

*Apparently, the social situation in which Luke's community lived was that of an urban setting in the Eastern Mediterranean. This situation was shaped by the honor and patronage culture of the Hellenistic city. At the heart of the Lukan community's ethos lay its common meals. The purpose of these meals was dual: On the one hand, they forged a common identity for a socially and ethnically diverse group of Christians; on the other hand, they functioned as a criticism of urban culture.*

# The Social Context of Luke's Community

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## From Text to Context

**H**OW CAN WE MOVE from the text of Luke's Gospel to the social situation of his first readers? This problem in Gospel research has so far not been solved. Form criticism tried to find a *Sitz im Leben* for Gospel passages in typical situations in the life of the community, and redaction criticism attempted to go from the intentions of the author to the specific situations he addressed. More recently, an approach focusing upon the literary character of Luke's Gospel has emphasized the difficulties involved in drawing historical conclusions about Luke's community.<sup>1</sup> The Lukan text creates a narrative world, and it is this world we examine as we analyze the social relations, ethos, and symbolic universe of Luke. Still, this does not mean that we now have a "window" that opens directly onto the social situation of Luke's historical community.

Literary methods, however, can and do point toward new possibilities for

locating Luke's community. Audience criticism has shifted away from a concentration on the intention of the author toward a study of the text itself and its communication with its readers. This approach finds its point of orientation in this very process of communication and in the "implied readers" to which the text refers. These readers are, so to speak, the "ideal readers" or the "ideal community" that the text would create through its "affective quality."<sup>2</sup>

Between the implied readers and the empirical audience we may presuppose some links. First of all, a text must communicate with an empirical audience. The social and cultural world of the text must give meaning to its readers and, in some way, be related to their world. Moreover, the Gospels also describe historically known characters, places, and events that require extratextual knowledge from their readers. Consequently, it is possible to draw a profile of the knowledge required of the readers and, on that basis, attempt to situate the empirical audience.<sup>3</sup>

In Lukan studies, most interest has been focused on the attempt to construct the situation of the community in terms of its religious background, that is, whether it was gentile Christian, Jewish Christian, or a mixture of both.<sup>4</sup> In this study, we are most interested in the social context of Luke's community. We are, therefore, primarily concerned with knowledge about social institutions, structures, and relations that are presupposed in the Gospel.

The narrative world of the text must be correlated with the social context of the Mediterranean world in antiquity. It is this combination of analysis of the social world of a text with its social and historical context, known from other sources, that makes it possible to suggest a profile of the social location of Luke's first readers.

## "Community" or "Communities"?

It is widely accepted that the location of the author and the addressees is other than Palestine, which is the location of the narrative world of the Gospel. This hypothesis is based partly on specific information in the text. Luke's descriptions of houses appear to be informed by a different landscape and culture from that of a Palestinian village.<sup>5</sup> And Jesus' sayings, in Luke 12:11–12, about future persecution reflect a setting in the Hellenistic diaspora. The terminology used is that of a synagogue and of authorities of a Hellenistic city, not that of Roman rulers, vassal kings, and the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup> It is plausible, therefore, that Luke's location is in an urban setting in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean.<sup>7</sup>

There is no consensus yet about any one city. Philip Esler has made a strong argument that Luke had a specific city in mind. His own suggestion is Ephesus, but Antioch has been seriously considered also.<sup>8</sup> Other scholars do not look so

much for specific locations or historical events as for "typical situations" or a "general climate."<sup>9</sup> The difficulties in drawing specific historical conclusions from literary texts lead me to side with this approach. The main point in Esler's *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts* is that there are "particular relationships" between Luke's theology and his social, political, and religious setting. These relationships required Christian congregations "of a certain type, all of them being characterized by a quite circumscribed set of tensions within their membership and with the world outside."<sup>10</sup> I think that these "tensions" are so general in character that they can be found in a number of Hellenistic cities in the eastern part of the Roman Empire.

Thus, instead of a specific setting, we shall look for "typical" aspects of urban life in a Greco-Roman city. Likewise, the attempt to locate Luke's audience is based, not on individual elements in the Lukan narrative, but on social structures and relations described by Luke. These are found not only in the Gospel but also in Acts, so we will draw on both parts of Luke's work.

## An Urban Context: Urban Communities and Their Structures

How can we imagine what life in Hellenistic cities was like for Luke's readers? Some of the most relevant cities for early Christianity are now well known from excavations, in particular Ephesus, Pergamon, and Sardis in Asia Minor, Corinth in Greece, and Ostia and Pompeii in Italy. The best way to learn about ancient cities is, of course, through well-prepared site visits, but other sources of information are excavation reports, films, literature about ancient cities, good guidebooks, and museum exhibitions. These can help us move from literary descriptions to the visual imagination of ancient societies and their settings within a larger physical and social area. To structure and organize the information, we also need a clearer view of what a Greco-Roman city was like in terms of social and ethnic composition, political power, and socioeconomic relations.<sup>11</sup>

### Spatial and Social Organization of the City

A city must be "interpreted" if we are to recognize the "meaning" of buildings of various types, market places, streets, gates, statues, and monuments.<sup>12</sup> The spatial organization reflects the social stratification of the city. The center contained temples and the central buildings for the city administration at the agora, or marketplace. Other buildings in the central area of a city were a theater, baths, and gymnasiums. In this area, we also find the residences of the elite; striking examples are the *slope houses* in Ephesus. The elite made up only a

small fraction of the population but controlled the land and its production as well as the political, social, and religious system. They combined wealth with offices as public officials and as priests in the major city cults. We must bear in mind that, in most cases, only the central areas of ancient cities of the elite residential areas have been excavated; therefore, the position of the nonelite population is underrepresented.<sup>13</sup>

The nonelite, that is, the great bulk of the population, comprised a large variety of groups. In addition to the servants and slaves of the elite, there were merchants, shopkeepers, and artisans organized into guilds, often grouped in special streets. Particularly in cities with a seaport, like Ephesus and Corinth, there were aliens, people from all over the area of the Mediterranean and Middle East. These people could ply their trade but could not become citizens and own property in the city. Among the lower groups were people with despised occupations (e.g., tanners, innkeepers, or prostitutes) and farther out, at the outskirts or beyond the city walls, were beggars and outcasts.

It is well known that Luke shows special interest in the relationships between rich and poor and between men and women. In Acts, relationships among Christians, Jews, and non-Jews play a prominent role. This places Luke's characters within the context of vital power relations within the Hellenistic city having to do with distinctions between elite and nonelite, men and women, and citizens and noncitizens.

## **Power and Social Relations in the Hellenistic City**

The Roman emperor wielded his power and authority over the cities in the East through governors and other political and military representatives. However, most of the time Rome allowed the local elite to continue its rule.

What was the structure of power and social relationships that characterized life in these cities? First, there was the quest for honor that was an integral part of Greek culture, well known from Homeric society onward.<sup>14</sup> At first associated with warrior ideals, in a "softer" form it was central to the Hellenistic conception of the city as a community of citizens. Among the elite, this created a climate of constant competition to win honor. The costs involved were those of benefactions to the city in the form of public buildings, feasts, and plays, for example. These benefactions were rewarded by public office or other expressions of status, like statues, seats of honor, and city banquets.

Second, social relationships were governed by a system of patronage.<sup>15</sup> One's position was not based on universal, human rights but on one's place in a personal hierarchy. Nonelite persons were dependent upon an elite patron for help, work, loans, and the like; and, in return, they had to give loyalty and public support.

Thirdly, social interaction was ruled by the requirements of balanced reciprocity. Studies of economic interaction in preindustrial societies speak of three forms of reciprocity: (1) generalized reciprocity (giving without specific demand for a return); (2) balanced reciprocity (giving with an expectation of quick recompensation); and (3) negative reciprocity (taking something, sometimes with force, without giving anything back).<sup>16</sup>

## Luke's Community Within the Hellenistic City

### Meals as Centers of Sociability and of Conflicts

There is much material in Luke-Acts that pertains to Luke's evaluation of city culture, patronage, and the quest for honor. The best starting point may be a cluster of texts that focus on meals and hospitality. Meals represented a major expression of that social interaction among the city elite we outlined above. Among individuals, it served as a means of sociability as well as of competition and patronage. Hospitality represented a challenge that demanded a reply in the form of a quick return. City banquets were expressions of honor and status for the ruling elite. Festivals, with food offered to the public at large, served important community functions and were typical forms of benefactions.<sup>17</sup> Meals were also an integral part of temple worship and offerings, with special dining rooms or houses for groups of worshipers. Moreover, for associations, commensality was an important part of their common activity. Mithras or Dionysios cult members had special rooms built for eating meals. For Jews in the Diaspora, commensality served as an expression of their identity, circumscribed by strong rules concerning boundaries and purity.

Luke often portrays Jesus at meals, either as host or as guest (5:29–32; 7:36–50; 14:1–24; 19:5–10).<sup>18</sup> Several meal narratives are clearly written as “cult scenes,” to be repeated in the life of the community (9:10–17; 22:14–30; 24:13–35, 36–42). In descriptions of life in the first community in Jerusalem, meals figure prominently as a typical element (Acts 2:46). Moreover, the acceptance of new members into the community took place at meals (Acts 10:17–29; 11:3). Thus, meals must have played an important part in the life of Luke's communities as well.

A common meal created a focus for a group that drew its members from various segments within the Hellenistic city, but it also fostered tensions in social relationships inside and outside that group. Luke's redaction of the meal narratives illustrates that “food dealings are a delicate barometer, a ritual statement as it were, of social relationships, and food is thus employed instrumentally as a starting, a sustaining, or a destroying mechanism of sociability.”<sup>19</sup>

## Godfearers as Patrons to the Community?

Esler has recently focused attention on the role of meal fellowships in the conflict over the mission to gentiles in early Christianity.<sup>20</sup> There were many Jews in the Hellenistic towns of Asia Minor and Syria, most of them in the nonelite sections of the cities. These Jews had established their own synagogues, and some were also well established in the city.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, it is very likely that some Jews were members of the Lukan communities. Whereas the earlier consensus was that Luke primarily addressed Hellenistic, non-Jewish Christians, there is now a growing number of scholars who argue that there must have been Jews among them.<sup>22</sup>

The result was that there were conflicts within the community with law-observant Christian Jews over Jewish purity laws that prevented Jews from having table fellowship with non-Jews. The most significant example of such conflict is the story in Acts 10–11 of how God's revelation made Peter break with purity rules and engage in table fellowship with the Roman centurion Cornelius. This story had a legitimating function in Luke's own communities on behalf of a praxis of commensality between Jewish and non-Jewish Christians.

Still, this commensality also had implications for the community and its social relationships in its Hellenistic environment. The description of Cornelius as a "Godfearer" with good reputation among the Jews (Acts 10:22; cf. 10:1–2) indicates that he was kindly disposed toward the Jewish synagogue and could act as its patron. In Luke's version of the story of the centurion's son (Luke 7:1–10), the aspect of patronage is again emphasized: The centurion donated a synagogue to the community (7:5).<sup>23</sup> The narratives of these two centurions may be significant in more than one way. They may indicate the social level of Romans who were interested in Christianity: They did not come from the very elite but were middle-level officers. Moreover, they signal an "ethnic mixture." Most importantly, they illustrate the need that groups, such as Jewish synagogues and the first Christians, had for patrons, who could provide not only material help in the form of houses and hospitality but also social protection.

Accordingly, the conflict with the synagogue was not just over purity rules but was also a competition to win the Godfearers, especially people of some standing. This competition may be reflected in narratives of how Jews try to make prominent members of the city turn against the Christian missionaries (Acts 13:50; 14:2; 18:12). Luke's writings in themselves may be a sign of the success of the Christian mission among Godfearers. Joseph Tyson has attempted to draw the profile of the implied reader of Luke-Acts. The result appears to correspond to the description of Godfearers in Luke-Acts. The implied reader

would need to be a literate person, reasonably well informed about the history, geography, and political situation in the eastern Mediterranean world. . . . The most significant aspect of this profile is the claim that the implied reader is familiar with the Hebrew Scriptures and knowledgeable about some fundamen-

tal Jewish concepts but is probably not to be identified as Jewish.<sup>24</sup>

Tyson's profile does not identify these implied readers as belonging to the elite. The only empirical reader of Luke-Acts we know of is Theophilus (Luke 1:1–4; Acts 1:1), and we know nothing more about him than what the prescript tells us. But this may give us some information about the social location of Luke and thereby indirectly about Theophilus. Based on studies of his style and vocabulary, Loveday Alexander finds that, compared to other Hellenistic writers, Luke can best be described as a "technical writer."<sup>25</sup> This places his perspective closer to the artisan "class" than to the elite, a point that is also supported by his interest in artisans and their work. Moreover, Luke's address to Theophilus as "most excellent" is parallel to what subordinates use when they address Roman superiors. Hence, it is probable that Luke writes from a subordinate position, that is, as a client seeking a patron and not as an equal to Theophilus.

### Women—On the Fringe of the Community?

Luke's portrayal of women in his Gospel and Acts is full of ambiguities that may reflect tensions within his communities.<sup>26</sup> Women are frequently associated with food, meals, and hospitality (4:38–39; 7:36–50; 10:38–42), but they are seldom explicitly mentioned as guests at meals with Jesus. Instead, women are described as "serving" Jesus and the apostles (4:38–39; 8:1–3). In some cases, this service actually means "to provide," as in the case of several prominent women who "served Jesus with their property" (8:1–3). These women were thus acting as patrons of Jesus. In Acts 16:14–15, we find Lydia, "a seller of purple goods," an economically independent nonelite woman. She serves as a hostess to Paul, but even if she acts as a patron, she is inferior to the apostle, who brings spiritual benefits.

Accordingly, women are portrayed as independent of their husbands, with means of their own, fulfilling an important role of providing for missionaries, acting as patrons. This may be somewhat unusual. In Greco-Roman society women could have a strong position in the household, but normally much less so in the public sphere of the city. That was equally true of elite women. Nonelite women could more easily make a career of their own, for example, through various crafts or as vendors and merchants. This oversimplified statement, however, must be adjusted for regional and individual differences. Paul Trebilco has shown that women held prominent positions in social and political life only in the western parts of Asia Minor.<sup>27</sup> In this region, there is also evidence that women served as synagogue leaders.

If we can locate Luke's communities in this area, it would provide a highly interesting background for the independent women in Luke's narrative. There seems to be a tension between the role of these women and Luke's characterization of them: Unlike male disciples, they did not claim honor or privilege, but

exemplified Jesus' own model of the "patron who serves" (22:27). Moreover, in Luke's narrative they are never entrusted with the task of witnessing, healing, or proclaiming. As "ideal disciples" they remain confined to their domestic tasks and belong to the fringe of social power. Luke's narrative may not be so much a description as a prescription: It represents male ideals for women's behavior.

## **Tensions Between Rich and Poor**

From Paul's letters to the Corinthians we know that social tensions existed between the well-to-do and the poor at the celebration of the communal eucharist.<sup>28</sup> Luke's interest in meals may imply that there were similar tensions in the communities that he addressed. Jesus' dinner at the house of a Pharisee in Luke 14:1–24 is one of several dinner scenes redacted by Luke. The conflict over Jesus' lack of Sabbath observance (14:1–6) was primarily relevant to a Jewish audience. But Jesus' address to the guests and host about proper behavior at meals and about whom to invite (14:7–14) is set in a Hellenistic context. When Jesus encourages the invitation of "the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind" (14:13), his point is not that they should invite those who were impure according to Jewish purity laws. Instead, the prospective guests are described in terms of their social location, as unable to repay the invitation (14:14). Luke describes hospitality in the well-known terms of reciprocity, and he is the only New Testament author to use its technical vocabulary.

The guest list that Jesus criticizes is the typical inner circle: "Do not invite your friends or your brothers or your kinsmen or your rich neighbors, lest they also invite you in return, and you be repaid" (14:12). What is described here is the use of hospitality as a means to uphold and cultivate an elite group. It was exclusive by keeping strict boundaries toward outsiders. The term "friend" describes a social relationship different from patronage in that it was based on a comparable social standing but was similar in its foundation on the exchange of services. A failure to reciprocate in kind led to lack of honor and loss of standing as "friend."

To base one's hospitality on invitations to those who could not repay meant not only breaking with the elite system and all its values but also being exposed to social sanctions. Another example of a reversal of the reciprocal structure of social relationships is found in Jesus' farewell speech at the last supper, when he addressed the disciples who were discussing who was the greatest (22:24–27). Only in Luke's version of Jesus' rebuke is there an explicit reference to the benefactor system: "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and those in authority over them are called benefactors" (22:25). These examples are obviously intended as contrasts to the role that the disciples ought to play as "one who serves" (22:26).

Luke's redaction here tells us something about the social structure he

envisages for his audience of Christian groups. He criticizes the system of reciprocity and the hierarchical structure of social relationships of benefactions. His alternative is a set of relationships based on "free" hospitality (generalized reciprocity), gift giving, and servanthood.

Are Luke's exhortations about almsgiving, or giving without a return, addressed to tensions existing between rich and poor within his community? We must be careful here about what we mean by "rich" in the context of a Greco-Roman city. Wealth and social position did not necessarily go together. To be designated "rich" did not in itself imply membership in the elite. Rich men could be outsiders and make their money on nonelite occupations (e.g., as toll collectors and merchants). Luke's criticism of the "rich" (e.g., Luke 12:16–21; 16:19–31) portray them negatively, as members of the elite and not concerned with the poor. It is, therefore, more likely that they are portrayed as outsiders to the community.<sup>29</sup> The "ideal rich" in Luke, like the toll collector Zaccheus (Luke 19:1–10), do not belong to the elite. It is a person on the fringe of society, showing compassion to others who are in a weak position, who serves as an ideal.

## Community Ethos as Protest Against City Ideals

We have now tried to outline the ethos of Luke's "ideal community" and to draw inferences to a plausible social setting for his empirical readers. Within the city culture of the Eastern Mediterranean, we can envisage Luke's community as a group of nonelite persons who are culturally and ethnically mixed but who also include among them some who come from the elite periphery.<sup>30</sup> Their life together centered on a meal that served as a means of integration, not just of Jews and non-Jews but also of members from various status groups and social positions. The ethos of the meal represented a break with the city ideals of patronage, benefactions, and the quest for honor. It is not unthinkable that such criticism of city ideals could also have been aimed at community members drawn from the "elite periphery." Similar criticism was also made by Stoic and Cynic groups at the time.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the goal of this ethos is best understood as that of creating a common identity for a mixed group of Christians.

### NOTES

1. Luke T. Johnson, "On Finding the Lukan Community: A Cautious Cautionary Essay," *SBLSP* 16 (1979), 87–100.

2. Vernon Robbins, "The Social Location of the Implied Author of Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, ed. Jerome H. Neyrey (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1991), p. 312.

3. Joseph B. Tyson, *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts* (Columbia, SC: University of South

Carolina Press, 1991), pp. 22–23.

4. For recent reviews of this important discussion, see Philip F. Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts*, SNTSMS 57 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 24–33, and Jacob Jervell, “Retrospect and Prospect in Luke-Acts Interpretation,” *SBLSP* 30 (1991), pp. 383–404.

5. Cf. Luke 6:47–49 with Matt. 7:24–27; Luke 8:16 and 11:33 with Matt. 5:15. See the comments in Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, AB 28/1 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1979), 644, 719.

6. Cf. Luke’s use of *archas* (“rulers”) and *exousias* (“authorities”) instead of *hegemonas* (“governors”) and *basileis* (“kings”) in Matt. 10:18, Wolfgang Stegemann, *Zwischen Synagoge und Obrigkeit*, FRLANT 152 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 81–84.

7. Argued in the classical work by Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1927), pp. 245–49. More recently, see e.g., Walter Radl, *Das Lukas-Evangelium* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1988), p. 27; Robbins, “Social Location,” pp. 316–18.

8. *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts*, p. 26. See also Peter Lampe, *Lokalisation der Lukas-Leser: Lk/Apg. als Quellen für das ephesische Christentum des ausgehenden 1. Jh.* (forthcoming from J.C.B. Mohr and Fortress Press).

9. Stegemann, *Zwischen Synagoge und Obrigkeit*, p. 10.

10. Esler, *Community and Gospel*, p. 26.

11. The literature on cities is so vast that only a few examples can be mentioned. On the development of city planning, see J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Cities of Ancient Greece and Italy: Planning in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Braziller, 1974). On cities in different regions, see G.M.A. Hanfman, *From Croesus to Constantine: The Cities of Western Asia Minor and Their Arts in Greek and Roman Times* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1975); Robin Osborne, *Classical Landscape with Figures: The Ancient Greek City and Its Countryside* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Sheridan Press, 1987); Timothy W. Potter, *Roman Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). On economic and social relations, see Moses I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1973), and Richard L. Rohrbaugh, “The Pre-Industrial City in Luke-Acts,” in *Social World of Luke-Acts*, pp. 125–49.

12. See William L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, Vol. II: *An Urban Appraisal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

13. A partial exception to this is Ostia, where we find some of the large apartment blocks (*insulae*) very well preserved.

14. A.W.H. Adkins, in *Mert and Responsibility* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), traces the development of the concept of “honor.” For an overview of the structure of honor and its relevance for Luke, see Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, “Honor and Shame in Luke-Acts: Pivotal Values in the Mediterranean World” in *Social World of Luke-Acts*, pp. 25–65.

15. See Richard P. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

16. See Marshall D. Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago: Aldine, 1972), pp. 185–246.

17. See the magisterial survey by Paul Veyne, *Bread and Circuses* (London: Penguin Press, 1990).

18. This is studied, e.g., by David Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989) and David B. Gowler, *Host, Guest, Enemy, and Friend: Portraits of the Pharisees in Luke and Acts* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1991).

19. Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, p. 215. For the complex character of meals in Luke-Acts, see Jerome H. Neyrey, “Ceremonies in Luke-Acts: The Case of Meals and Table-

Fellowship," in *Social World of Luke-Acts*, pp. 361–87.

20. *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts*, pp. 71–109.

21. Cf. Paul R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

22. See n. 4.

23. Halvor Moxnes, "Patron-Client Relations and the New Community in Luke-Acts," in *Social World of Luke-Acts*, pp. 241–42, 252–53.

24. *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts*, p. 36.

25. Cf. Loveday Alexander, "Luke's Preface in the Context of Greek Preface-Writing," *NovT* 28 (1986), 60–61; Robbins, "Social Location," pp. 319–23.

26. See T. Karlsen Scim, *The Double Message: Patterns of Gender in Luke-Acts* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994).

27. *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*, pp. 104–26.

28. See esp. Gerd Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982).

29. Halvor Moxnes, *The Economy of the Kingdom* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1988), pp. 163–65.

30. This corresponds to Theissen's observation that Christianity drew members not from the "ruling elite" but rather from "fringe members" of the elite, *Social Reality and the Early Christians*, pp. 270–71.

31. Dio Chrysostom (ca. A.D. 40–110), from Prusa in Northwestern Asia Minor, is the most striking example from the time of Luke; see his *Or.* 44, 66.

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