, 481 points to the Pisidian Antioch speech as an example of this fuller treatment: "The implication is that if Agrippa could hear the details of Paul's argumentation unfolded, for example, in the Pisidian Antioch sermon, he would be convinced of the truthfulness of Paul's claims."

[821] For this reason, Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 138, claims that the speech is "partially successful."

[822] For explanations of the "logic" of this appeal see Pervo, *Acts*, 637 n. 120.

Luke presents Paul as a capable advocate who delivers a strong and convincing defense before a Roman procurator (Porcius Festus) and a client-king (Agrippa II), thus fulfilling an earlier claim in the narrative that Paul will bear witness of Jesus before gentiles and kings (9:15). Readers of Paul's speech before Agrippa will have in their mind the earlier speech delivered by the professional orator, Tertullus, who represented the high priest Ananias. Tertullus's speech shows us how Luke thinks of professional oratory, and this in turn give us the ability to have a point of comparison with Paul's speech. Both speeches opened with flattering *captationes benevolentiae*, but whereas Tertullus's speech quickly dissipated without having much by way of content, Paul's speech presented a personal narrative that defends his actions before God. Most importantly, Paul's statements about being fortunate to find himself before Agrippa are proven to be accurate because Agrippa later declares Paul's innocence. In this declaration, Luke puts a cap on the well-written speech and completes his portrait of Paul as a capable advocate for his own cause.

6.6 Conclusion

In Philostratus's *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, he relates Apollonius's brief trial before Emperor Domitian. Apollonius never delivered a full-length speech, but simply answered four questions posed to him by the Emperor. Apollonius was exonerated. Nevertheless, Philostratus claimed to have a copy of the speech that Apollonius composed

had he needed it, and Philostratus reproduces it in its entirety.[823] This speech serves as an interesting parallel to our current chapter because here we have a speech written by Philostratus for a historical character giving a defense before a very important governing official. Thus, Philostratus has to engage in speech-in-character in the same way that Luke would have for Paul's case before Agrippa. Yet there are very few similarities between the two speeches. Apollonius casts aside any pretense of rhetorical flourish. There is no *captatio benevolentiae*; instead, Apollonius insults Domitian, speaks cynically and frankly. The reason Apollonius, as Philostratus presents him, fails to engage in oratorical practices is due to the negative view that the philosopher held toward rhetoric. In Philostratus's view, a wise person would not craft crafty phrases, smooth sounding statements, and practiced speech, but rather be grave, not-quite haughty, and avoid raising pity.[824]

Paul's speech, in contrast, is intentionally polished by Luke in order to present him as a capable speaker. This suggests that Luke's characterization of Paul as an orator overshadows other types of characterizations in the passage. For instance, as we saw, Malherbe argued that Paul's speech, especially the last interchange between Paul and the rulers, casts Paul as a moral philosopher.[825] This appears to be the case, and I have argued earlier that Luke presents Paul as a philosopher in the Areopagus speech, but the point here is that Luke's overall presentation of Paul in the speech before Agrippa is that of, as Hickling puts it, "an orator of

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[823] Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 8.7.1-50.

[824] Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 8.6.1-2.

[825] Malherbe, "Not in a Corner," 193-210.

some distinction,"[826] who, unlike some in the philosophical tradition, continues to play by the

rhetorical rules.

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[826] Hickling, "Portrait of Paul," 501.

Chapter 7: Epilogue

7.1 Speech-in-Character as a Tool for Analysis

Is the rhetorical exercise of speech-in-character a useful tool for describing the composition of Luke's speechwriting? This is the primary question of the present dissertation. Many interpreters of Acts have used the term prosopopoeia (or ethopoeia) to describe Paul's speeches, however, few, if any follow up with detailed definitions of prosopopoeia or engage at length the writings of the progymnasmata to exemplify their point. This dissertation looks at the question of Luke's characterization of Paul, not through modern literary criticism, but by investigating the tools available to the ancient author. Would someone like Luke have had access to the type of instruction found in the progymnasmata? How do the authors of the progymnasmata explain the exercise of speech-in-character in their own ways? How did other authors of antiquity employ characterization in their speeches? These questions comprised the second chapter. What I have found is that Luke fits the description of one who would have had exposure to progymnastic training and that ancient authors rhetorically shaped their speeches, which generally contained a mixture of credible tradition and authorial creativity.

The exegetical analyses of Paul's four major speeches are guided by questions that derived from the progymnastic exercise, speech-in-character. These include the following items outlined by Theon, who states that the author should "have in mind what the

personality of the speaker is like, and to whom the speech is addressed: the speaker's age, the occasion, the place, the social status of the speaker; also the general subject which the projected speeches are going to discuss. Then one is ready to try to say appropriate words."[827] Thus, among other topics, I have investigated Luke's presentation of Paul based on criteria such as his age, social status, state of mind or disposition, as well as the speech's audience and setting. Aphthonius describes the process of ethopoeia as inventing a new speech for a known person: "Here Heracles is known, but we invent the character in which he speaks."[828]

I have consistently found that each speech not only portrays the known figure of Paul, but they make connections through tradition or text to the Paul of the letters. Thus, Luke's Paul resonates with what Luke's readers would have known about the Paul of history. Luke does not create Paul out of thin air, but rather invents speeches for Paul which are true to Paul, although perhaps not always nuanced. Do the speeches in Acts reflect the practice of speech-in-character outlined in the progymnasmata? Yes. Are the progymnasmata useful for illuminating the compositional practices of Luke as a speechwriter? Yes. Luke impressively displays his abilities as a creative speechwriter while presenting his character as a credible representation of the historical figure. Luke also advances his portrayal of Paul beyond the bounds of the letters, most notably by contradicting Paul's own statements which bring into question his public speaking abilities. Luke's Paul is not a letter writer, but instead a great speaker.

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[827] Theon, *Prog*. 115 (Kennedy).

[828] Aphthonius, *Prog*. 11.1.7-8.

This leads to a related question regarding Luke's compositional practices. Since Luke uses the progymnastic exercise of speech-in-character in his construction of Paul's speeches, does this also mean that Luke presents the other characters in his narrative using speech-in-character? In other words, can we apply this to Peter, James, Cornelius, or Felix? Theoretically, we can apply this to others who deliver speeches in Acts, but this task is not without its problems.[829] Paul is the ideal candidate to test our theory that Luke employs speech-in-character because of the extent of Paul's sermons in the narrative as well as the available resources of Pauline tradition outside Acts (primarily the letters). For known individuals, the exercise of speech-in-character suggests that authors draw on that information to construct speeches. Thus, with Paul we can track places where Luke has painted him in a way that is reflective of a historical Paul. This becomes harder for us to track for historical figures who are more elusive.

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[829] For instance, though there are a number of sources that exist for the case of Peter, including the Gospels, Paul's writings (namely Galatians and 1 Corinthians), and the pseudonymous letters of Peter, we do not have Peter's own writings. Though this is outside of the scope of my dissertation, I expect that if we were to analyze Luke's Peter in terms of speech-in-character, we would find that Luke attempts to describe Peter with qualities that are consistent with the traditions available to him. Luke draws on the resources of speech-in-character to elucidate his portrait of Peter, while blending this characterization with his own literary aims. The interpreter's task would be to distinguish Luke's theological and literary agendas which might skew the data. First, it would be necessary to address Luke's comparison of Peter and Paul, both of whom preach eloquent missionary sermons cut from the same theological cloth. A second issue would be to investigate places where Paul's letters are at odds with Luke's portrait. For example, with respect to the Gentile mission, Luke paints Peter more positively than the portrait in the letter to the Galatians. A third consideration is that the character of Peter undergoes a major shift when he transitions from his role in the Gospels to his new role Acts. He is a confident speaker who embodies the social role of a church leader (e.g., his speech at the Jerusalem Council in 15:7-11). For a brief sketch of Luke's presentation of Peter, see Donfried, "Peter," 258-59.

7.2 The Variety of the Pauline Speech

One of the most salient features of Luke's portrait of Paul in the speeches is how diverse a character we encounter, due to the fact that different rhetorical situations lead to widely different results. Paul in Acts 20 is the pastor who entrusts important instructions to the elders of the Ephesian churches. In Acts 13, he is the prophetic interpreter of Scripture who delivers an evangelistic message to Jews and God-fearers in a synagogue. In Acts 17, he is the philosopher readily engaging the intellectuals of Athens. In Acts 26, he is his own advocate, representing himself before Agrippa and Festus. Luke presents a different Paul for each rhetorical situation and suggests literary parallels to figures within and outside of the narrative as well. Acts 20 links Paul of Acts with Paul of the letters. Acts 13 links Paul with Peter. Acts 17 links Paul with Socrates. Acts 26 links Paul with a great orator like Cicero. Each of the speeches also draws on different tactics of authorial citation. In Acts 20, Paul cites the words of Jesus at the end of his speech to bolster his statement that the elders should support the weak (20:35). In Acts 13, Paul cites the Psalms and 1 Samuel to show that Jesus was prophetically foretold in the Hebrew Scriptures. In Acts 17, Paul cites the poets, Epimenides and Aratus, to show how the concepts of nearness to God and being God's offspring not foreign to Greek thought. In Acts 26, Paul cites his own experiences to justify his actions in light of his Jewish accusers. There is good reason for the divergent pictures in the various speeches. For example, Paul's rehearsal of Israel's history and his the interpretation of the Psalms would have made no sense in his Areopagus address before an audience disinterested in the Hebrew Scriptures.

There is also no typical form for a Pauline speech. This parallels what we know of the Pauline letters. Although there is no single letter type, each of the letters share formal elements (e.g., opening, thanksgiving, body, closing), and the actual content and arrangement is dependent on the letter's occasion.[830] Likewise, the speeches share some common elements with each other (they draw connections to language that have traditionally Pauline roots,[831] they present a good speaker who is in control of his situation, they often include an evangelistic component), but nevertheless present different perspectives on Paul due to the requirements of the context.

Since the speeches are a significant vehicle for Luke's characterization of Paul, each speech adds depth to his overall characterization not gained through the narrative of Acts. The narrative presents Paul as a Roman citizen who is a relentlessly resilient and daring thaumaturge, susceptible to trouble and controversy despite his law-abiding tendencies. This portrait is nothing short of heroic—in fact Luke makes this point obvious when the residents of Lystra mistook Barnabas and Paul for Zeus and Hermes (14:11-13). On the other hand, it is the speeches which respond to the situations (in Acts 14, Paul's speech grounds the audience in reality), advance the narrative, contribute to the literary and theological aims of Luke, but (most important for the present study) deepen the characterization of the speakers, especially

[830] Doty, *Letters*, 21-47: "Instead of arguing that there is one clearly identified Pauline form, I argue that there is a basic understanding of structure by which Paul wrote..." (21). Schnelle, *Apostle Paul*, 41-42: "[E]ach [letter] was embedded in, and affected by, its own situation. We can understand neither the extant letters nor Pauline theology as a whole apart from their particular historical setting."

[831] I have argued that Luke employs the verb δικαιόω in Acts 13:38-39 in order to make his speech have a more Pauline feel to it. In the same way, Luke makes numerous connections to the Pauline letters, most notably 1 Thessalonians and Ephesians, in Acts 20.

Paul. Certainly, Paul of the narrative is far from flat, but without the speeches the readers of

Acts would have no access to the way that Luke presents Paul in his own voice, how Paul

handles himself intellectually and theologically, how Paul has a mastery of textual sources and

interpretation, how Paul describes his former life, and how Paul embodies different social

roles through the speeches. Both the narration and the speeches of Acts work in tandem to

draw the complete characterization of Paul.

7.3 The Complex Picture of Paul

The speeches of Paul contribute significantly to Luke's overall complex portrait of

Paul. As noted in the survey of scholarship in the introduction, interpreters of Acts have

widely different views on who the Paul of Acts is. Any attempt to fit the Paul of Acts into a

single image detracts from Luke's multifaceted literary and theological aims. Indeed, efforts to

pin down the Paul of Acts parallels attempts to do the same with the Paul of the letters.[832] Not

only is the Paul of the letters difficult to pin down, but perhaps the complexity of Paul

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[832] Schnelle, *Apostle Paul*, 43-44, writes a helpful description of the complexities associated with Paul the letter writer: "The unique *historical and theological situation* of Paul must be perceived and evaluated in all its complexity and uniqueness. The apostle found himself in a unique situation of upheaval and deep-rooted change. He saw himself confronted with problems that at their core have not yet been resolved.… In view of these problems, instability and unresolved tensions in Pauline thought not only are to be expected but, in view of the subject matter, are absolutely unavoidable, for these are questions that in the final analysis only God can answer. Therefore tensions and contradictions in Pauline thought should not be denied on overriding theological or ideological grounds but accepted and interpreted. Paul does not comply with the wish for consistent unity and systemization, for neither the ideal of Paul the thinker nor the thesis that Paul is a mere practitioner deficient in theory corresponds to the historical truth."

contributes further to the complexity of Luke's portrayal of Paul, since he was using sources (the letters, other literary or oral sources)[833] that would have reflected this complexity.

Though each of the speeches presents Paul in different social roles (pastor, prophetic interpreter, philosopher, and attorney), specific roles are always not easily confined to a single speech. In other words, while Acts 26 is the logical place to look for Paul's oratorical skill, each of the speeches requires Paul to be a skilled speaker. And though Acts 17 may be the location where Luke primarily emphasizes Paul's role as a philosopher, he does embody notable features of a philosopher in other speeches such as Acts 26. This adds to the complexity of Luke's characterization of Paul since Luke interweaves features of the characterization into more than one scene.

7.4 The Exemplary Role of Luke's Portrait of Paul

The speeches play a primary role in the paradigmatic characterization of Luke's Paul. To borrow language from 2 Timothy 4:2, the speeches show that Paul is "ready in season and out of season." He does not shy away from opportunities to speak, but welcomes them, regardless of the audience. Such boldness would have spurred on Luke's readers who found themselves in situations where they were required to speak up. Thus, Luke does not have to ask his readers to do anything beyond what Paul had already performed in Acts. In this way,

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[833] Here the term "tradition" is being used in the loose, not technical sense as a detectible source. See Pervo, *Acts*, 13.

Luke's Paul channels the Paul of the letters who saw himself as an exemplar for his readers (1 Cor 4:16-17; 11:1; Phil 3:17; 1 Thess 2:9; 2 Thess 3:7, 9).

The content of Paul's speeches exhibited his boldness as well. Paul does not simply say what his audience wishes to hear, despite any potential adverse effect his speech may engender. He calls Christian pastors to sacrificial service. To the Jews, he endorses the Gentile mission. To the Greeks, he criticizes their idolatry. He spoke frankly with the king and governors in Caesarea.

The speech that most clearly exhibits Paul as an exemplar is the Miletus speech. Here Luke presents him as a model elder. He rehearses his manner of living in Ephesus, which includes his humble service, the trials he endured, his proclamations, his teaching, his testimony to Jews and Greeks, and how he held nothing back. The text makes explicit that Paul's activity is paradigmatic: "in all this I have given you an example" (20:35). Paul's example not only functions to elevate the image of Paul in Luke's day by pointing to him specifically as the example, but Luke also uses Paul to address a critical issue in the church of his day in which elders were "not sparing the flock" and looking to "entice disciples to follow them" (20:29-30). For Luke, church leaders can look to Paul as the prototype of proper behavior.

The sermons in Acts 13 and Acts 17 display how Paul engages Jews and Greeks, respectively. For the Jewish audience, he quotes Scripture to show how the promise of salvation culminating the person of Jesus is a part of God's plan for Jews. Luke also shows that the content of Paul's preaching before a Jewish audience was cut from the same cloth as that of Peter's preaching. For the Greek audience, he engages philosophy and natural theology, and

quotes from secular writers rather than Jewish sources. This builds on the earlier Lystra

sermon in which Paul also proclaims God as creator and critiques idolatry. The two speeches

before Jews in Pisidian Antioch and Greeks in Athens give concrete examples for Luke's

readers how to approach different cultural groups.

Paul's speech before Agrippa seems to present an exotic situation for Luke's readers.

On the one hand, this is certainly the case because Paul had a peculiar calling of being the

Lord's instrument, chosen to testify before Gentiles, *kings*, and Israel (9:15). Yet, Luke's Jesus

also predicted that the disciples (and likely a segment of Luke's readership) will be

persecuted:

> But before all this occurs, they will arrest you and persecute you; they will hand you
> over to synagogues and prisons, and you will be brought before kings and governors
> because of my name. This will give you an opportunity to testify. So make up your
> minds not to prepare your defense in advance; for I will give you words and a wisdom
> that none of your opponents will be able to withstand or contradict. (Luke 21:12-15)

Paul fulfills the description that Luke's Jesus predicts. He is brought before a king and

governor,[834] and is enabled to give an eloquent and incontrovertible defense. The point being

that Luke's Jesus predicted this future for the disciples, who now can point to evidence of it

being a reality in the exemplar of Paul. When Luke's readers find themselves in situations

where they testify before governing officials on various levels, they can find assurance in Paul's

example that they will be able to give a defense by relying on the words and wisdom of the

Lord.

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[834] Note that the similarity in the language of "king and governor" exist in Luke 21:12 and Acts 26:30, but nowhere else in the New Testament (O'Toole, "Imitators," 158).

If, then, we do take Paul's speeches as exemplars for Christian proclamation in Luke's age, it is important to note that his preaching was not rigid. As he adapted his sermons to the rhetorical situations presented him, the Lukan Paul found more than one way to proclaim Christ by drawing on commonly-shared beliefs between him and his audience. To the Jews, drawing on the Hebrew Scriptures, Paul declared Christ as the savior from David's line, who fulfills promised good news through his resurrection, and the bringer of the forgiveness of sins for those who believe. To Athenian Greeks, Paul draws on a commonly held notion of God as Creator of the κόσμος without undermining his own theological sensitivities rooted in Judaism; resurrection still plays a role, but there is no mention of the name of Jesus. To believing pastors, he presents Jesus as one worthy of devotion and personal sacrifice, and the model of selfless activity. To the Jewish client-king, Agrippa II, Paul points to Jesus as the agent of conversion and source of forgiveness and sanctification. Thus, Paul's sermons do not take a one-size-fits-all approach to defining Jesus and this same type of adaptability regarding the message would have been useful for Luke's audience who may find themselves in both similar and different situations where they would need to draw on various aspects of Jesus' identity to suit the purpose of their own message. Paul's adaptability in the speeches gives Luke's readers a concrete illustration of what it means to be all things to all people.

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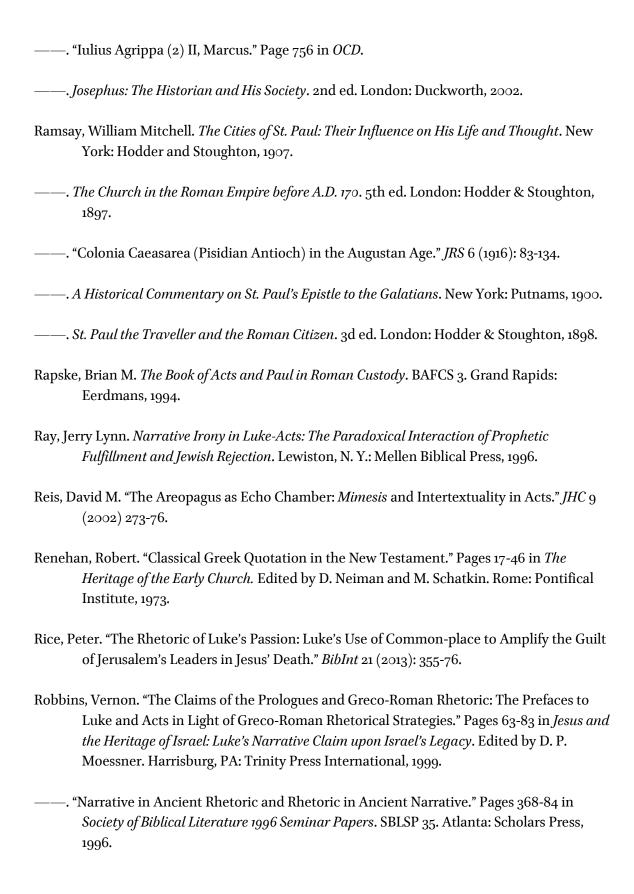
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