PAUL IN THE GENTILE SYNAGOGUE:

THE AREOPAGUS EPISODE (ACTS 17:16-34) IN ITS LITERARY AND SPATIAL CONTEXT

A Thesis Presented to

The Honors Tutorial College

Ohio University

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for Graduation

from the Honors Tutorial College

with the degree of

Bachelor of Arts in Classics

Jericha Tumblin

April 26, 2019

This thesis has been approved by

The Honors Tutorial College and Department of Classics and World Religions

_____

Dr. Cory Crawford
Associate Professor
Department of Classics and World Religions
Thesis Advisor

_____

Dr. Ruth Palmer
Associate Professor
Department of Classics World Religions
Director of Studies, Classics

_____

Cary Roberts Frith
Interim Dean, Honors Tutorial College

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Abstract

Many scholars over the course of the last few centuries have understood Luke-Acts within its Graeco-Roman context, with close attention to the places associated with the cultures of Greece and Rome. One of these places is the Areopagus in Acts 17:16-34, when Paul speaks to Epicurean and Stoic philosophers, along with others who gathered to listen, to argue that the "unknown god" they worship is the God of the fledging Christian communities. I approach this passage from a different angle by examining Graeco-Roman texts who mention the Areopagus such as Aeschylus, Lucian, and Aelius Aristides and by using spatial theory, specifically the work of Ronald van der Bergh within the framework of Edward Soja, as a lens to understand the use of space in Luke-Acts. The mythology and reputation surrounding the Areopagus cannot be separated from its spatial context. I situate this episode within the spatial themes that emerge uniquely in Luke-Acts, namely the outward spread of Christianity from Jewish spaces to their Gentile counterparts, from Palestine to Greece and Rome, beginning with Jesus and ending with Paul. I conclude that the author of Luke-Acts creates this Areopagus episode within this spatial framework, and that this consistent emphasis to place suggests that he intended to play with the readers' expectation of how interactions in potentially hostile environments would end.

1. Introduction: Critical Spatial Theory and Ancient Narrative

In Acts 17, we find the apostle Paul visiting Athens after spending some time in Thessalonica and Berea.[1] While waiting for Silas and Timothy there, Paul "was deeply

[1] Thanks to my family, Dr. Cory Crawford, Dr. Ruth Palmer, Dr. Steve Hays and the rest of the Classics and World Religions staff, as well as Dr. Mike Pope from Brigham Young University for their support and guidance throughout the thesis process.

distressed to see that the city was full of idols" (17:16).[2] As the pattern established in Luke-Acts indicates (though not in the letters of Paul himself), Paul entered first the Jewish synagogue and "argued in the synagogue with the Jews and the devout persons, and also in the marketplace [*agora*] every day with those who happened to be there" (17:17). Epicurean and Stoic philosophers came and questioned Paul concerning his assertions about Jesus and the resurrection, "foreign divinities" to the Greeks (17: 18). This follows the recurring pattern of movement beginning with the Jews and devout persons and ending with the Gentiles, a pattern that the author sets up throughout Luke-Acts as is unique to his own spatial agenda. These philosophers led Paul to the Areopagus [*epi ton Areion Pagon*], an ambiguous noun in Koine Greek that can refer either to the hill in Athens or to the famous council of the Athenians that met on the hill (17:19). Once there, Paul challenged Greek notions of idols and temple worship in favor of a God who grants life and of the man whose resurrection indicates his role as judge of the world. After this some of the audience joined Paul, including Dionysius the Areopagite and a woman named Damaris, while others scoffed, and still others said they would hear more again from him. This episode, situated far from the Palestinian origins of Jesus' earliest followers, points to a broader spatial pattern of the spread of the message northwest, while simultaneously laying out the episodic movement away from Jewish communities and toward Gentile contexts.

The spatial and geographical themes evident in Luke-Acts, of which the Areopagus is an example, are noted throughout biblical scholarship. Joseph Fitzmyer drew attention to the role of Jerusalem as the center in the Gospel of Luke and the

[2] All biblical passages cited in English follow the New Revised Standard Version.

outgrowth of Christianity from Jerusalem to Italy in Acts (1983). His work, along with Haenchen (1971), Conzelmann et. al. (1987), and other commentaries, addresses the broader movement of Christianity beginning in Jerusalem and continuing into Gentile areas, a movement that is significant to this Gospel compared to the other synoptic gospels. The episodic movement of the message suggests that it is not to be left in Palestine (Judea and Galilee), but to be carried to foreign territory.[3] The movement in the individual narratives or episodes within the larger work of Luke-Acts illustrate the spatial themes previously recognized.

Employing spatial theory opens up more avenues to understand the spaces as Luke intended, connecting the general spatial themes and episodic movement.[4] Arising mainly in the 1990s, spatial analysis is a relatively new approach, only recently taking its place among biblical scholarship and religious and classical methods. Many biblical scholars have applied critical spatial theory to their work on the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament, as in the *Constructions of Space* series, but there has been no attempt at synthesizing these different applications because of the various approaches to the topic (Berquist 2007, x).

Biblical spatial analysis, as a child of geography, philosophy, and biblical studies, seeks to understand the spaces, whether physically present or mentally conceived by an author. One of the founding scholars of spatial theory is Henri Lefebvre (1991; orig. 1974), whose tripartite theory of space has been used by many scholars and was

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[3] In the English, the "message" is an NRSV translation of two different nouns, *logos* and *rhemata.* Throughout the analysis, I will use "message" to indicate these two nouns. Similarly, I have used the English "message" to indicate the verb *euaggelizomai* which means, "the spread of the good news", for ease of reference. The "good news" as a noun does not actually appear until Acts 15:7, as *euaggelos.*

[4] For ease of reference I refer to the author of Luke-Acts as "Luke", recognizing that there is no scholarly agreement as to the identity of the anonymous author of Luke-Acts. Later on I will discuss in more detail the scholarly conversation regarding questions of authorship.

modernized by Edward Soja a few years after the translation of Lefebvre's work into English (1996). Lefebvre's conceptual triad begins with *first/perceived space* and *second/conceived space,* both of which in individual moments are folded into the last concept, *third/lived space*. Because *lived space* deals with in-the-moment interactions with space, it is difficult to apply to a work like Luke-Acts, as the biblical text is a recounting or retelling of specific moments, distanced by time and space from the actual event as it occurred. For this reason, the following analysis is centered around van der Bergh's application of *narrative space* (2013), situated within Lefebvre and Soja's *second space*, as Luke creates conceptualized images of spaces for his audience (Brink 1987).[5]

Narrative space seeks to answer spatial questions within a narrative while keeping the world of the author (*narrator's space*), the intended reader's situation (*narrating space*) and the created world of the narrative itself (*narrated space*) in mind. This tripartite lens can be used as a framework to analyze the different spaces of Luke-Acts, not only the broader movements across the narratives, but also the individual movement contained within each episode. Through this analysis, the pattern in Luke-Acts of the gospel's motion outward can be seen in both the broader geographic narrative and the movement within specific episodes.

One of the episodes in which the significance of spatial context is overlooked is in the setting of Acts 17:16-34, the Areopagus, that comes with many challenges in terms of space. The phrase, "to the Areopagus" can refer to either the hill in Athens, Greece or indicate the council named the Areopagus because of its association with this hill.

[5] Originally coming from Brink's *Vertelkunde*, van der Bergh works with this conceptual framework and applies it to the Book of Tobit. This application of the framework is what I refer to throughout this analysis.

Scholarship for centuries has hinged this discussion on the prepositional phrase with accusative noun, *epi ton Areion Pagon,* and specifically on the preposition *epi,* which can mean either "up to", "upon", "in front of", or "before". If we shift our attention however to the object of the preposition, *Areion Pagon,* the Areopagus as a space can be analyzed within the broader spatial themes without the weight of linguistic minuitiae, as previous scholars have done with *epi* and other distinct phrases (Findley 1894; Gray 2005).

Not only is it necessary to place the Areopagus episode within the spatial context of Luke-Acts as this highlights the setting of the text, but also within the Graeco-Roman contexts, as this plays a crucial role in the creation of this text. The many points of contact that the author of Luke-Acts has with Graeco-Roman literature, from Clement to Aratus, help to situate the author around 80CE-130CE, as the contacts provide *termini post* and *ante quem* dating. On this basis, it is possible to analyze the Areopagus as a *narrated* space and examine the prepositional phrases in which *Areion Pagon* appears across Graeco-Roman literature.[6] It may be that Luke is aware of the ambiguity of the Areopagus, giving us insight into how he intended for his reader to understand the scene. If Luke is indeed writing to a Gentile audience, as most scholars agree, it is plausible to assume that he is drawing on the Greek Areopagus as portrayed in the Graeco-Roman narratives for his audience.

On the whole, my analysis seeks to address three questions: Using van der Bergh's *narrative* space framework, how does Luke narrate spaces for his intended

[6] It is important to note the difference in dialects between Classical Greek and biblical Greek. Classical Greek includes the Ionic, Attic, and Homeric dialects, while biblical Greek is the Koine dialect. This is comparative analysis, hinged on there being enough similarities between dialects as they are under the umbrella of Ancient Greek as a whole. Even though Luke is writing in Koine and other references are writing in Classical Greek (Attic, Ionic, Homeric), there is significant conversation between them that this analysis seeks to address.

audience, compared to the synoptics gospels, both broadly and episodically? An examination of the spaces throughout Luke-Acts will help to establish the unique spatial agenda of Luke compared to the other gospels, Matthew and Mark, in which the Areopagus episode is situated. Similarly, in what ways does the *narrated space* of the Areopagus in its Graeco-Roman, intertextual context inform us about its intended meaning in the Lukan context? By analyzing the various usages of the Areopagus across Graeco-Roman texts, this will paint a picture of what Luke and his audience would imagine as influenced by these outside texts. Thus, how does van der Bergh's framework of *narrative space* change how we think about Luke's agenda and his intended audience? Each question cumulatively addresses scholarship's failure to apply the spatial patterns throughout Luke-Acts to the various narratives in Luke's work. The meaning of the Areopagus not only sets the tone for Paul's sermon, but identifies Luke's situation as an author in the Graeco-Roman world, and within these narrative themes, highlights Luke's spatial objective in his narratives.

2. Graeco-Roman Context

This first section is framed within Henri Lefebvre's tripartite theory of space that was refined by Edward Soja. The framework organizes the Areopagus' various layers of meaning, including the hill's topography, the council's history, and its literary reputation. Lefebvre's conceptual triad, as later developed by Soja, begins with *first space/perceived space*. This includes the physical aspects of a space, as well as the social practices that go on in the space just as in a cemetery, full of greenery and gravestones, where the dead are buried and visited. *Social/conceived space* refers to the space's conception when one is removed from that space as it describes a space's function and the conceptual systems in

place that organize and oversee the space. The final leg of the triad, *third/lived space*, includes the symbols, myths, and metaphors surrounding the space and the way in which one interacts with first space and reacts to *second space* in real time (Berquist 2007, 27-28). As with a cemetery, the concept of ghosts and hauntings brings the fearful quality to the cemetery space for one who is walking through the area late at night. My work focuses on *second space*, as my questions are concerned fundamentally with the literature that seeks to prescribe the spaces for the reader through narration, a once-removed view of the spaces themselves. *Third space* seeks to understand lived moments in the spaces contemporaneous to the action, which will not be touched on by this analysis. *First space* questions, however, must be addressed in this analysis, as these questions are concerned with an author's understanding of a physical space (*first space)* and portrayal of characters within that space (*second space)*.

2.1 The Setting: Areopagus in First and Second Space

2.1a. (First Space) Topography

> So [the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers] took [Paul] and brought him to the Areopagus and asked him, 'May we know what this new teaching is that you are presenting?' (Acts 17:19).

When considering *first space*, we are not dealing with what Luke envisions when he writes "Areopagus", or what we envision, but rather what the physical space would have looked like in the first or second centuries CE, as far as can be recovered. The question of topography and physical setting is essential to ask considering the ambiguity of the phrase *epi ton Areion Pagon*, which can mean both *upon* a hill called the Areopagus (Mars Hill), situated to the northwest of the Acropolis, or *before* the law council that

historically met on the hill to deal with matters of the state.[7] This *first space* examination is significant for our *second/narrative* space understanding of the Areopagus episode. Analyzing the physical space of the Areopagus hill and council's history in relation to the hill sets up further examination of the narrative space of Luke and other ancient writers.

The Areopagus as defined by archaeologists and historians is a smooth-faced natural plateau located south of the Agora and west of the Acropolis.[8] Hans Goette states, "On the east peak of the hill, where there is a good view of the Acropolis, the foundations of a temple have only recently been made out, because the cuttings for it in the rock have been worn smooth" (2001, 56-57).[9] Scholars do not know what this temple is, and it is hard to tell what the hill might have actually looked like around the time of Luke's writing, but it is necessary to have some idea of the physical space, however uncertain. On the south side of the Areopagus, remnants of houses and organized settlements are still visible to modern visitors (Thompson 1958, 98-105). Approaching the hill from the south end, there is a set of worn stairs and a plaque displaying the (ancient) Greek text of Paul's sermon.[10] To the left are newly constructed stairs that lead to the plateau of the hill, covered in slick rock. From here is a clear view of the Acropolis to the East. Little can be seen from the traces on this stone but remnants of imprints left from small structures that were built on the hill (Goette 2001, 57; Vanderpool 1950, 36).

Eugene Vanderpool wrote about the location of the council, which took its name from the place, the Areopagus (Mars Hill), much like the White House today stands as a

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[7] In Acts 17:22, *en meso*, or "in the midst of", works with *epi ton Areion Pagon*, which together favor a legal setting for the passage, as Paul would be speaking "in the midst of" the council, rather than the hill. However, as I will show, the council does not have to be separated from the hill in meaning intended by the author of Luke-Acts.

[8] See Figures 1 and 2

[9] Scholars still do not know what this temple was, how it was used, and to whom it was dedicated.

[10] See Figures 3 and 4

metonym for the executive branch of the United States government. Whether the council met on the Areopagus throughout the course of Athens' prominence has been debated by scholars. Vanderpool claims that the church of St. Dionysius, the remains located on a terrace to the north of the Areopagus, was built near or on top of where the Areopagus met, erected on a site connected to Dionysius' life as an Areopagite, a convert of Paul (17:33). Vanderpool suggests that the council met on the hill during the time of Dionysius, as Dionysius is the bridge between the church and the council. Robert Wallace lays out more evidence for this location (1989, 217). However, I find this explanation not proof, but a supposition that cannot be backed up by evidence and must not be depended on solely.

Historically, the council also met in the Stoa Basileios (Wallace 1989, 218). Wallace portrays the idea that the council did not exclusively meet on the hill or Stoa, depending on their reasons for meeting. Therefore, it remains possible that the Areopagus refers to the hill as the location of Paul's sermon. This is not to say that it did not happen at the Stoa Basileios or another location, but that the possibility of the space as the hill continues without full disproof.

2.1b. (Second Space) Textual Issues

Apart from the debate of a council vs. a hill, it is necessary to consider what Luke pictures in his mind when he mentions the Areopagus in Acts 17. This is where the intertextual analysis of the classical texts comes into play. The mythology and history associated with the hill and council through centuries of classical writings (both Greek and Latin) will provide a means of understanding the spatial context in *narrative* space. It

will help us nonnative, modern readers get a sense of what the native, Greek audience might imagine when they hear or read *Areopagus* and what Luke may have intended for his audience to imagine.

In order to understand what Luke means when he uses the preposition *epi* with an accusative form of *Areopagus* following, it proves fruitful to observe what prepositions other writers use when they mention the *Areopagus* outside of the biblical sphere. When searching the term "*Areopagus"* in the Loeb Digital Library search engine in English, 92 texts are listed, in which the dates of composition range from 500 BCE-500 CE; they are mostly written in Ancient Greek, though some are in Latin.[11] The search derives the English, "Areopagus", from translators that translate any combination of words as the Areopagus in the Loebs. Within one text, two or more references may occur, bringing the number of references to around 200.[12] This data shows the shifts in prepositional use over time and the presence of *epi* with a genitive form of *Areopagus* only twice around the time in which Luke is writing. However, there is no preposition *epi* with the accusative form of *Areopagus* as appears in Acts.[13]

The most frequent prepositions used with Areopagus by my count are *ex* (genitive), *en* (dative) and *eis* (accusative).[14] None of these are employed by Luke when he mentions the Areopagus. The closest prepositional phrase to Luke's writing *epi* (plus genitive, not accusative), is not used until around 100-200CE. Significant about this is how the prepositional phrase lines up with the timeframe of Luke's writing. According to

[11] https://www-loebclassics-com.proxy.library.ohio.edu/
[12] The Greek itself can range from including *Areios* and *Pagos* together, just *Areios* or *Pagos*, or neither when *Boule* is mentioned in its place. I have focused my attention on the ones that use some form of *Areios Pagos* directly within a prepositional phrase.
[13] For the chart, see the Table of Prepositions in Index 3.
[14] See Index 3.

scholars the usage ranges from 80CE – 130CE. This overlap suggests that there may have been a transition in preposition use or a shift in how the Areopagus was conceptualized. Perhaps it is a dialect issue, or a localized use of language. In verifying this, I analyzed the uses of *epi* throughout Luke's writing, to see if indeed there is continuity in the use of this preposition. My analysis shows that the reason for the lack of this particular *epi* usage could be because of a difference in dialect as *epi* (accusative) is common throughout Koine Greek. This kind of claim, however, is not within the scope of the present study and highlights further avenues for research.

Besides the use of *epi,* there are other ways ancient authors express directionality to and from the Areopagus indicated by prepositional phrases.[15] These phrases indicate how the author thinks about the object that is being held by the preposition. In most instances, the preposition *eis* (accusative) is used to denote this kind of spatial across or into a space. Sometimes *ex* (genitive) is used indicating going out of a space, as well as *para* (accusative) which means going alongside. The movement tends to show a going *up to* the Areopagus but does not indicate a coming *down from* the hill linguistically which illustrates that the council is still associated with the hill, whether directly or not, and that Luke most likely is thinking about this topography as he writes.

2.2 Intertextual Analysis: Graeco-Roman Literature

Having established the *first space*, topographical nature of the hill, the historical relationship the council has with the hill, and the linguistic connections that confirm the close association of council and hill, we can turn to *second space*, and more specifically

[15] See Index 4.4

narrative space triad. In regards to *narrator's* space, much scholarship highlights the points of contact Luke has with writers outside of the biblical writings. The dating of Luke's work, between 80 CE – 130 CE, is dependent on the linguistic connections Luke-Acts has with other works such as Clement and Polycarp. Conzelmann discusses the similarities Luke-Acts has with Livy, Dionysius Halic, Josephus, Plutarch, and Lucian (1987, xxxv). Even Luke's writing style is compared to the travel accounts and historiographies of other writers during this time (Pervo and Attridge 2009, 17). There are a variety of ways that Luke-Acts can be understood within its Graeco-Roman context, however, this intertextual analysis seeks to answer the specific *narrated* space of the Areopagus in Acts in relation to the portrayal of the Areopagus in the other ancient narratives.

Lucian, a satirist author writing between 100-200CE., paints for the reader a topographical image of the Areopagus with his language (which Luke fails to do and which ultimately causes the problems of ambiguity). In *The Dead Come to Life,* Lucian says "Let us go to [*epi*] the Areopagus, or rather, to [*epi*] the Acropolis itself, so that at the same time we may get a bird's eye view of everything in the city. You, my dears, may walk about in the Painted Porch" (*The Dead* 16.1 [Harmon]). Spatially he refers to the hill as a hill, with no direct reference to the council. And in the *Double Indictment* he uses the same construction in giving voice to Pan, who says:

> Heavens, what a hubbub! What a shout they raised, Justice, and how eagerly they are gathering at a run, dragging each other up the hill, straight for (*epi*) the Areopagus! Hermes, too, is here already, so busy yourselves with the cases, empanel your juries and give your verdicts as usual; I am going back to the cave to pipe one of the passionate melodies with which I am in the habit of provoking Echo. I am sick of trials and speeches, for I hear the pleaders on the Areopagus every day" (Lucian, *The Double Indictment* 12.15 [Harmon]).

Here, Lucian demonstrates what he means quite clearly through the voice of Pan, that the Areopagus council as he imagines it, meets on the hill itself. He employs the space to add emphasis to the dragging and running up the hill.

Aelius Aristides in his *Oration 46* states: "Searchers after perfection will find nothing to excel the Areopagus [*huper* plus accusative]: just as prophetic waters and exhalations draw their strength from the very spot where they rise, *so this place seems to exhale a knowledge of justice which in its clarity is as close as can be to that enjoyed by the gods.*" (*Oration 46* 5-9 [Trapp]; my italics). He describes this place, the hill, as a spot at which superhuman justice and authority can be found. So Aelius connects the hill to the divine because of the trials held there in mythological texts. In a similar way, Luke may be using this ambiguity to connect the council to the hill. Like Lucian, Luke can employ the spatial reading to add emphasis to his story. Therefore, an image of the hill is rendered for the reader through the use of these prepositions, connecting the mythology of the hill to the reputation of the council.

These two authors demonstrate some of the categories of the Graeco-Roman texts I identified through the Loeb Digital Library. The categories are not fixed, but rather fluent, porous, and certainly not exhaustive. The first is *legal*: the Areopagus as a space for trial or dialogue about an unlawful act. Most of the references are trial scenes or similar functionary references. As the above example shows, Lucian regards the Areopagus as a legal space with references to verdicts and justice. More interesting to me is the second grouping, *mythology,* in which divine beings are referenced in close proximity to the Areopagus. Aelius Aristides can be roughly categorized as a mythological reference, as he speaks of prophetic waters and the enjoyment of the gods.

In addition, this category deals with how the name of the hill came to be Areopagus (Mars' Hill). Similarly important is the third grouping, *reputation*: the author speaks of the character and good standing of the council itself, as we will see with Chariton's *Callirrhoe*.[16]

2.2a Mythology

Two authors, Aeschylus in the 5th cent. BCE and Augustine around the 4nd cent. CE discuss the mythology associated with the hill and the name attributed to the hill, *Areion Pagon* or "the hill of Ares". Aeschylus speaks of its connection to the first trial in the *Eumenides* (*Oresteia* 681-690 [Sommerstein]), where Ares is tried against the twelve gods. Apollodorus too references this story (*The Library* 2.7 [Frazer]).[17] Ares murders Halirrhothius, the son of Poseidon, for pursuing his daughter Alcippe. In the end, after his indictment by Poseidon, Ares is acquitted on the Areopagus hill for his crime of murder justly. Augustine discusses the views of another ancient source, Varro, who did not attribute the name of the hill to Ares like most did at the time but connected it with a trial involving Minerva and Neptune because of a question of mythic and historic value.[18] Throughout time and across the boundary between Greek and Latin, writers show a knowledge of the importance of the first trial and its etymological significance. It is iconic, whichever version they choose to portray, and symbolic of the hill itself.

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[16] There can be any combination of one, two, or all these categories in any given text.
[17] Not only Apollodorus and Aeschylus, but Lucian (*Dance*, 38-39) and Varro (Augustine, *The City*, XVIII.X) reference this etiological tradition. See Index 4.1
[18] According to Augustine, Varro believes the connection to Ares is mythic, whereas the Neptune and Minerva trial is historical. Both are mythic trial scenes, but Varro is choosing which makes more sense corresponding to its accuracy by what he calls their historicity (Augustine, *The City* XVIII.X).

There are a variety of other texts evoking mythical dimensions associated with the Areopagus council to include with the stories of Ares, Neptune and Minerva. There is the famous trial of Orestes before the Furies of Clytemnestra that Aeschyllus, Euripides, Apollodorus, and Pausanias mention.[19] In Aeschyllus' *Eumenides*, when Orestes is taken to court for matricide, Apollo is the defendant. He lets Orestes go, stating that Clytemnestra was only the vessel that brought him into the world, not his mother. In response, Athena the judge, who was birthed out of her father Zeus's head, agrees, considering she had no mother. Some other lone connections are to Daedalus the labyrinth maker who is put on trial for throwing his prodigy off the Acropolis (Apollodorus, *The Library* XV [Frazer]). There is the myth of Procris and Cephalus, in which Cephalus accidentally shoots Procris and stands trial for this action (*The Library*, III [Frazer]). Also, the Amazons use the Areopagus as a defensive strategy as protection against the Athenians by fortifying it in battle (*The Library*, Epitome 16 [Frazer]), a reference directly relating to the Areopagus as a hill. Again, across time and space writers from Aeschylus to Pausanias call attention to the mythological significance of the Areopagus, both as hill and as council, corresponding to its traditional beginning as a location for the council of gods. Luke would likely have been aware of these associations with the hill.

2.2b. Reputation

Chariton's use of *Areion Pagon* in his novel *Callirrhoe* is an example of the council's reputation and also hints at this powerful status of the Areopagus, as it is

[19] See Index 4.2

connected to the mythic council. Callirrhoe is taken by pirates who avoid Athens because of the reputation of the Areopagus. The pirates Theron and his men find the beautiful woman Callirrhoe alive in her grave as they are robbing tombs. (Callirrhoe's husband had entombed her as a result of his jealousy of all the other men who thought her beautiful). At this point in the story, the pirates are deciding where to dock the ship:

> Sailing to Athens appealed to them all. But Theron did not like the inquisitive nature of the city. "Are you the only ones," he asked, "who have not heard what busybodies the Athenians are? They are a talkative lot and fond of litigation, and in the harbor scores of troublemakers will ask who we are and where we got this cargo. The worst suspicions will fill their evil minds. The Areopagus is near at hand *and their officials are sterner than tyrants*. We should fear the Athenians more than the Syracusans. The proper place for us is Ionia, where royal riches flow in from all over Asia and people love luxury and ask no questions (Chariton, *Callirrhoe* 1.11.6 [Goold]; my italics).

Here, Areopagus refers to the council and its officials (whether on the hill or not) who are ready to question them as officials who are "sterner than tyrants", that they will inquire after the pirates' reason for being there and possibly indict them. This provides another perspective of the council, written by Chariton between 1-100CE, overlapping with Lukan authorship of Acts. Perhaps Luke is aware of this reputation the council has as understood by Chariton.

There are other ways in which the reputation of the Areopagus is characterized by ancient authors. As in Chariton, the reputation can be indicated through words of praise or fear, or both. Some authors only focus on the function of the Areopagus as a council. There are sixteen texts that note at least once (though most of the time more than once) the Areopagus' reputation as the best council in all of Greece, reporting it as the most just system because of its connection to the divine, or claiming it is the best because its men are sober and wise.[20] All these references show a relatively consistent reputation that the

[20] See Index 4.3

Areopagus held. It is widely known and widely accepted as the prime example of a legal council.

Isocrates, writing between 500-400 BCE, characterizes the membership body of the Areopagus council as "a body which was composed exclusively of men who were of noble birth and had exemplified in their lives exceptional virtue and sobriety, and which, therefore, naturally excelled all the other councils of Hellas" (*Discourses 7. Areopagiticus,* 37 [Norlan]). His praise of the council is dependent on the men who are seated in the council. Lycurgus, writing between 400-300 BCE states: "you have, in the council of the Areopagus, the finest model in Greece: a court so superior to others that even the men convicted in it admit that its judgements are just" and a few pages later, "No one need interrupt me. That council was, in my opinion, the greatest bulwark of the city" (*Against Leocrates* 12.4-8). This reputation precedes Luke's writing and extends well into the first century CE and beyond. Thus, it is likely that Luke is aware of this reputation, and it would fit within the spatial agenda as will be observed in the next section.

Both the mythology surrounding the Areopagus hill and the reputation of the council play a vital role in the narrated Areopagus spaces of these Graeco-Roman writers. As for the mythology, Luke and his intended audience are likely aware of the connection the hill has with the divine council of gods and the importance of the first trial of Ares traditionally said to have been held on the hill. The consistently referenced reputation of the Areopagus council precedes Luke's writing as the "finest model in Greece" as Lycurgus writes, with officials "sterner than tyrants" according to Chariton. Together, the mythology and reputation of the Areopagus are remarked on by authors spanning from

Aeschylus in the early 5th century BCE to Augustine around the 4th century CE. Based on the situation of Luke-Acts within this Graeco-Roman context, Luke likely has access to or is aware of these prevalent concepts associated with the Areopagus.

This is the picture of the Areopagus that is painted by the ancient writers, but in tandem with the literature (as it provides some of the information scholars use to understand classical history), what characterizes the Areopagus council? Historically, the council was a group of men, ex-archons of the city of Athens, who met together on or adjacent to the hill, or in the Stoa Basileios (Wallace 1989, 218). The council would not only deal with trial cases, but also help with the organization of temple building and festivals, playing a big role in its city activities while denying attention to religious affairs outside their own (Rhodes 1972, 127). This suggests that the formal interrogation of Paul for his religious beliefs does not follow suit with the historical character of the council.

The Areopagus was concerned more with cases of *asebeia*, impiety toward the Athenian gods than religious beliefs. Stilpo was taken before the Areopagus for reasons of *asebeia* – dishonor toward the gods – for saying that Athena was not a god, and Theodorus the philosopher did the same (Wallace 1989, 204-5). Robert Wallace goes on to say that the literary tradition in which Socrates is led before the Areopagus council, (though *Areion Pagon* in any form is not mentioned once in the text, as the text uses the term *Boule* indicative of this council), gives the impression that the Areopagus constantly dealt with religious matters and questions of theological importance. This is "a traditional interest of that council," as Wallace describes (1989, 272). Plato's is the best-known narrative involving the council, and he emphasizes this understanding of the role of Areopagus in religious inquiry, though it is to be taken with a grain of salt. To say Paul is

taken to the Areopagus because of the council's concern for Paul's religious views just as Socrates was put on trial before the Areopagus is possible, but only if the question of *asebeia* is correctly assumed by the literary tradition surrounding Plato's *Apology.*[21]

In all, what this information from the 92 references tells us from a *second space* perspective, linguistically and content-wise, is that Luke is not aware of, or deliberately departs from, the usual prepositional phrases used with Areopagus. He is unaware (or at least ignores) the normal religious function of the Areopagus as a council that supports religious festivities and traditionally brings *asebeia* to trial, and draws instead on the less commonly attested concept that this is the natural and highest-profile setting for the Athenians to hear the beliefs of Paul. Most likely Luke has heard of some of the stories discussed above of the renowned Areopagus council, and was perhaps familiar with the divine trial scene with Ares. If not Luke, then his readers at least would likely have been familiar with this depiction of the Areopagus, hill and council. Therefore, with these associations the audience can create a picture connecting the hill and mythology to Christianity. As we will see later on, by inserting Paul into this space, the audience arguably recognizes the tension between the Christian God that Paul is introducing and the Greek gods as Luke crafts the sermon around the Gentile worship. In addition, Paul is making claims concerning the coming judgment that could be seen as a threat to the nature of Areopagus council as the reputation precedes it. Both concepts of hill and council likely play a role in the scene for the intended reader, and it is probable Luke employs both senses in the construction of his narrative.

[21] For information on parallels between Socrates and Paul, see Rowe (2010) and Jipp (2012).

I do not think Luke intends the reader to understand Paul as taken before the council, whether the whole council or just a few members, in some other place near the market or the Stoa Basileios. It is intriguing to think of the hill as the setting, with all of its mythology and legal reputation behind it. This example of Christian views of the divine engaging with Greek counterparts suggests the hill is the appropriate setting for the speech. Paul, referring to their altars and gods, stakes a claim that his God is superior to theirs, overturning their mythology. Not only is Paul led onto the hill, into the space, but as we will see, he takes over that space with his message and his God.

3. Broad Spatial Movement: Luke's Agenda and Narrative Space

Now that we have established the Graeco-Roman literary context in which Luke's work falls, we can examine the Lukan spatial context in which the Areopagus episode is situated and how Luke's agenda, specific to this Gospel and played out in his second volume, Acts, affects our understanding of the setting. Using another spatial framework like we employed the tripartite theory of Soja, van der Bergh's *narrative space* triad falls within *second space* and narrows the scope of this project to questions of narration. Prinsloo, translating the South African scholar Andre Brink, states: "[Narrative] space can be defined as 'everything in the narrative that is used… to create a situation where something happens to someone', as such it defines the "climate" of the narrative" (Prinsloo 2005, 459). Van der Bergh responds with three levels of narrative space: *narrator's* space, the world in which the narrator (in this instance Luke) is situated, *narrating* space, the world of the intended reader (Luke's intended audience), and *narrated* space, the created world of the story or literature (Luke-Acts).

3.1 Van Der Bergh's *Narrative Space*

It is difficult to address the *narrator's* and *narrative* space with Luke-Acts, as there is little confidence across biblical scholarship in the understanding of the author's biography and the audience to which he was writing. Regarding the historical situation of the author, scholarship varies on the dating of these texts, but the majority place this text's composition between 80-130CE. Scholars are in general agreement on the *terminus post quem* of 70CE, which is decided by the reference to Jerusalem's destruction in Luke, and on Luke-Acts having been authored by the same person. Similarly, the *terminus ante quem* sits around 115-130CE based in part on the reference to Luke-Acts by outside writers, such as Clement (early 90s CE) and Polycarp (110-150CE) (Haenchen 1971, 9). Concerning the personal identity of the author, tradition has it that Luke could have been the physician and companion of Paul or the Luke referenced in Paul's letters (Bruce 1990, 6-9). Relating to this, Fitzmyer addresses the connection between Luke named in the gospels and the physician:

> "In reality, it is a matter of little consequence for the interpretation of the Third Gospel [and of Acts] whether its author was a physician or not. He is said to have been such in Col. 4:14, if one accepts the traditional ascription of the Third Gospel to him; but that is the extent of the matter" (1981, 53).

Luke's geographical location must be considered, however, as this influences how the text's spaces can be understood. Perhaps he lived in an urban area as a Gentile Christian himself or a turned Jew who regards his past with contempt. He could even be a man of Antiochene origin considering the special interest given to Antioch throughout Luke-Acts (Bruce 1990, 63; Esler 1987, 30). With the *narrator's* space, it is necessary to highlight

that Luke's background may lead him to favor Gentiles over Jews in the construction of his narrative.

With regard to the intended audience, the *narrating* space, scholars agree that they are a combination of Jew and Gentile. However, the balance of this combination is debated. Most consider the audience to be of a Gentile majority, while there are a few who argue for a balanced mixture or a heavily Jewish audience. Philip Esler explains how the dating affects how we should view the audience composition. If it is a later date like the second century to third century CE, the audience would more likely be Gentile-heavy considering the general shift in Christian numbers toward the beginning of Constantine's rule (Esler 1987, 31). However, if composed in an earlier time frame, the audience may not have been disproportionately Gentile and therefore this cannot be assumed. Considering these things altogether, it is not crucial at this point in the analysis to go deeper into these questions of authorship and readership. Dating from 80-130CE, written by someone named Luke to a mixture of Gentiles and Jews, Luke-Acts' *narrator's* space and *narrating* space is can be broad defined. Now, having established *narrator's* and *narrative*, we can begin to look at the *narrated* spaces themselves by first understanding the general spatial themes present in Luke-Acts through examination of individual episodes, then examining those questions which the Areopagus episode in particular raises.

3.1a Unfocused/Focused Spaces

According to Millar, "narrative space is one of the tools available to an author in the construction of a rhetorical strategy designed to persuade an audience toward a particular idea" (2007, 130), and, as van der Berg elaborates, "and part of this strategy is

certainly the explicit naming of spaces and places of symbolic value" (2013, 215). This language used to discuss the spatial themes and agenda of narrators and their works is useful in studying Luke-Acts as the author himself uses names of places explicitly in Acts to show the spread of Christianity. I would add that the strategy can also include the omitting of place-names to carry the idea forward as is seen in the Gospel of Luke. Luke is aware of geographical place in Luke-Acts, and he stresses the spatial movement between Jewish space and Gentile space. The particular idea he wants to emphasize for the reader is the continuous outward movement and spread of Christianity, beyond the bounds of Palestine to the Gentiles westward throughout the Mediterranean (Bruce 1990, 63-64).

Van der Bergh gives us a lens through which to understand Luke's use of explicit and implicit places by calling attention to "focused" and "unfocused" spaces. The focused spaces are the explicit, directly named spaces that the characters appear in. The unfocused spaces are those that are not explicitly mentioned, but necessary for understanding the setting of the story and inferred therefore by the reader (van der Berg 2013, 216-17). In the third Gospel, Luke makes deliberate use of unfocused spaces, and in Acts he uses explicit names to highlight the movement outward through identification of focused spaces.

Luke uses space differently between the Gospel and the Acts in order that Acts may build on the Gospel, and in connection to this focused and unfocused spaces are useful, as we will see in the following analysis. In the Gospel, Luke omits names of places corresponding to Jesus' journey in order to direct the reader's attention toward Jerusalem, the central city to the Gospel. In Acts, geographical names are crucial for

Luke as they demonstrate the outward spread of the news about the kingdom of God, a spread that begins at Jerusalem and continues to the "ends of the earth": Rome. As O'Neill explains, "It becomes the centre of the mission to the Gentiles, but it rejects the gospel for itself. …The story ends at Rome because Jerusalem has rejected her saviour, but Rome will be the centre of the Church" (1970, 72-73). These grouped place-names are emphasized in what I call Luke's narrative interludes. Together these books create a bigger picture, showing the spatial movement starting in Jerusalem, as Jesus returns from Galilee back to Jerusalem, and then from Jerusalem northwest toward Italy, driven by the Jews' hostility toward Paul's message.

The author demonstrates this movement outward not only in the place names, but in his portrayal of those spaces. Athens is a principal example of Luke's agenda, as it imagines Christianity spreading through Gentile religious contexts, far from the borders of Jewish sects and into the foreign spaces of note in the Hellenistic world. Once the broader scope of the spatial movement throughout Luke-Acts in general and the more episodic movement from Jewish to Gentile spaces are established, we will look again at the Areopagus as we did in the Graeco-Roman texts. This will allow us to examine the importance of this setting within the broader and episodic spatial context through the analysis of the surrounding places Paul visits while keeping in mind the mythological reputation of the Areopagus.

3.2 Place-Names In and Out of Focus

3.2a. Luke: Broad Movement

Looking at the geographical movement that Luke narrates in the Gospel, it is quite clear that he is showing the message of Jesus being rejected by the Jewish authorities,

foreshadowing its friendlier reception among Gentiles. In the Gospel of Luke, there is sparse mention of the location of Jesus throughout the book. By comparing with Luke's source materials (Mark, Matthew, and Q), we find that geographical names are frequently left out of the story in the third Gospel. It begins in Judea, placing Jesus in Bethlehem and Nazareth, continuing into Capernaum, Nain, the Gerasenes, Bethsaida, and back to Judea. Jesus is born in Bethlehem, what Luke calls the city of David, and dies in Jerusalem, the city most commonly known as belonging to David. The return to Jerusalem is crucial to Jesus' story, connecting him to all the prophecies of old, and is an indicator of Luke's agenda, as the return to Jerusalem sets up the trajectory for Paul to move outward toward Italy. Different from the other gospels, in Luke-Acts, "each of the parts [his five-fold division of the Gospel] is governed by some sort of geographical factor, and always the geographical movement has significance for the history of salvation" (O'Neill 1970, 71). This movement separates this Gospel from the other accounts, Matthew and Mark.

From the beginning, those around Jesus dismiss his claim to authority, a theme that occurs in all the synoptics. As a boy, Jesus and his parents travel to Jerusalem from Nazareth for their yearly observance of Passover. During the journey, Jesus heads for the temple, "sitting among the teachers, listening to them and asking them questions" (2:46). When Jesus begins his ministry in a synagogue in Nazareth in Galilee, he is rejected by his hometown (as Jesus predicts). All those in the synagogue become so enraged at his claim of being the anointed one that they lead him to the edge of a cliff to kill him. But Jesus slips through their fingers and goes north to Capernaum in Galilee (4:31-37). The people in the synagogue drive Jesus away, beginning Jesus' movement north to

Capernaum and setting up a return to the holy city in future chapters. Throughout the book, as will be evident, Luke builds on this return, reminding the reader frequently that Jesus must go away from and come back to Jerusalem.

This movement outward and away from the synagogue, spatially significant to Luke's Gospel, parallels prophets' work outside of Israel in the Hebrew Bible. Luke uniquely among the Gospels has Jesus make reference to Elijah when he is rejected by the people in the Nazarene synagogue. In time of famine, Elijah is not sent to help the widows in Israel, rather as Jesus says, Elijah was "sent to none of them except to a widow at Zarephath in Sidon" (4:26). In the same way, Jesus travels to towns in Samaria and Galilee, away from his home and into foreign lands (a passage that we will examine later concerning social dominance).

Now that Jesus has left Nazareth and gone further north into Capernaum, he can begin his trajectory back towards Jerusalem. The next marked place indicating Jesus' location is Lake Gennesaret ("the Sea of Galilee") near Capernaum (5:1-11). Jesus helps a centurion's daughter in this episode (7:1-10). Following this, he makes his way to Nain to bring a dead, young man to life (7:11-16). From there he crosses the Sea of Galilee, rebuking the winds and the waves as he goes (8:22-25). The country of the Gerasenes is northwest of the Sea of Galilee, where Jesus sends demons into pigs (8:26-39). Then Jesus feeds the five thousand in Bethsaida (9:10-17), north of the Gerasenes, going away from Jerusalem.[22]

From this point until chapter 19, Jesus is presumably between Samaria in the south and Galilee in the north (17:10), but Luke does not specify this. Here is a clear

[22] I would expect Luke to move Jesus south here, toward Jerusalem a little more. But instead Jesus is going away from that target. This complicates the normative pattern.

example of unfocused spaces in practice. In fact, Luke goes as far as saying vague descriptions of Jesus' location with phrases like "a certain city" or "on the way to a village", so that Jesus can go straight from Galilee through Samaria to Jerusalem in Judea (Fitzmyer 1983, 166). As Jesus travels for an entire ten chapters, the reader has no indication of Jesus' precise location. But Luke has made sure the reader is aware that Jesus is on his way to Jerusalem, reminding them frequently (9:51; 13:22; 13:33-34; 17:11).

By looking at the other gospels' treatment of geographical place written before Luke's narrative, we are able to compare the possibility of Luke's ignorance or purposeful omission of specific places. Fitzmyer, in his commentary on Luke, discusses the relationship between Luke and the Gospels written before it, Mark and Matthew concerning the similarities in their writing and how each uses space differently.[23] Fitzmyer claims, using McCown's language of "geographical ineptitude", that Luke alters the geography of his story to fit his theological narrative only because he does not know any better (Fitzmyer 1983, 164).

With all of this in mind, it seems that Luke is aware of, but specifically omits names and uses unfocused spaces to tell his stories, which becomes clearer in the comparison of Luke to his sources. One instance is in Mark 7:28 and Luke 16:20-21, in which the crumbs that fall from the table are eaten by dogs, the woman and the beggar are compared to the dog who eats the crumbs. For Mark, this episode is set in Tyre, northwest of the Sea of Galilee on the coast of the Mediterranean. In Luke, the place-

[23] There is some debate concerning where Matthew fits in the timeline of the creation of the gospels. For now, I will go with the majority and say Matthew came before, as this does not directly affect my claims about Luke.

name is omitted, in the long section from chapter 8 to 19 in which Jesus' location is not given except along the border of Galilee and Samaria on the way to Jerusalem (Luke 17:11). To add to Fitzmyer, Luke may be omitting names, like Tyre, in order for Jesus to keep a straight trajectory for Jerusalem. The route between Galilee and Samaria is glossed over in Luke's writing also, except for the mention of Bethsaida and Jericho. In Matthew and Mark for instance, when Jesus asks the disciples who the people say he is, the episode occurs in Caesarea Philippi (Matt. 16:13; Mark 8:27).[24] In Luke however, the text does not specify where Jesus is, only that he is alone somewhere with his disciples (Luke 9:18), suggesting that Luke deliberately removed the geographic marker. This may mean that Luke is aware of space and manipulates the geography to fulfill his agenda.

Considering *narrative* space, Luke's geographical agenda would suggest a deliberate omission of names with unfocused spaces throughout. On the one hand regarding the difference between Luke and the other synoptic gospels and specifically Mark from which Luke was drawing, the omission of place-names and the many points of reference to unfocused spaces are unique to Luke and its spatial themes. Acts, on the other hand, emphasizes the focused spaces in each episode in which Paul gives the message, as we will see in the next section. As Luke's agenda asserts, the unfocused place-names in the Gospel and the plethora of focused spaces in Acts emphasizes the outward movement of the message from Jerusalem into Gentile territory.

[24] See Fig. 5.

3.2b. Acts: Broad Movement

In Acts, Luke emphasizes the geographical locations of his main characters as they spread the word throughout the Mediterranean by employing focused, explicitly named spaces. The place-names act as visual representations of this motion northwest. This diffusion becomes clear if we examine the verses in which Luke expands the spatial lens for the reader to see the bigger picture. He does this through variously situated recaps, summaries, or narrative interludes of the wide spreading acceptance of Christianity in which focused spaces are referenced.

The first of these narrative interludes follows the moment when the Holy Spirit falls on the believers, making them speak in tongues (Acts 2). Luke tells the reader that the believers meet together regularly, growing in numbers (Acts 4). The next interludes tell what the believers are doing together: sharing their belongings, selling their goods and homes (4:32-37).[25] They also are depicted growing in number from around Jerusalem near Solomon's portico (5:12-16). The word spreads throughout Jerusalem (6:7) and then throughout Judea and into Samaria (8:1-8). As this goes on, Luke widens the reach of the word by the work of Paul into Judea, Galilee and Samaria (9:31), Phoenicia, Cyprus, Antioch, Jerusalem and Tarsus (11:19-31), Pisidia (13:48-52), Antioch in Syria and Iconium in Phrygia (15:36-16:5), Galatia and Phrygia (18:22-23), Macedonia and Achaia (19:21-22), and back to Jerusalem (20:1-6). Then begins Paul's legal journey to the "ends of the earth", from Assos to Malta, and finally to Rome (28:30-31).[26]

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[25] This is in preparation for the episode of Ananias and Saphira who lie about what they have given up for the church (Acts 5).

[26] See Fig. 6., the third missionary journey of Paul. Scholarship identifies three missionary journeys of Paul, each beginning and ending in Judea. As this analysis focuses on the broader movement outward, I look at these separate journeys as further expansions northwest, a general movement away from Judea. The journey to Rome is not considered a missionary journey. See Coogan (2010) for more maps of the area.

Each narrative interlude, full of focused spaces, opens the frame just a little wider for the reader. Beginning at the temple in Jerusalem and ending at Paul's residence in Rome, focused language shows the spread of the word throughout Jerusalem, Judea, and all of Samaria, "to the ends of the earth" (1:8). The unfocused and focused spaces within the two books of Luke, the omitting of place-names in Luke and the emphasis on place-names in Acts, work together to present this spread of Christianity out and away from Jerusalem into Gentile territory.

4. Episodic Spatial Movement

4.1 Moving from Jew to Greek in Luke-Acts

So far we have looked at the broader geographical movement evident throughout the whole of Luke-Acts through focused and unfocused spaces of narrative within *second space*. This shows us where the characters are in the narrative and the direction Luke intends for them across the two books as a whole. On the more individual level, each episode contains spatial movement between certain kinds of spaces related to certain types of authority, like the Jewish synagogue and their leadership, and quite similar in concept to Prinsloo's "climate of narrative," which involves the social spaces of the episode (2005, 459). These distinct episodes, when added up, paint the same geographical movement examined in the above section. In addition, the tension that is sometimes created by the challenge of authority is evident across the settings in Luke-Acts. It is possible to draw parallels between the two books that demonstrate this individual movement contained within each episode. In particular, I will draw connections between Jesus' movement away from the Jewish elite and toward Gentiles and Paul's movement

between Jewish and Gentile spaces as a reflection of the pattern foreshadowed in the Gospel.

4.1a Luke: Episodic Movement

Luke uses this pattern from Jewish spaces like the synagogue to Gentile spaces frequently to show how the message is meant to be ultimately dismissed by the Jews, while accepted by the Gentiles. This pattern begins in Luke 4:24 and ends in Acts 28:28. The first mention of this movement and the tension with authority is in Luke 4, when Jesus begins his ministry and returns to his hometown, Nazareth (an episode discussed briefly above). He goes on the Sabbath to the synagogue, which becomes his normal routine, and stands before all those in the synagogue reading a scroll from Isaiah, which marks Jesus as the anointed. The people are astonished and begin asking questions, but Jesus turns them down saying that no prophet is accepted in their hometown and that the prophet is not even sent for their salvation, as Elijah was not sent to help the widows in Israel but one in Sidon. Jesus is then taken to a cliff where his listeners, offended by his refusal, intend to kill him, but he escapes and goes to Capernaum (Luke 4:14-30). The use of the Elijah story emphasizes even more this movement from the land of the Jews to foreign country as Elijah goes not to Israel but to the Phoenician town of Sidon and Elisha only helps a Syrian (4:27).[27]

[27] I used the Elijah passage once before to demonstrate the geographical movement outward, whereas here I am using it to show the movement from Jewish space to Gentile space. These two concepts go hand in hand. As the characters move away from Palestine (Judea and Galilee), they are leaving the Jews. It is true that other Jewish sects appear throughout the Mediterranean. However, I distinguish geography as the general movement away from Palestine, whereas these spatial episodes refer to individual occurrences of the refusal of the Jews and the acceptance by Gentiles within this broader movement outward and northward.

Another significant passage from the Gospel concerning this movement is Jesus' instructions to the Twelve (Luke 9:1-6). They are to go out and spread the word (though we do not know where exactly as this is situated in the ten chapters of unfocused spaces), taking nothing with them. If they are not welcomed, they are to shake the dust off their feet. This image shows up once in Acts, specifically Acts 18:1-11 when Paul is rejected by the Corinthian Jewish authorities and follows this order of Jesus to "shake the dust" and move on to the Gentiles. Jesus and Paul both follow this script throughout Luke-Acts, namely, that the Jews will generally reject the message, but the Gentiles will listen. This concept encourages movement constantly throughout the text, and Luke highlights this in his telling of the beginnings of Christianity. The expected rejection of the message in a Jewish space is a factor in the forward motion out of Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria, and into Greece and Italy.

Luke provides many interactions between Jesus and the Jewish elite to help the reader understand why the Jews repeatedly shut their ears to the message of Jesus, and later to Paul. One of these episodes is Luke 7:29-50 in which a woman wipes Jesus' feet with the perfume in the alabaster jar. The Pharisee at whose house Jesus was staying questioned Jesus' authority by making reference to the sin of the woman. Luke shows a Pharisee failing to understand one of the core concepts of Jesus' teaching: the lesser you are on earth, the more you need forgiven, then the more love you will show to the one who deserves it. As the Pharisee thinks, "If this man were a prophet, he would know who is touching him and what kind of woman she is—that she is a sinner." (7:39), Jesus then tells the parable of two who are in debt, coming to the conclusion that "the one who had the bigger debt forgiven" would be loved more (7:43).

There are exceptions and competing portrayals of the Jews.[28] Instead of rejecting the message, some Jews supported Jesus and while some non-Jews rejected Jesus. In 8:26-39, Jesus drives out demons from a man into a herd of pigs who run into a lake and drown. The Gerasenes (likely a non-Jewish population) are filled with fear at the sight of this and even ask Jesus to leave. This is the first time in the Gospel that a non-Jew dismisses Jesus. A second example of non-Jews sending Jesus away is on his journey to Jerusalem. He goes through a Samaritan town (the name is left unstated in this unfocused space) that does not receive Jesus and the disciples (9:51-55). John and James reply to this refusal in anger, wanting to use their new-found divine power to rain fire down on the town. Significant with the exception is that it is a Samaritan town, home to a community that is in tension with the Jews after the Babylonian exile in 538 BCE (Coogan 2010, 1849). Jesus denies the disciples this act of anger, so he may keep moving to get to Jerusalem at his appointed time. These two instances demonstrate that for Luke the boundary between acceptance and rejection of Jesus did not always map onto religious or ethnic identities.

Two other exceptions challenge this anti-Jewish view, in which Jewish sects may be portrayed in a positive light. In 13:31-35, Pharisees either warn or threaten Jesus about Herod who wants to kill him (this verse is ambiguous linguistically), a possible exception to the normal rule. However, they are telling Jesus to leave Jerusalem, foreshadowing the crucifixion to come. These exceptions are moments Luke may be using to show a turn of the tide, an acceptance of the truth or a part of the truth, by the Jewish groups. However,

[28] See Index 1

this claim of exceptions is complicated by the various kinds of Jews and types of spaces that Luke employs as a narrator.

4.1b. Acts: Episodic Movement

Acts shows this movement from Jew to Gentile, with some nuanced exceptions as well. There are many more encounters with different Jewish groups in Acts.[29] An example of this general movement is Acts 9:20-30, the episode after Saul's conversion where he must escape the Jews' plans to kill him (following his time in preaching in the synagogues). Driven out of the hostile social space in Damascus and crossing a clear boundary, the disciples let Saul "down through an opening in the wall, lowering him in a basket" during the night.[30] This is a physical representation of the established pattern where the Jews instigate movement from place to place in the narrative.

We can see Luke's agenda at work in how he treats the events following Paul's conversion, this elaborate story escaping the Jews, compared to how Paul writes about his own conversion in Galatians. Paul insists he never went back to Jerusalem in the first place (Gal 1:13-19). As Jesus went to Nazareth to the synagogue and was driven out by those in the synagogue, so Paul is threatened by the Jews following his time spent in the synagogues, and both began their mission to the Gentiles at this point in the pattern. Immediately Paul began to proclaim Jesus in the synagogues, saying "He is the Son of God" (Acts 9:20). A few verses later, "When he had come to Jerusalem, he attempted to join the disciples; and they were all afraid of him, for they did not believe that he was a

[29] See Index 1
[30] This instance is parallel to that of Jesus' dismissal of his hometown. I will touch on this in the next section.

disciple" (Acts 9:26). In Galatians, however, Paul states the exact opposite of what Luke claims, that he did not go to Jerusalem:

> But when God, who had set me apart before I was born and called me through his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son to me, so that I might proclaim him among the Gentiles, I did not confer with any human being, nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were already apostles before me, but I went away at once into Arabia, and afterwards I returned to Damascus (Galatians 1:15-17).

These verses highlight a disparity between Luke's version of the story and Paul's own account of his journey. Luke is determined to have Paul's journey begin in Jerusalem and make an unforgettable exit through the city wall. This movement is crucial to the picture that Luke is trying to draw for the reader and it makes a bigger claim about Jerusalem that O'Neill describes, "The gospel was breaking out of its entanglement with organized Judaism and becoming free to be the universal religion. Jerusalem is left behind and Rome is entered" (1970, 73). This is the beginning of this trajectory away from Jerusalem and its people, and toward Athens and Rome, where Gentiles have an openness that the Jews lack.

In addition to Luke's insistence that Paul began his ministry Jerusalem, Paul and Barnabas explain outright why they must try to persuade the Jews first every place they enter. This is in Acts 13:13-52, they are chased out of Antioch in Pisidia by the Jews, different from those in the synagogue the day before who want to listen more to Paul. To these Jews who saw the crowds and became jealous they declare that the Gentiles will accept the word if they do not (13:45). Paul begins one day by laying out the crowd's ancestry, using their literature to draw connections between the promise they are expecting and the Jesus that has come. Luke says that the people in the synagogue are eager to hear more, but the next day when the Jews see a crowd of lay people gathered around Paul and Barnabas, out of jealousy they contradict Paul's words. Following this,

Paul and Barnabas declare, “It was necessary that the word of God should be spoken first to you. Since you reject it and judge yourselves to be unworthy of eternal life, we are now turning to the Gentiles” (13:46). Here, Gentiles “praised the word of the Lord”, while the Jews called on “devout women of high standing and the leading men of the city” to drive them away (13:50). In response, Paul and Barnabus shake the dust off their feet as they go (13:51).

However, there are exceptions to this portrayal of Jews in Acts as there are in Luke. In some cases, it is not only authorities of the Jews, but Gentiles too who do not accept the message. People in the synagogue and Jewish leaders occasionally accept what is being taught by the Jesus followers at the beginning of each episode. These accepting Jews are then overcast by “the Jews”, a collective name that Luke uses for those who stir up trouble for disciples and instigate their departure. These exceptions, noted in the Index, challenge the negative perception of the Jews throughout Acts, as the exceptions in the Gospel also did. It follows that the geographical movement extends outward, away from the Jews and toward Gentile groups. Though, these exceptions must be acknowledged as it may uncover the Luke’s perception of the places these Jews are from. Perhaps in Berea historically there was a strong Christian sect of the Jews that Luke must take account for, considering their acceptance of Paul in contrast to the Thessalonian Jews who are so persistent in driving out Paul that they rush south to Berea to do so outside of their own town (Acts 17:13). The exceptions of the Berean Jews in Acts and the recurring people in the synagogue who accept the message initially throughout Luke-Acts may be seen by Luke as people separated from “the Jews”, a reference to the Jewish elite (Pharisee, Sadducees, chief priests, etc.). It is worth noting that these exceptions,

though perhaps not exceptions at all, may have been deliberate on the part of the author to complicate the portrayal of Jew versus Gentile.

4.2 Jesus and Paul, Parallel Lives

Beginning with Jesus entering Jerusalem (Luke 19) and ending with Paul carrying the word into Italy (Acts 28), Luke articulates a parallel representation of the movement from Jewish space (Jerusalem) outward to Gentile spaces (Greece, Italy, etc.) by the two main characters in Luke's narrative. In the same way Jesus spreads the message around Judea, so also Paul spreads the message throughout the Mediterranean, encountering authorities of the Jews in the places they enter. To bring out the parallelism even more, Paul and Jesus both begin their missions with an episode of being rejected by the Jewish elite following their time in a synagogue. Paul at the end of Luke's version of the narrative, diverges from the life of Jesus when he appeals to the Roman emperor (Acts 25:10). In that moment, Paul does not return to Jerusalem as Jesus did, but goes on to Rome, symbolic of the outward movement previously discussed, a pattern that is crucial to lay out in order to situate the Areopagus episode within the spatial movement of Luke-Acts.

The specific concepts that I am interested in as settings for the episodes are moments that show movement out of a Jewish space and into a Gentile space. These concepts display particularly the broader movement outward, on the way to the Gentile spaces and within them, that function as reasons for why Jesus and Paul were sent outward and examples of the parallelism that is present. They enter a space where an already established authority exists.

Both Jesus and Paul begin their missions between clearly defined spaces, in an open space free of a clearly defined authority and beyond the bounds of a building. Jesus is baptized somewhere near the Jordan, in an open space, and returning to the synagogue, the closed religious space in which he is a subordinate character, inevitably being driven away from Jerusalem, but coming back to the cross. Saul is made blind on a road to Damascus, another open space like the Jordan. He then travels with Barnabas to a synagogue of the Jews, a closed space, and moves north. Once he returns to Jerusalem, he requests to be sent to the emperor in Rome. The significance lies in the association of Christianity with these open, unbounded spaces, symbolizing even more the distinction between Jew and Gentile, between what was the authority space of the Jews to the Gentile authority spaces. The Areopagus is such a space of authority, similarly demonstrated in Jesus' rather violent encounter with the synagogue in Luke 4 and Stephen's deadly encounter in Acts 6, which we will examine next.

4.3 Narrated Space: Social Dominance - Luke 4 and Acts 6

Within each space in which the movement from Jew to Gentile surfaces, we must ask who is the socially dominant group in the space in which the main character is driven out within the narrated world of the author. This highlights the ones who are expelling and illustrates their role in the narrative. The dominant social group may be the Jewish magistrates, or the Roman council, Paul himself, or a Gentile group like the philosophers. They belong in the space they are in, rather than entering spaces as a subordinate character. In open spaces, such as along the road, outside the city gates, or near a river, there is no established authority necessarily connected to the space. Therefore, there can be little subordination, which allows Jesus and Paul to dominate within the social

situation. While this domination may not indicate a violence or harsh controlling of the other characters involved, it indicates a social hierarchy, that is necessary to evaluate when trying to understand the narrated space of the author. Whereas in a closed space, such as the temple, synagogue, or council in Rome, the space is already filled by a dominant figure like the high priest, governor, council, or other similar position. In those closed spaces, tension can arise from the opposing side because of the authority Jesus claims to have and Paul asserts about him. The two examples I will examine are in Luke 4 and Acts 6, in which Jesus and Stephen enter hostile "climates" with already present authorities in which they are driven out from that space. These specific episodes set up an expectation for the reader when examining the Areopagus episode, that the Greeks will be another dominating social group that Paul enters. Other similar examples of this include Luke 20:1-19, Acts 19:23-41, and Acts 21:27-37.

4.3a. Luke 4

To start, the passage in Luke 4 has already been described above, in which Jesus reads a scroll to the people in the synagogue and they end up driving him out to a cliff edge to kill him, but Jesus escapes. This passage demonstrates the attention Luke pays to the outward movement of Christianity. This is also indicative of the larger theme Luke presents to the intended reader, that the message is to be carried beyond Jerusalem. This is clear when one compares Jesus' first synagogue visit in this Gospel to the visit in the gospels of Mark and Matthew (Aland 2000, 31-33). The differences that are apparent in Luke are evidence for this interpretation.

In all three synoptic gospels, the episode starts with Jesus finishing up the previous episode (parables to a crowd in Matthew 13, going away from the crowd at the lake in Mark 5, and the devil's temptation in Luke 4). Jesus then teaches in a synagogue of "his own country," and Luke departs from the other synoptics in that he describes the teaching of Jesus when he is in the synagogue. Jesus speaks the language of his audience and of his tradition, referring back to the texts and reading from the scroll and asserts himself in the space when he says that the writing in the scroll is fulfilled. The synagogue responds positively to this, and the reaction is the same in each gospel, "Is this Joseph's son?" (Matt and Mark elaborate on this question). Jesus' response to this imagined dialogue, that he performed a miracle in Nazareth as he did in Capernaum, is the same in all three. The prophet is not accepted in his home country.

Luke then uniquely has Jesus use Elijah and Elisha as examples of the prophets who were summoned to foreign places because God knew these people of the synagogue would reject them. This demonstrates Luke's emphasis on the acceptance on behalf of the Gentiles to the message, an agenda not important to the authors of Matthew and Mark. Jesus begins with Elijah who is sent to no one but a widow in Sidon (Zarephath) during a severe famine in Israel. Similarly, when there were many lepers in Israel, Elisha was sent to "none of them…except Naaman the Syrian" (Luke 4:27). In both stories, God's chosen are not sent to the people of Israel, rather they are sent outside to marginalized groups, like widows and lepers. Luke specifically and spatially supplements the concept found in all the gospels, that 'no prophet is accepted in his hometown' as with the examples of Elijah and Elisha who are sent outward because it is assumed they will not be accepted in Israel.

Following this teaching, Matthew and Mark say nothing of the Jews' response to this except that they marveled at him. Luke adds an extended, violent ending to the episode that the people from the synagogue are not amazed, but rather angry and take him outside the synagogue and the city "to the brow of the hill on which their city was built" to hurl him off the cliff (4:29). But Jesus escapes by simply passing through their midst. This passage is clearly a demonstration of Luke's perspective, that he will portray Jewish authority as overtly hostile, that it is possible for Jesus to be accepted outside, and that the message is not only meant for his hometown of Nazareth, but also for the Gentiles.

Luke 4 indicates the agenda of Luke, that Jesus' message is to be carried past Palestine, on to the ends of the earth. Luke shows an expansion upon this distinct passage that is absent from Matthew and Mark, as they focus on Jesus' refusal to do signs and perform miracles in their midst. Assuming Luke had access to Mark, and even to Matthew, this is evidence for his own redaction of the stories to fit his overall theme of spatial movement and the establishment of an expected hostile response to Jesus and his message.

4.3b. Acts 6

The second passage that demonstrates even more this outward movement and hostile environment is Acts 6:8-8:4, the stoning of Stephen. It begins with some of the synagogue of the Freedman: Cyrenians, Alexandrians, those from Cilicia and Asia, who argue with Stephen (6:9). Stephen's wisdom and "Spirit with which he spoke" was too much for them (6:10). In response, they set up false witnesses and testimonies, stirring up those in authority so that Stephen is taken before the council and high priest. This space is presumably at or near the temple, for the false witnesses say in Acts 6:13-15 "This man

never stops saying things against this holy place and the law; for we have heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth will destroy this place and will change the customs that Moses handed on to us" (6:13-14). This holy "place" points to the temple in which Stephen has little social standing here but seemingly is given authority through the wisdom of the Spirit (Munck 1967, 59).[31]

In the longest speech in Luke-Acts, Stephen responds to the high priests' inquiry of the false witnesses' claims by recounting examples from Jewish sacred history. Scholars divide the speech into two parts: Jewish disobedience (7:2-43) and God's presence in the temple (7:44-50). It has only been indirectly recognized however, that both parts of the speech are driven by questions of space (Levin 2011, 211; Munck 1967, 59). Both parts address this spatial question of the necessity of Palestine (Judea and Galilee) for God's message. The speech as a whole highlights that the land of Palestine is unnecessary for the outward movement of God's word. In general, the speech uses concepts known to the synagogue crowd that previous carriers of God's message are driven out or not accepted, illustrating a continuous movement for his audience corresponding to the spatial themes evident in Luke's writing.

Luke narrates this movement in Stephen's speech beginning with some of the principal characters in Genesis and Exodus, and then skips forward to the Judean Exile into Babylon. Stephen begins his speech with God commanding Abraham to leave Mesopotamia and move to Haran, and then relocate to "the country in which you are now living" (7:4), the promised land of Israel. Abraham's descendants fulfill this commandment after they are delivered from exile after 400 years. Stephen stressed that

[31] Munck suggests that Stephen is brought before the Sanhedrin in the Temple.

Abraham never inherited land himself "not even a foot's length" (7:5), but that it was promised to his descendants following their enslavement in Egypt.

This leads to his telling of Joseph's story, who is sold into Egypt, and ends up at Pharaoh's right hand. Jacob and "our ancestors" (7:12) continue to Egypt as well because of famine, and eventually live and die there. Now under persecution from the Egyptians, the Israelites are removed as Abraham was from Mesopotamia, suggesting the unimportance of place for the message and the people who are now located in Egypt.

Next, Stephen recalls how Moses was born and removed from his Israelite family, and raised in an Egyptian context. When it "came into his heart" (7:23) to return to his original (Hebrew) family, they reject him, responding to Moses' claim to authority with a gesture toward his action to kill the Egyptian (7:27-28). This response highlights the Hebrews' rejection of Moses' authority, and so he flees to Midian. When in the wilderness, God tells him at the burning bush, "the place where you are standing [the wilderness] is holy ground" (7:33). The fact that God makes himself known in the wilderness, not in Egypt where the Israelites were, seems to suggest that Luke saw scriptural precedent for growth of Christianity beyond its roots in Palestinian contexts.

After this encounter, God sends Moses back to Egypt. Then Moses leads the Israelites out into the wilderness, back to holy ground. At this point, the Israelites lose confidence in Moses and with Aaron's help, make a golden calf (7:40-41). From here, Luke has Stephen skips over the heart of Israelite history, from the settlement of the land and rise of the monarchy to Solomon's building of the temple, characterizing it as a period in which God has "turned away from them and handed them over to worship the host of heaven" (7:42). This leap is clear in the reference to the Babylonian exile, saying,

"so I will remove you beyond Babylon" (7:43), an evident modification of Amos 5:25-27 that originally references an exile beyond Damascus, not Babylon. It seems then, that "beyond Babylon" has a double meaning here in Stephen's context and in the context of Lukan spatial themes. Not only are the Israelites removed beyond Babylon, but also the divine message is removed beyond Babylon, beyond Palestine, to Gentile territory through an extension of space and a condensation of time.

One can imagine the response to Stephen's speech so far. What about the centuries in Israelite history of the concern for God and God's attention to the Israelites in return during the long period of history Stephen skips over? What about the status of Jerusalem as the center of Jewish worship, a place that some texts deem as God's selection for a dwelling place? As noted by Conzelmann, Luke-Acts shows the author's "certain schematizing and also exclusion of historical materials", and this is one of those examples of the author's omission of history to further his agenda (1987, xlii). Stephen addresses this implicit question concerning Jerusalem and its history through the discussion of God's dwelling place, from the shrine in the wilderness, the "tent of testimony" (7:44) during the period from Joshua and David, to the permanent temple of Solomon under David's request for a dwelling place for God/the house of Jacob (7:46). However, in acknowledging this, Stephen qualifies the subject by pointing to the countertradition in the Hebrew Bible that was skeptical of Jerusalem's centrality. He states that "the Most High does not dwell in houses made with human hands" (7:48), blending the Deuteronomistic statement that Solomon's temple could not contain God (1 Kings 8:27; cf. 8:12-13) with a prophetic critique of idols made with human hands (Isaiah 2:8; Psalms 115:4). This quote from the prophets is interestingly repeated by Paul on the

Areopagus, providing supplemental evidence for the relevance of these spatial concerns to the focus of this study. This section of Stephen's speech ends with the second quote that separates Jerusalem from God's dwelling place: "Heaven is my throne,/ and the earth is my footstool./ What kind of house will you build for me,/ says the Lord,/ or what is the place of my rest?/ Did not my hand make all these things?" (7:49-50).

In this way, the two parts of the speech work together to recount Jewish history, detaching God's people from any authoritative religious claim based on location. This in turn connects to the larger spatial themes at work throughout Luke-Acts that explain why God's message spread outward, beyond the Jewish homeland and into new, foreign contexts.

This speech culminates in Stephen's final imposition on the Jewish audience "You are the ones that received the law as ordained by angels, and yet you have not kept it." (7:53). Following this speech, the crowd becomes angry and drags Stephen out of the city and stones him. It seems that their anger, according to Luke, stems from Stephen's presentation of their ancestors as "uncircumcised in heart and ears", rejecting what God has given them. They themselves are the same as their ancestors. The spatial themes in this speech indicate, starting from Abraham, movement outside Palestine, from Mesopotamia to Haran, then, after a brief time in Israel, to Egypt, to Midian, through the wilderness, and finally, beyond Babylon. And the second section solves the pressing Christian question of how to relate to the one temple location in Jerusalem.

From this point on, the church in Jerusalem was forced outwards because of persecution (Acts 8:1-4) and thus begins the spread of Christianity beyond the bounds of

Judaism and their Israelite ancestors.[32] Both of these passages, in Luke 4 and Acts 6, demonstrate Luke's attention towards the outward spread of Christianity, that it is not exclusively meant for the Jews, but the Gentiles as well. In both the synagogue and before the council, the already existing authority probes the hostile environment. The main character (Jesus or Stephen) speaks the "language" of their audience so that they may grab their attention and then twist what the Jews think they know. They also highlight the hostility and violence of the Jews (as told by Luke), that sets up an expectation of the Greeks in Acts 17:16-34, that, as we will see, never comes to fruition. This reaction that the Jews frequently have throughout Luke-Acts creates an order of events. The main character is preaching, some of the Jews listen, while the Jewish authorities as an entity respond with anger and violence, and the main character is driven out, or killed. However, this is not so with the Gentiles, as we will see in the Areopagus sermon of Paul. According to pattern, the Jews respond to the presentation of Christianity with hostility and violence, and it is expected that the Gentiles too would respond negatively, but as we have seen with the many instances of Gentile acceptance as listed previously, the anticipation is left unresolved.

5. The Areopagus Sermon (Acts 17:16-34)

In this section, we have seen how van der Bergh's terminology of *narrative space* guides the analysis of unfocused, nameless spaces in the Gospel of Luke and the focused, named spaces in Acts that demonstrates the attention Luke gives to geographical movement through Jerusalem and beyond not seen in the other synoptic gospels. Looking

[32] Luke draws on this later in Acts 11:19, marking the beginning of the persecution and spreading outward by the stoning of Stephen.

at the individual episodes, this pattern is reflected by the Jews' continual rejection of Jesus in Luke and the Gentiles' openness to Paul's message in Acts. Peering closer into these episodes, the dominant social groups such as the Jewish magistrates and the high council, instill in the intended reader an anticipation for violence within the individual encounters that are exceeded by the Jewish dominated spaces and left unresolved in Gentile spaces. This second part of the analysis seeks to situate the Areopagus episode, Acts 17:16-34, within these patterns as a focused, Gentile space in which the intended audience is expecting a hostile environment in Athens.

As argued in the first section, the Areopagus, one of the prominent hills in Athens located west of the Acropolis, is the focused space of this episode in Acts. Paul addresses the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers who wonder if he is a proclaimer of "foreign divinities" (17:16-18), which refers to both Jesus and the Resurrection (possibly as a goddess).[33] The philosophers' response is to take Paul "to the Areopagus". As we saw in the above discussion of Graeco-Roman texts, scholarship debates whether linguistically the Areopagus refers to the council of Athens, "before the Areopagus", or the hill itself, "upon the Areopagus", as the Koine prepositional phrase is ambiguous in nature. Using a spatial framework, the *first space* survey of this episode examined the topography and the historical location in which the Areopagus council met, asking what physical/ historical world Luke was drawing on. Returning to the *second space* study, these questions are necessary to ask to get a full grasp at Luke' intended meaning. Who was taking Paul, and where were they taking him?

[33] See Gray (2005) for more on the notion of the resurrection, *Anastasis*, as a goddess.

Let us look closer at the Areopagus episode to see how Luke portrays the Athenians within the narrative in order to compare to Graeco-Roman literature. When Paul enters Athens and prior to his coming to the Areopagus, he first presents his message to those in the synagogue, the Jews, and to those in the marketplace, the common Greek folk. Among the Greeks are the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers who ask questions of Paul and his beliefs, wanting to hear what he has to say. [34] It is not certain whom Paul is speaking with when it comes to his monologue later in the chapter. Most manuscripts do not specify this, leaving the reader to assume his audience is full of philosophers and other Greeks.

The text of the Nestle-Aland 28 Greek New Testament shows ambiguity in Acts 17:17 pertaining to who takes Paul to the Areopagus: "So they took him [Paul] and led him to the Areopagus, saying, "May we know what this new teaching is that is being presented by you?" [35] A handful of variant manuscripts differ by specifying who is taking Paul. These manuscripts insert *oi ioudaioi,* the Jews, as the ones doing the taking, *epilabomenoi*. This group is made up mostly of lectionaries that appear no earlier that the 8th century and no later than the 15th century. This suggests that the information in them is more likely to originate in later scribal manipulations of the text.

Two relevant rules of textual criticism as laid out by Epp and Fee include the rejection of "readings appearing originally in lectionaries" and of "readings having the odor of a gloss or an interpretation may be rejected" (1993, 152). The earliest indication of Jews in this verse comes from a lectionary in the 8th century, which as far as can be understood with the information we have, is the original source of this input. It is a very

[34] In a few manuscripts, Stoics are not mentioned.
[35] See Index 2.

late development. However, it is intriguing that it was even developed at all. There is no overt reason to claim the Jews brought Paul to the Areopagus within Acts 17:16-34. The preceding verse speaks of the philosophers, so naturally the Greeks would be the audience and from among them a group would take Paul to the Areopagus.

By asserting the Jews in this instance, the writer is drawing on the assumptions that the spatial pattern suggests and that the reader anticipates. Throughout Acts, before and after this passage, it is the Jews who take Paul before a council as if on trial. The writer is assuming 1) the Areopagus refers to the council, and 2) only the Jews do this to early Christians. The ambiguity that comes from *epilabomenoi* allows this assertion and these assumptions. There is no indicator in the Greek language of who is doing the taking. So therefore, these lectionaries fill in the agents with no one other than the Jews.[36]

It seems that we cannot know for certain who is taking Paul, but the most solid textual tradition implies that the Greeks, the philosophers mentioned in the preceding verses, do the taking. No other group is mentioned, and Luke would surely specify for the reader if it was the Jews taking Paul. Nestle-Aland 28 is the best version, of the text that we have, and this text leaves the *epilabomenoi* for the reader to decide (Aland and Aland 1989).

A similarly consequential question to ask is where Paul is being taken within the level of *second/narrative space*. The Greek says he is taken "to the Areopagus", *epi ton Areion Pagon*. This phrase is a critical part of the setting of this passage, but as we have seen, it is ambiguous. Some scholars see the meaning of this phrase to be only two

[36] There is one manuscript that labels the actors as the Athenians, oi athenaioi, which is untrustworthy considering Epp and Fee's rules: "The more difficult and more obscure reading is preferable to that in which everything is so intelligible and cleared of difficulties that every scribe is easily able to understand it" (Epp and Fee, 1993, 152).

options: the setting would be withdrawn from the marketplace to a hilltop, or before the council as if on trial. These are two very different settings. I suggest, however, that it could be a combination of the two: Luke assumes that the Areopagus council still convenes on the hilltop, a space for Paul to bring the message about his own God, the Christian God of resurrection and life, which incorporates both mythology of the hill and the council's reputation.

Epi ton Areion Pagon. Scholars have tried to understand the ambiguity of this phrase through detailed analysis of the linguistic function of *epi* in different contexts within Koine Greek, while others try to understand the preposition as a completion of the verb *epilambanomai*.[37] However, the doubling does not need to indicate a hostile environment, seizing Paul before a council. It seems to appear whenever the biblical authors wish to stress what the preposition represents.[38] Sometimes linguistically it can indicate a hostile encounter (*before*/*against*), but this can only be understood in context. What this means is that linguistically *epi* and Areopagus are interdependent. To understand the meaning of *epi* in Acts 17:19, one must understand the context. To understand the context, one must understand what is meant by Areopagus. And the meaning of Areopagus is determined by its preposition, *epi*.

This interdependence has been addressed by looking at the context in which the Areopagus is referenced in Graeco-Roman literature as a whole and the content, both regarding mythology and reputation, of each text. Beginning first with an examination of Luke's language, the intertextual analysis demonstrated how other Greek and Latin

[37] Findlay (1894) conducted an analysis regarding *epi* plus accusative, claiming it was unique to Luke-Acts to mean "in the midst of". Gray 2005, and Jipp 2012 attempt similar analyses.
[38] I examined all of the uses of *epi* in Luke-Acts and the Gospels, paying close attention to movement with the Accusative noun form. See Index 5.

writers use the Areopagus in their own narrated spaces, intending either the mythology of the hill and reputation of the council or both when referencing the Areopagus with various prepositions. Keeping these discussions in mind, we can have a better grasp of what Luke was intending for the reader to imagine as we look closer at the sermon itself.

To establish the spatial context in which this biblical reference is situated, it is necessary to look at where this episode fits in the larger geographical movement of Luke-Acts and the individual movement from Jewish synagogue to Greek Areopagus. After traveling through Judea (Jerusalem - 12:25), Syria (Antioch - 13:1), Galatia (Lystra - 14:6), and Pisidia (Antioch - 14:25), and further opposite Mysia (16:7), Paul has a vision in which he should carry the word to Macedonia (16:9). Very clearly Luke is employing space to show the spread of the word north and west of Judea. So after this episode Paul then moves to Thessalonica and Berea of Macedonia.

The reception in Macedonia was quite varied, as mentioned previously concerning exceptions to the rule that Jews always reject the message which complicates this simplified pattern. To start, the Thessalonian Jews become jealous of Paul and Silas and even go at lengths to find them (17:1-9). Because they cannot locate them, they attack Jason and bring him before the local magistrates (nothing was found against him so he is let go). The believers then send Paul to Berea, whose Jews listen and even accept his message. At the sound of this, those from Thessalonica come over and chase Paul out of the neighboring town because the Thessalonian "Jews became jealous" toward him (17:5). Having been chased southward out of Berea by the Thessalonian Jews, Paul ends up in Athens alone, but heads on to the Jewish synagogue (17:16-17). This is a clear display of spatial movement, being kicked out of a place by the Jews, even Jews of

another town, and entering then into a Greek space, following the now common pattern of Luke-Acts. Paul made it to Macedonia and continues on into Achaea (Greece). These are the factors that lead Paul to Athens and the Areopagus.

After Paul's visit with the Athenians, he spends some time in Corinth (18:1). Entering a synagogue, he is then expelled by the Jews and responds with shaking the dust from his clothes and moving on (18:6). Significant about this passage is not only the move from a Jewish to Gentile space, but the action of "shaking the dust". In Luke 9:1-6, noted above, Jesus commands his disciples to carry nothing with them as they spread the word and, "wherever they do not welcome you, as you are leaving that town shake the dust off your feet as a testimony against them". Paul is apparently following the instructions Jesus had laid out for his followers. The Jews do not accept, and so Paul moves on from the Jews in Corinth and stays with the believers for about a year and a half.

These are the surrounding episodes that come before and after Paul's time in Athens, his journey through Macedonia, among the Thessalonian and Berean Jews, and his stay in Corinth. But as for this episode in Athens, it must be noted that the Jews have little role in Paul taking leave of Athens like they do in Berea and Corinth. In fact, the Greeks here are portrayed in a different light, as philosophers (different from the Ephesus scene at the temple of Artemis, as worshippers of other gods). They are curious and they are worshippers of divine figures, of idols and images that Paul confronts.[39] But they do not chase him away in this setting, not immediately like the Jews would be expected to do.

[39]On Athenian curiosity, see Gray 2005.

This leads us to the next point of examination, the sermon in its Graeco-Roman cultural context. One expects Luke to draw on the mythology of the space as it was portrayed in Graeco-Roman narratives according to this line of thought. With reference to the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers, one would also expect philosophical language to play a role in the sermon. In fact, Luke uses both in his dialogue, creating a story that takes these references and incorporates them, and it would be in line with a discussion about the Areopagus. If he understands Areopagus as a hill, a mythologically infused space, then one would reasonably suspect it to surface in the language he uses. In addition, the broad spatial context must be kept in mind as we move forward.

5.1 Stoicism

First, let us deal with the similarities between this text and Stoic philosophy. Expanding on the work of Joshua Jipp, who finds language of Stoicism in the sermon and interprets it as a demonstration of the superiority of Christianity as a philosophy compared to Hellenistic philosophy, my analysis adds a spatial aspect to this usurping of Greek philosophy. Not only does the language denote this, but Paul enters their rhetorical space, speaking on their level to plant his flag of Paul's message, not only in speech but symbolically on the hill itself. In this way, Christianity overturns Hellenistic philosophy and religion, Jesus replaces the council as a judge, and the Christian "foreign divinities" replace the mythology associated with the hill.

Jipp argues both that the references to the Septuagint throughout the text suggest Paul's critique of idolatry and that the function of Hellenistic philosophical language present in the text places Christian philosophy superior to Greek philosophy. For my

purposes, this second point concerning the function of the philosophic language is most useful.

As an example of a Septuagint reference, Paul's God is far greater than any made-made item as he claims in the verses above. In Acts 17:29 he says "Since we are God's offspring, we ought not to think that the deity is like gold, or silver, or stone, an image formed by the art and imagination of mortals". Luke understands Greek religion to be full of these "idols," a perspective that may be informed by the mythology and literature on the Areopagus, discussed above. With this in mind, Paul focuses on idol worship that is prohibited in Isaiah 40 (Jipp 2012, 585). His Jesus is human flesh. To Paul this notion separates his divine figure from the divinities of the Greeks and to Luke, this concept is stressed even with respect to Stoic language.

Philosophical language it is sprinkled all throughout the sermon created by Luke. This begins with the presentation of God as creating everything in our world, starting from one man, ordering everything about humans lives, and planting in us a desire for himself. All of these are concepts that can be found in Epicurean and Stoic writings (Jipp 2012, 577-582). As in Stephen's speech, Luke uses again the phrase "human hands" referencing not only the prophets and the Deuteronomistic perspective of Solomon's temple building, but simultaneously connecting to Stoicism. "The God who made the world and everything in it is the Lord of heaven and earth and does not live in temples built by human hands" brings to mind criticism of temple worship by Stoic philosophers Seneca, for "human pride lets itself be ensnared by such exercises of religious duty… the god needs no domestic servants." (*Ep.* 95) and Heraclitus, "don't you know that God is

not wrought by hands" (*Ep.* 4) (Jipp 2012, 580).[40] Following this we come to the two quotes that Luke inserts into the speech. "For in him we live and move and have our being" (17:28) does not have an identical parallel in any writing in Jipp's study, but the sentiment can be imagined in Stoic philosophy, and "For we are his offspring" (17:28) comes directly from Aratus' work, *Phaenomena* (Jipp, 2012; Rothschild, 2014; Rowe, 2010).

These lines and concepts show the use of Stoic vocabulary in this speech, but their reason for inclusion is debated by scholars. Jipp argues that it is intended to overturn Hellenistic philosophy, leaving Christianity superior, though he warns about putting too much significance on the Stoic language in this interpretation. Taking this warning further, Kavin Rowe argues that common vocabulary does not necessitate a kind of Lukan translation of Stoic philosophy and thus reading it in this way is ultimately unsupported. Rather, he believes the sprinklings of philosophical concepts are used to keep the Greeks interested, to keep them from persecuting him (for he reads the scene as one of legal importance, similar to the Socrates trial). This does not extend further to some rhetorical conquest rather, Luke is more concerned with theological arguments according to Rowe (2010, 50).

One particular verse, the capstone of the speech, seems turns to the judicial understanding of the space:

> In the past God overlooked such ignorance, but now he commands all people everywhere to repent. For he has set a day when *he will judge the world with justice* by the man he has appointed. He has given proof of this to everyone by raising him from the dead. (Acts 17:30-31; my italics).

[40] Stoic references are discussed in great detail by Jipp (2012). See his work for more information.

In these verses Luke has Paul demonstrate that Jesus is the one and only judge. As we have seen with the functions of the Areopagus, they too are judges of the Athenian people. Jipp argues that this passage indicates a return to the beginning of the episode. Paul is brought to the Areopagus, and this is flipped on its head when Jesus is then to judge them in return (2012, 587). What Jipp is suggesting is a shift in power and social order. It is no longer the Areopagus council who will dispense justice the Greeks.

In addition, Jesus will take the place of the entire council, and not just replace them, but do them one better as the son of God. He is the example of how justice should be executed. Therefore, he not only replaces the human council, but surpasses even the mythological characters who once judged on the mountain. Taking into account the divine and human nature of the Areopagus hill and its topography, Jesus is able to do what Poseidon, Athena, the Furies, and the twelve gods did in Greek mythological narratives as demonstrated throughout the 92 texts in the Greek and Roman narratives. The Greeks do not need to depend on their pantheon for justice. Flesh and blood has come to bring divine justice from the "unknown god".

It is unclear whether Luke thought the Athenians saw the Areopagus this way, however this text provokes this notion of replacement in light of the Graeco-Roman texts. As the chosen one of God, indicated by the resurrection, Jesus himself beat death. His perfection demanded this justice for himself. By repenting, one also receives this justice of God and eternal life (17:30-31). Perfect justice is not found before the Areopagus council or on the hill itself, but rather in the judgement of the "man whom he has appointed" (17:31).

Jesus usurps the existing concept of the divine. He replaces the human council and he is superior to the gods, guided by God's perfect justice. Luke uses the reputation, mythology, and history of the Areopagus as a means to insert Jesus among it all. He demonstrates the way in which his God is superior to even the pantheon of gods associated with the prominent Athens and its Areopagus. For Luke, the message was superior to Greek philosophy and mythology, indicated by spatial movement into Gentile spaces in the same way Jesus pushed the bounds of Jewish interpretation beyond their limits.

The Areopagus episode is left unresolved, as the Greeks respond to Paul's reference to the resurrection of Jesus with an open-ended, "We will hear you again about this" (17:32). Patrick Gray goes into much detail about the significance of this moment in which some Greeks scoff, others like Dionysius and Damaris believe, while still others are seemingly "curious" and possibly "superstitious" (Gray 2005, 109). Gray claims that the Greeks could not tolerate the discussion of the resurrection of the dead because their curiosity (2005, 116). Regardless of why they ended the dialogue with Paul, Luke foreshadows a further interaction between Paul and the Greeks. At this point in the already established pattern, the Jews would have reacted by grabbing the attention of their authorities, rebuking Paul, or instigating violence, as we saw with Paul being continually chased out of synagogues. However, the Greeks only scoff and relay an openness to further discussion of Paul's message. This leaves the intended readership and modern readers expecting a fulfillment of this promise made by the Greeks, which seems to be addressed later two chapters later in Ephesus (19:23-41).

6. Ephesus – The Final Encounter with the Greeks

Ephesus is home to the Temple of Artemis, one of the seven wonders of the world. It represents the epitome of Greek religion. The Ephesus episode demonstrates the final encounter that Paul has with the Greeks, and acts as a focused space in Luke's narrative in which the Gentiles are socially dominant. Demetrius the silversmith, a maker of Artemis figures and a voice of authority for the Greeks, stirs up the crowds by claiming that his own occupation is at risk because of what Paul is introducing and that Artemis herself should be offended by the new religion:

> You also see and hear that not only in Ephesus but in almost the whole of Asia this Paul has persuaded and drawn away a considerable number of people by saying that gods made with hands are not gods. And there is danger not only that this trade of ours may come into disrepute but also that the temple of the great goddess Artemis will be scorned, and she will be deprived of her majesty that brought all Asia and the world to worship her (Acts 19:27).

This stirred up the crowds that begin heading toward the Great Theater of Ephesus that could hold at least 24,000 people (Coogan, 2010, 1957). Here, Paul is taken as a threat by the Greeks, challenging their god Artemis. [41] Though this scene is not set before the Areopagus council, because of the hostile environment described, Luke suggests a scene that is not unlike the trial scene trope that scholars have connected the Areopagus episode to.

In response to Demetrius the silversmith, three people try to calm down the crowds, first Paul but his disciples hold him back disciples are afraid of the hostility that may bring forth violence in the situation, an internal reference to the expected pattern of hostility (19:30). And then the Jews send Alexander, a Hellenized Jew, but the Gentiles do not listen because they realize he is a Jew

[41] This reminds us of the question of *asebeia,* as examined before pertaining to the Areopagus episode.

(19:33). Finally, the town clerk, the *grammateus*, gets through to the people, arguing logically and effectively that their Artemis is widely known as supreme, that Paul and his disciples are not a threat, and that Demetrius and the other silversmiths may bring a formal complaint before the courts within a legal setting. These arguments act together to urge the crowds to do nothing rash. "For we are in danger of being charged with rioting today, since there is no cause that we can give to justify this commotion" (19:40). In this way, the Greeks are guided to an alternative response to the message by one of their own that contrasts drastically with the Jews' consistent, violent rejection of the message throughout Luke-Acts.

Briefly mentioned at the start, this episode demonstrates a caveat to the simple pattern that only Jews reject the message. So also do the Greeks in the end, but in this case they check themselves before they react too severely. This episode, it seems, is a continuation of the Areopagus episode, in which the Greek audience asks to hear more from Paul about his Christianity. There is an expectation here that the Greeks will form a mob and attempt to physically drive out Paul or attempt to stone them. However, Luke has the Greek crowd recognize that they could be threatened with punishment by authority figures amidst the confusion of the moment. In response to this confusion, Paul is restrained by his disciples, Alexander is ignored by the Greeks as a Jew, but the town clerk belonging to this group functions as a rational authoritative voice in the midst of chaos. He is a recognized authority figure representing all of the group and holding the place that a legal councilman may have done. In this way, the Greeks differ from the Jews, and the reader as well as Paul and his companions are

surprised by this turn of events. Overall, the Greeks function as prompters of this outward movement for Luke in addition to being an example of the Gentile reception of the message.

The Areopagus and Ephesus episodes demonstrate the difference Luke presents between the Jew and Gentile reception of the Christian message. As shown also with the speech of Stephen, the message was for Luke never meant to remain in Palestine. It was intended to be spread outward. The narrative spaces, such as the Areopagus and the theater at Ephesus complete with an already dominant social group, are emphasized in these episodes in order to forward Luke's agenda. The reader expects a hostile, unguarded reaction to the message. Instead, Luke leaves this expectation unfulfilled, emphasizing more his insistence that the message is intended, not only for the Jews in Jerusalem, but for Gentiles in foreign places beyond this holy city.

7. Conclusion

The Areopagus episode, a focused, Gentile space is only one setting Luke uses among the variety throughout Luke-Acts, including the temple of Jerusalem and Jewish synagogues. This space in Athens emphasizes the broader movement outward and draws upon the Graeco-Roman narrations of the mythology of the hill and the reputation of the council. From the movement beyond Jewish spaces and into Gentile spaces, the agenda of Luke arises, nuanced by the many unexpected characters who accept or reject the message.

Using van der Bergh's framework of *narrative* space that is situated within Lefebvre and Soja's *second space*, the *narrator's* space is defined by the date, place, and

outlook of the author. Luke-Acts, as we have seen, is situated by scholarship around 80-130CE, although no consensus remains on the historical identity of the author and where he was from. It can be inferred that he is affiliated strongly with a Gentile community, for the texts are oriented toward such an audience, and the majority of scholars see this audience, the *narrating* space, as balance of Jew and Gentile.

As for the *narrated* spaces of Luke-Acts, the concept of unfocused and focused spaces was useful to show the author's attention to the outward movement of the message through Jerusalem into Gentile territory. From chapters 8-19 in the Gospel, Luke uses the unfocused spaces, or implicit spaces, with frequent gestures toward Jerusalem. He omits place-names following his distinctly spatial agenda separate from the other synoptic gospels. Focused spaces, the explicit naming of spaces by the author, highlights the geographical movement of his characters and of the spread of the message northwest through Greece. Various narrative interludes recapture the spaces to which the message has been brought, emphasizing the outward spatial movement in Acts.

This broader pattern of movement away from Jerusalem is a particular "climate", as Prinsloo introduces, for the intended reader in which the message rebounds off of the Jews and enters Gentile territory. Though there are exceptions to this portrayal of the Jews, as those in Berea accept the message, in both the Gospel and in Acts the Jews as a collective instigate the motion from Jerusalem toward the Gentiles. This more complex pattern, as we have seen, surfaces following Paul's conversion, in which Luke insists Paul first go to Jerusalem so that his journey may begin where Jesus' ended. Also, demonstrating Luke's agenda, the episode where Jesus is almost driven off a cliff in Luke

4 by the Jews and the content of Stephen's speech in Acts 6 seek to displace Palestine as the center and bring God's message into foreign contexts.

Placing the Areopagus episode within these spatial themes, it is clear that the author is distinctively using focused space to portray a tense climate for his reader to imagine. Likely intending both meanings of the Areopagus, Luke is aware of the connection the word has to the hill and its mythology as well as the council and its reputation. The Graeco-Roman context in which the author is situated allows for this intertextual comparison of various authors' use of the Areopagus with varying prepositions in narrative. This gives us insight into the associations Luke and his audience could make concerning Areopagus that changes the question we ask about the ambiguous phrase. As it has been ambiguous to many scholars for centuries, so also it may have been ambiguous to the intended readers. It is probable that both meanings of the Areopagus are in the minds of Luke and his audience simultaneously, changing the way we are to interpret the sermon itself.

In the sermon, Luke manipulates the reader's expectations of the Gentiles in the Areopagus episode according to the expected rejection of the message as the pattern of the Jewish response suggests. Through the use of Stoic language, Luke places Paul within Greek space so that he may overturn the divine figures in the mythology and the Areopagus' reputation, referring both to the hill and the council for his audience, through the presentation of Jesus as the divine figure of justice. At this Luke leaves the reader in anticipation of the Ephesus episode. Here, the author concludes the Greek narrative with a flurry of confusion and the help of a town clerk, overturning the expectations of not only Paul within the narrative, but of his readers as well.

Luke-Acts is full of spatial movement, operating both in the broader geography reflected in the motion between Jewish and Gentile space within the particular episodes and in the focused spaces themselves (such as synagogues and the Areopagus). This study highlights other areas to be explored. What additional episodes in Acts can be analyzed with *narrative spaces* and the wider literary/cultural contexts in mind? For example, what significance lies in the Great Theater of Ephesus as the setting for Luke's story in relation to Artemis, and how does this social space compare to that of the Areopagus space and other Gentile spaces throughout Luke-Acts, such as the Hall of Tyrannus (Acts 19:9)? Does each space, each city, have a character of its own that Luke is drawing on, such as Athens being characterized by philosophy and Ephesus by polytheism? Similarly, in what way does Paul's trial scene in Rome fit into the episodic pattern that is established by the Areopagus analysis, what constitutes Rome's character, and how do the spaces in Rome compare to others throughout the Mediterranean? Are there other kinds of spaces that can be analyzed in this way, such as the binary concepts of open and closed, or rural and urban spaces. If so, how do they play a role in individual episodes throughout Luke-Acts and spatial movement Luke as a narrator emphasizes?

This analysis seeks to define the Areopagus episode within the spatial themes of Luke-Acts. However, with each episode, there must be an awareness of the biblical and spatial situation of the episode itself. By placing Luke-Acts in the context of Graeco-Roman narratives, with both the broad and episodic patterns in mind, this illuminates not only our understanding of the spaces themselves, but uncovers what the author could illustrate with a phrase like *epi ton Areion Pagon,* and what the audience could imagine in response.

INDEX:

1. Exceptions to the anti-Jewish portrayals in Luke-Acts

1.1 The Jews' Rejection: Luke

5:27-6:11	14:1-24	19:28-20:47
7:29-50	15:1-16:31	22:1-6
11:37-54	18:1-14	22:47-23:25

1.2 The Jews' Rejection: Acts

4:1-32	13:13-52	21:7-14;
5:12-42	14:1-7	22:30-23:11
6:8-7:60	17:1-9	23:12-22
8:1-8	17:10-15	24:1-27
9:20- 30	18:1-17	25:1-20
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1.3 ***Exceptions in Acts of Gentiles who do not accept the message:***
16:16-16:40 (Slave owners – Romans- see them as Jews, arrested)
19:23-41 (Demetrius the silversmith stirs up Artemis believers against Paul)

1.4 ***Exceptions in Acts of a positive portrayal of Jews:***
5:33-42 (Gamaliel's defense)
6:7 (Jews added to believers' numbers)
9:1-9 (The Call of Saul, a Jew of Tarsus)
17:10-15 (Jews in Berea listen well)
19:11-20 (Ephesus? Some Jews believe too after Sceva Sons incident)
19:17-20 (Believers among the Jews, zealous for law, reason Paul partakes in purification
22:33-23:11 (Paul's defense as Pharisee – Pharisees think Paul was visited by angels)

2. Manuscript Analysis – New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room:
Important Noted Discrepancies in Acts 17:19

2.1 Most widely accepted version of Acts 17:19:

> επιλαβομενοι δε αυτου επι τον Αρειον Ραγον ηγαγον λεγοντες Δυναμεθα γνωναι τις η καινη αυτη [η] υπο σου λαλουμενη διδαχη:
>
> So they took him and led him to the Areopagus, saying, "May we know what this new teaching is that is being presented by you?"

2.2 Manuscripts adding Jews as the subject of epilabomenoi and include in these days on the front:

εν ταις ημεραις εκειναις επιλαβομενοι οι ιουδαιοι L23. L156L1. L587L1. L809L1. L2010L1
εν ταις ημεραις εκειναις επιλαβομενοι ιουδαιοι 1751. 1838

2.3 Manuscript adding only Jews:

επιλαβομενοι δε οι ιουδαιοι 1241

Information about these manuscripts:

Lectionaries, Byzantine type minuscules 8th -16th centuries (Aland 1989, 138):

23 – ?
156 – 8th century, Aland's Category II - "presence of alien (Byzantine) influences"
(Aland 1989, 159-60)
587 – ?
809 – ?

Other:

L2010 - ?
1751 – minuscule, 1479AD, Category III, Acts: $32^{1} – 22^{1/2} – 35^{2} – 16^{s}$
(Aland 1989, 135; Explanations of superscripts, 107)
1838 – minuscule, 11th, Category III, Acts: 55^{1}, $24^{1/2}$, 8^{2}, 12^{s}
(Aland 1989, 135)
1241 – L (Codex Freerianus, 236) minuscule, twelfth, "second class of constant witnesses", Manuscript of the Byzantine Imperial text (Aland 1989, 247); contains whole new testament except revelation (Metzger 1992, 64).

2.4 Manuscript adding Greeks as the subject of epilabomenoi and includes in these days on the front:

εν ταις ημεραις εκειναις επιλαβομενοι οι αθηναιοι L1825

Information about manuscript:

Lectionary:

1825 - Wettstein?

3. Prepositions Used with *Areopagus*

	500-400 BCE	**400-300 BCE**	**300 BCE - 100 CE**	**100-200 CE**	**200-500 CE**		**TOTAL**
εξ (plus gen)	4	6			1		11
εξ (plus gen) Council +	1	7		1			9
εξ (plus gen) sandwich	2	19	5	4			30

No preposition.	1	1	2	4			8
εν (plus accus)	1						1
Πριν/εν (plus dat plural)	1						1
εις (plus accus)	5	9		7	1		22
εν (plus dat)	3	6	4	8	2		23
εν (plus dat) Council +	1	6					7
εν (plus dat) sandwich Council +	2	4		3			9
περι (plus accus)			1				1
υπερ (plus accusative)				1			1
παρα (plus accus)				1			1
επι (plus gen)				**2**			**2**
ες (plus accusative) εις				1			1
προς (plus accus)					1		1

In this analysis, I gathered what prepositions were being used with every form of the Areopagus (this does not include mention of the council – η Βουλη). Sometimes the Council is mentioned with Areopagus, which I mark in the data chart. Along with this is what I have been calling a "sandwich construction – *η* τον Αρεον παγον *βουλη*. Bolded are the three most common prepositional phrases. Highlighted is the frequency of epi.

4. Categorization of Graeco-Roman Areopagus References
Data from https://www-loebclassics-com.proxy.library.ohio.edu/
– Title (Pages in Loeb), Date, Language –

4.1 Etiology

Aeschylus *Eumenides*, (440-43), 500-400 BCE, GK
Lucian *The Dance* (248-51), 100-200 BCE, GK
Augustine *The City of God Against the Pagans*, 300-500 BCE, LAT

4.2 Mythic

Euripides *Orestes* (600-1), 500-400 BCE, GK
Aristotle *Art of Rhetoric* (308-9), 400-300 BCE, GK
Dinarchus *Against Demosthenes*, (206), 400-300 BCE, GK
Apollodorus *The Library*, (80, 104, 122, 144, 270), 1-200 CE, GK
Chariton *Callirrhoe* (70), 1-100 CE, GK
A. Aristides *Oration 1. Panathenaic* (58), 100-200 CE, GK

Lucian *The Double Indictment*, or *Trials by Jury* (106), 100-200 CE, GK,
Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* (120), 100-200 CE, GK
Arcadia (70, 320), 100-200 CE, GK
Dio. Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosopers 2.11 Stilpo*, (244), 200-300 CE, GK

4.3 Reputation

Isocrates *Discourses 7. Areopagiticus*, 37 (126), 500-300 BCE
"a body which was composed exclusively of men who were of noble birth and had exemplified in their lives exceptional virtue and sobriety, and which, therefore, naturally excelled all the other councils of Hellas."

Aeschines *Against Timarchus*, (74), 400-300 BCE
"the most scrupulous tribunal in the city."

Aristotle *The Athenian Constitution* (28, 158), 400-300 BCE
"for in ancient times the Council on the Areopagus used to issue a summons and select independently the person suitable for each of the offices, and commission him to hold office for a year."

"Trials for deliberate murder and wounding are held in the Areopagus, and for causing death by poison, and for arson"

Aristotle *Politics V.III*, 20 (392), 400-300 BCE
"the Council on the Areopagus having risen in reputation during the Persian wars was believed to have made the constitution more rigid"

Demades *On the Twelve Years*, 60 (356), 400-300 BCE
"Each offence is dealt with in its own particular way: some call for the council of the Areopagus, some for lesser courts, others for the Heliaea."

Demos. *Orations 20. Against Leptines*, 157 (594), 400-300 BCE
"What but those vengeful murders against which our specially appointed protector is the Council of the Areopagus?"

Orations 23. Against Aristocrates, 22 (226), 400-300 BCE
"[The Council of the Areopagus shall take cognizance in cases of homicide, of intentional wounding, of arson, and of poisoning, if a man kill another by giving poison.]"

Dinarchus *Against Demosthenes* (208), 400-300 BCE

"The council of the Areopagus is bound, gentlemen, to follow one of two methods in making all its reports."

Lycurgus *Against Leocrates* (22, 52), 400-300 BCE

"you have, in the council of the Areopagus, the finest model in Greece: a court so superior to others that even the men convicted in it admit that its judgements are just."

"(No one need interrupt me. That council was, in my opinion, the greatest bulwark of the city at the time;)"

Dio Chrysostom *Discourses 50. In Defense of His Record*, 2 (312-4), 1-200 CE

"they never had any demagogue, not even the notorious Hyperbolus or Cleon, so audacious as to regard the Areopagus or the Council of the Six Hundred with less reverence than the common people.

Aelius Aristides *Oration 1. Panathenaic Oration*, (300, 310), 1-200 CE

"If someone were to ask which is the most honored and revered of the courts of Greece, everyone would say the court of the Areopagus."

"As for aristocracy, I think that anyone looking at the Council of the Areopagus would say that one cannot have a finer example or one that more faithfully preserves the name. Thus all constitutional models start from here."

Alciphron *Letters 3. Letters of Parasites, III.2* (236), 100-300 CE

"For the moment she made me fast in the stocks, but the next day she took me to her father, the sullen Cleaenetus, who at the present time holds first place in the Council and is highly regarded by the Areopagus."

Athenaeus *The Learned Banqueters, IV. 168* (306) 100-300 CE

"That in the old days the Areopagus Council used to summon spendthrifts and others with no visible means of support and punish them is recorded by Phanodemus, Philochorus. and many others."

Dio. of Halicarnassus *The Ancient Orators 4. On the Style of Demosthenes*, (292), 100-200 CE

"We have many institutions that are unlike any elsewhere, but the most peculiar and venerable of all is the Court of the Areopagus. There are more fine traditions connected with it, some legendary, others to which we can ourselves testify, than there are about any other court."

Lucian *Anacharsis,* or *Athletics Solon* (28), 100-200 CE,

"But if what I say is not foreign to the case and beside the mark, there will be nothing, I suppose, to hinder, even if I should speak at length, since that is the tradition in the court of the Areopagus, which judges our cases of manslaughter"

Lucian *The Hall* (194), 100-200 CE

"Why, every one of them is flooded with beauty the instant he crosses the threshold, and does not give the least sign of hearing[2] what the speaker says or anything else, but is all absorbed in what he sees, unless he is stone-blind or like the court of the Areopagus, listens in the dark!"

Pausanias *Messenia V. 2* (194) 100-200 CE

"to submit the matter to the court at Athens called the Areopagus, as this court was held to exercise an ancient jurisdiction in cases pertaining to murder."

Sextus Empiricus *Against the Professors* (226), 100-300 CE

"And for this reason the Athenians, in olden days, were not allowed to have an advocate to support those on trial at the court of the Areopagus, but each man, to the best of his ability, made a speech in his own defense without trickery or verbal jugglery."

Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History, III. iv. 10* (196), 300-400 CE

"In addition to these Dionysius, one of the ancients, the pastor of the diocese of the Corinthians, relates that the first bishop of the Church at Athens was that member of the Areopagus, the other Dionysius, whose original conversion after Paul's speech to the Athenians in the Areopagus Luke described in the Acts"

4.4 Directionality

Aeschines *Against Timarchus*; 81 (68), 400-300 BCE

Aristotle *The Athenian Constitution,* 2 (164), 400-300 BCE

Demosthenes *Orations 59. Theomnestus and Apollodorus against Neaera*, (414), 400-300 BCE

A. Aristides *Oration 1. Panathenaic Oration, 46* (58), 100-200 CE

Lucian	*Anacharsis* (28), 100-200 CE
	The Dead Come to Life, or The Fisherman, 16 (24, 62)
	The Double Indictment, or Trials by Jury, 4 (92, 98, 104, 106)
Pausanias	*Achaia XXV 3* (320), 100-200 CE

5. Data Collection of Epi (+ Accus) in Biblical Text

Bolded: Verses that indicate movement linguistically.
Underlined: Verses that double επι (prepositional phrase in proximity to prefixed verb)

5.1 Επι + Accusative: Luke-Acts
Luke (L), Acts (A)

Uses of the Preposition List (NRSV and my translation):

- Over (to be in charge of), come over,
  - L 1:33, 1:35, 1:65, 2:8, 9:1, 10:19, 12:14, 12:42, 12:44, 15:20, 19:14, 19:27, 19:41, 23:38, 23:44
  - A 6:3, 7:10, 7:18, 7:27, 11:19, 11:28, 15:17, 19:6, **20:37**
- look upon, (point of contact) on, come upon, upon, upon to, near to
  - L 1:48, 2:14, 2:25, 3:2, 3:22, **4:9,** 4:11, 4:18, **4:29,** 4:36, 5:5, **5:11**, 5:18, 5:24, 5:25, 5:36, **6:17,** 6:29, **6:48, 6:49, 8:6, 8:13, 8:16, 8:27, 10:6,** 10:9, 10:34, 11:17, 11:33, **12:49, 13:4,** 15:5, 17:31, 17:34, 18:8, **19:4, 19:5,** 19:30, 19:35, 19:43, 19:44, 20:18, 21:6, **21:12,** 21:23, 21:25, **21:34,** 21:35, **22:30, 22:40, 22:44, 22:52,** 22:53**, 22:59, 23:30,** 24:49
  - A **1:8,** 1:26, 2:3, 2:17, 2:18, 2:19, 2:30, 4:17, 4:22, 4:33, 5:5, 5:11, 5:15, **5:28,** 5:30, 7:33, 8:2, 8:16, **8:24, 8:26, 8:36, 9:17,** 9:33, **10:9,** 10:39, 10:44, 11:15, 12:20, 14:10, 15:10, 17:26, 18:6, 19:16, **21:5, 21:40,** 25:17, 26:16, 27:43, 27:44, **28:3**
- Out of, from (movement outward)
  - L 4:22, **12:3,** 20:21
  - A 1:21, 19:13
- At
  - L 5:27, 9:38, 9:43, 13:17, 23:28, 23:48, 24:25
  - A 3:10, 4:29, 5:9, 5:23, **10:16,** 11:11
- To, into, (believing) in, toward
  - L 6:35, 9:62, **10:6, 11:20,** 12:25, 15:4, 19:23, 24:1, 24:12, 24:22,
  - A 3:11, **7:23, 8:32, 9:11, 9:35, 9:42,** 10:10, 10:11, 11:17, 11:21, 12:12, 14:13, 14:15, 15:19, 17:14, 19:17, 20:9, 20:13, **21:32, 21:35,** 22:19, **25:10, 25:12,** 26:18, 26:20
- Before, at the feet of, to the ground (prostrate)
  - L 12:11, 12:58, 23:1 L 5:12, 17:16

    - A 7:10, 8:32, 9:4, 9:21, 10:25, **12:10, 16:19,** 17:6, 18:12, 24:19, 24:20, 24:21, 25:6, 25:9, 25:26, **26:2**
- Against (legal contexts)
    - L 9:5, 11:17, 11:18, 12:52, 12:53, 14:31, 20:19, 21:10
    - A 4:26, 4:27, **5:18,** 7:54, 7:57, 8:1, 13:11, 13:50, 13:51, **21:27, 23:30**
- Time indicator (Dative and Accusative)
    - L 18:4
    - A 3:1, 3:10, 4:5, 10:16, 11:10, 11:28, 13:31, 16:18, 17:2, 18:20, 19:8, 19:10, 19:34, 20:9, 24:4, 27:20, 28:6

5.2 Επι + Accusative: The Gospels (besides Luke):
Matthew (M), Mark (MK), John (J)

Uses of the Preposition List (NRSV and my translation):
- Over (to be in charge of), come over,
    - M 24:45, 25:21, 25:23
    - MK
    - J
- look upon, (point of contact) on, come upon, upon, upon to, near to
    - **M 4:5,** 4:6, 5:15, **7:24, 7:25, 7:26,** 9:2, 9:6, **9:16,** 10:29, 10:34, 11:29, 12:18, **13:2, 13:5,** 13:7, 13:8, 13:20, 13:23, 13:48, 14:8, **14:19,** 14:25, 14:28, 14:29, **14:34,** 15:35, 16:18, 18:12, 19:28, 21:5, **21:19,** 21:44, 22:9, 23:4, 23:36, 24:2, 26:50, 27:19, 27:25, **27:29,** 27:45,
    - **MK** 4:5, 4:16, 4:20, 4:21, 4:38, 6:25, 6:53, 7:30, 8:6, 8:25, 11:13, 13:2, **15:22,** 15:33, 16:18
    - **J** 1:33, 1:51, 5:2**, 7:30, 7:44, 9:6, 9:15,** 12:15, 13:25, 17:4, 19:13
- Out of, from (movement outward)
- At
    - M 5:23, 9:9
    - MK 1:22, 2:14, 10:24
    - J 8:7
- To, into, (believing) in, toward
    - M 3:13, 12:49, 22:5, 27:27, 27:43
    - MK 5:21, 16:2
    - J 6:16, 19:33
- Before, at the feet of, to the ground (prostrate)
    - M 10:18, 17:6, 26:39
    - MK 13:9
- Against (legal contexts)
    - M 10:21, 24:7
    - MK 3:26, 13:8, 13:12, 14:48, **15:46**
    - J 13:18

- Time indicator
    - M 6:27
    - MK 2:26
    - J
- For, (ex: “compassion for the crowds”)
    - M 3:7, 15:32
    - MK 6:34, 8:2
    - J 19:24

6. Figures

Fig. 1. View of the Acropolis from the Areopagus.

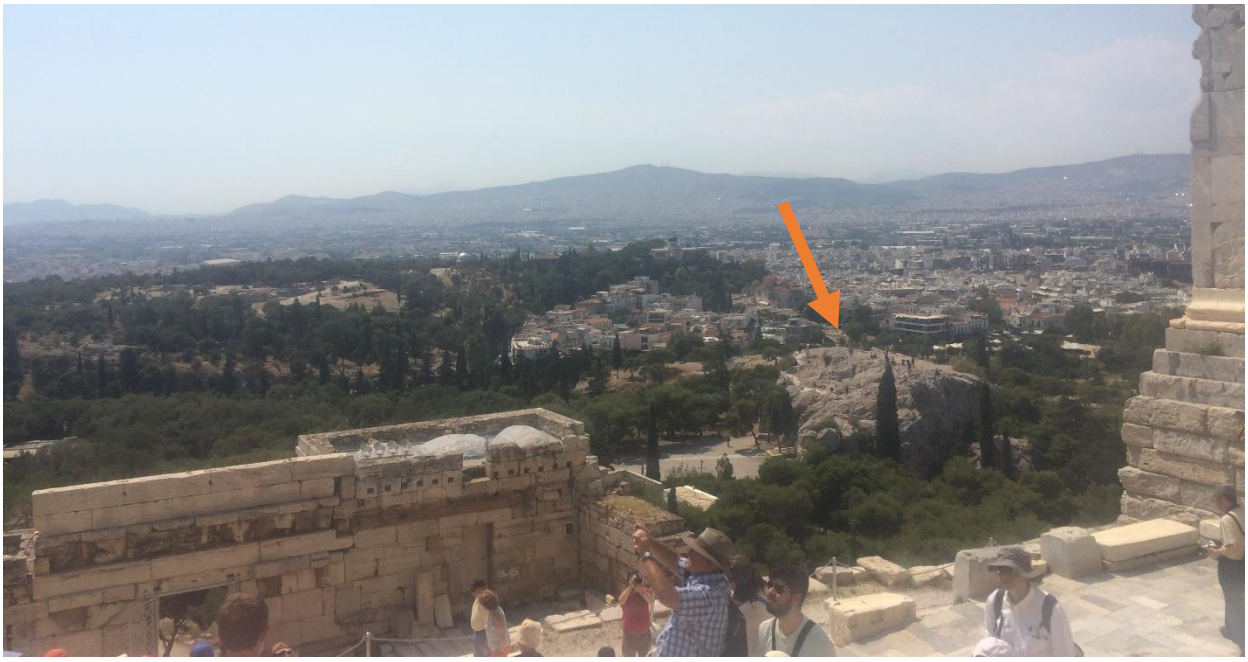

Fig. 2. View of the Areopagus from the Acropolis.

Fig. 3. Stairs to the top of the Areopagus.

Fig. 4. Plaque of Paul's Sermon in Greek.

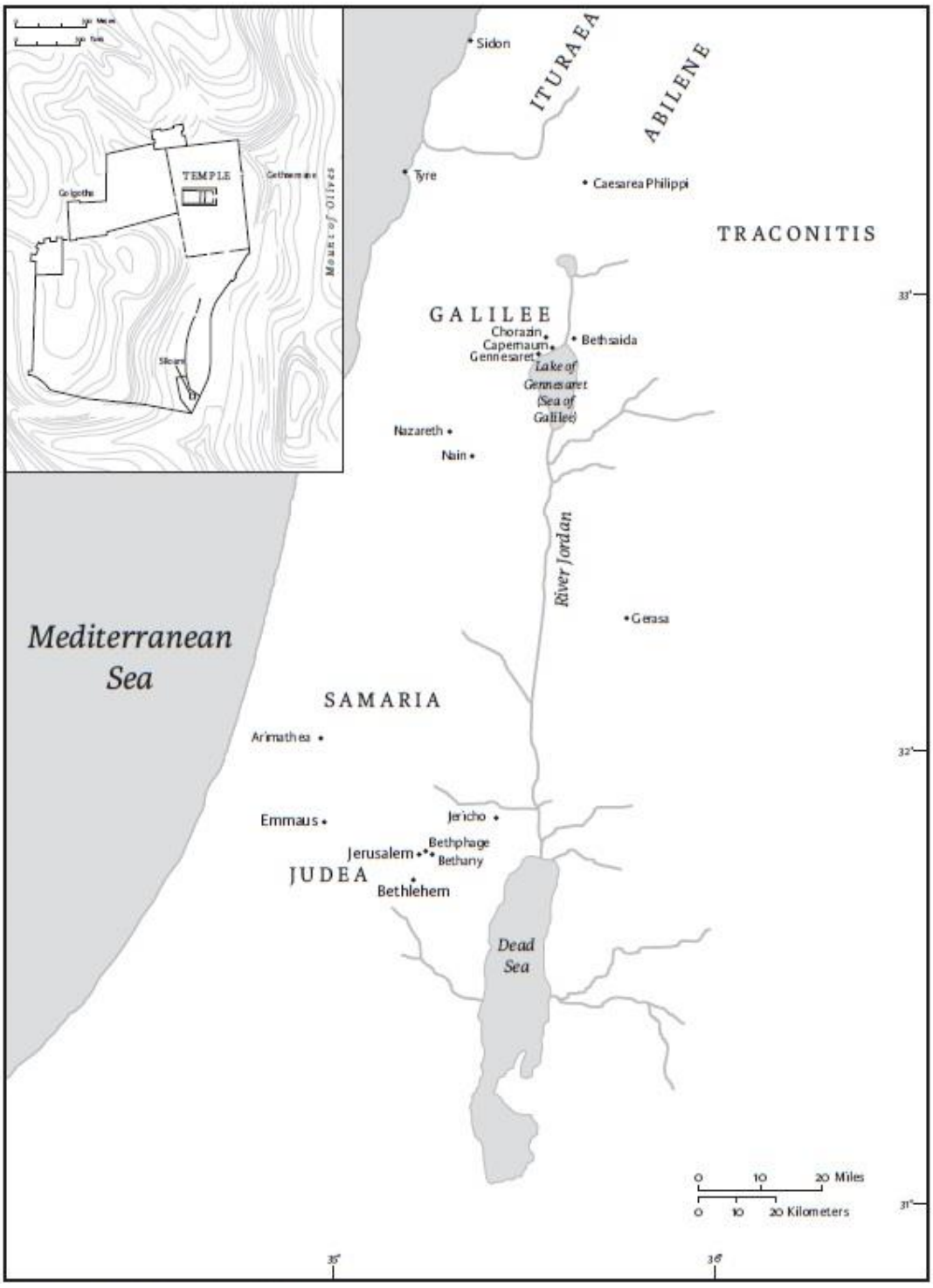

Fig. 5. The Geography of the Gospel of Luke (Coogan 2010, 1862).

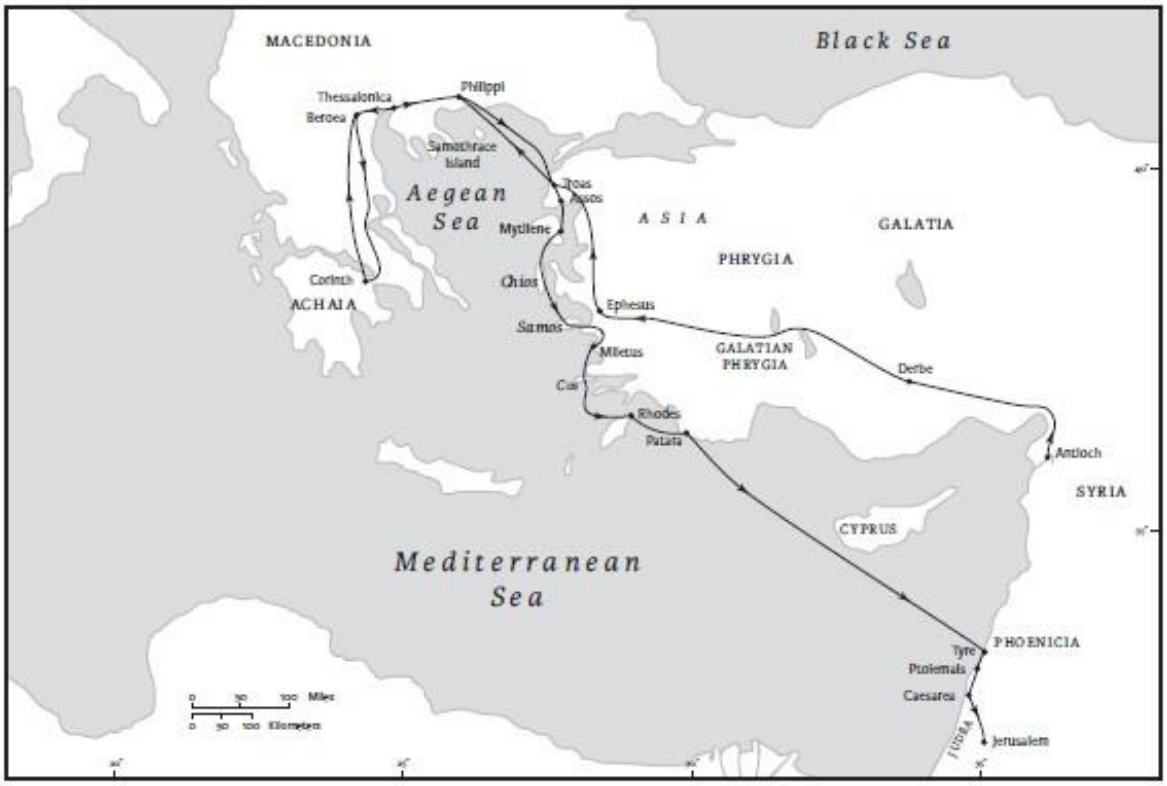

Fig. 6. Third Missionary Journey of Paul (Coogan 2010, 1954).

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