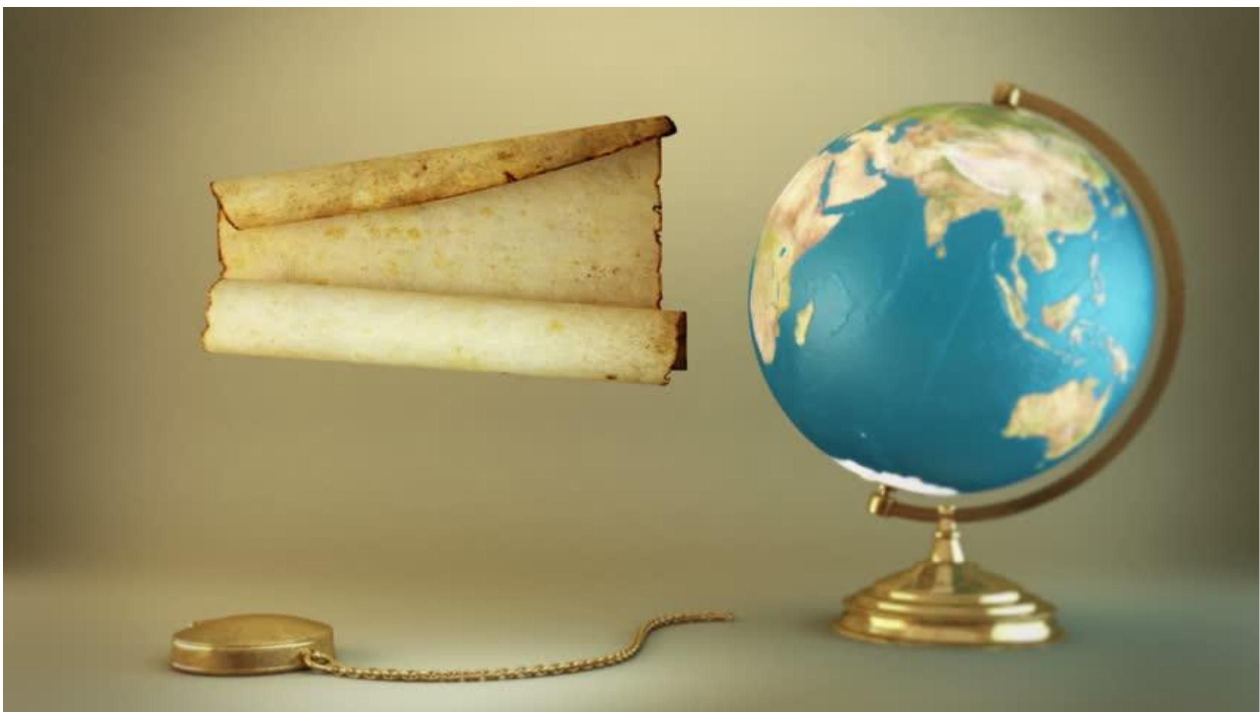
Turning the map

Construction and deconstruction of Galilee in Luke-Acts



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Turning the map

Construction and deconstruction of Galilee in Luke-Acts

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1. Introduction

In the last decades there has been a growing interest in the study of space. Whereas time has been considered the main factor in history for a long time, recent developments have brought space to the attention of scholars in a wide range of academic fields. The so-called 'spatial turn', prompted by the work of Henri Lefebvre and others, has given a new theoretical impetus to the study of space.[1] Space is no longer mainly a geographical term, but regarded as a product of social practices. The 'spatial turn' has major implications for the study of the New Testament. In this field, time has long been the main analysing category and the function of space, though not completely ignored (e.g. in the work of Schmidt, Lohmeyer, Lightfoot and Davies)[2] is still largely unexplored. The kingdom of God, for example, has been mainly discussed in terms of 'when'[3] and scarcely imagined as a space that competed with other spaces.
So, there is still a lot of work to do for the study of space in the New Testament, to make up lost ground in comparison with the study results of the analysing of time in these books. In this thesis, I investigate the function of space, more specifically the role of Galilee in the two-volume book of *Luke-Acts.*[4] Studying the role of space in this book is interesting, because on the one hand, the book has a profound geographical profile (especially *Acts*), with geographical data that are very precise, on the other hand certain geographical data featuring in its sources are omitted.[5]
In *Luke-Acts* events and actions are often not precisely located. Instead of geographical names spatial categories are used to indicate where actions take place. This is a tendency that we find already in *Luke*'s sources and it is interesting to study how *Luke* is related to its sources in this aspect. An example is the symbolic meaning of spatial categories in *Mark*. Did the author of *Luke-Acts* just take over these categories or did they got a new function and meaning in *Luke-Acts*? A central spatial category is the kingdom of God. The kingdom of God is a new space that

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[1] Lefebvre, H., (*Transl.* Nicholson-Smith, D.), *The Production of Space* (Oxford 1991).
[2] Schmidt, K.L. *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu: literarkritische Untersuchungen zur ältesten Jesusüberlieferung* (Berlin 1919); Lohmeyer, E., *Galiläa und Jerusalem* (Göttingen 1936); Lightfoot, R.H., *Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels* (London 1938); Davies, W.D., *The Gospel and the Land* (Berkeley / Los Angeles 1974).
[3] For example: Weiss, J., *Der Predigt Jesu vom Reich Gottes* (Göttingen 1892); Schweitzer, A., *Von Reimarus zu Wrede: Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (Tübingen 1906), Dodd, C.H., *The Parables of the Kingdom* (London 1935) 43-51. A more recent example is Conzelmann's analysis of time in Luke. He gives some attention to spatial issues, but his main interest is in time (Conzelmann, H., *Die Mitte der Zeit* (Tübingen 1960³).
[4] Because the length of this thesis is restricted, I will concentrate on *Luke*. But *Luke* and *Acts* are one book, written in two volumes which are strongly interconnected. Therefore, I will not ignore *Acts*, but discuss it briefly at appropriate places.
[5] Hengel, M., "The Geography of Palestine in Acts", in: Bauckham, R., *The Book of Acts in its Palestinian Setting* (Grand Rapids 1995) 32.

already is and is not. It is difficult to grasp, but yet it is a category that potentially undermines established power structures. Within the kingdom status and honour are given to the poor and the powerless, to children and women. Thus, the kingdom of God is connected to new social practices and changes existing social and spatial maps radically.

The kingdom of God is one way in which *Luke-Acts* potentially undermines the power of the Roman empire. The representation of space in the book is another way that can be understood as a way of covert resistance to Rome's power claims. Especially the focus of the book is an interesting point in this regard. The two-volume book ends in Rome. Does this implies that Rome is the goal of the book and also its focus?[6] But Jerusalem is mentioned frequently in the book and plays a central role from beginning to end. So, how do these two cities relate?

In *Luke-Acts* travelling connects stories and places to each other and structures the narrative. In *Luke* it is narrated that Jesus is born in Bethlehem, his parents go back to Galilee, he starts his public life there and then goes 'the way' to Jerusalem, the city of his death and resurrection. Although this scheme was basically taken over from *Mark*, the author adds some important elements: the birth stories in Judea, Jesus' presence as a child in Jerusalem, the construction of 'the way' as an episode that plays partly in between Galilee and Jerusalem and the absence of Galilee as the region where Jesus will appear after his resurrection. Thus, Jesus' relation to Galilee changes and the importance of Galilee seems to be played down in comparison with *Mark.*[7] What is the reason of this and what is precisely the literary function of Galilee in *Luke-Acts*? Should the decreasing importance of Galilee be interpreted in theological terms? Or must it be explained in terms that are derived from social memory studies?

One of the interesting aspects of Galilee is given by the growing interest in scholarly study of Galilee in the last decades. Our picture of Galilee has changed and is still changing as a consequence of new archaeological and interdisciplinary research. The picture of 'Galilee of the gentiles' (Mt 4,15) has made way on the one hand for the idea of a Galilee with mainly Jewish inhabitants, and on the other hand for the notion of a region that was open to influences and people from outside, a region where processes of Romanisation and Hellenisation took place.[8] These new perspectives on Galilee offer possibilities for a fresh approach of Galilee as a literary

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[6] P.B. Smit, "Negotiating a New World View in Acts 1.8? A Note on the Expression ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς", in: *New Testament Studies Vol. 63.1* (2017) 1-22.

[7] Conzelmann (1960) 35.

[8] Chancey, M.A., *Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus* (Cambridge 2005) 19; Aviam, M., "Distribution Maps of Archaeological Data from the Galilee: An Attempt to Establish Zones Indicative of Ethnicity and Religious Affiliation", in: Zangenberg, J., Attridge, H.W., Martin, D.B. (eds.), *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Galilee* (Tübingen 2007) 132; Moreland, M., "The Inhabitants of Galilee in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods", in: Zangenberg (2007) 154; Root, B.W, *First Century Galilee. A Fresh Examination of the Sources* (Tübingen 2014) 129-131.

description in *Luke-Acts*, even more so when they are combined with theories about place and space that have lately become increasingly dominant in the humanities. A multiplicity of methods should be adopted to get fresh insights into the construction of Galilee in the Gospel. Because *Luke-Acts* is a literary work, I will make use of a literary method as the first entrance to the text: narratology. Narratology offers a wide range of terms in order to analyse a text and is even more helpful because recently literary space has gain attention as analysing category in narratology.[9] But narratology does not suffice to detect the meaning of a text: behind the overt structure of the text, social and historical processes are hidden. Therefore, I will use theories about social space and social memory to find out which social worlds are veiled behind the texts. Archaeology can help to concretise these social worlds and clarify where an author (or the social group he belongs to) constructed representations that deviate from the contemporaneous realities in order to stress identity, ideology and theology. This thesis will in the first place applicate theories about social space (Lefebvre, Soja, Foucault) and social memory (Halbwachs, Assmann, Erll) to the study of *Luke-Acts* and in the second place function as a test case: do these theories really offer new insights and are they helpful for the analysis of *Luke-Acts*?

In my thesis I will describe the role of space and especially of Galilee in *Luke-Acts*. I will try to answer the main question:

How does Galilee function as a literary construction in Luke-Acts?

The following questions will help to answer this main question:

- What does the author's mental and symbolic map of Galilee and other spaces in the narrative look like? How are these spaces connected to social practices?
- How is the construction of Galilee in *Luke* related to the construction of Galilee in its sources? What light does the archaeological reconstruction of Galilee shed on the literary construction of Galilee in *Luke-Acts*?
- How does Galilee as a social space and as a locus in social memory in *Luke-Acts* express identity, ideology and theology?
- How does Galilee function in the narrative? Which narratological analysing terms may serve to clarify its function, e.g. a thematic, characterizing or mirror function?

[9] Jong, I.J.F. de (ed.), *Space in Ancient Greek Literature: studies in ancient Greek narrative Vol. III.* (Leiden 2012); Dennerlein, K., *Narratologie des Raumes* (Berlin – New York 2009).

- How does the author relate to Jewish and Greco-Roman traditions? Does *Luke-Acts* have a geographical focus that is connected to one of these traditions?

Below, I will start with a chapter about the theoretical framework and methods (chapter 2). Then I will give an introduction to *Luke-Acts*: it's author, date, content and structure. In this chapter I will also discuss shortly how space in *Luke-Acts* was conceived of in former research (chapter 3). The next chapter will be dedicated to the spatial world of *Luke-Acts* (chapter 4). Finally, I will describe the construction of Galilee in the book (chapter 5) and end with a conclusion (chapter 6).

2. Theoretical Framework and Methods

2.1. Spatial theories

In this paragraph I will give a short overview of the theories that stood at the origin of what is called the 'spatial turn'. I will focus on the ideas of Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault and Edward Soja. Lefebvre was the first of these three authors who introduced the idea of the production of space and of social space. Soja developed Lefebvre's theories further and, also inspired by Michel Foucault, gave these theories his own twist. In Foucault's work place has a less central role than in that of Lefebvre and Soja, but he wrote one article about heterotopical places, that influenced Soja and that can be useful for the studying of the Gospels.

All three authors combine in their theories the social, historical and spatial sides of the world and our knowledge of the world. So, on a theoretical level their ideas seem to be fit to combine archaeological, historiographical and geographical insights. However, it will be the challenge to translate these theories to a workable research method, which will be discussed below (*Space in the Gospels*, p. 20). My examples and test cases will be drawn from the *Gospel of Mark*: this will facilitate the redaction critic approach in the next chapters.

2.1.1. Henri Lefebvre

In 1974 Lefebvre wrote *La Production de l'espace*, in a time shortly after the student revolts of 1968, himself strongly influenced by Marxist ideas. The book was not translated in English until 1991 (*The Production of Space*)[10] and became really influential only after its translation and through the reception of the book by Edward Soja.[11] The book is not easy to understand. As a real French philosopher Lefebvre writes sometimes almost poetically and in a meandering style. But the real difficulty is that Lefebvre tries to understand space in a way that differs radically from what we are used to. We are used to concepts of time as social constructions, but are less familiar with the social construction of space. Space seems factual and measurable. But for Lefebvre space is fundamentally social and, what is more, it is produced by social practices. Lefebvre's main thesis is: (social) space is a social product. This could be interpreted as a tautological assertion: if space is labelled as social, of course it is a social product. But when we focus on the three main elements of the assertion: (social) space, social and product, it becomes clear that the meaning of

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[10] Lefebvre, H., (*Transl.* Nicholson-Smith, D.), *The Production of Space*. (Oxford 1991).

[11] Below I will sometimes use Soja's discussion of Lefebvre's work, but with caution: Soja interprets Lefebvre according to his own scheme and cannot be used as an objective introduction to the ideas of Lefebvre.

this sentence transcends that of a tautological assertion. Firstly, what is (social) space? In his book Lefebvre distinguishes between many different kinds of space: Soja counts sixty different types of space in *The production of Space*.[12] All these types have in common that they must be studied as social products. In Lefebvre's own words: "*(Social) space is not a thing among other things (…) it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity (…) It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of simple object. At the same time there is nothing imagined, unreal or 'ideal' about it as compared, for example, with science, representations, ideas or dreams. Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others*. "[13] So, space is not a thing, but we should study space as the relations between things.[14] It might be more logical to see space as that what makes relations between things possible. But Lefebvre rejects this view, in which space is the scene, the background. According to him, when new social forms come into existence they are not 'imprinted' in an existing continuous space. When new social forms emerge the relationships between different spaces change and new relations come into existence.[15] So, new social forms produce new environments, a space that fits to the social organization of the group that inhabits this space.[16]

Lefebvre sees a continuous tendency to marginalise spatiality and to pronounce 'historicality' and sociality.[17] But he does not advocate a privileging of space above history or sociality, as is sometimes concluded on basis of a superficial introduction to his work.[18] Because spatiality has been underestimated for a long time, space deserves more attention or maybe the most attention for a period. But finally, spatiality, historicality and sociality should be reckoned as equal in value in our reconstruction of reality, they are tightly connected to each other: "*the history of space should not be distanced in any way from the history of time*".[19] In a later work, about rhythms in the everyday life, Lefebvre discussed time and space together.[20]

Space in the sense of '*social* space' is different from natural space in as far as different social spaces exist alongside each other: they can be combined, stacked up. Take, for instance, regional

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[12] Soja, E.W., *Thirdspace. Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places.* (Cambridge 1996) 59.
[13] Lefebvre (1991) 73.
[14] *Ibid.*, 83.
[15] *Ibid.*, 78.
[16] Gottdiener, M., "A Marx for our Time: Henri Lefebvre and the Production of Space", in: *Sociological Theory Vol. 11, N1* (1993) 132.
[17] Soja (1996) 71.
[18] *Cf.*, Stewart, E.C., *Gathered around Jesus. An Alternative Spatial Practice in the Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge 2009) 43.
[19] Lefebvre (1991) 117.
[20] Lefebvre, H., (transl. Elden, S., Moore, G.) *Rhythmanalysis. Space, Time and Everyday Life* (London – New York 2004) VII.

and global space: the global level does not nullify regional space. Global space embraces regional spaces and lets new regional spaces emerge, as a reaction on the wideness of the global level. Social spaces are intertwined; they do not have boundaries. Even if spaces have visible boundaries, such as walls of houses, these walls in fact hide the continuity of social space. Because social spaces are intertwined, an infinite number of maps would be needed to map a region exhaustively.[21]

As a "meta-Marxist",[22] Lefebvre underlines the importance of the process of production of space: (social) space is a *product*. Space is not important *per se*, but only in as far as it is produced; Lefebvre is not interested in an ontology or the materiality of space. Space is part of social practices.[23] The process in which space is produced is not less real than its products: the social relationships that produce space are real or become real because they have a spatial component, thus "they project themselves into a space, becoming inscribed here, and in the process producing that space itself".[24] So, space is not produced in the manner of an industrial product. Space is both product and means of production.[25] If social space is a product, then nature is its raw material, out of which space is produced.[26] The more natural a space, the less it partakes in social relationships.[27] Lefebvre asks attention to the process of production of space, because his goal is to set up a *critical* thinking about space, or in his own words: to deconstruct the existing spatial codes.[28] Attention for space as product makes clear why certain concepts dominate our spatial thinking. Critical thinking about space tries to unveil who promotes dominating concepts and who profits from these types of thinking.[29] So, space is connected with power and a critical thinking about or a deconstruction of spaces (real and imagined) should unveil how power is active in the production of space.[30] The representation of space by Julius Caesar in his *De Bello Gallico* is a well-known example of how a powerful person constructed a certain type of space in such a way that he profits from this representation. Germania, for instance, is represented as a region with a nomadic population, a region without borders, unsuited for conquest, very much unlike Gallia. That Caesar does not conquer this region seems logical and rational because of this

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[21] Lefebvre (1991) 86- 88.

[22] Soja (1996) 59.

[23] Schmid, C., "Lefebvre's theory of the production of space", in: Goonewardena, K., Kipfer, S., Milgrom, R., Schmid, C. (eds.), *Space, Difference, Everyday Life. Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York 2008) 29.

[24] Lefebvre (1991) 129.

[25] *Ibid.*, 85.

[26] *Ibid.*, 123.

[27] *Ibid.*, 83.

[28] *Ibid.*, 17. Lefebvre is not interested in a critical discourse about space *per se.*

[29] *Ibid.*, 94.

[30] *Ibid.*, 90, 116.

type of representation.[31] Another example that shows how power is active in the production of space can be found in the Gospels, where Jesus questions and criticises the construction of space by the religious leaders of his time, for example by introducing alternative habit for the meal.[32] But in other instances too, when the activity of power is less clearly visible, power must be regarded as an important force that produces space.

Lefebvre tries to avoid a binary thinking about space.[33] Two terms tend to work as opposites or contrasts. So, social space and natural space are not opposite categories in Lefebvre's thinking. Such an opposition would imply that on the one hand there is 'real' space, existing out of multidimensional, material objects and nature, and on the other hand there are social practices and mental maps. Lefebvre always adds a third term in order to avoid oppositional terms. This is what Soja calls 'thirding-as-Othering'.[34] Lefebvre's theory can be labelled as dialectic, but the third term is not synthetic and does not transcends the other two as in Hegelian thinking.[35] Each of the three terms is of equal importance.[36]

One of the most important examples of triadic thinking by Lefebvre is his distinction of space; he discerns three different levels of space: perceived space (space as it is perceived by the senses), conceived space (space as it is thought of) and lived space (the lived experience and 'feeling' of space, that transcends any theoretic and material level). These levels correspond to the following three concepts, essentially the same triad, but now in spatial terms: spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces.

Lefebvre gives the example of the body to illustrate these terms. Social practice presupposes the use of the body: hands, feet, eyes and ears. This is the terrain of the perceived, the practical basis of our perception of the world. In scientific knowledge the body is represented as the material essence of a human, controlled by the brain and unconscious biochemical processes and strongly influenced by environmental events and processes. This is the second field, that of representations of space. The third field, of lived experience, uses the body symbolically. The heart, for example, is the locus of love in our symbolic view of the body. The symbolic use of the body is not congruent with the scientific representations or the use of the body in social practices: the heart as a blood pump is an image very different from the heart as the place of

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[31] Schadee, H., "Caesar's Construction of northern Europe: Inquiry, Contact and Corruption in *De Bello Gallico*.", in: *Classical Quarterly 58 (1)* (2008) 176.

[32] Neyrey, J.H., "Ceremonies in Luke-Acts: The Case of Meals and Table-Fellowship", in: Neyrey, J.H. (ed.), *The Social World of Luke-Acts. Models for interpretation* (Peabody 1991) 384.

[33] Lefebvre (1991) 39; Lefebvre (2004) 11.

[34] Soja (1996) 60; Lefebvre (1991) 39.

[35] Lefebvre (2004) 12.

[36] Schmid (2008) 33.

love.[37] These three levels of use of the body must be taken together and not be separated. The one is not more true or more valuable than the other. Space (in opposition to time) means for Lefebvre always simultaneity.

Perceived space -	Spatial practice	-	Use of the body
Conceived space -	Representations of space	-	Scientific representations of the body
Lived space -	Representational spaces	-	Symbolic use of the body

All social practices, as far as they are material, are considered 'spatial practices' by Lefebvre. Sometimes their spatial features are more obvious than in other cases. Our use of the road, for example, is a clear example of a spatial social practice: in The Netherlands we drive on the right side of the road and who drives on the left side is most times quickly corrected by other road users, even before the police must intervene. The fact that we are used to shake hands when we meet somebody in a formal setting is another example of a social practice with a spatial side: the use of our body is always spatial.

Representations of space are conceptualised spaces, in words, maps or signs. Conceptualised in this way, space is used by planners, architectures, scientists, etc. Lefebvre designates maps as examples of representations of space. Written texts can be labelled as representations of space or as representational spaces. Representational spaces are used by artists and philosophers and 'users'. Here physical spaces are used symbolically, they refer to something else: to power, fertility, the state, etc.[38] In order to understand the third term, it is useful to know that Lefebvre used phenomenological theory for this concept. Lived space (or: representational spaces) cannot be grasped by thought; there always remains a residue that can only be represented by art and imagination.[39] Lefebvre underlines that the work of only a few artists and writers can be considered representational spaces:[40] representational spaces are highly symbolic works.[41] But there is not a clear demarcating line between representations of space and representational spaces.[42] The Gospels, for example, can be considered as examples of both. They are

[37] Lefebvre (1991) 40.
[38] *Ibid.,* 38-39; Schmid (2008) 36-37.
[39] Schmid (2008) 38-40.
[40] *Pace:* Stewart (2009) 57, 58; Lefebvre (1991) 39.
[41] Lefebvre (1991) 42.
[42] *Ibid.,* 43.

representational spaces because they display a symbolic use of space and spatial elements. They are representations of space in as far as they use space uncritically and "identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived."[43] But the use of spatial categories in the *Gospel of Mark*, for example, can be considered symbolic. Lake Kinneret is referred to as 'the sea', the realm of the deconstructive powers that is under the power of God. This does not mean that the use of the lake in *Mark* is purely symbolic. Simultaneously, Lake Kinneret is characterised by certain social practices: the three levels (spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces) never appear isolated and they have to be studied together. (See below – *Space in the Gospels* - for a more detailed analysis of Lake Kinneret in the *Gospel of Mark.*)
The application of Lefebvre's spatial critique to Biblical stories has gotten criticism because of Lefebvre's overall antireligious stance.[44] But I do not think that this is an important objection against the use of Lefebvre theories. The analysis of space in the Gospels is not bound to belief or religion and is in its nature not different form the spatial analysis of other narratives. In contrast, one could argue that Lefebvre's spatial theory helps to analyse space in narratives that are coloured by theological concerns. It clarifies how, for instance, spatial practices and the level of representational space (e.g. the kingdom of God) are connected.

2.1.2. Michel Foucault: Heterotopies

Foucault states that besides utopias there exist heterotopias. Utopias are literary fictions, places without a material existence that represent society. In his first introduction of the idea of heterotopia (1966) Foucault described heterotopias as literary places, that disturb our regular notions and maps. Whereas utopias have a consolidating function and represent a life which we dream about, heterotopias destroy our syntax of the world and how we name things.[45] In a later lecture (1967, published 1984) Foucault developed this literary heterotopia to the idea of a place that exists in reality, outside literature.[46] These heterotopias are real sites, for example gardens, and they represent in some way all other sites in a certain culture. [47] In his later definition, heterotopias have six characteristics: firstly, they exist in every culture. In some culture they are reserved for people in crisis, in a transitional phase, such as adolescents and pregnant women.

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[43] Lefebvre (1991) 38.
[44] Sleeman, M., "Critical Spatial Theory 2.0", in: Prinsloo, G.T.M., Maier, C.M. (ed.), *Constructions of Space. Vol. V. Place, Space and Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (London – New York 2013) 52-53.
[45] Foucault (1970) xix.
[46] Johnson, P., "Unravelling Foucault's 'different spaces'", in: *History of the Human Sciences Vol. 19, No. 4* (London 2006) 75.
[47] Foucault, M., "Of other spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias", in: *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité* (October 1984) 3.

Further, the function of heterotopias can change parallel with changes in a culture. Thirdly, a heterotopia can bring together different spaces that normally are incompatible. This applies, for example, for the theatre, or the garden in the Orient. Fourthly, the heterotopia corresponds with a heterochrony: a certain 'slice of time', or slices of time. In a museum, for instance, different times are piled up and stored. Fifthly, heterotopias are both closed and open; most times they are not publicly accessible. Finally, these heterotopias have a function in relation to all other spaces. They represent them somehow, or they contrast them.[48] So, heterotopias are places that can be distinguished from other places because they are set aside in place and time. The early notion of disruption is still in place, certainly in case of heterotopias with a contrasting function.[49] Foucault's heterotopia has some likeness to Lefebvre's idea of representational space: both have symbolic value and can be used to criticise established notions. But whereas Foucault defines his idea of heterotopia precisely, Lefebvre describes his notion of representational space more vaguely, so that it is difficult to compare them in detail.

Is the term heterotopia of any use for the study of the Gospels? I think so: the temple in Second Temple Judaism could be understood as an example of a heterotopia. The structure of the temple, with its several courts for gentiles, women, Israelites and priests, represented contemporaneous social practices and ideas.[50] In the Gospels the meaning of the temple is under discussion, as is its function. The emergence of the Jesus movement and subsequently the destruction of the temple made a debate about the temple necessary.

It is further interesting that not only places that are mentioned in the Gospels, but also the Gospels themselves can be viewed as heterotopias: they are literary heterotopias with a disruptive function. They distort the map of the world as it was established by the religious authorities of Jesus' days. Jesus challenges for instance the established ideas about what kind of actions should be considered honourable and which shameful. When he is a guest at a meal with honourable people, he praises a woman that disturbs the meal but blames the host that had invited him to the meal (Lk 7,44-46).

2.1.3. Edward Soja

Soja's theory of space is mainly based on the work of Lefebvre and Foucault, but in his book *Thirdspace. Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* he developed his own line of

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[48] Foucault (1984) 4-8.

[49] Johnson (2006) 78-79.

[50] According to Neyrey it even represented the whole symbolic universe of the Jews (Neyrey, J.H., "The Symbolic Universe of Luke-Acts: "They Turn the World Upside Down".", in: Neyrey (1991) 278.

thinking.[51] Soja discerns three spaces: Firstspace, which is based on material spatial forms (cf. Lefebvre's perceived space); Secondspace, that consists out of ideas about space and representations of space (cf. Lefebvre's conceived space)[52] and Thirdspace, the place "where all places are" (cf. Lefebvre's lived space).[53] It is to some extent confusing that Soja refers repeatedly to the terms of Lefebvre, because Lefebvre never spoke about 'three spaces': he described three modes of production of space. There is more difference between the theories of both than is clear at first sight and Soja seems to conceal the differences.[54]

It is difficult to understand what Thirdspace is and Soja needs a story to illustrate its meaning. In the story (written by Jorge Luis Borges) there is a place called the 'Aleph', a place where all places are. Standing at the Aleph you can see all places, during all times, the places itself and how they are perceived through the eyes of the people of that time. What eternity is for time, a '*nunc stans*', this is what the Aleph is for place, a 'hic-stans'.[55] In Thirdspace multiple perspectives can be used without an hierarchical order, e.g. class, gender and race.[56] Because our language is sequential, it can never represent Thirdspace with its simultaneity adequately.[57] This is why Lefebvre's book is not easy to read, according to Soja, it is not a mere sequential description of his ideas, but he describes his ideas in such a way that his book represents something of the simultaneity of (Third)space.[58]

Soja asks attention for marginality and the potentiality of resistance in Thirdspace. Thirdspace is through its radical openness apt for resistance and struggle against suppression.[59] Soja is inspired by feminist and black spatial theories, as coming from the margins and asking for attention in the centre. What he aims at with his preference for marginality and his concept of Thirdspace is equal to the goal of Lefebvre: to question all standard ways of imagining of and thinking about space.[60]

In the last part of Soja's book he applies his theories to a comparative study of the cities of Amsterdam and Los Angeles. In a certain sense, this is the critical part of the book, where he has

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[51] Soja, E.W., *Thirdspace. Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places.* (Cambridge 1996).
[52] Soja (1996) 10.
[53] Soja (1996) 56. Sojas categories have similarities with Lefebvre's categories but they are used differently. (Goonewardena, K., Kipfer, S., Milgrom, R., Schmid, C., "On the production of Henri Lefebvre", in: Goonewardena, (2008) 8).
[54] Schmid (2008) 42.
[55] Soja (1996) 54.
[56] *Ibid.*, 5.
[57] *Ibid.*, 57.
[58] *Ibid.*, 58.
[59] *Ibid.*, 12.
[60] *Ibid.*, 163.

to prove that he is able to translate his ideas into practice and that his ideas have any added value for the study of space, more than other, more traditional, terms and theories. His descriptions of Amsterdam and Los Angeles are each composed out of two parts: one on a micro level, the other on a macro level. Soja finally connects these two levels via "the trialectics of spatiality", or Thirdspace.[61] More than the description of Amsterdam, the description of Los Angeles makes use of spatial terminology introduced earlier in the book and especially Soja's attention for the margins of the city is remarkable. He discusses the diverse jails in the city and the historic site El Pueblo. El Pueblo was the place where Los Angeles once came into being, as a village, then not inhabited by an Anglo-American population but by people from Indian, African and Mexican origin. After an thoroughly Anglo-Americanization ('ethnic cleansing') of the city El Pueblo lost his original population and was made a historical park.[62] El Pueblo has heterotopological qualities, according to Soja, as the symbolic centre of Latino culture.[63] The jails of Los Angeles are another example of heterotopies "that everywhere projects the citadel's powers of surveillance and adherence while reflecting also the powers of resistance and defiance."[64] Soja's preference for marginality is manifest too in his discussion of the squatter movement in his description of Amsterdam.[65] It is noteworthy that he does not use the word heterotopy when he describes Amsterdam. This is striking because he mentions examples of spatial environments which functions could easily be described as heterotopological. The main example in Amsterdam is the Begijnhof: once it functioned as a little world in itself, representing (and sometimes contrasting) the contemporaneous culture.[66]

When I evaluate Soja's descriptions of Amsterdam and Los Angeles as test cases for the usability of his theory, I conclude that his theories have certain hermeneutic advantages as search categories for marginality and heterotopies. Unfortunately, Soja does not always explicitly refer to his theory and does not always make use of the categories that he distinguished earlier in the book. Concerning his discussion of Amsterdam, I doubt whether his description offer us more than the insight that the different levels (micro / macro) are connected to each other and cannot be studied separately: the micro and macro level should be linked, otherwise a reductionist view would prevail. Soja does not use the potentialities of his own theory and the many other theories he discusses in his book. It can be debated whether he manages to speak the new spatial

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[61] *Ibid.*, 311.
[62] *Ibid.*, 221-222.
[63] *Ibid.*, 226.
[64] *Ibid.*, 228.
[65] *Ibid.*, 295, 299.
[66] *Ibid.*, 282.

language that he tries to offer. In the cases where he fails to speak this new language, it seems that the terms 'trialectics of spatiality' or 'Thirdspace' only inform us that reality is more complex than any reconstruction of reality. The merit of these terms was that they directed to a new spatial language and that they directed the attention to space in a culture in which attention for history and time prevailed. Nowadays space is considered more and more a terrain with importance of its own. This is due to thinkers like Lefebvre, Soja and Foucault (and many more) but also to developments in the world economy and information technology.

2.1.4. Terminology: space or place?

Above I have used the term 'space' in a way that might need some explanation. In everyday use space is distinct from place: a space is a further unspecified realm, place is space that has gotten meaning, or better: to which meaning is attached by social processes.[67] Lefebvre uses space in the last sense: for him space is a synonym for social space and thus opposed to natural or abstract space. Below, I will leave behind the terminology of Lefebvre and use space and place in their more usual sense. I will use the term 'social space' (in contrast to just 'space') as the type of space to which Lefebvre refers.

2.2. Social Memory

Social Memory Studies is the designation for the field of research of memory in social groups. Social memory[68] must be distinguished from individual memory. The Greeks and Romans, for instance, developed a complex of mnemonic devices in order to memorise all kinds of things, but mainly speeches. This 'mnemonic art' belongs primarily to individual memory. In contrast to individual memory, social memory is aimed at meaning, group building and the group's identity forming.[69] According to Maurice Halbwachs, memorizing is never a purely individual act. He believes that memorizing is not possible without a group and that an individual needs a process of socializing in order to memorise. Yet, even Halbwachs distinguishes between individual and collective memory: an individual belongs to several groups and his or her memory can never be equated with the memory of one group. The group offers the individual a

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[67] Cresswell, T., *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford 2004) 10; Day, J., Hakola, R., Kahlos, M., Tervahauta, U. (eds.), *Spaces in Late Antiquity. Cultural, Theological and Archaeological Perspectives* (London 2016) 1.

[68] Alternative terms are (each with a slightly different meaning): collective memory (Halbwachs), cultural memory (Assmann), communicative memory (Assmann), transcultural or travelling memory (Erll).

[69] Assmann, J., *Das Kulturelle Gedächtnis und, Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München 1997) 30.

frame ('le cadre') for organizing memory.[70] But the inverse is also true: the shared memory of the past is what forms the group.[71] In contrast to history, memory is a social phenomenon. Diverse authors stress the difference between the two: memory is lived, open and actual; history is analytic, distanced, and homogeneous.[72]

Social memory as concept has some similarities with the concept of tradition. But unlike tradition, social memory also describes the process of forgetting. [73] Halbwachs, for example, notes how the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* shows no interest in the relation between Jesus and the temple, a place where he 'was teaching daily' (Mk 14,49). The writer was willing to forget Jesus' activities in the temple, a place that was apparently associated with Judaism. Galilee is even a whole region that is not mentioned by the pilgrim.[74] More precisely said: it was not the writer who forgot Jesus' activities in the temple, it was the group that once forgot this. Or: the group who preserved these memories ceased to exist. So, when memories are forgotten this is not necessarily because of bad will or indifference concerning these memories. [75]

Assmann uses some other categories then Halbwachs. Within the terrain of collective memory, he distinguishes between communicative and cultural memory. Between the last two there is a 'floating gap'.[76] Communicative memory is the designation for the memories of the living people, a period which contains some 40 years. Cultural memory goes back to the time of origin of a group, to mythical times. It contains memories dating from fixed points in the past.[77] Often cultural memory is directly connected to communicative memory by the group without any seam, but in reality there exists a gap of ages between them: the 'dark ages'.[78] Astrid Erll uses a more open definition of collective memory: collective memory are all forms of connections between culture and memory.[79]

Memory and space

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[70] Assman (1997) 37; Halbwachs (1950) 19.

[71] Assman, J., Czaplicka, J., "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", in: *New German Critique No 65 (1995)* 127.

[72] Nora, P., "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire", in: *Representations No 26* (1989) 8; Assman (1997) 42; Halbwachs, M., *La mémoire collective* (Paris 1950) 69.

[73] Halbwachs (1950) 6.

[74] Halbwachs, M., *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte* (Paris 1941) 30-31, 61.

[75] Halbwachs (1950) 73.

[76] Assman (1997) 48; *cf.* Nora (1989) 8.

[77] Assman (1997) 52.

[78] Assman (1997) 49.

[79] Erll, A., *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen. Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart 2005) 101.

In the theory of Maurice Halbwachs, memories come into existence when an event is connected to meaning or a truth and thus it becomes an "*Erinnerungsbild*".[80] These "*Erinnerungsbilder*" always have some characteristics. Firstly, they are linked to place and time. Places are not necessarily geographically defined, they are important in as far as they are experienced by the group. In *Luke* an important example of such a place is 'the way': Jesus' journey to Jerusalem that is not described with geographical accurateness, but which indicates that Jesus has a certain goal from now on.[81] Halbwachs illustrates the coming into existence of *Erinnerungsbilder* with Jesus' death and resurrection: these events were translated into dogma's or truths first and subsequently connected to concrete places ('Calvary').[82] Places offer a stability that is necessary for groups, which are themselves always changing.[83] Secondly, memories are linked to the group identity and aim at continuity and difference: a group tries to distinguish itself from other groups.[84] Thirdly, the past can only be remembered in a reconstructed form: pure facts of memory do not exist, they are always constructed. Finally, the memories of the past control the construction of the present and the future, that is: they organise how they are experienced.[85] Halbwachs explains how our spatial environment reflects who we are: the type of house we live in, the pieces of furniture we buy, etc. But the choice for the things with which we surround us and the houses we live in, is not a solely individual matter: we share our preferences with members of the same group(s). Our environment tells a great deal about our identity.[86] The same applies for spaces in collective memory: they are not empty scenes that can be filled with memories. The most important aspects of a certain place correspond with the structure of the group that lives on this place. Although a place seems stabile, it changes with the group: when a group member dies, for instance, or marries, this causes changes in the spatial environment of the group.[87] Halbwachs' description of the relation of group, place, identity and memory brings back in mind Lefebvres theory about space and social practices: Halbwachs states that social practices seem to reproduce the material configuration of the city in her structures. Groups tend to adapt their behaviour and thinking to the material or spatial images of the quarter or city they

[80] Assman (1997) 38. Halbwachs (1941) 158.
[81] Schmidt, K.L., *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu: literarkritische Untersuchungen zur ältesten Jesusüberlieferung* (Berlin 1919) 246.
[82] Halbwachs (1941) 158-159.
[83] Assman (1997) 38-39; Halbwachs (1950) 165.
[84] Assman (1997) 40.
[85] Assman (1997) 42.
[86] Halbwachs (1950) 131.
[87] Halbwachs (1950) 133.

inhabit.[88] When changes in the spatial surrounding of a group occur the group can either adapt its thinking and memories to their new surrounding or stick to their old memories. The last is for instance the case when a gate is deconstructed but decades later the place is still called 'the old gate'. [89] Spatial changes challenge the group to revise both its memories and its identity. The deconstruction of the temple in 70 is an example of a spatial change that challenged the ideas, practices and memories of Jewish groups and groups of Jesus followers.

Even groups that do not seem to have a link to a spatial surrounding have a spatial basis. Economic groups or juridical groups, for example: juridical relations and contracts are linked to space and taxes are always linked to districts or territories. This applies even more to religious groups: they are strongly tied to the ground, connected to 'cadres spatiales'.[90] Religions express themselves in symbols and these symbols, in their turn, unfold themselves in space.[91] Holy places, like churches, connect the members of a group. Each new holy place consolidates the group further. The desire for places of memory is so great that they are eventually created. Halbwachs describes how this process works in *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte.* Mount Tabor is not mentioned in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense (*which dates from the fourth century) but is included in later itineraries. Apparently, the tradition which appointed Mount Tabor as the mount where the transfiguration found place came into existence later. This is just one example of the inventing of memory places, but the same applies to many other places that are mentioned in the Gospels.[92]

Holy places within a religion invoke a certain sensibility and direction of thinking that is uniform for the group.[93] For Halbwachs the relation between memory and space has an affective side. In this respect his theory has some similarity with Lefebvre's concept of 'lived space'. Halbwachs underlined the role of spatial images in collective memory, but it was Pierre Nora who developed the role of places in memory further. He uses the term '*lieux de mémoire',* sites of memory.[94] These sites have three characteristics: they are material, symbolic and functional.[95] So, sites of memory are not necessarily places which can be visited. A book or a calendar can function as a site of memory, when they are connected to rituals or symbols. What further

[88] Halbwachs (1950) 136-137.
[89] Halbwachs (1950) 139-140.
[90] Halbwachs (1950) 145-146.
[91] Halbwachs (1950) 163.
[92] Halbwachs (1941) 20.
[93] Halbwachs (1950) 161.
[94] Nora (1989) 7.
[95] Nora (1989) 19.

characterises them is 'the will to remember': it is the will of a group to remember these sites.[96] Nora complains that memory has been marginalised in our modern society in favor of history, although he also observes a new rise of memory.[97] However, sites of memory are connected to memory and history both. They are important as anchor places of memory, or better, memories.[98] Pierre Nora does not give a clear definition of *lieux de mémoire,* but Erll construes the following definition: "*lieux de mémoire,* are all cultural phenomena which are consciously or unconsciously on a collective level connected to the past or to the national identity".[99]
Astrid Erll criticises both Pierre Nora and Halbwachs because they tie up collective memory to particular spaces and to particular groups.[100] She advocates a transcultural notion of memory, a 'travelling memory'. It must be underlined, she says, that an individual partakes in diverse groups and thus in diverse memories. This idea, already introduced by Halbwachs, can be used to understand collective memory as a moving process that does not stand still at the borders of nations or cultural groups.[101]

Media of memory: literature and oral history

Oral history is one way of preserving and creating memories. In cultures were written media are absent, or marginal, oral history has a central role. Research has shown that oral history can have a tendency towards cumulative heroisation.[102] But it is a point of debate whether the results of contemporary research of oral history can be translated to earlier historic periods. In oral history, there is no 'original' version: a story is told, retold and adapted to new circumstances. Only a storyline and a certain substance remain: it is necessary for a memory to be recognizable for other members of the group, even when it is made fit for changing situations.[103]
Narrativization is a necessary process of memory, without which memories cannot exist. Narrativization leads to distortion of memory: it adds structure and meaning to memories. But without this distortion memory cannot exist.[104] So, narrativisation does not belong to written

[96] Nora (1989) 20.
[97] Nora, P., "The Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory", in: *Transit – Europäische revue 22* (2002) 8.
[98] Nora (1989) 24.
[99] Erll (2005) 25.
[100] Erll, A., "Travelling Memory", in: *Parallax* 17 (2011) 7, 10.
[101] *Cf.* Alcock (2002) 15.
[102] Erll (2005) 51.
[103] Dunn, J.D.G., "Social Memory and the Oral Jesus Tradition", in: Stuckenbruck, L.T., Barton, S.C., Wold, B.G., *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity* (2007) 192; Olick, J.K., Robbins, J., "Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices", in: *Annual Review of Sociology Vol. 24* (1998) 110.
[104] Le Donne, A., "Theological Memory Distortion in the Jesus Tradition", in: Stuckenbruck, L.T., Barton, S.C, Wold, B.G., *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity* (Tübingen 2007) 170.

history or literature but already has a central role in the first coming into existence of memories, which in historic periods was oral.

Literary texts are media of collective memory that share some characteristics with collective memory: the tendency to condensation, the dependence on genre patterns and the importance of narratives.[105] Literature always makes use of existing patterns and dimensions of a memory culture, for example material dimensions, or social dimensions. Literature can function to articulate unconscious forms of collective memory and thus help to remember these elements. Thus, literature is an important means of memory, although it has its own rules and refers to a fictitious reality. [106] Literature does not just function to preserve memories. It restructures existing memory patterns or gives them totally new structures.[107]

2.3. Space in the Gospels

Do these theories about social space and social memory have any relevance for a reading of the Gospels? I think so: the most important insight of the 'spatial turn' is that space is a social product that consists of relations. Because space is produced, one should always ask questions like: how?, by whom? and last but not least: for whom?, who profits? More than a theoretical method, Lefebvre tried to teach his readers a critical stance to space.[108] So, Lefebvre's merit is not the introduction of a triadic conception of space, but his assumption that space is a social product and that spatial codes should be decoded in order to reveal the powers that produced space. Further, the concepts of lived space and Thirdspace are not easy to understand but they point to a concept of space that does not fall into the 'trap' of contrasting a representation of material space or geography with social space or mental maps of space. Just as we nowadays do no longer perceive our bodies as contrasted to our spirit, our 'soul', in a Cartesian dualism, so we should no longer contrast out material 'real' world with our mental maps or our social spatial practices. Our spatial ideas and practices are constitutive for our material world and the reverse is also true: our material world influences our ideas, practices and how we experience space.

How do these theories offer new insights into the Gospels? At least, they help to deal with the multiple meanings of spatial elements in the Gospels. Take for instance Lake Kinneret as it

[105] Erll (2005) 144-146.
[106] Erll (2005) 151.
[107] Erll (2005) 152.
[108] Meredith, C., "Taking Issue with Thirdspace", in: Okland, J., De Vos, J.C., Wenell, K.J., *Constructions of Space III: Biblical Spatiality and the Sacred* (London – New York 2016) 89.

appears in *Mark*. In *Mark* the Lake is referred to as 'the sea'. This should not be understood as just a wrong term for something that is clearly a lake and not a sea. What this term betrays is not that the author of *Mark* had a mental map in which Lake Kinneret was as big as a sea. That he uses the word sea has two reasons. Firstly, this betrays Semitic and local traditions. In Hebrew lakes are referred to as seas. Further the local inhabitants of Galilee, must have considered Lake Kinneret a sea. When they used the word sea, their logical reference was Lake Kinneret, not the Mediterannean Sea that was outside their habitat.[109] But the other reason that the author uses the word sea – and the first and second reason cannot be clearly distinguished – was that he made use of Jewish traditions about the sea as a place under God's power. Jesus' activities on the lake were a reminder of how God was Lord over the sea as a place that belongs to the chaotic powers. God's power over the sea was prominent in the traditions that were restored in the Septuagint, for instance in the stories about creation, the exodus of the people through the sea, the story about the prophet Jonah and in many Psalms. The landscape of Galilee in *Mark* certainly is a Biblical landscape, a literary landscape, formed by traditions.

But the Sea of Galilee, as it appears in *Mark*, is not only influenced by traditional notions about the sea as a representation of chaos and evil. It is also influenced by the social practices of first century Galilee. Lake Kinneret had many harbours and there were several water routes that connected the different sides of the lake.[110] Water can function as a natural boundary, but also as a means of connection. In *Mark* Lake Kinneret is a means of connection between Jewish and gentile country and functions not so much as a boundary. Via a water route Jesus moves quickly from Jewish to gentile country and back. Further, the importance of the sea in *Mark* mirrors the social and economic importance of Lake Kinneret for Galilee in the first century. The fish industry was central for a city like Magdala,[111] but fish was also an important resource for a smaller city like Capernaum (Mk 1, 16-20).

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[109] Theissen, G., *Lokalkolorit und Zeitgeschichte in den Evangelien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (Göttingen 1989) 113.

[110] Sarti, G., et al., "Magdala harbour sedimentation (Sea of Galilee, Israel) from natural to anthropogenic control", in: *Quaternary International XXX* (2013) 2-3; De Luca, S., Lena, A., "The Harbor of the City of Magdala / Taricheae on the Shores of the Sea of Galilee, from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine Times: New Discoveries and Preliminary Results", in: Ladstätter, S., Pirson, F., Schmidts, T. (eds.), *Harbors and Harbor Cities in the Eastern Mediterranean from Antiquity to Byzantium Recent Discoveries & New Approaches* (Istanbul, 2014) 115.

[111] Zangenberg, J.K., "Magdala – Reich an Fisch und reich durch Fisch", in: Fassbeck, G., Fortner, S., Rottloff, A., Zangenberg, J. (eds.), *Leben am See Gennesaret* (Mainz 2003) 94-95; Hakola, R., "The Production and Trade of Fish as Source of Economic Growth in the First Century CE Galilee. Galilean Economy Reexamined", in: *Novum Testamentum 59* (2017) 112.

2.4. Historiography and narratology

According to Halbwachs there is a demarcating line between history and memory. Pierre Nora's work about memory places departs from the same assumption: according to him, we live in a time of disappearing memories, where history prevails. But more recently this distinction between historiography and memory has become the subject of criticism. History can serve memory and vice versa. History cannot claim to be closer to the truth than memory and the reverse applies as well: social memory does not possess an epistemological advantage in comparison with history.[112] Both are construed and both have a social component.

In the wake of the 'spatial turn', it has been argued that history must be considered purely spatial: the past can only exist in space.[113] This privileging of place has been criticised: events are bound by time *and* place.[114] But it is an interesting idea that history can be viewed as fundamentally spatial instead of primarily determined by the category of time. Attention for space in historical and historiographic research has multiple advantages. It promotes multidisciplinary research and cooperation between archaeology and history. Further, it makes space more than a passive background of historical processes, but more an active participant in history. It also shows that space had multiple functions and meanings for different social groups.[115]

In antiquity a neat distinction between geography and historiography did not exist. Historiography made use of geographic digressions and geography incorporated historiographical elements. [116] Distinctions made by the opposites time vs. space or past vs. present are not useful to understand the difference between historiography and geography. It is history that gives a place identity and consequently geography needs to refer to the past in order to describe a certain place. It is the structure given by time that makes abstract space into concrete place.[117]

Within historiography and geography various approaches of space existed. One was a deterministic concept: the nature of a certain place determined what kind of people lived there, determined their identity. This environmental determinism was the dominant type of thinking

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[112] Olick, J.K., Robbins, J., "Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices", in: *Annual Review of Sociology Vol. 24* (1998) 110.

[113] Ethington, P.J., "Placing the past: 'Groundwork' for a spatial theory of history", in: *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice 2* (2008) 465.

[114] Casey, E. S., Boundary, place, and event in the spatiality of history", in: *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice 2* (2008) 509.

[115] Scott, M., *Space and society in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge 2013) 167- 168.

[116] Clarke, K., *Between Geography and History. Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford 1999) 2.

[117] Clarke (1999) 18.

in the Mediterranean world.[118] But an author like Strabo believed that there was a two-sided relationship between people and space: people formed space and space formed the people. It is often held that nature or space was used by ancient historiographers purely as background. But this betrays a view in which history and geography are clearly distinct and in which history is overvalued. [119] Clarke stresses that time and space are always experienced together and thus belong together. This is the reason that history and geography can never be separated.[120]

The multiplicity of representations of space in antiquity reflects the fact that there existed a multiplicity of social spaces that were intertwined with each other. But material or literary representations of space sometimes tend to demarcate places and stress boundaries, where in reality diverse places stood in connection with each other.[121] Thus, the world(s) of the texts can seem even more fractionated than the world of social practices is or was in reality. But the fact that boundaries are stressed above continuity must not only be valued as a misrepresentation of history. According to Casey, boundaries are the places where history happens: wars are often located at boundaries and the fiercest debates are about boundaries, real and social or cultural boundaries.[122]

It is interesting that Clarke argues for the use of narratological and rhetorical methods in the study of historiographical works.[123] In fact, historiography has much in common with literary works such as novels: historiographic works make use of literary techniques and are dependent for their representation of history on 'emplotment': the plot forms a framework in which the events can be arranged.[124] According to Clarke, narratological tools are apt to show power relationships, in particular the term 'focalisation'. In narratology focalisation refers to the viewing of events, for instance through the eyes of a character or the narrator.[125] Map-makers and storytellers always use representation and selection and are never purely objective.[126] To a certain extent we see the world through *their* eyes, through *their* focalisation. Clarke further underlines that the distinction between fiction and non-fiction should not be made too easily.

[118] Stewart, E.C., "New Testament Space/Spatiality", in: *Biblical Theology Bulletin Vol. 42, No 3* (2012) 114.
[119] Clarke (1999) 27-28.
[120] Clarke (1999) 8, 28.
[121] Day (2016) 6.
[122] Casey (2008) 508.
[123] Clarke (1999) 22.
[124] Jong, I. de, *Narratology and Classics. A Practical Guide* (Oxford 2014) 168.
[125] Jong de (2014) 47.
[126] Clarke (1999) 26.

Ancient geography tended to describe fictitious places. But fiction contains its own 'facts': it gives us insight into the geographic and social concepts of the author and his social group.[127]
In the Gospels, containing a mix of facts and fictions, we thus see historical, social and spatial processes at work, but only in as far as they are represented by their authors or redactors. Each of the authors represented these processes according to his own ideas and insights. What we now have is the text, a literary representation of a gone world, or better, of many gone worlds: the mental world of the author, a social world, a historical world, a spatial world. So, the texts of the Gospels are like kaleidoscopes, hiding many worlds that are reconstructed in particular and diverse ways.

Because my focus is on the *literary* construction of space in the Gospels, it is useful to discuss how space is conceived of in narratology, that studies texts as literary compositions. Narratology offers some helpful tools to analyze stories and narratives. I will discuss some terms that are related to space in stories.

A first helpful distinction made by narratology is the distinction between *story space* and *fabula space*: *story space* is space as it is actually represented in a story, *fabula space* is the space that could be reconstructed on base of all clues about space that the story includes. Some books, like the *Narnia Chronicles* contain a map created by the author at its first pages, such a map is an attempt to represent the *fabula space* and is at least a representation of the most important aspects of the *fabula space*.[128]

Focusing further on the role of space in narratives, De Jong mentions six functions of space in stories: an ornamental function, a thematic function, a mirror function, a symbolic function, a characterizing and a psychologizing function. In classical Greek and Roman thought space was considered mainly *ornatus*, according to De Jong: space, for example in digressions, had an ornamental function.[129] But space is more important than this: it can have a thematic function, especially when space is the main ingredient of a story. Space can also have a mirror function and thus anticipate the plot. This is, for example, one of the functions of Galilee in the Gospel of *Mark*. Galilee is the home base of Jesus and the region where he gets fame and support, but Galilee is also the region where he is rejected, namely in his home town Nazareth. The death of John the Baptist, who was a prophet maybe as popular as Jesus, takes also place in Galilee. Both

[127] Clarke (1999) 24-25.
[128] Jong, I.J.F. de, "Introduction. Narratological Theory on Space", in: Jong, I. J.F. de (ed.), *Space in Ancient Greek Literature. Studies in ancient Greek narrative Vol. III.* (Leiden 2012) 2-3.
[129] But spatial elements could also be used to arouse emotions, when they were part of a rhetorical method that was called '*evidentia*' or '*enargeia*' (Quintilianus, *Inst.* 6.2.29-32).

John the Baptist's death and Jesus' rejection in Nazareth are an anticipation of Jesus' death in Jerusalem.[130]

Thirdly, space can have a symbolic function. This is the case when space "becomes semantically charged and acquires an additional significance on top of its purely scene-setting function", according to De Jong. Symbolically used geographical notions have a positive or negative value and their meaning is loaded with cultural or ideological values.[131] A good example from the *Gospel of Mark* would be the mountain, as it is represented in the story. The mountain is a place between God and humans, it is a place that is closer to God than other places, but also closer to demons and evil spirits. In *Mark* Jesus meets Elijah and Moses on a mountain, but the mountain is also the terrain of the demons: the possessed man in the country of the Gerasenes lives in the mountains (Mk 5,5; 9,4).[132]

Sometimes space informs us about a person in the story: his/her character, origin and situation. In these cases space has a characterizing function. This is slightly different from a psychological function: here space tells us about the feelings of a character.[133] While the psychological meaning of space can change from time to time (a character's mood may change), the characterizing function of space is more stable.[134]

De Jong's categories are useful to analyse space in stories, but her view of how space functions seems to be rather unaffected by theories about social space. If space is built up out of social relations and reflects social practices one could question (1) whether 'symbolic function' is a good term to designate space that has a referring function, and (2) whether this is a function that is optional or that is always present in story space. Concerning the last point: when space is social, space always has a 'symbolic function'. According to De Jong a symbolic function is sometimes added to a mere 'scene-setting' function.[135] This scene-setting function is the function that space always and in the first place has: a story has to be localised somewhere and this localisation can be the only function of space in a story, thus De Jong. But is it really possible that space is only 'scene-setting'? Every possible setting of a story has a meaning that reaches further than that of a background. Every possible setting is loaded with cultural or ideological value(s). Of course, sometimes this is not clear for un uninformed reader, maybe even the author

[130] Hooker, M.D., *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (London 1991) 159.
[131] Jong de (2012) 15.
[132] Hooker (1991) 111.
[133] Jong de (2012) 16.
[134] Jong de (2014) 128.
[135] *Ibid.*; Jong, I.J.F. de, "Homer", in: Jong de (2012) 33.

can be unconscious of the cultural or ideological value of certain spaces. Moreover, the cultural or ideological value of space is not always explicitly thematised in the story.

Regarding the first point: the term 'symbolic function' suggests that space has a function that is added by the author consciously on top of a setting, ornamental or other function. I doubt whether this is how space is implemented in a story. An author is not an isolated individual but (s)he is a member of one or more social groups. The social practices and social memories of this group are directly related to social space: social space produces practices and ideas and social practices produce social spaces. Even if the author has never reflected on the relationship between the social group and (social) space, there is a connection between the two. So, when an author uses space in a story (as is necessary: a story cannot exist without space), the relationship between his social group and social space is somehow reflected in the story. An author has the possibility to affirm or adopt the existing relations between group and space, or to criticise them and offer an alternative. Without any background knowledge about the author and his/her social group it is of course difficult to decide whether an existing relationship is criticised or affirmed. But even in case of an unknown author, as is the case with the *Gospel of Mark*, we are able to acquire some knowledge about the social group that he was part of: the social memories of this group (or these groups) were dependent on Jewish traditions about heaven, sea and earth. Some social practices of his group are probably reflected in the text, for example the gathering of the group in a house[136] and conflicts between the group of Jesus followers and Jewish groups or Jewish leaders (e.g. Mk 3,22; 7,5). So, when the house functions in *Mark* as a place of gathering, as it probably does in the social context of the author, how should we designate this function? The word symbolic does certainly not fit here. Dependent on the context we can choose from a range of words like traditional (referring to social memories), cultural (referring to social practices and ideas), ideological (referring to power relations), or theological (referring to ideas and beliefs concerning God and humans). A more inclusive term as alternative for 'symbolic space' would be "semantically charged space", but this leaves open the type of meaning with which space is loaded.[137]

Other interesting narratological terms for analyzing space in stories are given by Powell.[138] He mentions the distinction between inside and outside, a distinction that also applies to city – countryside. Inside can be a place of safety, but this does not always apply. Sometimes the

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[136] Moxnes, H., *Putting Jesus in His Place. A Radical Vision of Household and Kingdom* (Louisville 2003) 70.
[137] Temmerman, K. de, "Chariton", in: Jong de (2012) 492.
[138] Powell, M.A., *What is narrative criticism?* (Minneapolis 1990) 70-72.

notion of outside is connected to freedom. In the Jesus' traditions we see that Jesus often avoid cities – as unsafe place – and has a preference for the countryside. In *Luke,* however, cities have a more positive connotation and a great part of the narrative plays in cities, rather than in villages or in the countryside. Linked to the notions of inside and outside are boundaries as place that mediate between opposed categories. Doors, for instance, mediate between inside and outside and islands between land or sea.

According to De Jong, a narratological method is interested in the narrator more than in the author, although the difference between both is not always made clear.[139] Yet, even in case of historiographical works the difference between author and narrator is necessary: an author like Herodotus tells about his own travels, but mingles this with fictitious tales about non-existing places and peoples.[140]

Parallel to the distinction between narrator and author, narratology distinguishes between reader and implied or inscribed reader. The implied reader is the audience to which the narrator of a literary work narrates and who has the perfect knowledge to understand the text.[141] Sometimes this reader, or these readers, are explicitly mentioned, then they are called 'inscribed reader'.[142]

Narratology studies a work as a literary whole or end-product and is not primary interested in the historical and social processes that were active in the production of a work. These two concerns of narratology (the narrator, and not the author, and the literary end-product, and not the earlier stadia) are to a certain degree opposed to the methods of historical and social research. In practice narratology is often combined with a certain consciousness of historical processes, but it is striking that social practices, ideas and memories are less prevalent.[143] This makes the narratological method less open for critical questions about social relations and power. Akujärvi, for example, describes in a chapter about Pausanias the connection between the narrator and Lydia as his home, but she does not question the nature of the relationship between the narrator and Greece or the narrator and the Roman Empire.[144] She gives no attention to the fact that Pausanias (or: the narrator) is not interested in Greece as a part of the

[139] Jong, I. de, *Narratology and Classics. A Practical Guide* (Oxford 2014) 17. For an example of confusion of both categories, see: Huitink, L, Van Henten, J.W., "Josephus", in: Jong de (2012) 199-218.
[140] Jong de (2014) 171.
[141] Powell (1990) 20.
[142] Robbins, V.K., "The social location of the implied author of Luke-Acts", in: Neyrey (1991) 311.
[143] But not totally absent, e.g. Temmerman de (2012) 492.
[144] Akujärvi, J., "Pausanias", in: Jong de (2012) 253.

Roman Empire, but in a historical free Greece, that was not subjugated.[145] Pausanias' interest in freedom can be explained as a sign of subtle resistance against the power of Rome. Above, I mentioned Clarke's suggestion, that the narratological term focalisation can be used to show power relations that are hidden in the text. So, Pausanias' preference for a free Greece can also be expressed in narratological terms: Pausanias' focalises on a free Greece, because this is in his interest as a former citizen of a conquered region.

Finally, what are the benefits of a narratological approach for the study of the literary construction of Galilee in the Gospels? Narratology offers helpful tools for analysing a story, for example by distinguishing between narrator and author, narrator focalisation or narrator speech and character focalisation and speech. Not every word or gaze in a text can be interpreted as the personal opinion or gaze of the author; the author uses characters to show diverse perspectives and ideas. Concerning space, it is useful to keep in mind that there is a distinction between story space and fabula space. The map of a story is opened up gradually and often it stays closed partly, or it has blind spots. The story space of *Mark*, for example, is described as "the whole of Galilee" (εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν; Mk 1,39) but the big cities of Galilee are never mentioned: there are the blind spots. Finally, the term focalisation can be used to throw light on power relations that are hidden in the text.

The narratological method can be truly helpful for the analysing of how space functions in a text or story if this method is 'enriched' with insights in historical and social processes. Narratology tends to see the text as a world *per se*, but in order to understand a text it is necessary to ask questions about its origin and the social processes behind its coming into existence.

2.5. Archaeology

Archaeology is always as much about space as about time, just as historiographic research, or maybe even more so. In the last decades the 'spatial turn' has reached archaeology and there is a growing interest in the meaning of space, for instance for the forming of identity.[146] In short: archaeological space has been socialised.[147] In a spatial archaeology landscapes and regions

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[145] Alcock, S.E., "The Peculiar Book IV and the Problem of the Messenian Past", in: Alcock, S.E., Cherry, J.F., Elsner, J (eds.), *Pausanias. Travel and Memory in Roman Greece* (Oxford 2001) 142-153.

[146] Blake, E., "Space, Spatiality and Archaeology.", in: Meskell, L., Preucel, R.W. (eds.), *A Companion to Social Archaeology* (Malden-Oxford-Victoria 2007) 234.

[147] Ashmore, W., "'Decisions and dispositions': Socializing Spatial Archaeology", in: *American Anthropologist 104* (4) (2000) 1172.

(instead of ‘sites’) gained in importance as places that were connected in a network through social activities.[148]

There is a long history of a relation between New Testament Studies and archaeology. This history was not without problems. It was and is the question how the study of archaeological data can be combined with the study of literary data. Often archaeological data have been used to answer questions that originate from the text, or to fill up the blind spots that appear in the texts.[149] But in this type of research archaeology is eventually a tool of textual research, not a separate research field with its own methods and questions. Archaeology can also be used to show an alternative world, a material world that does not necessarily match the textual world. It is likely that the results of this type of archaeological research show no direct and simple connection to the texts of the Gospels: Jesus’ public life was too short and too marginal to leave archaeological traces. This is what makes this type of archaeological research hard to fit in textual research. But when the archaeological results are interpreted and connected to each other in order to reconstruct a material world of related phenomena, somehow the world of the text and the material world touch each other. The Gospel texts are (at least partly) expressions of social and material realities and are therefore related to the material worlds that archaeology tries to reconstruct. Archaeological data show that the social and material world of Galilee was much more diverse than could be indicated on basis of the Gospels.[150] The Gospels give insight in the practices and ideas of mainly one social group and its interpretations of reality; archaeological results indicate that these should not be considered as representing the whole of Galilee. This is even more true because our only access to the ideas and practices of the Jesus movement is through the selections, reconstructions and theological interpretations that the authors of the Gospels made.[151] Archaeology has become of even greater importance for the study of the world behind the texts, because within archaeology there has been a shift from questions like ‘when’ and ‘where’ to questions like ‘how’ and ‘why’.[152] In other words: the social world(s) behind the artefacts has become of more importance and thus archaeology and textual research, where the social also gained in importance, come closer to each other. As Lefebvre and Halbwachs show, space constitutes social practices, social ideas and social memories and vice

[148] Ashmore (2000) 1176; Salisbury, R.B., Keeler, D. (eds.), *Space – Archaeology’s Final Frontier? An Intercontinental Approach* (Newcastle - Cambridge 2007) 8.
[149] Zangenberg, J.K., ‘Jesus der Galiläer und die Archäologie. Beobachtungen zur Bedeutung der Archäologie für die historische Jesusforschung’, in: *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift Vol. 64, Nr. 2* (2013) 128.
[150] Zangenberg (2013) 132.
[151] Böttrich, C., “Was kann aus Nazaret Gutes kommen? Galiläa im Spiegel der Jesusüberlieferung und bei Josephus, in: Böttrich, C., Herzer, J. (eds), *Josephus und das Neue Testament. Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen.* (Tübingen 2007) 296.
[152] Freyne, S., “Galilee as Laboratory”, in: *New Testament Studies 153* (2007) 149.

versa.[153] So, the ideal historical research would have two components: archaeology would study the historic spaces and spatial practices, as far as they are 'diggable', historiographical research would study (spatial) social practices and ideas, as far as they are registered in texts. Finally, the results of both studies would inform each other, complement each other and affirm or question each other.

But the compatibility of archaeology and historiography is complicated by the fact that neither archaeology nor historiography has a direct access to the historical facts. Archaeological data must be interpreted to give them sense and coherence. The same applies to texts, even more so because texts are themselves interpretations of the historical facts and subsequently become the object of interpretation by the researchers.[154] Worlds reconstructed from the texts and worlds reconstructed from archaeological data must be judged on basis of their own merits. And it must be kept in mind that reconstructions always have a hypothetical character.

In the present research my main interest is in Galilee as a literary construction and consequently, archaeology will not play a central role. But I believe that a textual approach cannot do without archaeological information. Archaeological data have two functions here: firstly, they show connections and relationships that cannot be derived from the texts. For instance: they show the importance of Magdala in the region of Lake Kinneret as a small but thoroughly Hellenistic city with a big harbour which connected the city to other sides of the lake. When archaeological data are used to show connections and relationships, they offer a picture of a network, of a material and social world that can be an alternative to the world of the texts. I am more interested in networks, in 'worlds', than in separate archaeological facts that could be used to prove texts to be historically reliable or not.

A second function of archaeological data is that they can help to detect where the literary world deviates from the material world and thus where an author may have made deliberate choices to present the story or the characters in a certain way. The literary Galilee of the Gospels, for instance, is a rural Galilee, where Jesus directed his message to the poor and needy. Archaeological data show that Galilee had Hellenistic cities and was not especially poor during Jesus lifetime, in comparison with other regions of the Roman empire.[155] This does not mean that the literary world of Galilee that can be derived from the Gospels is incorrect, yet it is

[153] Lefebvre (1991) 85, *cf.* Alcock (2002) 2.

[154] Zangenberg, J.K., "Jesus – Galiläa – Archäologie. Neue Forschungen zu einer Region im Wandel", in: Claussen, C., Frey, J. (eds.), *Jesus und die Archäologie Galiläas* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 2008) 17.

[155] Schröter, J., "Jesus der Galiläer - Die Wechselwirkung zwischen galiläischer Umwelt und Botschaft in der Verkündigung des Nazareners", in: Zangenberg, J.K., Schröter, J. (eds.), *Bauern, Fischer und Propheten – Galiläa zur Zeit Jesu* (Darmstadt / Mainz 2012) 62.

incomplete and apparently a certain tendency is active here: attention for the underclass and the poor.[156]

2.6. Theory and method: conclusion

As Lefebvre has convincingly showed, space (and place) are social products, products of social practice, mental theories and symbolic imagination. These three levels, to which Lefebvre refers as spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces are essential for the studying of space. Social practices are formed by social spaces and social practices, at their turn, give social spaces new forms. Thus, social space represents the structure of the social group and reveals a lot about the identity of the group: social space is a set of relations between things and persons. When social space is decoded, it can show a great deal about the power structures within a group, but the instances of power tend to conceal how space is produced. The decoding of space, can be felt as a violation of the power that is hidden in social space.

The group uses social space and place as anchors for their memories. Places offer the group some stability and this is so important that when these places are absent, the group creates or invents such places to strengthen the group and its identity. Memories and the role that places play in memory are dynamic: memories are made apt for the present situation of the group and change according to the group’s needs. Memories are strongly linked to group identity and so are places within these memories. The group uses memory and space to define itself as different from other groups. In the Gospels, for instance, Jewish memory traditions about the sea and the mountain were used to show who Jesus was and these memories were accommodated to the interests of the group of Jesus followers.

The study of the construction of places in the Gospels should make use of insights from diverse fields: social space, social memory, historiography, archaeology and narratology. Because the Gospels are literary works, the starting point must be a literary method. Narratology offers such a method, which is useful for a critical reading of the Gospels. Narratology is not so much interested in the social processes that played a role behind the coming into existence of the text. Therefore, narratology has to be complemented by other methods, from the above mentioned fields: social space, social memory, historiography and archaeology.

Archaeology can contribute to the study of texts by offering alternative worlds that sometimes overlap and sometimes contrast with the world from the texts. Thus archaeological data can

[156] Zangenberg (2008) 11, 13.

help to find the bias of an author or a story. Comparison with other historiographical texts can help to detect the meaning of space in the Gospels, although classical texts show more than one concept of space. In Greek and Roman thought a multiplicity of approaches of space existed and a variety of approaches was available for the authors of the Gospels. Finally: geography and historiography were not clearly distinguished in antiquity, which points to the fact that these fields belong together fundamentally: we experience time and space always simultaneously.

3. Introduction to Luke-Acts

In this short chapter I will discuss the main introductory questions concerning *Luke-Acts* (author, reader(s), date, content and structure) and give a brief overview of how the space of *Luke-Acts* was perceived of in former research.

3.1. Author

Both *Luke* and *Acts* are anonymous books. Now, most of the time they are seen as a two-volume work, written by one author.[157] Speaking about the author of *Luke-Acts*, it is the implied author that I refer to: the author in as far we know him (I presume the author is a male) from his book.[158] It is commonly thought that the writer came from an urban setting, because the city plays an important role in *Luke-Acts*, more than in any other of the Gospels. Further, the author must have had a Hellenistic education: compared to the other Gospels, *Luke-Acts* is the most literary one, betraying knowledge of rhetoric, mainly in its speeches.[159] Speeches play an important role in *Acts* as was common in ancient historiography: apparently the author was familiar with the rules of that genre. From the second century onwards the author of *Acts* has been equated with Luke, on basis of the we-passages in *Acts* and the occurrence of the name Luke in some (pseudo-) Pauline epistles (Phm 1,24; Col 4,14 2 Tim 4,11).[160] But the books themselves contain no indications for the name of the author, apart from the title which was added later. Both *Luke* and *Acts* were written after the fall of Jerusalem, somewhere in last decades of the first century. Further details of the writer's background are debated: was he a Jew

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[157] There is still some debate about this subject, but mainly about the precise relationship of both books to each other. (Verheyden, J., 'The Unity of *Luke*-Acts, in: Verheyden, J., *The Unity of Luke-Acts* (Leuven 1999) 4; Walter, P., *The Assumed Authorial Unity of Luke and Acts. A Reassessment of the Evidence* Cambridge 2008) 8).
[158]Robbins, V.K., "The Social Location of the Implied Author of Luke-Acts, in: Neyrey, J.H., *The Social World of Luke-Acts* (Peabody 1991) 311.
[159] Bovon, F., *Luke 1. A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1-9:50* (Minneapolis 2002) 8.
[160] Wolter, M., *Das Lukasevangelium* (Tübingen 2008) 4-5.

or a Gentile?[161] Was he maybe a 'Godfearer', a category that is frequently mentioned in his books (Acts 10,2)?[162] Did he come from Palestine or from elsewhere in the Roman Empire? To start with the last question: *Luke-Acts* does not betray a detailed knowledge of ancient Palestine. In particular, the author does not seem to have a good perspective on the geographic relations of Judea, Samaria and Galilee. [163] But what does this tell us about the place of origin of the author? Whereas one would expect that an inhabitant of Galilee could relate his own region to Judea or Jerusalem, the reverse is not necessarily true. Why would an inhabitant of Jerusalem be interested in or have knowledge of the geography of Galilee?[164] The author seems to have knowledge about Jerusalem and the temple, but this does not necessarily imply that he lived in Jerusalem: he could also have visited Jerusalem as one of the many pilgrims that visited Jerusalem each year.[165] Some authors point to a particular region or city as the provenance of the author. Eusebius and Jerome, for example, thought that the author came from Antioch, a city that gets considerable attention in *Acts*.[166] It is, however, also possible that the importance of Antioch in *Acts* shows the actual importance of Antioch for the beginnings of Christianity. Loveday Alexander describes how the mental map of the author of *Luke-Acts* is constructed, with 'home' and 'foreign areas' (as is usual in mental maps), and shows that 'home' (marked by an 'information bump') is in Syria and Phoenicia, while Greece belongs to the foreign areas.[167] Theissen refers to the meaning of the south wind in Lk 12,55: the south wind brings heat, which is uncommon in Palestine but typical for more western areas.[168] Further, only the *Gospel of Luke* warns against the roaring of the sea and only in this Gospel Lake Kinneret is referred to as a lake, so the author must have been familiar with the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore,

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[161] Most scholars claim a gentile background of the writer of *Luke-Acts*, e.g.: Bruce, Davies, Ehrman, Lohse, Bovon (Bruce, F.F., *The Acts of the Apostles. The Greek text with Introduction and Commentary* (Grand Rapids 1990[3]) 6; Davies, W.D., *The Gospel and the Land* (Berkeley / Los Angeles 1974) 255; Ehrman, B., *The New Testament: a Historical Introduction* (Oxford 2012) 174; Lohse, E., *die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments* (Stuttgart / Berlin / Köln 2001[6]) 96; Bovon (2002) 8). Claiming a Jewish background of *Luke's* writer was once common, and is still advocated by some authors, c*f:* "(..) *Luke-Acts* reflects a Jewish sphere of society": Robbins (1991) 332; Jervell, J., *The Theology of The Acts of The Apostles* (Cambridge 1996) 5; *Luke-Acts* imitates the style of the Septuagint, what supposes a thorough and long familiarity with the Septuagint: Wolter (2008) 8, 21).

[162] Bovon (2002) 8; It is debated whether the existence of a distinct group of God-fearers can historically be proven. In later centuries there are archaeological indications that God-fearers existed. Literary evidence from the first century proves the practice that gentiles were attracted by Jewish religion. (Witherington, B., *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids 1998) 344; Levinskaya, I., *The Book of Acts in its Diaspora Setting* (Grand Rapids 1996) 55, 118-120).

[163] Hengel (1995) 32.

[164] *Pace* Conzelmann, (1960) 61.

[165] Theissen, G., *Lokalkolorit und Zeitgeschichte in den Evangelien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (Göttingen 1989) 270.

[166] Bruce (1990) 8-9.

[167] Alexander, L., "Narrative Maps: Reflection on the Toponymy of Acts", in: Carroll, R. M.D., Clines, D.J.A., Davies, Ph. R. (eds.), *The Bible in Human Society. Essays in Honour of John Rogerson* (Sheffield 1995) 36-39.

[168] Theissen (1989) 264.

Theissen argues in favour of the west coast of Minor Asia as the place where *Luke-Acts* came into existence. Bovon states that the author is from Macedonia, because the first we-passages occur in Acts 16 and the author possesses detailed knowledge of this region and its Roman institutions.[169]
These different conclusions about the place of origin of *Luke-Acts* make clear that an unambiguous reference to the author's place of origin is lacking and that it is difficult to prove what the region of origin of the author was. Thus, it seems better not be too specific about the geographical origin of *Luke-Acts*. Rather than asking for the exact geographical provenance of the author and his work one could search for the *social* location of the author. Given his ideas and the details of the narrative, what is a plausible social background for the author?[170]
The author seems to be a well-travelled person which widens the possibilities of his social background.[171] His perspective is not restricted to Palestine, but is as wide as the world of the Roman empire. This is clear from the geographical elements in *Acts* but also from the fact that the οἰκουμένη is mentioned already at the start of the book (*Luke* 2,1). Yet, the western part of the empire is outside the scope of *Luke-Acts*: the author was probably not familiar with this part of the world.[172] For the author cities and ports were the main social locations on land.[173] In his work we meet a mixed population and – this is remarkably in comparison with the other Gospels - many women. Such groups could be found in the big cities of the eastern Mediterranean.[174] A mixed, diverse population was considered as cleansed and blessed by God within the social location of the author: the Jewish purity rules did no longer apply.[175]
Most scholars think that the author had a gentile background: both *Luke* and *Acts* show a striking interest in gentiles.[176] Although the author has knowledge of Jewish religion and cult, his description of the Jews seems to be quite detached and not favouring the Jews, who repeatedly reject the good news of the gospel.[177]

3.2. Readers

Both *Luke* and *Acts* are addressed to Theophilus, probably either the patron or a friend of the author. Theophilus is called 'most excellent', which implies that he had a higher social status

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[169] Bovon (2002) 9.
[170] Robbins, V.K., "The social location of the implied author of Luke-Acts", in: Neyrey (1991) 305-306.
[171] Theissen (1989) 267, Bovon (2002) 9.
[172] Robbins (1991) 314-315.
[173] *Ibid.*, 315.
[174] *Ibid., 318.*
[175] *Ibid.*, 328, 332.
[176] Bruce (1990) 3; Hengel (1995) 32.
[177] Phillips, Th. E., "Subtlety as a Literary Technique in Luke's Characterization of Jews and Judaism", in: Thompson, R.P., Phillips, Th. E. (eds.), *Literary Studies in Luke-Acts* (Macon 1998) 313.

than the author.[178] This argues for the view that Theophilus was the patron of the work, although it cannot be excluded that Theophilus was a fictive person. In narratological terms Theophilus is regarded the ‘inscribed reader’, the reader as he is explicitly mentioned in the text.[179] Theophilus is an informed reader: the author wants to give him detailed and sure knowledge and implies that Theophilus already knew things about Jesus’ words and deeds (1,4). Ancient practices of literary patronage included circulation of the book by the patron in his social group.[180] So, the implied readers of *Luke-Acts* must be placed in the social environment of Theophilus: an urban Hellenistic setting of at least poor and rich, citizens and non-citizens.[181] Because only the wealthy could afford a copy of the book, the audience of *Luke-Acts* probably mainly existed of hearers.[182]

3.3. Date

Because *Luke* uses the *Gospel of Mark* as one of its sources, *Luke* must have been written after the fall of Jerusalem. *Luke* reflects on the fate of Jerusalem and the temple and shows more distance to the Jewish war than *Mark*: Jesus bemoans the destruction of the temple (19,41-44) and tells the women to lament he fate of Jerusalem (23,28).[183] This makes it probably that *Luke-Acts* is written in the 80’s of the first century.[184] Probably, *Acts* is written later than *Luke*, there might have been a short period between the publishing of both books.[185]

3.4. Content

In contrast to the other Gospels, *Luke* begins with a pericope that can be clearly recognised as a *prooemium*, which makes clear what the theme and content of the book are, according to the author. In this *prooemium* the subject of the book is described as “the matters that have been fulfilled in our days” and as ‘‘the word”. The *prooemium* of *Acts* refers to that of *Luke* and tells us that the book is a supplement to this gospel. The words of the *prooemium* of *Acts* pass over into the narrative seamless and it is not easy to say where the *prooemium* ends. In 1,8, however, it is

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[178] Robbins (1991) 321.
[179] Robbins (1991) 311.
[180] Spencer, P.E., *Rhetorical Texture and Narrative Trajectories of the Lukan-Galilean Ministry Speeches. Hermeneutical Appropriation by Authorial Readers of Luke-Acts* (London – New York 2007) 32.
[181] Spencer (2007) 34.
[182] Spencer, P.E., “Acts and Modern Literary Approaches”, in: Winter, B.W., Clarke, A.D. (eds.), *The Book of Acts in its Ancient Literary Setting* (Grand Rapids 1993) 413.
[183] Theissen (1989) 288.
[184] Wolter (2008) 10; Bovon (2002) 9.
[185] Marshall, I.H., “Acts and the ‘Former Treatise’”, in: Winter (1993) 176.

generally assumed that the program of the book is being explicated: "you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in the whole of Judea and Samaria and to the ends of the world." Consequently, the book is often divided in a part narrating the spreading of the Gospel in Judea and Samaria and one that narrates the spreading of the word in the rest of the world.

When we search for the message or goal of *Luke*, *Acts* can help us, because the Jesus-story is repeatedly summarised in its speeches. There we learn that not the Roman authorities, but the Jews are to be blamed for the death and persecution of Jesus.[186] So, the claims of the Jews, who claimed that the group of Jesus' followers were dangerous for the political rest were not justified.[187] The followers of 'the way' should not be considered as a politically dangerous movement[188] and their movement is interesting not only for lower class people but also for members of the upper class. The author does defend the church not only by these arguments, but also by the claim that the church was the rightful continuation of the synagogue.[189] An important tendency of *Acts* is further that it wants to underline the unity of the first church members and between the apostles.[190] Whereas revolt (στάσις, *seditio*) was a political threat, unity (ὁμόνοια, *concordia*) was a political ideal.[191] In *Acts* unity is given by the belief in Jesus Christ and by the power of the Spirit, which unites people.[192] Strife and disunity do appear in the group of Jesus' followers, but they are overcome.

According to Wolter, the goal of *Luke-Acts is* to narrate the history of Jesus as part of the history of Israel. That this is the perspective of the author is very clear in the speeches of *Acts*, but there are also indications for this perspective in *Luke*. The author presents the events of Jesus' life as fulfilment of the scripture of Israel, because Jesus is the kingly Messiah who was waited for.[193] It is indeed remarkable that Israel is mentioned so many times in the first two chapters of *Luke*, where the frame of the Jesus story is given.[194] Time and again Jesus is interpreted as the fulfilment of Israel's hope (1,16.54.58.80; 2,25.32.34). References are made to the house of Jacob, the house and throne of David and to father Abraham (1,27.31-33.55.68.73;2,5.11). The end of the

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[186] Horn, F.W., "Die Haltung des Lukas zum Römischen Staat", in: Verheyden (1999) 218.
[187] Pesch, R., *Die Apostelgeschichte (Apg 1-12)* (Solothurn – Düsseldorf – Neukirchen-Vluyn 1995[2]) 29, 34.
[188] Conzelmann (1960) 129.
[189] Bovon (2002) 9.
[190] Alexander, L., "Mapping Early Christianity. Acts and the Shape of Early Church History", in: *Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology Vol 57.2* (2003) 167.
[191] Plutarch, *Praecepta gerendae reipublicae* 823F-825F; Sheppard, A.R.R., "'Homonoia' in the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire", in: *Ancient Society Vol 15/17* (1984) 229; Bakke, O.M., *"Concord and Peace". A Rhetorical Analysis of the First Letter of Clement with an emphasis on the Language of Unity and Sedition* (Tübingen 2001) 74.
[192] Thompson, A., *One Lord, One People: The Unity of the Church in Acts in its Literary Setting* (London – New York 2008) 72, 95.
[193] Wolter (2008) 27, *cf.* Bovon (2002) 5; Pesch (1995) 30.
[194] Israel is mentioned more often in *Luke* 1 and 2 than in the *Gospel of Mark* as a whole.

book draws on this starting point of the first chapters, when the hope of the disciples seems lost because Jesus is killed. But Jesus explains the scriptures and prophets and shows his disciples that the messiah had to suffer and die. This model of explaining the scriptures is repeated in the speeches of *Acts* but this model found its first start in *Luke.* But the idea of Jesus as fulfilment of Israel's hope has also a political side: will Jesus restore the kingdom of Israel (Acts 1,6)? Jesus fulfils the promises of Moses and the prophets, but the author is careful to evade too much associations with an earthly, political kingdom.[195] So, Jesus sends his disciples out of the land and thus breaks the national hope for a new kingdom of Israel.

3.5. Structure

The structure of *Luke* could be described as a geographical one: Galilee (4,14-9,50)– journey to Jerusalem (9,51-18,34/19,27) – Jerusalem (18,35/19,28-24,53).[196] But it is questionable whether this description sufficiently describes how *Luke* is constructed, because in the first two chapters of *Luke*, Galilee is not the focus. It is the region of Judea that repeatedly forms the background of the events in these chapters: the pericopes 1,5-25 and 1,39-4,13 take place in Judea; only the pericope of 1,26-38 takes place in Galilee (the announcement of Jesus' birth). So, given the first chapters of *Luke,* this Gospel's structure could be better described as Judea – Galilee – journey to Jerusalem – Jerusalem. Yet, even this description seems not sufficient, because in *Luke* Jesus visits Judea several times (2,41; 3,21) and not just once as is suggested by this scheme. Apparently the structure of *Luke* is not simply a tripartite division. Consequently, Wolter divides *Luke* in more than three episodes, even thirteen.[197] But it is tempting to maintain the geographical division in three parts by leaving out the introducing chapters 1,1-4,13. This structure gives the best overview of the book, but the introduction cannot be left out and therefore I will use the following structure: introduction – Galilee – journey – Jerusalem.[198]

The structure of *Acts* is hinted at in 1,8: chapter 1-7 is an overview of the history of the church in Jerusalem, 8-13 of the church in Judea (and Samaria) and 14-28 is an account of the history of the development of the church under the gentiles.[199] An alternative approach could be that the first

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[195] Davies, W.D., *The Gospel and the Land (*Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1964) 362.

[196] Lohse, E., *Die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments* (Stuttgart / Berlin / Köln 2001) 92; Conzelmann, H., Lindemann, A., *Arbeitsbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Tübingen 2004^{14}) 339; Bovon (2002) 2.

[197] Wolter (2008) 17-18.

[198] One could question whether the Galilean pericope is as long as 4,14-18,34/19,27. Below, I will advocate the position that strictly spoken the Galilean period of Jesus ends in *Luke* 4,44.

[199] A tripartite structure is often assumed, but the division of the chapters differ from author to author. For example: Haenchen has a tripartite structure but starts the mission to the gentiles in chapter 10. (1-7 Jerusalem, 8-9 Judea and Samaria, 10-28 mission to the gentiles (Haenchen, E. *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen 1977^{7}) 150). Schneider structures

half of the book is dedicated to the actions of Peter and the second half to those of Paul.[200] Yet, 1,8 where mentioning is made of Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria and the ends of the world is a clear indication that the writer of *Acts* thought of its structure as one directed by geographical considerations.

3.6. The space of *Luke*-Acts in former research

Although geographical information does not have a central place in *Luke* and geographical information from *Mark* is often omitted by the author of *Luke*,[201] geography plays a major role in *Acts.* Therefore, the function of geographical place in *Luke-Acts* has been the subject of a number of scholarly works, some older, some more recently written. Below I will give a short overview of scholarly opinions about space in *Luke* and *Acts.* I will start with K.L. Schmidt's *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu* (1919), an influential work in which Schmidt states that the journeys which Jesus makes in the Gospels are not historical but are composed by the authors of the work who placed stories together and after each other, thus suggesting an itinerary.[202] Subsequently I will discuss the work of Lohmeyer (*Galiläa und Jerusalem* (1936)) and Lightfoot (*Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels* (1938)), who both propagated that geographical elements in the Gospels had a theological meaning. Conzelmann's method (in: *Die Mitte der Zeit* (1960)) shows similarities with that of Schmidt: redaction criticism is an important characteristic of it. It has similarities with the work of Lightfoot and Lohmeyer too: Conzelmann explains geographical elements as having a theological meaning. Davies (*The Gospel and the Land* (1974)), finally, states that the author of *Luke-Acts* was not driven by geographical concerns (even though there is much geography in *Acts*) but by theological and apologetic ones. The goal of Jesus' journeys was to make it plausible that there were witnesses of Jesus deeds from diverse regions, including Galilee.[203]

It is Schmidt's assumption that the framework of *Luke* is based on the improvement of the outline of *Mark*.[204] Therefore, he devotes less attention to *Luke* than to *Mark* in his book. Two passages are discussed more elaborately: the first chapters of *Luke* and the travel narrative, both

the narrative as follows: 2,1-5,42; 6,1-15,35; 15,36-28,32 (Schneider, G., *Die Apostelgeschichte. Erster Teil* (Freiburg – Basel – Wien 2002)) 68. Pesch structures the narrative in many smaller parts, but in connection with 1,8 he suggests: 1,1-8,3; 8,4-11,18; 11,19-28,31 (Pesch (1995) 37.

[200] Conzelmann (2004) 249; Fitzmeyer, J.A., *The Acts of the Apostles. A New Translation with Introduction And Commentary (The Anchor Bible)* (New York 1998) 119, 206.

[201] Lk 5,17, *cf.* Mk 2,1; Lk 5,27, *cf.* Mk 2,13; Mk 8,13 has no parallel in *Luke*, etc..

[202] Schmidt, K.L. *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu: literarkritische Untersuchungen zur ältesten Jesusüberlieferung* (Berlin 1919) 150.

[203] Davies, W.D., *The Gospel and the Land* (Berkeley / Los Angeles 1974) 251-252; *cf.* Conzelmann (1960) 66.

[204] Schmidt (1919) 76.

(more or less) unique to *Luke.* The part about the travel narrative is the most interesting: Schmidt states that compared to *Mark,* in *Luke* the geographic goal of the journey (9,51-19,27) is placed on the foreground.[205] Topographical information is mostly traditional, but Lukan references to the journey stem from the hand of the author.[206] Because the travel narrative is a creation made by the author, Jesus does not really make progress on his journey.[207] The journey is represented by the author as an messianic action, that is understood by the people, as is clear form 19,11.[208]

Lohmeyer divides *Luke* in three parts: 3,1-9,50 takes place in Galilee, 9,51-18,14 primarily in Samaria an 18,15-24,53 in Judea and Jerusalem.[209] He emphasises that the great Galilee that can be found in *Mark* (a Galilee that even included the regions of Tyre, Sidon and the Decapolis)[210] is reduced on behalf of Samaria, which gets an equal place alongside Galilee.[211] Galilee is only the starting point of Jesus' ministry and the three regions Galilee, Samaria and Judea are given equal attention by the writer. In *Luke* Jesus is represented as the rightly king of Jerusalem and therefore the whole narrative is directed to Jerusalem. Jerusalem is the final goal and culmination of the book.[212]

The approach of Lightfoot is very comparable to that of Lohmeyer. He also states that there are three equal parts in *Luke*, each directed to one region (Galilee, Samaria, Jerusalem).[213] The description of the events that happen in Samaria show some similarity to those in Galilee: Jesus is rejected, he sends his disciples out and is critically looked at by the Pharisees.[214] Lightfoot claims that Jerusalem is much more important in *Luke* than in *Mark*: it is both the city of guilt and of Jesus' love, Jesus seems to stay in it longer than the two weeks of *Mark* and the city is Jesus' goal, because he is the son of David. Further it is presented in *Luke-Acts* as a light for the Gentiles and maybe the affliction of Jerusalem is only temporal in *Luke*, "until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled" (Lk 21,24).[215]

Conzelmann wrote an influential book about *Luke*, titled: *Die Mitte der Zeit.* The title of the work has to do with the writer's opinion that the author of *Luke* discerns the time of Jesus' life from

[205] *Ibid.*, 246.
[206] *Ibid.*, 260.
[207] *Ibid.*, 269.
[208] *Ibid.*, 263.
[209] Lohmeyer, E., *Galiläa und Jerusalem* (Göttingen 1936) 41.
[210] *Ibid.*, 27.
[211] *Ibid.*, 42-43.
[212] *Ibid.*, 46.
[213] Lightfoot, R.H., *Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels* (London 1938) 133.
[214] Lightfoot (1938) 138; *cf.* Lohmeyer (1936) 43.
[215] Lightfoot (1938) 141-143.

the time before and after: Jesus life was in the middle of the history of salvation.[216] The book is not solely focused on the historical conceptions of Luke, geographical information gets much attention as well. Conzelmann's most important views about the geography of *Luke* are the followings: first, in *Luke* Jesus' actions are limited to Judea, *Luke*'s term for the land of Israel. The Markan pericope 6,45-8,26 which plays in gentile regions is therefore omitted by the author of *Luke*.[217] Although both Galilee and Judea are mentioned as backgrounds of Jesus' ministry, according to Conzelmann the writer is not really interested in Galilee as a landscape; Judea has his main interest, and within Judea primarily the temple.[218] Mountain and sea have a symbolic function in *Luke*: the first is connected to the heaven, the second to the abyss.[219] Further, the writer has a number of typical conceptions of the landscape where Jesus works: Capernaum is not situated at the lake, but somewhere in the middle of Galilee and Galilee and Judea are one coherent complex.[220] Jesus' journey in *Luke* is a Christological necessity, according to Conzelmann, "Jesu Leidensbewusstsein wird als Reise ausgedrückt".[221] Conzelmann does not discern a stay in Samaria, as Lohmeyer and Lightfoot do. He believes that the localisation of a journey in Samaria has it source in our modern maps, not in the text of *Luke*. Jesus is rejected by the Samaritans and then does not return to Samaria, just as he did not return to Nazareth and the land of the Gadarenes.[222] Jesus' journey is, at least partly, situated in Galilee.[223]

Davies agrees with Conzelmann on a number of issues but criticises him for not taking seriously the first three chapters of *Luke*.[224] He agrees with Conzelmann that for the writer of *Luke-Acts* Jerusalem was the geographic centre of the beginning of Christianity, but adds that the writer also thought that Christianity should not be too closely bound to the temple, Jerusalem and the Land (Acts 7). Although "the way" started in Jerusalem, it went further to other places. [225] The writer of *Luke* was not driven by geographical considerations, but it was his concern that there were witnesses of Jesus' actions (cf. Lk 1,4). This is the reason why he expanded Jesus' journey: thus he created enough time to make the disciples witnesses, also necessary for the following volume, in which they would be the apostles.[226]

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[216] Conzelmann, H., *Die Mitte der Zeit* (Tübingen 1960) 30.
[217] *Ibid.*, 48.
[218] *Ibid.*, 35.
[219] *Ibid.*, 38.
[220] *Ibid.*,32, 52.
[221] *Ibid.*, 57.
[222] *Ibid.*, 58.
[223] *Ibid.*, 43.
[224] Davies, W.D., *The Gospel and the Land* (Berkeley / Los Angeles 1974) 252.
[225] Davies (1974) 255, 260.
[226] *Ibid.*, 251-252.

Jerusalem has a central place in *Luke*, but Jerusalem is not the city of the end, but of the passion.[227] According to Davies, there are two reasons why Jerusalem is so central in Lukan thought: firstly because of "the theological continuity between Gentile Christianity and Judaism and, secondly, the political necessity to emphasise this."[228]

Davies also discusses the meaning of the land in *Luke-Acts.* He argues that it becomes clear in the speeches of *Acts* that the land has no positive theological significance, although it is a theme in certain speeches, mainly Stephen's speech in Acts 7. God's plan is not bound to the territory of the land: the coming of Jesus should be proclaimed to every nation in the whole world. [229]

Concerning Rome, this city is a symbol of the Gentile world in *Acts.* When Paul has reached Rome, this is not the final goal of the good news, but a new starting point. "Acts is open-ended: it subordinates all geography, even Rome, to theology".[230]

How does this overview help my spatial analysis of *Luke-Acts*? Firstly, it shows that a consequent redaction-critic approach is necessary. The meaning of geographic elements can only be understood in comparison with the sources that are used by the author. Further, the first chapters of Luke are important for a spatial analysis of this Gospel, although they got almost no attention in the research of Lohmeyer, Lightfoot and Conzelmann concerning *Luke.* Davies, however, is right to underline the importance of these chapters for the understanding of Jerusalem in this Gospel. Most authors are aware that geographical elements can have theological meaning, but in general they have less attention for other aspects of space such as sociology or ideology and they only rarely make connections between space and spatial practices. Yet, this is one of the important levels where space is produced (according to Lefebvre) and not only in the mental or ideological sphere. Thus, a spatial analysis fuelled by the spatial theories of Lefebvre can open up new meanings of the geography of *Luke-Acts* that are overseen or undervalued in former research.

4. The spatial world of *Luke-Acts*

The analysis of the spatial world of *Luke-Acts* does not necessarily have to start with a discussion of toponyms and regions. On the contrary, it is better to start the analysis of space within *Luke-Acts* with an overview of those elements that are not represented on our contemporary maps of

[227] *Ibid.*, 257. In this regard Davies agrees with Conzelmann. The eschatological end of the world and of Jerusalem should not be expected soon, according to the author of *Luke* (Conzelmann (1960) 126; Davies (1974) 256).
[228] *Ibid.*, 286. It was necessary to underline the continuity with Judaism because of the "legal recognition of the Roman government" of the Jewish religion, which was also desired by the adherents of the Christian movement (*Ibid.*, 277).
[229] *Ibid.*, 269-272.
[230] *Ibid.*, 286.

Palestine during Jesus' times. In *Luke* it is remarkable that clear geographical indications are absent sometimes. Jesus' journey towards Jerusalem, for instance, shows no real development and clear indications for a movement from village to village cannot be found. Above it was mentioned that Halbwachs claimed that memories are always spatially located,[231] and the events and actions in the narrative of *Luke-Acts* are located, of course, but not always in such a geographically distinct way. Instead of geographical names of regions, cities and villages, the author uses other terms to locate his stories. This is a feature that is not only present in the description of Jesus' journey, but non-geographical locations occur often in *Luke-Acts*, sometimes in combination with geographical locations. In this chapter I will discuss the most important of these non-geographical locations or spatial categories that are used by the author: the way, the synagogue, the desert, the mountain, the house, the marketplace and the kingdom. I will give attention to how *Luke* differs from its sources in its use of these categories (redaction criticism) and describe how the spatial categories function on multiple levels: in spatial practices, representational space and (when this is relevant) representations of space.

4.1. The journey to Jerusalem; 'the way'

Within the structure of *Luke*, Jesus' journey to Jerusalem forms an important part of the narrative, (9,51—19,48). It is tempting to give Jesus' journey a theological meaning by connecting it to the concept of 'the way', which becomes in Acts a designation for Jesus' followers. But although Jesus' journey is an important structuring element of the book, the author does not use the word ἡ ὁδὸς for it, in contrast to his source *Mark*, where this word is used often in the narrative about Jesus' pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[232] The author of *Luke* describes Jesus' journey with a verb, instead of a noun: πορεύομαι. This verb presumes movement, even when there are no geographic indications that Jesus makes progress on his journey. Jesus' journey can at best be described with the words of 9,53: τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἦν πορευόμενον εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ. (He was journeying with his face towards Jerusalem (NAS)). Jesus' journey is not mainly the movement between two places, it is a state of mind and therefore we do not find a real itinerary from Galilee to Jerusalem in *Luke*, as in *Mark*.[233] The essence of the journey is that Jesus 'must' go to Jerusalem: that is the place where prophets die (13,33).

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[231] Halbwachs (1941) 158.

[232] For instance Mk 8,27-31, 9,30-31, 10,32-33, *cf.* 1,3-4 (Marcus, J., *The Way of the Lord. Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark* (London / New York 1992) 33, 38).

[233] Mk 9,30-11,1.

There are authors who claim that the journey in *Luke* is just a structuring feature and has no distinct theological or thematic value in the book.[234] They point to the fact that the journey is mentioned only in a few pericopes: 9,51-56, 13,22-23, 17,11 (and 19,28, although Wolter does not count this as part of the travel account). Moreover, Jesus' acts and words do not change when he starts to travel to Jerusalem compared to what he did and said before his journey. These are important arguments against the claim of Conzelmann and others who explained the journey as Jesus' "*Leidensbewusstsein*" or gave other theological explanations of the journey, such as a the way as a conceptual translation of the history of salvation, or the journey as a prequel on the story of the mission of the church.[235] Yet, the fact that the words that refer to movement are from the redactor and not taken from *Mark*, argues for an interpretation of the journey as more than a structuring element: apparently the author has made conscious references to Jesus' traveling.[236] Moreover, the style of the travel narrative is very Lukan.[237]

Lefebvre's concept of space might help clarify the meaning of Jesus' journey in *Luke*: he conceptualised space not as a thing like others but as a relation between things. And this is what the travel account is all about: it is about Jesus' relation to Jerusalem and the events that will happen there. From 9,31 the reader knows that Jesus will die ("τὴν ἔξοδον" 9,31) and with the introduction of the journey (9,51) it is made explicit that his death (and ascension) will be located in Jerusalem. In 2,41 journeying to Jerusalem is presented as an annual act of pilgrimage. Another word refers to pilgrimage too: ἀναβαίνω, a term that in the Septuagint, the Gospels and Acts is used to refer to the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[238] Maybe the concept of pilgrimage could help to understand the meaning of Jesus' journey in *Luke*. Pilgrimage is not focused on the factual journey, although it is an essential part of it, but just as important –or even more- is the spiritual meaning of pilgrimage and the spiritual development that the pilgrim makes.[239] This applies also to Jesus' last journey to Jerusalem. It is striking that the author uses solemn, biblical terms to describe Jesus' journey: 'he set his face' (9,51),[240] 'his face was journeying' (9,53).[241] The

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[234] Schmidt (1919) 269; Robinson, W.C., "The Theological Context for Interpreting Luke's Travel Narrative (9,51ff)", in: *Journal of Biblical Literature* Vol. 79, No 1 (1960) 23 (But the idea of history of salvation as a way is not restricted to the travel narrative, so does not really explain why *Luke* has a distinct travel narrative.); Miyoshi, M., *Der Anfang des Reiseberichts Lk9,51-10,24. Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Rome 1974) 154; Wolter (2008) 367-368.

[235] Conzelmann (1960) 57.

[236] Schmidt (1919) 247ff.

[237] Robinson (1960) 20.

[238] Danker, F.W. (rev. and ed.), *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature (*3rd ed.) (BDAG) (Chicago – London 2000) 58; Muraoka, T., *A Greek-English lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain – Paris – Walpole 2009) 35.

[239] Coleman, S., Elsner, J., *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World Religions* (Cambridge – Massachusetts 1995) 6.

[240] *Cf.* LXX, Jer 21:10, Ez 6,2; 13,17; 14,8; 15,7; 21,2.7; 25,2; 28,21; 29,2; 38,2. In contrast to the use of these words in *Luke,* 'to set your face' has a negative meaning in Ezekiel (Miyoshi (1974) 9).

use of these words invokes a sphere that fits a pilgrimage: solemnity and distinction from normal life. Pilgrimage can be regarded as a liminal phenomenon, something out of the normal, betwixt and between the normality, a phenomenon that opens up potentiality.[242] This accounts for Jesus' journey even more than for other pilgrimages: for him it is a passage to his suffering and death.

And besides, it was not uncommon in Hellenistic travel literature to omit most references to the actual journey in an itinerary. The *Letter to Aristeas*, for example, announces to describe the journey to Jerusalem, but then offers a description of the goal of the journey, the temple, immediately.[243] In *Luke* there is at least the suggestion of a journey because of the story time that passes while Jesus preaches and heals in several villages. The precise location of the stops during Jesus' voyage is not necessary to narrate: more important is the function of the journey as a transition between two places.[244] The journey further has a characterizing function: it characterises Jesus as a wandering preacher, as the servant of God who goes the way of God and as the son of David. As David's son, Jesus is not only strongly related to Bethlehem, but also to Jerusalem.

Jesus' journey to Jerusalem has some resemblance with the use of 'the way' in *Luke-Acts.* The way is first introduced in *Luke* 1 as the way of the Lord (1,76.79). Later, Jesus travels through the country and to Jerusalem. Here the word 'way' does not primarily have a metaphorical meaning, but the way is just a means to reach a destination and to connect different places. But a metaphorical meaning is not excluded. Take for instance 9,57, where the disciples follow Jesus on the way and where they discuss how to follow Jesus. The way has a spiritual undertone here: the disciples will do as Jesus does and go his way. Eventually the way becomes a designation for the group of Jesus' followers in *Acts*: it refers not to a geographical movement then but to a spiritual movement. Luke is not unique in his metaphorical use of 'the way' : Philo is another author that uses the metaphor of the way often and in multiple ways.[245] The use of the way as a metaphor can be found in the Septuagint too, an important source for the author (cf. Lk 1,79; 3,4). In Isaiah the return to Jerusalem is linked to a spiritual restoration and to an universalistic tendency: all nations will come to Jerusalem. In *Acts* this idea is implicitly and explicitly referred to (1,8; 13,47; cf. Is 49,6). The author is in debate here with Jewish groups, for whom the

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[241] *Cf.* LXX, 2 Sam 17,11.
[242] Turner, V., Turner, E., *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York – Chichester 1987, reprinted 2011) 2-3.
[243] Hezser, C., *Jewish Travel in Antiquity* (Tübingen 2011) 45.
[244] Robinson (1960) 29.
[245] Hezser (2011) 205.

destruction of the temple did not mean the destruction of their religious identity (and for whom Jerusalem remained a central and holy place).[246] For the author of *Luke-Acts* Jerusalem is a central place, but with reference to Isaiah he argues that the God of Jerusalem's temple is a God not only of Jews, but a God of gentiles too. So, unquestioned social memories of prophecies about the pilgrimage of the gentiles to Zion are used by the author in a contemporary debate about the meaning of the temple, and everything that was symbolised by the temple. He uses these memories to argue for a more open standard, in which the gentiles could participate in the cult of Israel's God.[247] The notion of Erll's 'travelling memory' is helpful here: the author draws on different frameworks of memory.[248] Both Jewish traditions and traditions of Jesus and his followers are available to him and he combined both in order to develop his theology of the way. To that extent, the author is a typical representative of the church that could be labelled 'the way': a church that is not rigidly defined, but that is a movement that develops and is under influence of different cultures and ideas.[249]

4.2. The mountain

According to Conzelmann the mountain has a symbolic meaning in *Luke*, even more than in *Mark.* The mountain is not located precisely, but is used as a symbolic place of prayer and revelation or epiphany.[250] Is Conzelmann right in his statement? I doubt this, firstly because it is difficult to place 8,32 into Conzelmann's frame: in this verse the unclean swine are fed on a mountain. Yet, this use of the mountain is not unlike the use in *Mark*: as a place between the divine and the human realm, the mountain can also be the place of the demons in this Gospel. We find a similar use in *Luke* 4,5, where the devil brings Jesus to a high place. And although the author does not designate the place as a mountain explicitly, the idea is the same: this is a place between God and men.[251] The mountain is a place 'in between', it is not a place that is holy. *Luke* has derived this use of the mountain from *Mark,* where the mountain is a place between heaven

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[246] Coleman (1995) 48. The Bar Kochba Revolt is a proof of the lasting meaning of Jerusalem in Judaism after 70 A.D. Sometimes Jerusalem was thought of eschatological after the destruction: the heavenly Jerusalem. (Stone, M.E., "Reactions to Destructions of the Second Temple", in: *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period Vol XII, No 2* (1981) 199, 204; Barclay, J.M.G., *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora. From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE-117 CE)* (Edinburgh 1998[2]) 420; Gruen, E.S., "Judaism in the Diaspora", in: Collins, J.J., Harlow, D.C., *Early Judaism. A Comprehensive Overview* (Grand Rapids 2012) 113-114).
[247] Schmidt, K.M., "Rom – das neue Jerusalem?", in: Theissen, G., Steymans, H.U., Ostermann, S., Schmidt, K.M., Moresino-Zipper, A. (eds.), *Jerusalem und die Länder. Ikonographie – Topographie – Theologie. Festschrift für Max Küchler zum 65. Geburtstag* (Göttingen 2009) 225.
[248] Erll (2011) 7, 10.
[249] Alexander (2003) 172.
[250] Conzelmann (1960) 23, 38.
[251] *Cf.* Conzelmann (1960) 23. "Stätte (…) der Kommunikation mit der oberen Welt".

and earth, closer to God than other earthly places, which is a typical Jewish thought.[252] This is also how the mountain is used in *Acts*: there it is a place that mediates between God and human: Jesus descends to heaven from a mountain and the mountain is remembered as the place where God spoke to Moses (1,12;7,30.38).

But the author uses the mountain not always with this special connotation of a place 'in between' and thus the meaning of the mountain that was prominent in *Mark* is attenuated in *Luke* (3,5; 4,29; 21,21; 23,30). So, Conzelmann is right that the mountain has a symbolic meaning, the mount of olives is a good example,[253] but not that this symbolic value is stronger than in *Mark.* This seems to fit in a more general tendency in *Luke*: spaces have a less symbolic value then in *Mark* and their meaning is given mainly by the spatial practices that are located there. Thus, space is approached more as *perceived space* (spatial practices) than as *lived space* (symbolic value of space).[254] A tendency that we find already in *Mark*, namely that space is seldom described when it is not directly necessary for the narrative is thus accentuated by the author of *Luke.*[255]

4.3. The lake and the sea

Whereas Lake Kinneret is designated as 'the sea' in *Mark*, *Luke* uses its proper name and uses the word Lake. Although the term sea was a popular and typically Semitic designation for the lake, the sea also had a strong traditional meaning as the place of the chaotic, destructive powers.[256] Therefore, Conzelmann's statement that the motive of the lake was a Lukan invention must be rejected.[257] Instead of an increase of the symbolical meaning of the lake, we find a decrease of symbolical value of the lake in *Luke.* The lake is omitted in *Luke's* narrative repeatedly and is mentioned only in two stories (5,1-11; 8,22-33).[258] It is for example never mentioned that

[252] Talmon, S., "הר", in: Botterweck, G.J., Ringgren, H. (eds.), *ThWAT Vol. II* (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz 1977) 470.
[253] Conzelmann (1960) 69.
[254] Literary texts can be considered representations of space or representational spaces, but they also comprise the other level of space, that of spatial practices, because spatial practices almost always are part of the narrative.
[255] Powell (1990) 72.
[256] Pervo, R.I., *Acts. A commentary* (Minneapolis 2009) 649.
[257] Conzelmann (1960) 38.43: "Hat das Bergmotiv bei Mc ein Vorbild, so ist das vom See eigene Schöpfung des Lukas (…)"Conzelmann's redaction criticism fails here, apparently because of a better knowledge of the text of *Luke* than that of *Mark.* His most important argument is 8,31 "Die Charakteristik des Sees ist gegenüber Mc verschärft durch die Andeutung V.31. Offenbar geraten ja die Dämonen dahin, wohin sie nicht wollen, in den „Abgrund"." The problem here is that Conzelmann argues on the level of the verses or pericopes and overlooks the broader role of the lake in the plot of *Mark.*
[258] Mk 6,45-8,27, in which the lake plays an important role, is absent in *Luke.* Sometimes just the reference to the sea is omitted, for example in 6,17 (Mk 3,7) and 8,4-18 (Mk 4,1).

Capernaum is located at the lake.[259] The meaning of the lake as a place where the disciples learn who Jesus is, where he shows his power, and as the place of the abyss, stems from *Luke*'s source *Mark.* The lake does not appear in the passages that are unique for *Luke*. It must be concluded that the lake has no central place in the mental world of the author of *Luke* and has no independent symbolic value in the Gospel. Thus, in *Luke* we can easily recognise that literature does not just preserve memories but also restructures memories and gives them new interpretations.

For the author of *Luke-Acts* the sea is first of all the Mediterranean sea. The sea is referred to rarely in *Luke* (17,2.6; 21,25) and more often in *Acts* as the place that is created by God and as the background of Paul's sea travels: the sea appears to be a dangerous place, given Paul's shipwreck. That the sea was dangerous, was a common topic both in Jewish and Hellenistic literature (*cf.* Jesus on the lake, Lk 8, 22-25).[260] But just as God saved the Israelites from the Red Sea (*Acts* 7,36), so Paul knows how to act to save the crew and the passengers of the ship with the help of God (*Acts* 27,21-44).

4.4. The reversal of traditional places: the house, the market place, the synagogue

In *Luke* Jesus does not act as was expected from a *rabbi.* He does not join the circle of other religious Jewish leaders. He is and remains an outsider. And as an outsider he reverses the traditional values of the established leaders. The traditional values of the leaders are linked to traditional places such as the house, the market place and the synagogue. These places are strongly tied to social practices, they are produced by social practices and help to maintain these social practices and the social status quo.[261] But Jesus is not inclined to maintain the status quo, nor does he want to leave the standard social practices unquestioned. He reverses the value system of the religious leaders and he uses space to define himself and his followers as different from other Jewish groups. The religious leaders regarded the synagogue, the house (at least the public meal in the house) and the market place as places where their status was confirmed. These were places where they received honour.

Honour was one of the most important values in Greco-Roman and Jewish societies of the first century. Children were reared with the idea that the goal of their life was to receive honour and to avoid shame. Through honour all values, behaviours and attitudes that were essential for life

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[259] Conzelmann (1960) 32.
[260] Pervo (2009) 645, 649.
[261] *Cf.* Lefebvre (1991) 129.

in society were preserved. Shame was the reward of those who disturbed the social order. Shame and honour were distributed by the group: honour was never an individual matter, it was distributed publicly. What exactly was regarded as honourable behaviour, differed from group to group and from region to region.[262] Palestinian Jews had their own honour system in which it was defined which practices counted as honourable and which as shameful. This Jewish system deviated from the dominant Greco-Roman system in important ways.[263] But Jesus questions these honour based spatial practices (11,43; 14,7-13; 20,46) and introduces other practices than the usual ones: he heals in synagogues (13,10), he bereaves honoured men of their honour in synagogue by resisting them publicly, he makes the synagogue a place of conflict (4,16-27; 13,10-17; 6,6-11) and he predicts that synagogues will become places of persecution (12,11). He does not use the meal in the house as a place to receive honour, but he eats with sinners and tax-collectors, although he is blamed for it (5,29-30); he praises (i.e. gives honour to) a sinful woman that disturbs the meal, and allows her to honour him, but blames the rich host (a man!) (7,44-46);[264] he claims that the house, as the traditional place of the family, must be forsaken for the kingdom of God (9,61; 18,29); Jesus brings conflict in the house and the family (12,52-53). Thus, Jesus introduces a new system of honour, a reversed system in which the last becomes the first and the first the last, the honoured the disgraced and the disgraced the honoured (14,11; 18,14). In this new system honour can be received through suffering (24,26). So, Jesus does not step out of the culturally based debate about honour: honour can still be desired, but this honour does not mainly stem from humans. Honour will be received from God.[265] The traditional places of honour lose their function, but Jesus proclaims a new place, that is connected with new spatial practices: the kingdom of God.[266]

The reversal of traditional places is also recognizable in *Acts,* although less prominently than in *Luke*. Examples of traditional places that loose value in *Acts* are the synagogue, the temple and

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[262] Pitt-Rivers, J., "Honour and Social Status", in: Peristiany, P.G. (ed.), *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society* (London 1965) 39.

[263] deSilva, D.A., "Honour and Shame", in: Craig A. Evans, Stanley E. Porter (eds.), *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (Downers Grove 2000) 519-520; Malina, B.J., Neyrey, J.H., "Honor and Shame in Luke-Acts: Pivotal Values of the Mediterranean World", in: Neyrey, J.H. (ed.), *The Social World of Luke-Acts. Models for interpretation* (Peabody 1991) 27; Crook, Z., "Honour, Shame and Social Status Revisited", in: *Journal of Biblical Literature 128, no. 3* (2009) 610.

[264] The attention that is given to women in *Luke-Acts* is remarkable. This aspect of the book might reflect the role that women had in the social group of the author (Fitzmeyer (1981) 696).

[265] Crook (2009) 598.

[266] The theme of the reversal of traditional places is not unique for *Luke*, but it is striking that quite a few Lukan texts do not appear in the other synoptic gospels or do have traits that are unique for *Luke.* An overview: 13,10 unique for *Luke*, 4,16-27 also in parallel texts, 13,10-17 unique for *Luke*, 6,6-11p, 12,11 in parallel texts, but the synagogue is added by *Luke* as context; 5,29-30 also in parallel texts, 7,44-46 praise and blame are unique for *Luke*, the further story can be found in parallel texts too; 9,62 unique, 18,29 unique, 18,52 unique, 18,53 in parallel texts; 18,14/ 14,11 in parallel texts, 24,26 unique.

the house. Both synagogue and temple are connected to persecution and conflict. Paul is willing to persecute Jesus' followers in the synagogues, even those of Damascus (9,2; 22,19; 26,11). Time and again Paul starts his preaching in a city in the local synagogue but is rejected at least by some of the Jews who gather there (9,20; 13,5; 13,14; 14,1-2; 17,1-5, etc.). Peter, Stephen and Paul are arrested in the temple.

The house has a more positive function in *Acts* than in *Luke.* It functions as a typical inside place, connected with safety. Only sometimes its safety is contested, for example by Paul who drags men and women out of their houses (8,3). The house becomes the place where the disciples and the wider circle of followers of 'the way' convene (2,46). That houses are proper status symbols is denied by spatial practices: those who possess houses sell them (4,34). The distinction between pure (Jewish) and impure (gentile) houses, an important distinction in the symbolic universe of first century Jews vanishes (10,22; 11,12). The house functions in *Acts* not mainly as the location of the traditional family, but it becomes the place of the new family of God, where the group of Jesus' followers gather (2,46; 5,42; 12,12).

Yet, social practices and ideas are not easily changed and the house functions in *Acts* also as a traditional inside place of safety (12,12) and prayer (10,30; 12,12). In *Acts* οἶκος is further on numerous locations a traditional designation for the family (e.g. 16,31.34) or a group of persons (the house of Israel, 7,42).

4.5. Kingdom of God

The new place to receive honour is the kingdom of God. The kingdom of God is in itself a reversal: God, associated with heaven, brings down a kingdom on earth, in the human realm. The kingdom of God is in *Luke* not a thing that is far remote in time or place, but it is near (9,27; 10,11).[267] Jesus even says that it is already present in the midst of people (or in their hearts "ἐντὸς ὑμῶν" (Lk 17:21)).[268] *Luke* shares the idea of the kingdom as reversal with *Matthew* (e.g. 6,20p; 7,28p, 11,43p), but the pericope about the best places at meal (14,7-14) is unique for *Luke*.[269] Thus, *Luke* pronounces the new honour system in the kingdom of God more prominently than *Matthew* by adding these verses.

[267] In *Mark* the kingdom has more futuristic aspects than in *Luke (*Fitzmeyer (1981) 789-790).

[268] Green (1997) 630; Wolter (2008) 576-577; Bovon (2013) 516; *pace* Holmén, T., "The alternatives of the Kingdom. Encountering the semantic restrictions of Luke 17,20-21 (ἐντὸς ὑμῶν)", in: *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft Vol. 87.3-4* (1996) 204-229. Grammatical both translations are valid, but the first fits better in *Luke*, where the gospel is not a matter of the inner life, or the heart, but is visible in acts between people. Conzelmann's main interest is in the time aspect of the kingdom, so he does not really choose between 'inter' or 'intra' (Conzelmann (1960) 115).

[269] 7,15 mentions the kingdom of God and thus offers an interpretive frame for the preceding verses.

The kingdom of God cannot be located geographically. The disciples connect the kingdom of God with Jerusalem and Jesus' entrance in the city, but Jesus refutes this link. Sometimes the kingdom of God is represented with spatial imagery: it has a narrow entrance that can be closed (13,24-28, cf. 18,25) and in it is a table were people recline (13,29). But the kingdom of God is not what people expect: it will not be established in a geographical place, but it is located in the midst of the people (17,20-21). The kingdom of God can only be entered by enduring hardships or tribulations, hence the narrow gate (*Acts* 14,22). The last two texts are unique for *Luke-Acts*, the idea of the narrow entrance and the table can be found in other sources too.

In the kingdom of God the permanent strife for honour between humans comes to an end: honour is given by God and by Jesus.[270] This does not mean that humans should compete to receive as much divine honour as possible. God distributes honour by grace.[271] In the Greco-Roman world it was common for patrons to be benefactors and act gracefully to their clients. These graces or gifts that they bestowed on their clients bound the clients tightly to the patron, for being in debt towards the patron and being unable to repay the grace.[272] Although the word χάρις does not have a central place in *Luke-Acts,* we find the idea of grace repeatedly. Acts of grace done by Jesus are healing, exorcising, feeding the crowds and teaching. An important gift is the forgiveness of sins: forgiveness is given by God and also by Jesus, due to his close relationship with God (5,20; 7,47; 11,4). Jesus is portrayed in *Luke-Acts* as an εὐεργέτης and a σωτήρ, terms are absent in the other synoptic gospels (2,11; *Acts* 5,31; 13,23; 10,38; cf. Lk 22,25). These words were used in antiquity to refer to benefactors and patrons. Whereas grace was restricted to Israel in the Septuagint, in *Luke-Acts* the field of grace is broadened: gentiles can receive the gift of God's grace too (*Acts* 11,15-18). But God's grace transcends that of common patrons, because he is graceful not only to the good and virtuous but also to the wicked (6,35).[273] The acts of Jesus can also be described as liberation (4,16ff, derived from Lukan *Sondergut*). In the text of Isaiah this is a very literally liberation of prisoners out of a secluded place (apparently prisoned because of debt). In *Luke* Jesus liberates people from their low status (poor, blind, lame, etc.) which made that they were excluded in society.[274]

The kingdom of God is characterised not only by a new system of honour but also by new spatial practices, which Jesus introduces. By these spatial practices the space of the kingdom of

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[270] Crook (2009) 598.

[271] Moxnes, H. "Honor and Shame", in: Rohrbaugh, L. (ed.), *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation* (Peabody 1996) 29-30.

[272] deSilva, D.A., *Honour, Patronage, Kinship & Purity: Unlocking New Testament Culture* (Downers Grove 2000) 118.

[273] deSilva (2000) 128, 130.

[274] Moxnes (2001) 193-194.

God is produced –in terms of Lefebvre- or –in terms of the Gospel - brought near. The kingdom of God is spread in the first place by preaching (e.g. 4,43; 16,16 and *Acts* 8,12; 28,31). That the kingdom of God should be preached in the first place is distinctive for *Luke-Acts*.[275] Important practices within the kingdom of God are the healing of the sick (10,9, cf. 4,18; 7,22), the forsaking of the house and the family (9,57-62; 18,29), the casting out of demons (11,20), common meals for people from all nations and especially for outsiders and people from the lower social classes (13,29; 14,21).[276] Children have a central place in the kingdom (18,16-17 *cf.* parallel texts), but wealth hinders people to enter the kingdom (18,24-25). The combination of these new spatial practices produces a new space, the space of the kingdom of God.[277] The new practices bring this kingdom near, but the coming of the kingdom is never totally realised in *Luke-Acts.*[278] It is one of the characteristics of the kingdom that it cannot be defined conclusively.[279] The kingdom of God as a representational space is not a stable entity and thus challenges other representations of space.[280]

According to Oakman, the author of *Luke* tries to show that Jesus wanted to reconstruct the world into the kingdom of God by the use of the principles of benefaction and generalised reciprocity.[281] But the kingdom of God in *Luke* has greater implications than this. Although a political reversal of the system is not aimed at - the author is careful to avoid the impression of

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[275] The kingdom of God in *Luke-Acts* shares many characteristics with this concept in the other synoptic Gospels. But some traits are stressed, such as the preaching of the kingdom and the importance of the meal in the kingdom of God. The following verses about the kingdom of God are unique for *Luke* 8,1; 9,60.62; 10,11; 12,32; 13,28; 14,15; 17,20-21; 19,11; 22,16.18 (Moxnes (2001) 181).

[276] Moxnes stresses the function of the table as "mechanism to establish and sustain a social group" in the context of the kingdom of God (Moxnes (2001) 206). These texts are not unique for *Luke*, but it is striking that the list of social outsiders is much longer in *Luke* 14,21 than in *Matthew* 22,10. The meal is a common topic in the synoptic Gospels, but *Luke-Acts'* interest in the table is remarkable and might reveal something of the social importance of the meal in its social context (Smit, P.B., *Fellowship and Food in the Kingdom. Eschatological Meals and Scenes of Utopian Abundance in the New Testament* (Tübingen 2008) 117, 196).

[277] Lefebvre (1991) 78; Moxnes, H., "Kingdom takes Place. Transformations of Place and Power in the Kingdom of God in the Gospel of Luke", in: Pilch, J.J. (ed.), *Social Scientific Models for Interpreting the Bible. Essays by the Context Group in Honor of Bruce J. Malina* (Leiden – Boston – Köln 2001) 179-180.

[278] Haacker, K.B., "Der Geist und das Reich im Lukanischen Werk: Konkurrenz oder Konvergenz zwischen Pneumatologie und Eschatologie?", in: *New Testament Studies* Vol. *59* (2013) 345. Since a long time there has been discussion about the eschatology and the time of the kingdom in *Luke-Acts.* Conzelmann, for instance, argues that the kingdom is more futuristic in *Luke-Acts* than in its sources. The kingdom must be preached and sayings about the coming of the kingdom are often omitted (Conzelmann (1960) 104-109). Prieur claims that the question when the kingdom comes is characteristic for *Luke-Acts* (Prieur, A., *Die Verkündigung der Gottesherrschaft: exegetische Studien zum lukanischen Verständnis von* Βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ. (Tübingen 1996) 5). In the present context I am more interested in the place than in the time of the kingdom.

[279] In *Acts* the kingdom has other characteristics than in *Luke*: it is more related to heaven than to earth (Sleeman M., *Geography and the Ascension Narrative in Acts* (Cambridge 2009) 55).

[280] Moxnes, H., "A Man's Place in Matthew 19:3-15: Creation and Kingdom as Transformative Space of Identity", in: Balch, D.L., Lamoreaux, J.T. (eds.), *Finding a Woman's Place. Essays in Honor of Carolyn Osiek* (Eugene 2011) 120. In this respect, the kingdom functions in *Luke* as it does in *Matthew.*

[281] Oakman, D.E., "The countryside in *Luke*-Acts", in: Neyrey, J.H., *The Social World of Luke-Acts* (Peabody 1991) 177.

Jesus as a rebel or political activist - the Lukan Jesus aims at system reversal.[282] The important role of children is just one example of this. Many of the practices that characterise the kingdom of God do not only invert the system of honour that was held by the Jews of Jesus' days, they also violate the rules of purity and impurity that structured Jewish society.[283] Just like the system of honour, the system of purity orders society and should keep everything in its right place. Things that were out of place were regarded impure.[284] In *Luke* the rules of purity are seldom explicitly discussed. *Luke* 11,39 is an exception, where Jesus criticises the Pharisees for cleaning the outside of cup and platter. But real purity has to do with the inside, with the heart (cf. *Acts* 15,9). Purity is a subject that is explicitly discussed in *Acts*. Peter is told in a heavenly vision that he should regard nothing as impure that God has called pure (*Acts* 10,14-15). The Jewish rules of purity made distinction between people: some were regarded impure. This applied to the gentiles, but also to people that suffered from leprosy or were possessed (*Luke* 5,12; 4,33.36; 6,18). In *Acts* the Jewish distinction between pure and impure is abolished to a great extent. But impurity is still an issue, although it should no longer divide believers from Jewish and gentile origin: the eating of blood, strangled animals and food that is polluted by idols is still forbidden (*Acts* 15,20). Jesus already prepared this step towards a change in the purity system in *Luke*: he praises gentiles, who showed more belief than the people of Israel (4,16-30), he shares the meal with sinners (15,1-2), he does not abstain from all work on Sabbath (6,1-5), he touches unclean persons or death bodies and he stresses that purity has to do with the heart and he orders the disciples to eat on their mission whatever they receive (10,8).[285] Jesus does not abolish the whole system of purity: he only changes it, although he does this radically by stressing the heart (cf. 11,34) as the centre of purity instead of regarding all sort of social practices as the essence of purity.

In *Luke 22,30* the kingdom of God is described with more traditional terms: the disciples will sit on thrones in the kingdom and will judge the twelve tribes of Israel. So, besides a tendency to reversal, the kingdom also has a side that underlines restoration. In the contemporaneous political situation there were no Jewish kings that could judge the people on their thrones, but this idea fits the traditional image of the king as it was known from the Septuagint. Solomon, for example, judged from his throne. It is an interesting question whether this restoration motive

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[282] Political implications of the kingdom of God are not absent in *Luke-Acts* (Moxnes (2001) 188-189.

[283] Neyrey, J.H., "The Symbolic Universe", in: Neyrey (1991) 293.

[284] Douglas, M., *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London 2000) (first published 1966) 36.

[285] Neyrey (1991) 281-282, 287.

implies that the kingdom of God has a political side in *Luke-Acts* and is a mode of covert resistance to the Roman imperialism. The occurrence of Israel and the hope of redemption of Jerusalem does indeed imply that the kingdom of God is connected to political resistance, but this is not the aspect of the kingdom that is underlined in the Gospel and violent resistance is never advocated.[286] The political implications of the kingdom can be found mainly in the first chapters of *Luke:* Mary, Zechariah, Simeon and Anna are speaking about their hope for the defeat of their enemies (1,71), the bringing down of the powerful (1,52) and the redemption of Jerusalem (2,38).[287] The political side of the kingdom also colours the message of the angel in 2,11: instead of Augustus, mentioned in 2,1, it is Jesus who is the saviour of the world. He is born in the city of David and thus connected to the kings of the old Israel.

In *Acts* the kingdom of God is mainly mentioned as the subject of teaching and preaching (1,3; 8,12; 14,22; 19,8; 20,25; 28,23.31). The kingdom is not directly connected with a reversal of values, although the kingdom of God is preached to Samaritans and gentiles. Once it is stated that one must enter the kingdom through persecution (14,22). The debates in *Acts* about what and who count as pure or impure show no connection with the concept of the kingdom of God. So, we see that the values of the kingdom of God, as it was introduced by Jesus in *Luke*, are supported by the apostles and the followers of 'the way' without an explicit link to the kingdom itself.

4.6. Jesus and gentiles

The two volume book of *Luke-Acts* starts in Judea and ends in Rome. The first volume primarily plays in 'the land of Israel', but halfway *Acts* the focus is shifted to other regions in the Roman Empire. This shift from Judea and Galilee to the non-Jewish regions is, however, prepared in *Luke.* Although Jesus ministry is mainly directed to the Jews, early in the narrative the reader gets signals that his ministry is not limited to the Jews. It is interesting that the author uses another method to show this than his source *Mark.*[288] In *Mark* Jesus went to the gentiles himself.[289] So, the story space was an indication for the coming mission to the gentiles. The story space is not used in this way in *Luke*: here it is character speech that offers a prelude to the gentile mission. The first important indication for a shift to the gentiles can be found in Jesus'

[286] *Cf.* Moxnes (2001) 183, 189; Yamazaki-Ransom, K., *The Roman Empire in Luke's Narrative* (London – New York 2010) 201.
[287] Walaskay, P.W., *'And so we came to Rome' The Political Perspective of St Luke* (Cambridge 1983) 22.
[288] Wilson, S.G., *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts* (Cambridge 1973) 30.
[289] Conzelmann (1960) 25, 48.

sermon in the synagogue of Nazareth (4,16-30).[290] There Jesus refers to both Elijah and Elisha: the first was sent to a widow in Zarephath, near Sidon, the latter healed Naaman the Syrian. The reaction of the public to these words is foretelling: they become angry and try to kill Jesus. This story shows what will happen with Jesus on the one hand, and how the Jews will react to the apostles on the other: Jesus will be killed in Jerusalem, the apostles and their message will be denied by the Jews again and again and they will turn to the gentiles. According to the writer of *Luke-Acts* the gospel is not given for Jews only, although it is directed first of all to the Jews.[291] Jesus starts his ministry in the land of Israel and the apostles first go to the Jews where ever they come and go the gentiles only thereafter. It is important to stress that the writer found it necessary to give an apology for the move from the Jews to the gentiles by giving examples from the Septuagint. It is further relevant to underline that these examples are unique for *Luke*: they do not appear in the parallel stories in *Mark* or *Matthew* (Mk 6,1-6a, Mt 13,53-58). Because they are written by the redactor, it is appropriate to regard these examples as indications for the plot of the work, made consciously by the author.

The story of the healing of the slave of the centurion in Capernaum (7,1-10) is another indication for how the story will develop. The centurion is portrayed as someone who loves "our nation" and thus as a gentile (a "God-fearer").[292] Jesus praises him with the remark that even in Israel he did not find that much faith. So, a local gentile surpasses the entire Jewish population of the land. This story also occurs in *Matthew*, where the centurion is praised with comparable words. The ending of the story reminds of the healing of the daughter of the Syrophoenician woman in *Mark.* There the narrative plays in the regions of Tyre, but the Jesus of *Luke* is less prone to leave the land of Israel: he does not move around the Decapolis[293] or the regions of Tyre and Sidon, as he does in *Mark*. In *Luke* the mission to the gentiles is already made possible by Jesus' words, but starts after his death, the vision of Peter being an important turning point.[294] Because *Mark* does not have a second volume, like *Luke,* the writer's positive stance to the gentile mission had to be clearly shown in the deeds and voyages of Jesus, the author of *Luke* could afford to postpone this to his description of the history of the church after Jesus' death.

Luke 7,9 is not the only place where Israel is compared to the gentiles with a negative result for the first: in 10,12-15 and 11,29-32 it is predicted that the coming judgment will be harder for

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[290] Wilson (1973) 41; Green (1997) 218.

[291] Rusam, D., *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas* (Berlin – New York 2013) 212-214.

[292] Bovon (2002) 260.

[293] There is one occasion when Jesus enters gentile country: Jesus' quick visit of the region of Gerasa (8,26-39).

[294] *Cf. Ibid.*, 263.

some Jewish groups than for some gentile groups. In 10,12 it is said that the people of Sodom will be better off in the day of the kingdom of God than those of a city that refuses to welcome those sent by Jesus.[295] Further, the fate of Tyre and Sidon will be better in the judgment than that of Chorazin and Bethsaida. In 11,29-32 the queen of the south and the inhabitants of Nineveh are compared to the people of this generation. So, in three of these four cases examples are used from the Septuagint to make the point clear that gentiles will surpass Jews in the nearing kingdom. The example of Tyre and Sidon is chosen because these were well-known and powerful nearby situated gentile cities and because there was a congregation of Jesus followers in Tyre (Acts 21,3-6). Besides: many Jews lived in the villages around Tyre and Sidon. Although *Mark* presents these regions as a solely gentile area, the region actually had Jewish inhabitants as well, as is stated in Josephus' work (*Bell. Iud. 2,588)*.[296]

In *Luke* 8, Jesus performs an exorcism in the land of the Gerasenes, part of the Dekapolis.[297] There is a striking difference with the story as we find it in *Mark*: there the healed man spreads the Gospel in the Decapolis, in *Luke* the man tells in his own city what Jesus has done to him. An active mission to the gentiles starts in *Acts,* in *Luke* it is still too early for this. The exorcism in the region of the Gerasenes is the only place in the Gospel where Jesus goes to a gentile region. In the story there are several markers to make this clear: firstly, a geographical marker is used: this area is 'opposite Galilee' (ἀντιπέρα τῆς Γαλιλαίας (8,26)), secondly this region is characterised by impure elements and thus categorised as an 'outside' area.[298] The Lake functions as a border between Jewish and gentile country and after having crossed the lake, Jesus now enters non-Jewish country, where swine are herded (8,32). This story can be read as an anticipation on the gentile mission, which really start in *Acts.* Although the anticipation is less clear than in *Mark* (where more stories anticipate the gentile mission), Jesus' presence and healing in the land of the Gerasenes is a clear indication that the scope of the gospel is not restricted to Jews. Verse 39 mentions the mission and the proclamation of the Gospel in Gerasa and thus is a real foretaste of what will happen in *Acts*. The rejection of Jesus by the inhabitants of the country (8,37), who fear

[295] There is one more reference to Sodom in *Luke*, namely in 17,29: the last days will be like the day when Lot left Sodom.

[296] Theissen (1989) 69.

[297] Wolter (2008) 316.

[298] I do not think that the possessed man and the tombs where he lives are an indication for the impurity of the gentile region (*pace* Bovon (2002) 323; Green (1997) 335). Demons can also be found in Jewish country (Lk 4,33; 6,18). Only the pigs are a real reference to the fact that this is non-Jewish territory. The words 'Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου (Lk 8:28)" are not a pagan manner to refer to God, but is a Septuagintism (Wolter (2008) 318).

the consequences of Jesus' acts, is a sign for how the history of the mission to the gentiles will develop in *Acts* too: the gospel will be both spread and rejected.[299]

Furthermore, it is significant that Jesus does not make other travels through the Decapolis or the regions of Tyre and Sidon in *Luke*,[300] but does not avoid travelling through Samaria. When he travels through Samaria, he is on his way to Jerusalem. The route from Galilee to Jerusalem through Samaria was the shortest, although there were other routes too, which avoided the land of the Samaritans.[301] But Jesus' journey through Samaria, in combination with his words about the gentiles, show that the space of the kingdom is not restricted to Jews. That the space of the kingdom is widened is made more manifest with fitting spatial practices in *Acts.* There the apostles go to the gentiles and preach in their midst.

4.7. Focus: countryside, city or temple?

In many pieces of Greco-Roman literature there is a place that has a focal function in the account. In Roman literature this role is often taken by Rome, the capital of the Roman Empire. In Jewish literature we can also find a recurring focal point. This, of course, is Jerusalem, the holy city. It is an intriguing question whether *Luke-Acts* has a focal point and what this point is. Or does each of the two volumes has its own focus? Furthermore, is it a city that has a focal role, or a region? I will first look at *Luke* and subsequently at *Acts.*

4.7.1. Cities

It is widely recognised that *Luke* shows a preference for urban milieus and areas, or to refer to the same with a narratological term, that he focalises on urban areas.[302] Whereas the word κώμη is used twelve time in this Gospel, the word πόλις is used 39 times. Even more important is the fact that the narrative seldom plays at the background of a village. In his description of Jesus' days in Galilee the author never mentions a village by name and never uses a village as the background of a story. This is crucial for the representation of Galilee: the effect of this selection

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[299] Green (1997) 336.

[300] In contrast to *Mark 6,45-8,26*, the 'Big Omission'. (Fitzmeyer, J.A., *The Gospel according to Luke 1-1X. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York 1981) 166).

[301] Josephus, *Vita 269;* Josephus, *Bellum II, 232;* Josephus, *Ant XX, 118;* Safrai, S., "The Temple", in: Safrai, S., Stern, M. (eds.), *The Jewish People in the First Century. Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions. Vol. 2.* (Assen 1976) 900.

[302] Oakman (1991) 177; Robbins, V.K., "The social location of the implied author of Luke-Acts", in: Neyrey (1991) 332; Bruehler, B.B., "A Theoretical Framework for the Social-Spatial Analysis of Luke", in: Robbins, V.K., Von Thaden R. H. jr., Bruehler, B.B. (eds.), *Foundations for Sociorhetorical Exploration. A Rhetoric of Religious Antiquity Reader* (Atlanta 2016) 261; Caroll, J.T., *Luke: A Commentary* (Louisville 2012) 38; Green (1997) 199.

is that Galilee does not have the rural character that we would expect on behalf of the archaeological and literary sources. In order to sketch such an urban Galilee, the author labels even Jesus' birthplace Nazareth as a city. Nazareth, however, was a village with approximate 480 inhabitants or even less.[303] Capernaum is also referred to as city, a more or less accurate name for a settlement that was not a big city as Tiberias or Sepphoris, but could very well be described as a town.[304] The other Galilean settlement that is mentioned by the writer of *Luke* is Nain, a village that is also labelled as a city.[305] Luke's preference for cities is so strong that even the multiplying of the leaves is placed in a city, Bethsaida, although this makes a very improbable background for a multitude that is hungry and not able to buy bread (9,10ff). The prominence of the city in *Luke* is probably due to the urban background of the writer of the work, but the urban context of his audience should be taken into account too.[306] But does this sociological preference also mean that the author has a theological preference for the city? And how do the protagonists of the story relate to cities? And are all cities preferred above villages and the countryside? In narratological space there is the important distinction between inside and outside: should the city in *Luke-Acts* be equated with inside and with notions of safety? Or is inside in *Luke-Acts* connected to rules and being restricted versus the outside region that is connected with notions of freedom? These are a lot of questions that I shall try to answer below. Firstly, it is important to distinguish between typical Lukan or redactional elements and story elements that stem from *Luke*'s sources. In *Luke's* sources – as far as we know them, Mark and Q – rural regions have an important role. The Markan Jesus avoids the cities (Mk 1,45) and in Q we do not find a preference for cities as in *Luke.* It must be assumed that the historical Jesus spends a great part of his life in the villages and countryside of rural Galilee[307] and many stories that were told about him in the oral traditions must have had these regions as background. So, given the rural tendency of *Luke's* sources, the Lukan preference for cities is even more remarkable. Although the city most times counts as an inside place, in *Luke* it cannot be equalised with a place of safety or purity. The cities of *Luke* are inhabited by sinners (7,37), by possessed (8,27), by the crippled, blind and lame (14,21), by unjust judges (18,2). Even Jerusalem is not regarded a

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[303] Chancey, M.A., *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee. The Population of Galilee and New Testament Studies (*Cambridge 2002) 83-85; Reed, J., *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus. A Re-Examination of the Evidence.* (Harrisburg 2000) 83; Strange, J.F., "Nazareth", in: Freedman, D. N. (ed.), *Anchor Bible Dictionary. Vol. 4* (New York 1992) 1050.
[304] Zangenberg (2013) 145.
[305] Carroll, J.T., *Luke: a Commentary* (Louisville 2012) 3; Oakman, D.E., "The countryside in *Luke*-Acts", in: Neyrey (1991) 170.
[306] Oakman (1991) 177; Robbins (1991) 332; *cf.* Bovon: for the author the city is "the location of mission and church" (Bovon (2002) 165). Spencer (2007) 34.
[307] But his public life in Galilee seems to have had a short duration, about a year (Zangenberg (2013) 125).

place of purity and safety only. The city of Jerusalem has characteristics both of a holy city (the temple, the holy place is located there (*Acts* 6,13; 7,33)) and of an impure and unsafe place. In Jewish traditions Jerusalem was the holy city *par excellence* and the author is strongly influenced by this idea but he also criticises it by the deeds and words of Jesus. Jesus thinks it necessary to cleanse the temple (although the word 'cleanse' is not used in *Luke 19,45-46*), he speaks about the blood of Zechariah who was killed in the temple complex (11,51) and he stresses that the purity concerns of the Pharisees – who are strongly connected to the temple - miss a crucial point: purity is not a sake of the outside, of the purity of cups and platter, but of the inside, of justice and love (11,39-42). Jesus not only criticises the spatial practices of the temple by his cleansing act,[308] but also by the parable of the Pharisee and the publican. The prayer of the Pharisee is implicitly criticised, that of the publican – an outsider in the temple - approved of.[309] In addition, Jerusalem is an unsafe place, it is the most dangerous city for the protagonists of the story: Jesus, Peter, Stephan and Saul are arrested in this city.

Cities *per se* have no highly symbolic value in *Luke-Acts* as a safe or inside place. Jerusalem is an exception to this rule, but even here the symbolic value is ambivalent: both positive and negative.

An interesting pericope for the meaning of the city in *Luke* is the story of the possessed man. The narrative follows the version of *Mark* with some minor changes. One of these changes is that the author of *Luke* inserted the city into the description of who the possessed man is and where he lives.

> [27] ἐξελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὑπήντησεν ἀνήρ τις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔχων δαιμόνια καὶ χρόνῳ ἱκανῷ οὐκ ἐνεδύσατο ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ οὐκ ἔμενεν ἀλλ᾿ ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν. (Lk 8:27)
>
> *"When Jesus stepped ashore, he was met by a demon-possessed man from the town. For a long time this man had not worn clothes or lived in a house, but had lived in the tombs."* (NIB)

It is striking that the author added the city into this verse: as an example of impurity, being naked[310] and living in tombs, it is not logical that the possessed man comes from the city. So, it does not amaze that the words "ἐκ τῆς πόλεως" have been translated in ways that suggest that

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[308] It should be noticed that the narrative about the cleansing of the temple is much shorter than in *Mark. Luke* leaves out all reference to violence in Jesus' cleansing act. *Luke* does not advocate violent resistance against Jewish or Roman powers. (O'Toole, R.F., "Luke's Position on Politics and Society in Luke-Acts", in: Cassidy, R.J., Scharper, P.J. (eds.), *Political Issues in Luke-Acts* (Eugene 1983) 4).

[309] The cleansing of the temple also occurs in *Mark 11,15-19* and *Matthew 12,12-13*, but the words against the Pharisees about purity and the parable of the Pharisee and publican are unique for *Luke.*

[310] Maybe he was wearing only a chiton (Wolter (2008) 317).

the man comes from the direction of the city, but not from the city itself.[311] Many translations suggest that the man rather belongs to the city than comes from the city now (NAS, NIB, NKJV).[312] The King James Version is an exception: this version suggest that the man "*met him out of the city*". But maybe it does not really make a difference what "ἐκ τῆς πόλεως" means here exactly: at least the possessed man is associated with the city. This is done deliberately: it is an addition made by the author. This is even more striking because it is stated that the man lives in tombs, but in antiquity graveyards and tombs were most times located outside villages and cities.[313] One could imagine several explanations for the addition of these words: maybe the author had such a preference for the city, that he almost automatically added the city, without any further reason. Or he might have regarded the tombs as belonging to the city, although not located in the city proper. But maybe this addition betrays more than just a preference. It might show that the author did not clearly associate purity and safety with the city. I think that if he had a strong association between purity/safety and the city he would have avoided the connection between the possessed man and the city. The city of the Garasenes was not a Jewish city, so a link to this city and impurity was maybe not very shocking for a Jewish reader: this was a gentile city were the inhabitants ate pork (8,32). But the author of *Luke-Acts* does not advocate a strict boundary between Jewish and gentile, so this is not the point here. By adding the city, as the location of his preference, he also shows the reader, probably unconsciously, how he perceives the city: as a place that is not pure or safe *per se.*
So, the preference of *Luke-Acts* for the city is not a theological preference: the city possesses no theological advantage above the countryside or village. The author is rather indiscriminate in his use of these categories.[314] This can also be shown by how Luke treats stories from Q and *Mark*: the author adds the city regularly but without a theological meaning. In the parable of the talents, for instance, the good servants get cities as a reward (19,11-27), unlike the parallel version in Matthew 25,14-30.

4.7.2. Villages and Countryside

Although it is clear that *Luke*-Acts is more directed to the cities than to the villages, it is also claimed that the countryside is of vital importance in *Luke*. Oakman states that the author of *Luke*

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[311] W95
[312] *Cf.* Green (1997) 338.
[313] Hachlili, R., *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices and Rites in the Second Temple Period* (Leiden 2005) 447; Tombs were only sometimes located inside cities: Bintliff, J., *The Complete Archaeology of Greece. From Hunter-Gatherers to the 20th Century A.D.* (Malden / Oxford 2012) 348.
[314] Green, J.B., *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke* (Cambridge 2004[7]) 13.

represents the countryside as an ideal region in his narrative. The birth story of *Luke* 2 is an example of this: the shepherds are chosen to be the first to hear the good news that Jesus is born.[315] The people on the countryside are the ones that are willing to listen to this divine message, whereas others refuse to obey to God's will. Oakman knows that the countryside has no crucial role in the further story and he explains the function of the countryside in *Luke* with reference to the setting of the author: the author lived in a town or city and had more to do with the interests of the landlords than the interests of the poor rural inhabitants. He idealises the rural background of the Gospel and therefore does not criticise the social relations too sharply.[316] Yet, I doubt whether the setting of the author is helpful in understanding all the aspects of the countryside in *Luke.* The countryside seems to have not a sociological background in the birth stories, but a literary background: that of the tradition of the Golden Age, an idealised period in history in which peace and rest prevail and older, more perfect times, revive. In the stories of the shepherds who receive the good news the author presents Jesus as the alternative leader of the world in a new golden age, instead of Augustus who claimed to be the bringer of new, golden times.[317] The story of *Luke 2* also shows many similarities with the bucolic lyric of Calpurnius that has the new golden age under emperor Nero as its subject.[318] The countryside in *Luke* 2 acts as an idealised place, where the Golden Age begins.

Further, Oakman's representation of an idealised countryside in *Luke* does not sufficiently take into account the character of *Luke*'s material. That Jesus and John do not manifest themselves in the main cities and that the ministry of John and Jesus' temptation are located in the wilderness cannot be explained with a reference to a tendency of *Luke*. These points can also be found in the *Gospel of Mark* and this emphasis on the countryside was part of the sources that were used by the Gospel writers. It is necessary to compare *Luke*'s use of the countryside with that of the other Gospels in order to draw conclusions about the writer's conception of the countryside. This leads to a different conclusion than that of Oakman's: when we compare *Luke* to the other synoptic Gospels, it is striking that *Luke*'s narrative plays less often in a village.[319] Mostly the same places as in Matthew and Mark occur in *Luke*, but the Galilean settlements that are villages

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[315] Oakman (1991) 171.
[316] Oakman (1991) 177-178.
[317] Schreiber, S., *Weihnachtspolitik. Lukas 1-2 und das Goldene Zeitalter* (Göttingen 2011) 63-65.
[318] Wolter, M., *Theologie und Ethos in frühen Christentum. Studien zu Jesus, Paulus und Lukas* (Tübingen 2009) 367; Wolter (2008) 127.
[319] Oakman suggests that the author might have known a more precise distinction between city and village than we and therefore refers to city more often than the other Gospel writers. (Oakman (1991) 170) But the assumption that the author was uncertain about the historic reality of villages like Nazareth fits the pattern of how *Luke-Acts* treats cities and villages better. Most villages in *Luke* are unnamed.

in Matthew and Mark are considered cities in *Luke*.[320] It is striking that during his Galilean ministry in *Luke* there is no story about Jesus that plays in a village. Galilean villages are only mentioned in summaries (8,1; 9,6). Given *Luke*'s material, including *Mark* and Q, this means that *Luke* changed consciously the representation of Galilee as it was available to him in his sources. In the whole book of *Luke*, the narrative plays only four times at the background of a village; three times this village is situated in Judea, once in Samaria. In 9,52 Jesus is in a Samaritan village; in 10,38 he is invited in a village into the house of Marta and Maria; in 19,30 Jesus sends his disciples to a village near the Mount of Olives (presumably Betfage or Bethany) and in 24,28 Jesus enters the house of Kleopas and his friend in the village of Emmaus. This use of villages in the narrative of *Luke* gives the impression that the author of *Luke* was more interested in or had a better knowledge of the countryside of Judea than that of Galilee: Galilean villages are omitted from the narrative. Or do we see here how social memory works? Stories from the sources are changed according to the present circumstances. Story elements disappear when those that kept them alive are out of sight of the group or die.

4.7.3. Temple

The temple is a very important feature in *Luke*.[321] The narrative starts and ends in the temple (1,9; 24,53) and the space of the temple thus forms an *inclusio*. In the first two chapters of the book the temple is the main background of the stories and it gets a prominent place again in the last chapters, when Jesus spends his last days in the temple (19,47-21,38). Furthermore, after his resurrection Jesus commands his disciples not to go back to Galilee, as in *Mark*, but to stay in Jerusalem. Subsequently, they stay in the temple. Apparently, the temple has a pivotal role in *Luke*, but what is its function precisely?

In *Luke* two words for the temple are used: ὁ ναός and το ἱερόν. The first word occurs four times in the book (1,9.21.22; 23,45), the latter 14 times (2.27.37.46; 4,9; 18,10; 19,45.47, 20,1; 21,5.37.38; 22,52.53; 24,53).[322] The word ναός is used to refer to the temple itself, and το ἱερόν to refer to the buildings and courts that belong to the temple.[323] The temple is the context for five scenes: the announcement of the birth of John the Baptist, the purification of the child Jesus, the twelve-

[320] Capernaum and Nazareth. Further: *Luke* is the only Gospel that mentions the city of Nain (7,11) and the feeding of the five thousand is only in *Luke* located in Bethsaida (9,10).

[321] Bachmann, M., *Jerusalem und der Tempel. Die geographisch-theologischen Elemente in der Lukanischen Sicht des jüdischen Kultzentrums* (Stuttgart 1980) 132-138; Hengel (1995) 33.

[322] The other Gospel writers use the term ἱερόν also more frequently than the word ναός. Both words can refer to the temple itself and the buildings that belong to it.

[323] In other books both words are used to refer to both the temple itself and the buildings that belong to it (e.g.: Mt 27,5; John 2,20; Jos., *Bellum* 6,285).

year-old Jesus in debate with the rabbis, Jesus' temptation, the parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector and, finally, Jesus' last days (including the purification of the temple). What can we conclude from this short overview? Firstly, that the beginnings of John and Jesus are connected to the temple. This is remarkable, because this is unique to *Luke*: in the other Gospels, John has no connection to the temple (except, maybe, a critical one) and there we do not find the stories about Jesus as a child in the temple. This means that *Luke* inserted stories that connect John and Jesus closely to Judaism in which the temple plays such a pivotal role. This sheds new light on both persons: John is not only the prophet who has a critical stance towards the representatives of the temple, but he himself comes from a priestly family and thus knew the priesthood from within (he could have been a priest himself!).

Secondly, Jesus is not just that prophet from the periphery, from Galilee, but from his childhood on he fulfilled the religious obligations in the temple.[324] Moreover, the conduct of the twelve-year-old Jesus, being in the temple amidst the teachers, is an important indication of who he will be as an adult. In ancient biographies, the *topos* existed of the young boy who shows his superior knowledge and *Luke* uses this *topos* here deliberately.[325] Yet, the place where Jesus show his abilities is not indifferent: he does this in the holy city, in the heart of Judaism, in the house of the father (2,49).[326] Apparently, *Luke* uses space deliberately as a means for the characterisation of the protagonists of his story. If he was just interested in stories about Jesus as a child it would have been more logical for him to choose Galilee as background for the childhood stories, as the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* shows. But now he inserted two stories about Jesus that both play in the temple and which make an important contribution to the characterisation of Jesus as someone who was dedicated to the temple. [327] So, story space has a characterising function here.

The next scene that uses the temple as background is the third temptation of Jesus, an element of the temptation narrative that is found in *Matthew* too, but not in *Mark*. In 4,9 Jesus is placed on the roof of the temple ("τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ") and ὁ διαβόλος asks him to jump down. Apparently the source of *Matthew* and *Luke* (Q) contained this story, but the author of *Luke* must have included this with approval, because the temple was of crucial importance for his presentation of the Jesus story. This was one more chance to connect Jesus to Jerusalem and the temple, before his ministry in Galilee begins (4,14).

[324] *Pace* Bovon, who argues that Lk 2,22-24 acts as a "devaluation of the temple" (Bovon (2002) 99).
[325] Bovon (2002) 111.
[326] Verse 2,49 can also be interpreted as referring to 'my father's business' (Bovon 2002) 114).
[327] Fitzmeyer (1981) 165.

At the end of *Luke*, Jesus cleanses the temple, a story that gets only short attention in *Luke* (19,45). Jesus advocates the use of the temple as a house of prayer, a function that the temple indeed repeatedly has in the book.[328] Having cleansed the temple, Jesus consequently spends his days teaching there. We find the same detail in the other Gospels, so the author of *Luke* must have taken this element from his sources. Yet, in *Luke* the setting of the temple is more emphasised than in *Matthew* and *Mark.* Although all Gospels have the saying "I was daily with you in the temple teaching…" (Mk 14,49; Mt 26,63; Lk 22,53, cf. John 18,20), it is only in *Luke* that this point is really developed in the narrative (19,47; 20,1; 21,37). This setting is for *Luke* not just a matter of background or a detail: for him the temple is important and it is the appropriate place for Jesus to teach,[329] being the house of the father (2,49). According to the writer of *Luke* whoever wants to be related to God needs to be connected to Jerusalem and the temple.[330] This is underlined by the end of the Gospel, where the disciples, after Jesus' ascension, return to Jerusalem and stay in the temple, praising God (24,53). So, the temple has an important role in the story space of *Luke*. The importance of the temple is stressed by spatial practices that are narrated in the story (rituals, pilgrimage, praying and teaching).

There is still another scene that plays in the temple: the parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector (18,10), a parable that is only found in *Luke*. Here the temple is the typical place of prayer as is fitting in *Luke*'s representation of the temple. But the parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector has been read also as a critical story about the temple: the tax collector goes home justified, the Pharisee does not. So, it is claimed that being justified belongs to the sphere of the household in *Luke*, and the boasting of the Pharisee belongs to the sphere of the temple: "The *skopos* (goal) of the story seems to me to be located in an invitation to change the rules of the common spatial game (…)" (Henry Mottu, cited by Elliott).[331] Elliott explains the story as an indication for the growing importance of the household and a declining role of the temple. He describes the temple as the most important place and a symbol of the Jewish institution of purity and power, but he contrasts the system of the temple with the spatial practices propagated by Jesus, which he characterises as 'household'.[332]

Elliott is right in his distinction between two systems or institutions and claiming the temple as the most important symbol of the one system. But he is overstressing Jesus' criticisms of the

[328] Green (1997) 693.
[329] Conzelmann (1960) 70.
[330] In the first chapters of *Acts* the temple has a central place too and in later chapters the new believers send money to the poor in Jerusalem; Paul goes to Jerusalem more than once.
[331] Elliott, J.H., "Temple versus Household in Luke-Acts: A Contrast in Social Institutions", in: Neyrey (1991) 214.
[332] Elliott (1991) 223-226.

temple; although Jesus' criticises the purity system and the system of power and honour that was propagated by the temple officials and spatial practices which were common for Pharisees in the temple, the temple *per se* is not presented with disregard.[333] It is only in *Acts* that more distance to the temple is developed, as Elliott rightly observes.[334] Mottu and Elliott fail to give attention to the fact that the place of the justification of the tax collector is the temple. Therefore, I think that it is not the temple that is criticised implicitly here, but spatial practices that were connected to it. The temple is the right place to pray, and the place where people can make a connection with heaven even if they do not dare to look at heaven (18,13). Although the house gathers importance in *Acts*, in *Luke* the temple still has a central role for praying, sacrificing and learning. The stories of *Luke's* first two chapters show this clearly.

Finally, there are two places left, where the temple is mentioned: 21,5 and 23,45. The first functions as the prelude to Jesus' speech about the coming of the Son of man. The beauty of the temple is temporal and will be destroyed. According to some, we find the beginning or forewarning of this destruction in 23,45, where the curtain in the temple is torn in two at the moment of Jesus' death.[335] Yet, this seems not fitting in *Luke*'s mainly positive stance towards the temple. Although the temple is the place where Jesus finds resistance, this resistance is not as tightly connected to Jerusalem and the temple as it is in *Mark*[336] nor is this resistance reserved to the temple. Therefore, the splitting of the curtain must be explained on the same level as the darkness on the whole earth: both are signs that accompany the death of Jesus. In antiquity it was not unusual to describe the death of a hero as accompanied by divine signs, like an sun eclipse.[337] Another explanation, suggested by Green, is that the splitting of the temple veil is a symbol for the disappearing of the barriers between Jews and Gentiles.[338] This explanation is appealing, because of *Luke's* positive stance towards the temple and because it explains why the temple veil is rending before and not after Jesus' death as in *Mark*. Yet, there seems to be too little textual support for this reading.

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[333] *Cf.* Green: "*both (*temple and house*) function as space for divine revelation and the praise of God*" (Green, J.B., *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke* (Cambridge 2004[7]) 12; Weinert, F.D., "The meaning of the temple in Luke-Acts", in: *Biblical Theology Bulletin: Journal of Bible and Culture Vol 11.3* (1981) 85).

[334] Elliott (1991) 216.

[335] Marshall, I.H., *The Gospel of Luke. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids 1998) 875.; *cf.* Green, who explains the splitting of the veil as a symbol for the destruction of the symbolic world of the temple (Green (1997) 826). This explanation is too complex to be clear for the first reader, I suggest.

[336] In *Mark* the scribes even come from Jerusalem to Galilee towards Jesus (Mk 3,22; 8,11).

[337] E.g., Vergil, *Georgica I 463-468;* Pliny, *Nat. Hist. 2.30;* Suetonius, *Vita Augusti 97.*

[338] Green, J.B., 'The Demise of the Temple as Culture Centre in Luke—Acts: An Exploration of the Rending of the Temple Veil (Lk. 23.44-49)',", in: *Revue Biblique* 101 (1994) 506.

4.7.4. The spatial focus of Acts

It has been claimed that the focus of *Luke* is on Jerusalem, whereas the focus of Acts is on Rome, the final goal of Paul's voyages.[339] But a short overview of the number of instances of Rome (5 times) and Jerusalem (59 times) in *Acts* makes one wonder whether this is true.[340] The question here is: what makes a place the focus of a book? Is it the number of instances in a book? Or is it more subtle, and is it the place that is the most important for the development of the plot?[341] I think it is a mix of both. When Josephus, for example, describes in *Vita* his time as a general in Galilee, it is the city of Jerusalem that is the most important city, playing a crucial role somewhere at the background of the events in Galilee, even though Jerusalem is situated outside Galilee. But Jerusalem is the city that is mentioned most often in *Vita* and that is used by Josephus to legitimate his position.[342]

The *fabula space* of *Acts* is the Roman Empire and the writer underlines this by using the names of the Roman provinces (e.g. Asia, Achaia). In the Roman Empire it was the city of Rome that was the capital and thus the focus: flows of humans and goods went to and from the city. In literature from the Roman Period the city of Rome often acts as focus, even in the case of writers coming from the periphery.[343] Yet, in Jewish thought it was the city of Jerusalem that functioned as the city with a focal function.[344] So, although Josephus wrote in Rome, it is Jerusalem that has a central role in his *Vita*.[345] In *Acts* it can be shown that the writer is indebted to both traditions: the city of Jerusalem plays a major role in the narrative, but it is the city of Rome that is the final destination of Paul's journeys.[346] The city of Rome acts here as a symbol for what is called in 1,8

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[339] Bechard, D.P., *Paul outside the walls. A study of Luke's socio-geographical universalism in Acts 14:8-20.* (Roma 2000) 340-341; Marshall, I.H., *The Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction and Commentary* (Grand Rapids 1980) 27; Filson (1970) 75.

[340] Ephesus as focus of *Acts* is even more unlikely (*pace* Pervo, R.I., *Acts. A Commentary* (Minneapolis 2009) 6).

[341] Johnson claims Jerusalem to be the focus of *Acts*, because of the geographical structure of the book: characters go away from Jerusalem and come back to it time and again. (Johnson, L.T., (Harrington, D.J. (ed.)) *The Acts of the Apostles* (Collegeville 1992) 11). But it is better to say that the structure of *Acts* points to "the ends of the earth" and opens up the perspective of Jerusalem.

[342] Marquis, T.L., "Re-presenting Galilean Identity: Josephus' Use of 1 Maccabees 10:25-45 and the Term Ioudaios", in: Zangenberg (2007) 66.

[343] Clarke (1999) 45, 242-244.

[344] Bauckham, R., "James and the Jerusalem Church", in: Bauckham, R., *The Book of Acts in its Palestinian Setting* (Grand Rapids 1995) 418; Scott, J.M., "Luke's Geographical Horizon", in: Gill, D.W.J., Gempf, C. (eds.) *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting Vol. 2 Graeco-Roman Setting* (Grand Rapids 1994) 498-499.

[345] Another example is Philo. (Borgen, P., *Philo an Exegete for His Time* (Leiden 1997) 27).

[346] Scott (1994) 543; According to Scott Jerusalem is the focus of *Acts.* Scott, J.M., *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees* (Cambridge 2002) 57; *Cf.* Fitzmeyer (1981) 168. Scott argues that the idea of Jerusalem as the capital city of the world might be influenced by the idea of Delphi as navel of the world. I doubt whether the idea of Jerusalem as center is an outcome of Hellenistic influence: Jewish traditions about Jerusalem were strong enough to create such an idea. (Scott (1994) 498-499).

"the ends of the earth" (ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς).[347] If the gospel reaches Rome, it has conquered the Roman empire, which was then virtually the same as ἡ οἰκουμένη: the world as it was known and as far as it was inhabited.[348] According to Borgen, Rome is not only a symbol for the ends of the earth, but is the real end of the world on the author's mental map.[349] He points to the fact that no nations to the west of Rome are mentioned in the list of Acts 2,9-11 and further that in *Psalms of Solomon* 8,15 Rome is referred to as the end of the earth.[350] The last, however, may apply to a Palestinian Jew – as the author of *Psalms of Solomon* probably was – but not for someone who came from outside Palestine, like the author of *Luke-Acts*.[351]

Furthermore, Rome is of course important in *Acts* because it symbolises Roman power. Rome is the city of the Romans, the rulers of *Acts*' world, and Paul proudly claims his rights as a Roman citizen (22,25.28). But whereas Rome is the goal of the spreading of the Gospel in *Acts*, it is surprising to see that the book ends when this goal has been reached. The writer is not interested in the city per se.[352] It is significant that in 1,8, where the program of the *Acts* is described, Rome is not mentioned ("*you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in the whole of Judea and Samaria and to the ends of the earth*").[353] The city that is mentioned here is Jerusalem: this is the place that comes first and has the first place again and again. It is an important indication of the significance of Jerusalem that Paul in Acts visits the city five times and claims that he grew up in Jerusalem, although he was born in Tarsus (22,3; 26,4). Paul as we know him from his letter to the Galatians does not claim an initial connection to Jerusalem (Gal. 1,18), and is more directed to a spiritual Jerusalem than an earthly one (Gal 4,25-26). In his letter to the Romans, however, he emphasises that he spread the gospel from Jerusalem (ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλὴμ) to Illyricum (Rom 15,19) and that he and the gentiles have obligations to the Christians in Jerusalem (Rom 15,25-27, cf. 1 Cor 16,3). So, can we claim, based on the Pauline letters, that *Acts* has the tendency to emphasise the connection of Paul to Jerusalem, more than Paul himself does? Although it is difficult to

[347] The author uses the term 'end of the world' not in the Greco-Roman sense of the word: strange people were believed to live at the edges of the world. The writer uses these words with an allusion to Isaiah 49,6, a text about the role of God's servant for the gentiles (*cf.* Romm, J. S., *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration and Fiction* (Princeton 1992) 39; Barrett, C.K., *Acts 1-14. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles Vol. I* (London – New York 1994) 80); Moore, T.S., "'To the end of the earth': The Geographical and Ethnic Universalism of Acts 1:8 in Light of Isaianic Influence on Luke", in: *Journal of the Evangelical Society* Vol. 40.3 (1997) 397. *Pace* Fitzmyer, J.A. (S.J.) *The Acts of the Apostles. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (The Anchor Bible)* (New York 1998) 767.

[348] *Cf.* Strabo in his *Geography* (Clarke (1999) 208).

[349] *Cf.* Haenchen, E. *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen 1977[7]) 150.

[350] Borgen (1997) 28.

[351] Pesch (1995[2]) 28, 70.

[352] *Cf.* Schmidt (2009) 248.

[353] Rome acts as a symbol for the end of the earth, but is not the end itself (Pesch (1995) 70; Hengel (1995) 36).

harmonise the narrative of *Acts* with the data we find in Paul's letters, it is at least clear that Paul states in Gal 1,18 that he did not go to Jerusalem after his calling on the way to Damascus, but only after three years. Yet, in *Acts* Paul goes first to Jerusalem (9,26) and then to Tarsus. The difficulty is that we do not know who is biased here: is it Paul or is it the writer of *Acts?* Given the emphasis that is given by Paul to this point of his story (Gal 1,20 ἃ δὲ γράφω ὑμῖν, ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι. "I assure you before God that what I am writing to you is no lie." (NIB)). I tend to defend the position that it is the writer of *Acts* who is biased here. The unity of the initial church is an important theme in *Acts* (2,44) and this unity is underlined by connecting Paul tightly to the church in Antioch and Jerusalem. Although the city of Antioch was an important starting point for Paul's voyages, the city of Jerusalem and the church there get much more attention in *Acts*, because this was the city of the mother church, its apostles having authority over the churches elsewhere (cf. chapter 15).

It is a clear indication for the importance of Jerusalem in *Acts* that reference is often made to Jerusalem as 'the city': Jerusalem is the city *par excellence* (4,27; 7,58; 12,10; 21,29.30; 22,3, 24,12).[354] The author never refers to Rome as 'the city'.

Acts 2 is an interesting chapter for an geographic approach of Acts. The list of nations in 2,9-11 has received much attention and scholars have different opinions about the origins of this list.[355] Here, I want to emphasise that this chapter is also important for detecting the place of Jerusalem on the author's mental map. In *Acts* 2,5 it is stated that in Jerusalem Jews from every nation live:

> Ἦσαν δὲ εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι, ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν.
>
> "Now there were staying in Jerusalem God-fearing Jews from every nation under heaven." (NIB)

This fact is expanded and given more emphasis in the list of nations. In antiquity it was recognised that the giving of an enumeration of things or of many details was effective for *amplificatio*, in order to suggest that something is great.[356] This is one of the function of the list of 2,9-11: it gives a representation of 'every nation' on earth. What all these nations connects is the city of Jerusalem. Jerusalem, as a focal city, has the special function of connecting people.[357] Coming from every nation Jews went to Jerusalem. It is often claimed that *Luke* was a Jew from

[354] Pesch calls Jerusalem "*Zentrum, Ziel- und Ausgangspunkt*" (Pesch 1995) 70), but he overlooked the ambivalence of Jerusalem in *Acts*, as the city that persecuted the prophets.
[355] Scott, J.M., *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees* (Cambridge 2005) 68-84; Scott (1994) 528ff.
[356] Quintilianus, *Inst*. VIII.3.66; VIII.4.26.
[357] *Cf.* the function of Rome for Strabo (Clarke (1999) 45).

the Diaspora.[358] The representation of Jerusalem in Acts 2 fits this idea: Jews went from Jerusalem to every corner of the earth (this is the unspoken assumption) and returned from every nation to Jerusalem. Another famous Jew from the Diaspora, Philo, expresses the same concept. He enumerates the colonies that were sent out from Jerusalem to a great number of regions, all over the world. [359] It must be also be mentioned here that the pilgrimage of the nations to Zion is one of the backgrounds of the list of nations.[360]

In Jerusalem it is the temple that has the special attention of the writer of *Acts.[361]* The church members gather in the temple after Pentecost (2,46) and the temple is the place where they pray and bring offers. This may be surprising, but it should be remembered that *Acts* was written before Christianity broke away from Judaism, and that the story plays in a time that Christians were considered a Jewish sect (16,20; 24,5). Within contemporaneous Judaism the temple was important, even after its destruction: for most Diaspora Jews the value of the temple was already before its destruction more symbolic than practical.[362] The temple is not only referred to as a holy place, it is also the place where Paul's process takes place (22,30). So, the temple becomes an ambiguous place: it is the place of persecution, like the synagogues, and a place which use is debated: Paul is arrested because of his assumed bringing of a gentile to its courts. Just as in case of Jesus, the temple plays an important role in his arrest.

What can we finally conclude about the function of the temple in *Luke-Acts*? The importance of Jerusalem and its temple is a means for the author to create spatial continuity within *Luke-Acts*.[363] The gospel is spread through the whole of Palestine and the Roman world but the protagonists go back to Jerusalem. Furthermore, in early Jewish and Christian thought the temple and the surrounding city of Jerusalem could be used in two symbolic ways: firstly to establish boundaries between Jewish and gentile, pure and impure and secondly for a more inclusive approach.[364] Both attitudes can be found in *Luke-Acts*: the first being disapproved of and the second being affirmed: in the ideology of the author Jerusalem is the city that brings together

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[358] Conzelmann,H., Lindemann, A., *Arbeitsbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Tübingen 2004[14]) 343.
[359] Philo, *Legat., 281-283.*
[360] Schmidt, K.M., "Rom – das neue Jerusalem?", in: Theissen, G., Steymans, H.U., Ostermann, S., Schmidt, K.M., Moresino-Zipper, A. (eds.), *Jerusalem und die Länder. Ikonographie – Topographie – Theologie. Festschrift für Max Küchler zum 65. Geburtstag* (Göttingen 2009) 225
[361] The word το ἱερόν is used 25 times in *Acts.* Pagan temples are referred to with the word ὁ ναός (two times).
[362] Barclay (1998[2]) 420; Gruen (2012) 113-114. But practices that connected diaspora Jews to the temple were not totally absent: pilgrimage and the paying of the temple tax were practices that connected Jews outside Palestine to the temple.
[363] Pesch (1995) 35.
[364] Freyne, S., "The Geography of Restoration. Galilee-Jerusalem Relations in Early Jewish and Christian Experience", in: *New Testament Studies 47* (2001) 310.

people from all nations to worship Israel's God. Although the temple gets a high estimation in the book, the temple becomes an unsafe place for the protagonists of the story and thus the temple is approached with ambivalence in *Luke-Acts.* But because the temple no longer existed[365] followers of Jesus could no longer been driven out of the temple and the author was able to rewrite the function of the temple into the symbolic heart of the beginning of the church.[366] In the field of competing memories of Jews and those of followers of the way the author advocated the position that the identity of Jesus followers was tightly connected to the temple. Thus, he claimed the temple as a symbol for their beliefs and practices.[367] The destruction of the temple did not only imply that Jerusalem lost meaning for the followers of Jesus,[368] it also was a chance to restructure social memories and reconnect the space of the temple to their identity.[369]

4.8. The spatial world of Luke-Acts: conclusion

When we try to get an overview of the spatial world of *Luke-Acts* we can mention three important characteristics. Firstly, spaces have a less symbolic value than in *Mark* and their meaning is given mainly by the spatial practices that are located there. Thus, space functions more as *perceived space* than as *lived space.* Even more than in *Mark*, space is seldom described when it is not directly necessary for the narrative in *Luke.* Thus, in *Luke's* departure from the sources we can easily recognise that literature does not just preserve social memories but also restructures memories and gives them new interpretations, which in turn affect the representation of space.

This also applies to the second characteristic of *Luke*'s spatial world: there is an important similarity in the way *Luke* deals with a number of spatial categories: the traditional meaning and value of these spatial categories is inverted. Places of honour become places of shame and vice versa. This does not only apply to the synagogue, the house, and the market place, but also to the womb, the barn and even Samaria and Sodom.[370] Jesus applies the rules of the kingdom of God to all of these spatial elements and thus places of honour become places of shame, the first becomes the last and the smallest the biggest. Although this tendency is already present in *Mark*

[365] The author of *Luke-Acts* emphasises the fact the deconstruction of the temple, this might be a reason (*cf.* Chance, J.B., *Jerusalem, the Temple and the New Age in Luke-Acts* (Macon 1988) 115).
[366] Esler, P.F., *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology* (Cambridge 1987) 134.
[367] Baltzer argues that in *Luke-Acts* the temple is only a real temple when Jesus is present in it with his '*kabod*'. This might be true to a certain extent, but in *Luke-Acts* Jesus never substitutes the temple as in *John* (Baltzer, K., "The Meaning of the Temple in the Lukan Writings", in: *Harvard Theological Review* Vol. 58 (1965) 277).
[368] Bauckham (1995) 426.
[369] In this aspect Jerusalem was still important for the early church (*pace* Bauckham (1995) 480).
[370] These spaces are not discussed above. Their role should be examined In further research.

and Q, in *Luke* it becomes even more evident. The kingdom of God is the new spatial category that is dominant for the functioning of other categories: receiving honour is most of all a matter of the kingdom in the first place and should no longer be connected to public acts in places where people gather. Honour is still a crucial value but its proper source is only God.
The kingdom of God thus becomes a category in *Luke* that turns the map of social values. But this is not the only shift the author makes with reference to the traditional Jewish map of the world: he also turns the spatial map concerning Jews and gentiles upside down. That what was regarded as inside and outside, pure and impure should be revised: there are new standards for what counts as inside, outside, pure and impure. This second characteristic, a turning of the spatial and social map driven by the kingdom of God, is more visible in *Luke* than in *Acts.*
A third characteristic of the spatial world of *Luke-Acts* concerns its focus. The author of the book has a clear preference for the city. But this does not imply that the city has a theological preference above the village or the countryside. The author is indebted to both Jewish and Greco-Roman traditions concerning the focal point of the world: both Jerusalem and Rome play an important role in *Acts.* But although *Acts* ends in Rome, this city is by no means the focal point of the book. Jerusalem is the city that plays a main role in *Luke* and *Acts.* We see here how the author partakes in divers social memory groups. These memories do not exclude each other and the author combines characteristics of both Jewish and Greco-Roman traditions. This is essential for the idea of travelling memory, as it is advocated by Astrid Erll: memory is not a static concept and an individual is a member of more than one memory group.[371] It fits to this idea of travelling memory that Jerusalem is not met without criticism: it is the city where the prophets are killed and so are Jesus and some of his apostles. Although the author is strongly influenced by Jewish traditions about Jerusalem as the pre-eminent holy city and about Zion as the city where the nations gather, the gospel must eventually be spread to the ends of the earth. His map of the world is more open: Jesus broke open the ideas of inside and outside. The entire world as it was known to the author (but mainly the eastern part of the Roman empire) becomes the scope of the gospel.

5. The construction of Galilee in *Luke-Acts*

It is helpful to compare the construction of Galilee in *Luke-Acts* with at least two other constructions: firstly, our contemporary construction of Galilee based on the archaeological data

[371] Erll (2011) 7,10. *Cf.* Sleeman's stress on the dynamic of geographical imagination and construction (Sleeman (2009) 34). The geographic construction of *Luke-Acts* should not be described in too rigid terms.

and secondly Galilee as it appears in the literary sources of *Luke-Acts* that we know: *Mark* and Q. I will start with a brief overview of what we know about first century Galilee. Then I will discuss the literary construction of Galilee: I will describe the cases where Galilee plays a role in *Luke* and *Acts* and compare these to the parallel pericopes in *Mark* and *Matthew.* The content of chapter 4 will play a role at the background: the representation of Galilee is partly constructed based on the spatial elements that have been described in this chapter.

5.1. Galilee in the first century: the archaeological reconstruction

Galilee can be divided in two parts: Upper and Lower Galilee.[372] Upper Galilee had many hills and steep slopes. Lower Galilee was better suited for agriculture than Upper Galilee: mostly olives and grapes on the hillside and grain and flax in the valleys. Within Lower Galilee it was in particular the Gennesar Valley, near Lake Kinneret, that was known for its fertility.[373] Lake Kinneret was important for fishing and was essential as a means of connections between Galilee and the regions at other sides of the lake.[374] Galilee was by no means an isolated region: it was connected to the cities of the Decapolis (via land and water routes), the Phoenician cities, Ptolemais and Syria.[375]

Galilee was mostly a rural area, however, Josephus makes mention of 204 cities and villages.[376] Most villages were small and there were only some bigger cities: Sepphoris and Tiberias being the most important ones. Before Tiberias was founded (18-20 CE), Magdala was the main city in this part of Galilee. It was a small Hellenistic harbour city, organised according to the Hippodamic model and with upper class villas.[377] Gamala, although just outside Galilee had ties to Galilee and had Jewish habitants. Therefore, it was considered another Galilean city. Luxury products that were found in the city indicate that Gamala was economically prospering: it took profit of its location on the trade route to Syria.[378]

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[372] Flavius Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum 3.35-43.*

[373] Leibner, U., *Settlement and History in Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Galilee. An Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Galilee* (Tübingen 2009) 11, 13.

[374] De Luca, S., Lena, A., "The Harbor of the City of Magdala / Taricheae on the Shores of the Sea of Galilee, from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine Times: New Discoveries and Preliminary Results", in: Ladstätter, S., Pirson, F., Schmidts, T. (eds.), *Harbors and Harbor Cities in the Eastern Mediterranean from Antiquity to Byzantium Recent Discoveries & New Approaches* (Istanbul, 2014) 129.

[375] Weber, T.M., "Gadara and the Galilee", in: Zangenberg, J., Attridge, H.W., Martin, D.B. (eds.), *Religion, Ethnicitiy and Identity in Ancient Galilee* (Tübingen 2007) 250-252.

[376] Josephus, *Vita 235.*

[377] Zangenberg, J.K., "Archaeological News from the Galilee: Tiberias, Magdala and Rural Galilee", in: *Early Christianity 1* (2010) 475.

[378] Rottloff, A., "Gamala – Das Masada des Nordens?", in: Fassbeck (2003) 111.

Sepphoris (*Sepphoris Autocratis*) and Tiberias, both named after the emperor, did not have an imperial cult, as far as we know and even traces of pagan cult are not found. This remarkable detail fits within the policy of the Herod Antipas, who controlled the region between 4 BCE – 39 CE. He seems to have been a very modest ruler who did not set up a Hellenist building program like his father. He respected the aniconic practices of the Jewish inhabitants: he did not mint coins with images of the emperor and did not found imperial cults or festivals.[379] Yet, his Jewish subjects did not approve of the founding of the city of Tiberias upon a graveyard.[380]

Social relations and tensions in the region during the first half of the first century are debated. Some claim that there was a fierce enmity between cities and villages and that the pressure that the cities laid on rural areas was growing, or that there were – at least – strong tensions between villages and cities who both represented different cultures.[381] But Jensen, who researched the literary, epigraphic, iconographic and archaeological data during the reign of Herod Antipas, comes to a different conclusion.[382] He questions the supposed tensions between rural and urban areas and questions whether things changed very much for the inhabitants of rural areas under Antipas' reign. His reign had a moderate impact and it was only after his time that things changed, Jensen states.[383]

One should not too easily suppose an opposition between cities and villages in Galilee. The economical differences between both categories were not necessarily significant: there were also villages that played a central role in the economy as rural centres, for example in pottery (Kfar Hananiah). [384] Another example are stone vessels and other stone products, like millstones, which were produced in village contexts and served local markets.[385] Fishing and the fish industry were other sources of economic growth in first century Galilee, both in cities and villages. [386] The city of Magdala (Tarichea) was a centre of fish industry in Galilee. Josephus does not tell that there existed tensions between the city of Magdala and the inhabitants of rural Galilee, in contrast to the cities Tiberias and Sepphoris and their rural surrounding. So, relations

[379] Jensen, M.H., *Herod Antipas in Galilee. The Literary and Archaeological Sources on the Reign of Herod Antipas and its Socio-Economic Impact on Galilee* (Tübingen 2006) 228.
[380] Flavius Josephus, *Ant. 18.36-39*.
[381] Freyne, S., *Galilee and Gospel: collected essays* (Tübingen 2000) 195; Horsley, R.A., *Galilee, History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge 1995) 181; Crossan, J.D., Reed, J., *Excavating Jesus, Beneath the Stones, Behind the Texts* (New York 2001) 70; Merz, A., Theissen, G., *Der historische Jesus. Ein Lehrbuch* (Göttingen 2011[4]) 163.
[382] Jensen, M.H., *Herod Antipas in Galilee* (Tübingen 2006) 258.
[383] Jensen (2006) 254.
[384] Edwards, R.D., "Identity and Social Location in Roman Galilean Villages", in: Zangenberg (2007) 363.
[385] Edwards (2007) 367.
[386] Hakola, R., "The Production and Trade of Fish as Source of Economic Growth in the First Century CE Galilee. Galilean Economy Reexamined", in: *Novum Testamentum 59* (2017) 112.

between cities and villages cannot be generalised. The differences between the two were often gradual: villages did sometimes resemble cities in that they had elite groups with houses that were influenced by Roman styles.[387] During the time Tiberias was settled, villages flourished and developed, apparently under conditions that were not too harsh.[388] There are no signs of decline for the period during Jesus' lifetime, in contrary, under the reign of Herod Antipas Galilee was prospering, as it seems. However, in the discussion about the economic and sociological conditions of Galilee one cannot depend on literary sources alone and it must always be kept in mind that the report of Josephus, who describes the hatred of the rural population towards certain cities, is not without bias.[389]

It is difficult to make statements about the identity of the inhabitants of first century Galilee on basis of the archaeological record. In the past it has been claimed that Galilee was inhabited by a gentile population, in accordance with the idea of a "Galilee of the gentiles", that can be found in the *Gospel of Matthew*.[390] Nowadays many scholars agree that the inhabitants of first century Galilee were mostly Jewish.[391] But what is meant by the term "Jewish": is this term referring to people that migrated to Galilee from Judea, or to people that have a religious connections to the temple? One could discuss these definitions and they are archaeologically difficult to interpret. Therefore, it is better to make use of a definition that can be archaeological proven: the method of identifying Jewish inhabitants with 'identity markers' is something that can be demonstrated in the archaeological record. These identity markers are for example Hasmonean coins, miqwaot, secondary burial practices, stone vessels, a lack of pig bones and Judean epigraphical texts.[392] When some of these identity markers are found in a village, it is questionable, whether this implies that the whole population of the village was Jewish. But the fact that the method of searching for identity markers gives roughly the same conclusion as can be deduced from the

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387 Aviam, M., "Yodefat/Iotapata. The Archaeology of the First Battle", in: Berlin, A. M., Overman, J.A. (eds.), *The First Jewish Revolt. Archaeology, History and Ideology* (London / New York 2002) 121; Jensen (2006) 168-169.
388 Jensen (2006) 166, 169.
389 Jensen (2006) 58.
390 Chancey, M.A., *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee. The Population of Galilee and New Testament Studies (*Cambridge 2002) 1.
391 Leibner, U., *Settlement and History in Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Galilee. An Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Galilee* (Tübingen 2009) 337; Moreland, M., "The inhabitants of Galilee in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods. Probes into the Archaeological and Literary Evidence", in: Zangenberg (2007) 138; Aviam, M., "Distribution Maps of Archaeological Data from the Galilee: An Attempt to Establish Zones Indicative of Ethnicity and Religious Affiliation", in: Zangenberg (2007) 132; Reed, J.L., *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus. A Re-examination of the Evidence* (Harrisburg 2000) 53; Freyne (2000) 182; Chancey, M.A., *Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus* (Cambridge 2005) 19; Merz (2011) 162.
392 Charlesworth, J.H., Aviam, M. "Überlegungen zur Erforschung Galiläas im ersten Jahrhundert", in: Claussen (2008) 112-113; Moreland (2007) 135. There are various lists of possible identity markers, some of which are longer than others. Other possible markers are secret hideaways and Galilean Coarse Ware. (Aviam (2007) 115-126).

literary data given by Josephus is an indication that this method is at least relatively reliable in order to determine the identity of a population.[393]

The existence of synagogues in first century Galilee is an assumption in the Gospels but is disputed on basis of archaeological findings. Horsley, for instance, claims that the term synagogue refers to a gathering of people and not to a specific type of building in the first century.[394] But others state that synagogues where real buildings and refer to buildings unearthed in Capernaum[395], Gamala[396] and Magdala[397], which they identify as synagogue buildings dating from the first century.[398] Recent finds in Magdala add a new twist to the debate as an unearthed building is claimed to be Galilee's first synagogue from the first century, possibly even dating from before 70. [399] The synagogues were not the only centres of religious and social practices for Galileans, they also went to Jerusalem for the feasts (*cf.* Lk 13,1). Although exact archaeological information about pilgrimage is difficult, pilgrimage is a 'fluid' phenomenon, literary sources speak about great multitudes of pilgrims in Jerusalem during the feast.[400]

5.2. The literary construction of Galilee in *Luke-Acts*

5.2.1. Galilee in *Luke*

Right from the beginning of *Luke* it is striking that Galilee has a much less significant role in this gospel than in *Mark*, which is clearly structured in two counterparts, Galilee-Jerusalem, with Galilee receiving the most attention.[401] *Luke* starts in Judea, with the announcement of the birth of John. The announcement of Jesus' birth is situated in Galilee in the 'city' of Nazareth (1,26) and it is clear that Maria and Josef both come from Galilee (Nazareth) (2,4), but Jesus' birth is located in Bethlehem. Bethlehem is referred to as the city of David and Jesus is born there and not in Nazareth, because he is the 'son of David' (1,32; 18,38). Although an explicit reference to

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[393] Flavius Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum 3,35-44;* Aviam, M., "Distribution Maps of Archaeological Data from the Galilee", in: Zangenberg (2007) 127-132.
[394] Horsley (1995) 222-227.
[395] Claussen, C., "Jesus und die Versammlungen Galiläas", in: Claussen (2008) 239; Runesson, A., "Architecture, Conflict and Identity Formation: Jews and Christians in Capernaum from the First to the Sixth Century", in: Zangenberg (2007) 245.
[396] Claussen (2008) 234.
[397] Corbo, V.C., "La mini-synagogue de Magdala", in: *Le Monde De La Bible (57)* (1989) 15.
[398] Possibly a fourth synagogue from the first century was found in Cana (Jensen (2006)168-169).
[399] Zangenberg, J.K., "Archaeological News from the Galilee: Tiberias, Magdala and Rural Galilee", in: *Early Christianity (1)* (2010) 476.
[400] Josephus, *Bellum 2.280.*
[401] Lightfoot (1938) 123.

the Hebrew Bible, as we find it in Matthew (Mt 2,6), cannot be found in *Luke*'s description of Bethlehem, it is clear that the author wanted to establish a link between Jesus and the Jewish traditions about the kingdom of David (Lk 2,4).[402]

It is only after Jesus' presentation in the temple that his parents bring him back to Galilee (2,39). But Jesus returns to Judea two times before his ministry begins: firstly, because of a pilgrimage when he is a twelve-year-old boy, and secondly, because of his baptism[403] and temptation (4,9). Given the centrality of the temple in the account of *Luke-Acts* it was necessary for the author to connect Jesus to Jerusalem and the temple from his childhood on.[404] This connection between Jesus and the temple is made in the first three chapters. It is therefore crucial to recognise that the first three chapters of *Luke* are of major significance for the author: the story of Jesus begins here and not in chapter three or four as sometimes is thought.[405]

Finally, Jesus starts his ministry in Galilee (4,14) in the village of Nazareth "where he had been brought up" (4,16). But the start of his ministry is an indication for how his ministry will develop further: in Nazareth Jesus is rejected and almost killed. The writer placed the story of Jesus' rejection in Nazareth that is coming from Mark programmatically at the beginning of Jesus' Galilean ministry: it has a mirror function.[406] Jesus was rejected and killed in Jerusalem, but his rejection has a long prelude that already started in Galilee. The placement of this story further clarifies why Jesus moves to Capernaum in 4,13. Furthermore, it fits in the author's bias to downplay the importance of Nazareth. In narrator text, Nazareth is not called Jesus' "πατρίς" ("*hometown*"), as in *Mark* (Mk 6,1), but in accordance with chapter two it is indicated as "οὗ ἦν τεθραμμένος" ("*where he had been brought up*"). According to the writer of *Luke* Jesus is born in Bethlehem and his stay in Nazareth was only temporally. In character text, however, in the words of Jesus, the term πατρίς is used to refer to Nazareth (Lk 4,23). Further, in *Luke-Acts* Jesus repeatedly is referred to as 'Jesus from Nazareth'. The tradition that Jesus came from Nazareth was too strong to be avoided by the author, although it did not altogether fit in his own version of Jesus' youth, where he was born in Bethlehem.[407] That Jesus originated from Nazareth is an

[402] Bovon (2002) 85; Wolter (2008) 124.

[403] Jesus' baptism takes place in the river Jordan. In *Luke* it is never explicitly stated that the baptism is situated in Judea, but given the Judean descent of John it seems implied. In *Luke*'s source *Mark*, the Jordan is located in Judea (Mk1,5.14), so the author did know the geographical details of Jesus' baptism.

[404] *Cf.* Wolter (2008) 148; Bovon (2002) 112.

[405] When *Luke* is divided in three parts, as is often done, the first chapters are disregarded. For instance: Lohse (2001) 92; Conzelmann (1993) 99; Lohmeyer (1936) 41.

[406] Green (1997) 207; Bovon (2002) 152; Jong de (2012) 2-3.

[407] In *Luke-Acts* Jesus is called Nazoraios and Nazarenos, which both refer to the village of Nazareth, although the relation between the word Nazoraios and Nazareth seems strange at first sight. (Wise, M.O., 'Nazarene', in: Green, J.B., McKnight, S., Marshall, I.H. (eds.), *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (Leicester 2002[10]) 571-574; Wolter (2008) 608.)

example of how space acts in social memory: although memories are sometimes located very vaguely (the mountain, the way, etc.), in other instances apparently unimportant places (Nazareth was a little village) are firmly settled in social memory.[408] Jesus' connection with Nazareth emerges despite a changing literary frame (Jesus birth' in Bethlehem) and despite Jesus' wandering activities that located him in other environments, for example in Capernaum. So, Nazareth does not really function as a characterizing space in *Luke-Acts*: the author sketches a picture of Jesus that transcends his origin in the Galilean village of Nazareth.

Capernaum ("*a city in Galilee*" (4,31)) is an important location in *Luke*, but in *Luke* Capernaum functions less prominently as the background of Jesus' actions than in *Mark.* The settlement is mentioned four times, but it is not stated that Jesus lives here, as is claimed in *Matthew* (Mt 4,13). In *Luke* (4,23), as in *Mark*, Jesus' exact connection to Capernaum is never made explicit. The role of Lake Kinneret is also less important in *Luke* than in *Mark* as has been shown above: in *Mark* a cluster of stories is connected by the theme of 'the sea of Galilee' (Mk 4,35-8,26),[409] but in *Luke* there are only three stories that are connected to the lake explicitly: Jesus in Simon's boat, the storm on the lake, and the exorcism in the land of the Gerasenes near the lake. Unlike the name in *Mark,* the name that is used by *Luke* for Lake Kinneret is the correct name that can be found with more literary writers too: "λίμνη Γεννησαρέτ" (5,1).[410]

Whereas Jesus is preaching in all the synagogues of Galilee in *Mark*, in *Luke* he preaches in all the synagogues of Judea (4,44). This implies that 1) that the strict scheme Galilee (- the way -) Jerusalem, as we found it in *Mark* is breached and 2) that *Luke* is downplaying the role of Galilee in favour of Judea.[411] It even seems that *Luke* sometimes consciously avoids the mentioning of Galilee. Not only here but also in 7,17, when Jesus has resurrected a young man in Nain, a 'city' in Galilee (7,11), this story spreads not in Galilee, but in the whole of Judea (and the surrounding region) ("καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ περιχώρῳ.". When we look closer to 'Judea' in 4,44 and 7,17 it becomes obvious in the critical apparatus that Jesus' stay in Judea in verse 4,44 was considered problematic early in the textual transmission. Several manuscripts and translations read "Καὶ ἦν κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς τῆς Γαλιλαιας." ("*and he was preaching in the synagogues of Galilee*"), instead of the suggested reading of Nestle Aland: "Καὶ ἦν κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς τῆς Ἰουδαίας." ("*and he was preaching*

[408] Halbwachs (1950) 139-140; Bovon (2013) 585.
[409] Schmidt (1919) 150.
[410] Notley, R.S., "The Sea of Galilee: development of an early Christian toponym", in: *JBL 128, no. 1* (2009) 184.
[411] *Cf.* Filson, F.F., "The Journey Motif in Luke-Acts," in: Gasque, W.W., Martin, R.P. (eds.), *Apostolic History and the Gospel. Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F.F. Bruce* (Exeter 1970) 71.

in the synagogues of Judea").[412] One minuscule (1424) reads "Καὶ ἦν κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων." ("*And he was preaching in the synagogues of the Jews*"). Apparently the early readers of *Luke* struggled with the interpretation of 4,44 and adapted the text in order to make it fit into the context. In their opinion it was reasonable that Jesus stayed in Galilee. This resembles the representation of Jesus' ministry as it is given by *Mark*: there Jesus works in Galilee first, then travels to Jerusalem and finally is crucified in Jerusalem. The author of *Luke,* however, seems to breach this scheme deliberately, because in 7,17 Judea is mentioned too, when news about Jesus is also spread in Judea (and the regions roundabout). Although it is not Jesus himself who goes to Judea, at least his reputation is being spread there.

Some scholars proposed a different solution to the problem that Jesus and his reputation suddenly moved to Judea instead of staying in Galilee. They suggested that in *Luke* Judea means sometimes 'the land of the Jews", as it certainly does in 23,5.[413] In 23,5 (the trial of Jesus) it is stated:

> "οἱ δὲ ἐπίσχυον λέγοντες ὅτι ἀνασείει τὸν λαὸν διδάσκων καθ᾽ ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἕως ὧδε."
>
> *But they insisted, "He stirs up the people all over Judea by his teaching. He started in Galilee and has come all the way here."* (NIB)

Here only the translation of τῆς Ἰουδαίας as 'the land of the Jews' makes sense. Therefore, in 4,44 and 7,17 the word Judea could also refer to the whole land of the Jews and not a part of it.

On the other hand, it is clear that *Luke* does not always use the word Judea to refer to 'the whole land of the Jews'; in 2,4, for example, the term clearly refers to the region of Judea in contrast to the region of Galilee:

> "Ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐκ πόλεως Ναζαρὲθ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν εἰς πόλιν Δαυὶδ (…)."
>
> *"So Joseph also went up from the town of Nazareth in Galilee to Judea, to Bethlehem the town of David, because he belonged to the house and line of David (NIB)."*

But when we try to give an interpretation and translation of 4,44 and 7,17 which makes these verses comprehensible in their context and which presumes that the author wrote a coherent

[412] The variant reading can be found in A, D Θ, Ψ, *f*[13], *33*, 𝔐, latt, sy[p.hmg], bo[pt]. The reading 'τῆς Ἰουδαίας', however, can be regarded as the more difficult one, and thus as being the more probable.

[413] Green (1997) 200; Bovon (2002) 165, 274; Bovon, F., *Luke 3. A commentary on the Gospel of Luke 19:28-24:53* (Minneapolis 2012) 256.

and consistent account, I suggest the best option is to translate Ἰουδαία here as 'the land of the Jews'.

Yet, it is still remarkable that the author does not use the word Galilee here and the impression cannot be avoided that the author wants to avoid a reference to Galilee or at least has a preference for the region that is called Judea over the region of Galilee. There are more indications for this: In *Luke* it is stated four times that the good news is spread, but Galilee is never explicitly referred to with regard to the spreading of the Gospel (4,14.37; 5,15; 7,17). This stands in contrast to *Mark* where it is stated that Jesus' fame is being spread in Galilee and the regions around it (Mk 1,28.39). How does *Luke* describe the regions where the Gospel spreads? He uses the word "περίχωρος" three times, which literally means "the land around". The difficulty is that it is not certain whether *Luke* uses the word to refer to a place plus the regions around it, or only to the regions around a certain place. In 3,3, where John preaches in the περίχωρος of the river Jordan, it is clear that the meaning of the word is 'the regions around a certain place', and does not include the place itself (John does not preach in the river Jordan). But the word περίχωρος is a Septuagintism[414] and in the Septuagint it is sometimes used for the region around a city (Gen 19,17; Jdt 3,7). But when a name is added to the word, it refers to the region itself (Dtn 3,4.13.14; 2 Chr 16,4). I suggest, therefore, that the word περίχωρος without an added name in *Luke* also refers to a region and not to the areas around a certain place. So in 4,14 reference is made to the regions around Galilee, in 4,37 the author refers to the places around Capernaum and in 7,17 to the regions around Judea. In 5,15 the writer describes the spreading of the gospel without mentioning the word περίχωρος or another indication of place: he just states that 'the word' about Jesus spreads (διήρχετο). So, it is only in 4,37 that the spreading of the word in Galilee (and not around it as in 4,14) is mentioned, and even there the word Galilee is not used. Apparently the writer did not find it necessary to underline the Galilean spreading of Jesus' message.

It is striking that the strictly Galilean episode of Jesus' public life seems to stop already in 4,44 (while it started only in 4,14).[415] So the Galilean period of Jesus is much shorter in *Luke* than it is in *Mark*. After chapter 4 Jesus works in Galilee, for example in 7,1-50, but his work is not limited to Galilee only.

[414] Wolter (2008) 156; Bovon (2002) 121.

[415] Wolter (2008) 18. *Pace* Green (1997) 200 (4,44 implies that Jesus' reputation extends to regions outside Galilee); Bovon (2002) 2.

When Jesus teaches in one of the cities of Galilee (Lk 5,12) Pharisees and scribes from every village of Galilee, from Judea and Jerusalem are listening to him (Lk 5,17). Whereas the Pharisees and scribes who are the opponents of Jesus are coming from Jerusalem in *Mark* (Mk 3,22; 7,1), in *Luke* they are from both Galilee and Judea. Thus, in *Luke* the opposition to Jesus is less clear connected to Jerusalem. There are two more indications for this: first, (as mentioned above) Jesus is already almost killed in Nazareth (4,29), whereas in *Mark* he is only rejected in speech in Nazareth, and second, when Jerusalem is mentioned as the city of Jesus' end of life this is first euphemistically described as "τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ".

Further, it is striking that the Pharisees and scribes come from the villages and not from the cities of Galilee. Whereas the author of *Luke* most times represents Galilee as a network of Galilean cities – Capernaum, Nazareth, Nain being cities in *Luke*, as mentioned before - here we find a glimpse of the religious dimension of rural Galilee in the first century. Although the Jewish inhabitants of Galilee felt connected to the temple in Jerusalem,[416] their religious activities were also regional organised and located, for example in synagogues (*see above, The archaeological reconstruction).*

In 8,26 the writer sketches very shortly one detail of the geography of the region where Jesus' works: the land of the Gerasenes is "*opposite Galilee*" ("ἀντιπέρα τῆς Γαλιλαίας"). In *Mark* Lake Kinneret acts as a connection between stories and is repeatedly mentioned. In *Luke* the author only seldom refers to the lake (5,1.2; 8,22.23.32). In 8,26 the words 'opposite Galilee' are not further explained and the reader should deduce that 'opposite Galilee' means that Lake Kinneret is in between Galilee and the land of the Gerasenes. The words 'opposite Galilee' are an addition by the writer of *Luke* to the text as we find it in *Mark*. In *Luke* geographical information that can be found in *Mark* is omitted frequently, but the writer of *Luke* also had the tendency to make the geography more clear, as was his aim here. These words also clarify that Jesus leaves Galilee proper and goes to gentile country; the first and only time in the Gospel.[417]

In *Luke* 13:1 there is a reference to the Galileans whose blood Pilate mixed with their offerings. Because Pilate was the prefect of Judea (cf. Lk 3,1) and because offerings were done in the temple, these Galileans were presumably pilgrims who made a pilgrimage to the temple in Jerusalem.[418] This verse implies a strong connection between Galilee and Jerusalem by the spatial practice of pilgrimage. In the mental map of the author Galilee and Jerusalem are by no means

[416] Reed (2000) 58. *Cf.* 13,1: a verse that probably is speaking about Galilean pilgrims in Jerusalem.
[417] Wolter (2008) 316.
[418] Bovon (2013) 267; Wolter (2008) 475 (But Wolter argues against the usual dating of this situation at the day before Passover).

opposites or loose, separated spaces. As Lefebvre underlines, the essence of space is that it embeds the relations between things,[419] here this relation can be found in pilgrimage practices.

From 9,51 Jesus travels to Jerusalem. Therefore, the words of 17,11 come as a surprise: "Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ αὐτὸς διήρχετο διὰ μέσον Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας." What do these last words mean? This verse is often translated as if Jesus travels "*along the border between Samaria and Galilee*" (CEV, GNB), or "*along the borders of Samaria and Galilee*" (WEB). The Greek literally says "*through the midst of Samaria and Galilee*" (KJV). But whereas the first two translations are sensible for the modern reader, the latter is not. Jesus was already in Samaria in 9,52, so why is it said that he travels through Galilee here? The construction is rare, this is the only place in the NT where δία is combined with an accusative.[420] One would expect a genitive, as in 4,30 and this is indeed a *varia lectio* that is found in a number of manuscripts.[421] It is tempting to believe that the writer of *Luke* tries to say that Jesus took the pilgrimage route that went from Galilee along the border of Samaria to the river Jordan and then went further at the other side of the Jordan until Judea was reached. Then the river was transgressed again and the pilgrims took the route to Jerusalem via Jericho (18,35; 19,1).[422] This solution, however, cannot explain why Samaria is already mentioned as a goal on Jesus' journey in 9,52. Conzelmann tries to reconstruct the mental map of *Luke*'s writer and comes to the conclusion that in *Luke* Galilee and Judea are neighbour districts: Judea is situated at the sea, Galilee is situated to the east and Samaria to the north of both regions.[423] According to Conzelmann we can find the same representation of Samaria in Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*.[424] But in my opinion Pliny's representation of the geography is not a good argument, in order to clarify *Luke*'s mental map. According to Pliny, Galilee was situated next to Syria ("*Syria iuncta")* and thus not to the east of Judea.[425] Here, it is important to remember that the author of *Luke* did not have a map of ancient Palestine to his disposal and probably did not visit Galilee or Samaria. Therefore, one should not look for a solution for this 'geographical problem' in *Luke*, but rather

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[419] Lefebvre (1991) 83.
[420] Blass, F., Debrunner, A., Rehkopf, F., *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen 1990[17]) 179.
[421] A, W, Θ, Ψ, *f*[1.13], *33*, 𝔐, *lat*, *sy*[p.h]
[422] Green (1997) 621.
[423] Conzelmann (1993) 62.
[424] Conzelmann (1993) 62; *cf.* Freyne, S., "The Geography, Politics and Economics of Galilee and the Quest for the Historical Jesus", in: Chilton, B., Evans, G.A. (eds.), *Studying the Historical Jesus. Evaluation of the State of Current Research* (Leiden 1994) 78; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia, V. xiv.*68-70.
[425] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia, V. xiv.*70. Stern's commentary that "one may get the false impression that Idumaea and Samaria formed a continuous territory beyond which there was a continuous Jewish territory" might be the right representation of Pliny's map. (Stern, M., *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem 1974) 474). I do not suggest Pliny's representation of Palestine is as bad as Hengel states ("Pliny (…) completely muddled up his sources") (Hengel (1995) 29).

accept that the representation of Samaria and Galilee is not the same as that on our modern maps. The author knew that three regions existed: Judea, Samaria and Galilee, but the text of *Luke-Acts* is not clear about how he imagined that these regions were related to each other. Lightfoot's approach is appealing: he does not try to solve the problem but comments on 17,11: "the two districts seem as it were to be united by this journey of Jesus".[426] Schmidt's remark, however, that this geographical description is unclear but can be understood as an attempt made by the author in order to give a fitting background for a story in which both Jews and a Samaritan play a role is the most convincing one.[427] Jesus claims to bring the kingdom of God near: in this kingdom the usual distinctions between inside and outside and the ordinary boundaries do not exist. In the kingdom of God there are no borders between Jews and Samaritans. This is already somehow reflected in the representational space of Galilee and Samaria in *Luke.*

It is remarkable that Galilee does not have a central place in *Luke,* but that it does occur in the passion narrative at a place where it is not mentioned by the other Gospels. *Luke* is the only Gospel that tells the story of Jesus being sent by Pilate to Herod, who is in Jerusalem during the trial. In this pericope (23,5-12) Galilee is mentioned twice: Jesus is accused of stirring up the people in Judea "*from Galilee to this place*" ("καθ᾽ ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἕως ὧδε") (23,5). Consequently, Pilate picks up the word Galilee ("Πιλᾶτος δὲ ἀκούσας ἐπηρώτησεν εἰ ὁ ἄνθρωπος Γαλιλαῖός ἐστιν") ("*On hearing this, Pilate asked if the man was a Galilean*." (23,6)) and sends Jesus to Herod, because he comes from his jurisdiction. Then, Herod interrogates Jesus, mocks him and sends him back, dressed in white clothes. According to him, Jesus is not guilty (23,15).[428]

What is the function of Galilee in this story? And why did *Luke* insert this story in the passion narrative? Just because it was available to him or did he maybe invent the story for some specific reason?[429] The last two questions cannot be answered definitely, but it is remarkable that the story of Herod fits well into the tendency of *Luke.* In *Luke-Acts* the author tries to show that the death of the two protagonists of the story, Jesus and Paul, is not due to the Romans, but to the Jews.[430] In *Mark* we find already the tendency to emphasise Jesus' innocence: he was not a rebel

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[426] Lightfoot (1938) 138.
[427] Schmidt (1919) 263.
[428] This is, at least, the interpretation of Pilate in 23,15.
[429] Marshall (1998) 854.
[430] Horn, F.W., "Die Haltung des Lukas zum Römischen Staat", in: Verheyden, J., *The Unity of Luke-Acts* (Leuven 1999) 218.

and was not crucified because he had aspirations for an earthly kingdom.[431] In *Luke* this tendency is reinforced when not only the governor Pilate concludes that Jesus is not guilty, but when Herod comes to this conclusion too. The fact that an official representative of the Roman Empire and a non-Jewish vassal king both come to the same judgment and exonerate Jesus, acts as a very strong indication of Jesus innocence. Jesus' death is to blame on the Jews, thus *Luke*. A similar bias as in *Luke* can be found in *Acts*, where not only Paul is accused and found guilty by the Jews, but also the minor actors Stephen and Peter.[432] Given this bias in *Luke-Acts*, the reason why Galilee is mentioned in the passion narrative must be that the mentioning of this region gives a clue to Herod who subsequently absolves Jesus. Galilee forms the connection between Jesus and Herod and it is Jesus' Galilean provenance that makes it possible to insert Herod in the passion narrative.[433]

In the last chapters of *Luke*, Galilee is mentioned three more times. Here it functions as the region of origin of the followers of Jesus: Peter is recognised as a follower of Jesus because he is from Galilee (*Luke* 22,59) and the women who followed Jesus from Galilee see Jesus hanging on the cross and watch how his body is put in a tomb (23,49.55). The women were important in the early tradition as eyewitnesses of Jesus' death and witnesses of the place where Jesus' body was put (cf. Mk 15,40.47; Mt 27,55.61). In *Luke,* however, their names are not described in detail; for the author it was sufficient to mention that they came from Galilee to Jerusalem together with Jesus and that they knew who he was. This forms an argument against those authors, who claim that Galilee is mainly important because this is the region where the witnesses of Jesus came from.[434] The claim of Vonderbruegge that Galilee is geographically dominated by Judea and Jerusalem, but that Galilee still has theological importance because of these eyewitnesses of Jesus' works, should therefore be rejected. [435]

In 24,6 we find the last reference to Galilee. This reference is mainly interesting because it changes the words of *Mark*: *i*nstead of pointing forwards to an appearance in Galilee, the angels in *Luke* only point backwards, to the words spoken by Jesus when he was in Galilee. For the

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[431] *Cf.* Berger, K., *Theologiegeschichte des Urchristentums* (Tübingen 1994) 641; Jonge, H.J. de, "Joden tegen Marcaanse Christenen kort na 70", in: Frishman, J., Jenner, K.D., Wiegers, G.A (eds.), *Godsdienstvrijheid en de religieuze identiteit van joden, christenen en moslims. Verwachting en realiteit* (Leidse studiën van de godsdienst 3) (Kampen 2000) 83.

[432] Moessner, D.P., " 'The Christ must suffer': new light on the Jesus – Peter, Stephen, Paul parallels in *Luke*-Acts", in: *Novum Testamentum XXVIII, 3* (1986) 224.

[433] Herod's stay in Jerusalem during the Jewish feasts is historically not improbable. Josephus tells that Herod Antipas visited Jerusalem twice (*Ant. 18.122-123*).

[434] Davies, W.D., *The Gospel and the Land* (Berkeley / Los Angeles 1974) 251-252; *cf.* Conzelmann (1960) 66.

[435] VonderBruegge, J.M., *Mapping Galilee: Josephus, Luke, and John in Light of Critical Geography* (Leiden 2016) 138. Fitzmeyer advocates a variant: Galilee functions as place of calling and instruction of the witnesses (Fitzmeyer (1981) 171).

author of *Luke* it was unthinkable that Jesus would appear in Galilee as he found in his source *Mark* (Mk 16,7), the religious capital of Jerusalem was the main candidate for the location of an appearance.

5.2.2 Galilee in Acts

In *Acts* Galilee plays a subordinate role: it is the region where Jesus and his followers come from (1,11; 10,37; 13,31). They are recognised as Galileans because of their accent (2,7, cf. Lk 22,59). But whereas the followers of Jesus are primarily stemming from Galilee at the beginning of the book, at the end of the book the gospel spreads quickly and thus, at the end of *Acts,* there are Christians everywhere in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. Although it is stated that there was a church in Galilee (9,31), this point is not further elaborated.[436] For the structure of the book as we find it in 1,8 (Jerusalem – Judea/Samaria – the ends of the world), Galilee is not important: here Galilee is not mentioned, although the region might be included in Judea. Galilee disappears more and more from the focus of the author. The minor role of Galilee in *Acts* resembles the historical role of the church in Galilee: there are no historical indications for a developed Galilean church and certainly not in the first decades after Jesus' death.[437]

5.3. Synthesis: the literary construction of Galilee in comparison to the Lukan and archaeological sources

As we conclude sketching the contours of Galilee as it is constructed literary in *Luke-Acts* it is necessary to take in account three things. Firstly what is discussed in chapter 4 about the spatial world of the book, secondly a redaction critic approach and thirdly the comparison with the archaeological construction of Galilee.

When we compare *Luke* to its sources it is striking that Galilee has a vanishing importance at diverse points of the narrative and that Galilee is not very important for the structure of *Luke* or *Acts*, beginning from the birth stories. Therefore, one could claim that Galilee is both constructed and deconstructed in the book: the region plays a marginal role and is not important for the theological message of the book. There are no indications for a developed Galilean church in the first century, after the destruction of the temple[438] and therefore it is not surprising that traditions about Galilee slowly disappeared out of the social memories of early Christians. *Luke*

[436] Further, in 5,37, Galilee is mentioned in connection with Judas (Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος) who drew some people after him and was killed.

[437] Davies (1974) 222; Harlow, D.C., "Early Judaism and Early Christianity", in: Collins (2012) 399. *Pace* Bauckham, who presumes that "*many followers of Jesus no doubt remained in Galilee*" (Bauckham (1995) 423).

[438] Freyne (2002) 303.

is a typical example of the process of social memory: when certain groups or persons disappear from the reference group the memories that were connected to these people disappear too. The waning of Galilee in this Gospel is thus not due to a theological or sociological disapproval of the region. In *Luke's* source *Mark* there seems to be more of a contrast between Jerusalem (or Judea) and Galilee. The Pharisees, for instance, as a symbol for Jesus' opposition, come from Jerusalem to Galilee in *Mark* (Mk 3,22; 7,1). It can be tempting to stress the difference between Jerusalem and Galilee in *Luke* and make this into an ideological contrast, as is sometimes done, but in *Luke* we find no indications for this.[439]

It is not easy to compare the archaeological reconstruction of Galilee and the literary construction of Galilee in *Luke-Acts*. The role of Galilee in *Luke-Acts* is too small for an honest comparison. But a comparison that takes into account the different character of both constructions shows beside some similarities many differences. The differences are interesting: In *Luke-Acts* the author or the social memories he uses, deviates from our reconstruction of the first century Galilee. This is not surprising: not only our archaeological and historical data, but memories in general are always constructed and are never just a copy of what existed in reality.[440] The most striking differences between both constructions are the following: the villages of Galilee are labelled in *Luke-Acts* as cities, the author has a different but unclear representation of how the regions of Judea, Samaria and Galilee are located to each other, the big cities of Galilee are absent in the book (just as in *Luke's* literary sources) and finally in the narrative of *Luke* Jesus breaks down boundaries that must have been powerful in daily social practices, such as boundaries between pure and impure Jewish and gentile or Samaritan (think for example of the absence of pigs in many villages versus Jesus' encounter with the possessed man in an area where pigs were herded). Some similarities are remarkable too: the peaceful connection between Judea/Jerusalem and Galilee (in contrast to *Mark*), the relative unimportance of Galilee for the followers of Jesus after his death and for the developing church (also in contrast to *Mark*), the Jewish identity of the inhabitants of Galilee and finally the presence of synagogues which functioned as places of gathering already in the early first century.

In *Luke-Acts* Galilee does not function as representational space, a space with a highly symbolic value, nor as a heterotopy. In his construction of Galilee the author more or less adapts to the representation of space that was common in the Roman Empire: Galilee is the region in the

[439] Freyne, S., "The Geography of Restoration. Galilee-Jerusalem Relations in Early Jewish and Christian Experience", in: *New Testament Studies* 47 (2001) 291.

[440] Assman (1997) 42.

empire that is reigned by Herod Antipas, who was appointed by the Romans: indirectly, the region is subjected to the Romans (Lk 2,1-2). The construction of Galilee in *Luke-Acts* is not openly subversive, but one can recognise a covert subversive trend in the representation of a different kind of space: Jesus advocates the kingdom of God in which the first will be the last. This kingdom is not really compatible with the reign of Herod Antipas or the Roman emperor, in which the strongest and most powerful is the first, but the author hastens to underline that Jesus was politically not dangerous. He is considered 'not guilty' by both the Roman prefect Pilate and by Herod Antipas. The kingdom that Jesus proclaimed is a religious or spiritual space that does not directly interfere with political practices in *Luke-Acts.* As a representational space, the kingdom has the potentiality to undermine the Roman representation of space, in which everything is subjected to Rome and its emperor, but the author tries to mask this political dangerous side of the Jesus movement.

6. Conclusion: turning the map of Galilee

On the basis of the preceding chapters the research questions will now be systematically answered. I will finish with a short discussion of the used methods and theories and give suggestions for further research.

What does the author's mental and symbolic map of Galilee and other spaces in the narrative look like? How are these spaces connected to social practices?

The author of *Luke* distorts the geographical map of Galilee. He uses the words Judea and Galilee sometimes undifferentiated and is not prone to demarcate Galilee as a separate region and as the area where Jesus grew up. The birth stories underline this: they locate Jesus' birth in Bethlehem instead of Nazareth. Further, the Lukan Jesus deconstructs the established social map of Galilee. He inverses the symbolic value of traditional spaces, such as the synagogue and the meal, by criticising the spatial practices that characterise these places. Thus, they loose their function as places where honour can be acquired. In the kingdom of God new practices are important and the established values play a new role. Honour, for example, can only be given by and expected from God. People that are honoured within the established society play a minor role in the kingdom of God and vice versa: impure and dishonoured people are the first in God's kingdom. Preaching the gospel is an important practice in *Luke-Acts* with regard to the kingdom of God. Other important spatial practices are deeds of liberation (exorcism, healing, forgiving of

sins, praising of low status people) and the common meal. Places that had a symbolic value in *Mark*, such as the mountain and the lake, have a less prominent role in the narrative and their symbolic value is decreased. But the journey does have important symbolic value in the narrative of *Luke*, just as 'the way' is important in *Acts* as a designation for the group of Jesus' followers.

How is the construction of Galilee in Luke related to the construction of Galilee in its sources? What light does the archaeological reconstruction of Galilee shed on the literary construction of Galilee in Luke-Acts?

The comparison of the literary reconstruction of Galilee in *Luke-Acts* with our contemporaneous archaeological representation of the region shows a number of interesting aspects. Firstly, there are similarities that are striking, for instance the relative peaceful relationship between Galilee and Jerusalem. In *Luke-Acts* Galilee and Jerusalem are not opposed and Jesus the Galilean is connected to Jerusalem from childhood on and visits the city more than once. In other literary sources the relation between Galilee and Jerusalem is sometimes characterized by enmity (*Gospel of Mark,* Josephus' *Vita*), but based on the archaeological records we can presume a more peaceful relationship. Secondly, a remarkable contrast between the literary, Lukan construction of Galilee and the archaeological data is the rural character of Galilee. First century Galilee should be imagined as a region that was influenced by processes of Hellenisation and Romanisation, without traces of economic decline and with urban elites, though the region in general had a rural character. Agriculture and the fish industry were important means of existence. But in *Luke-Acts* Galilee has been 'urbanized': most settlements are called cities, even small villages like Nazareth, and the lake that was so important in the region plays only a minor role. Agriculture is of little importance in the narrative, mainly in Jesus' stories and parables, and the narrator seems to be driven by an urban preference. Presumably, this betrays that both he and his audience should be located in the social environment of the city. In *Mark* Galilee has a much more rural character, but the author of *Luke-Acts* deviates from his source in this regard. Further, he has made the role of Galilee in his Gospel smaller than in *Mark*, for example by omitting Galilee in relation to the post-eastern appearance of Jesus. For the author of *Luke* Galilee is perceived of as hinterland, a region that had no sustained relevance for the followers of Jesus.

How does Galilee as a social space and as a locus in social memory in Luke-Acts express identity, ideology and theology?

In *Luke-Acts* we recognize a decreasing importance of Galilee in the social memory of the social group of the author. Apparently there were no group members who kept the Galilean memories alive and thus these memories slowly died out. Galilee has no important theological importance in the narrative of *Luke-Acts.* Jesus is remembered as coming from Nazareth, but he has no distinct Galilean profile in the book. Galilee is remembered as a region where the rejection of Jesus started and thus is not qualitatively different from Judea.

How does Galilee function in the narrative? Which narratological analysing terms may serve to clarify its function, e.g. a thematic, characterizing or mirror function?

In *Luke-Acts* Galilee is a marginal region. It is the place of Jesus' childhood (Nazareth) and where he starts his public life. But soon after Jesus' initial preaching in Nazareth the attention for Galilee in the book decreases. Galilee does not have a clear theological profile or symbolic value. But this does not imply that the region is not important for the story line: in the plot it has a mirror function in two respects. Firstly, Jesus is rejected in Nazareth. This story is placed programmatically at the beginning of the Galilean section. Thus, it predicts Jesus' later rejection in other regions, in Samaria, Judea and especially in Jerusalem. Secondly, the marginal function of Galilee in the plot of the book mirrors the universalistic scope of the gospel at the end of *Luke* and in *Acts.* Jesus is the εὐεργέτης and σωτήρ of all Jews and eventually of the whole world, the οἰκουμένη. Therefore, the story space of Galilee is not used to characterize Jesus in *Luke-Acts*: in this book he is much more than a Galilean.

How does the author relate to Jewish and Greco-Roman traditions? Does Luke-Acts have a geographical focus that is connected to one of these traditions?

The construction of Galilee shows that the author has developed an identity that moves between Roman or Hellenistic culture on the one hand and Jewish culture on the other hand.[441] The Galilee of *Luke-Acts* is both imagined as a region that is part of the Roman empire and as a region that has strong relations with the capital of Judaism, Jerusalem. Jerusalem acts as the focus of *Luke-Acts*, but the city is regarded with ambivalence. Jerusalem is of major importance for the followers of 'the way', but it is also the city that killed the prophets and the protagonists

[441] Jewish culture was already deeply influenced by Hellenistic trends, so one should not consider these categories as total opposites.

of the story. The author offers an alternative for the Jewish and Greco-Roman representations of space by the concept of the kingdom of God. This kingdom, as it is advocated by the Lukan Jesus, challenges the representation of space that was dominant in both Judaism and the Roman empire. It has political implications, but at the same time it is not really politically subversive and is devoid of violent resistance. In *Acts* the kingdom of God is almost out of view: it is Jesus, instead of the kingdom, that is the core of the gospel that is preached by the apostles.

Finally, I can answer the main question of this thesis:

How does Galilee function as a literary construction in Luke-Acts?

It is demonstrated that in *Luke-Acts* there is a double turning of the map: the social map of Galilee is turned upside down and the map in which Galilee has a prominent place is turned when the story of Jesus and his followers develops and the whole οἰκουμένη comes into view. The book functions in this aspect as a literary heterotopia: it distorts social and geographical maps. Thus, the representation of Galilee in the book is simultaneously a construction and a deconstruction of existing images and representations of the region. The region has a mirror function: it anticipates both the later rejection of Jesus in Jerusalem and the universalistic tendency of the gospel in *Acts.*

To finish, this is the appropriate place to evaluate the used approach.

Did the spatial theories, theories about social memory and literary theories about space open up new insight in Luke-Acts and did they help the analysis of the book?

I have used multiple theories concerning space as lenses that help to focus on certain aspects of a text and that offer terms and tools to discuss certain characteristics of a text. This study has shown that the combination of diverse theories about space leads to new perspectives. For example: redaction criticism shows that the author gives much less attention to the region of Galilee than the sources do, while theories about social memory help to explain this (memories about Galilee died out) and a spatial analysis clarifies that the author uses Jewish and Greco-Roman representations of space for the construction of Galilee and at the same time criticises these representations in the representational space of the kingdom of God. Archaeology, in turn, proves to be a difficult element for comparison because of its heterogeneity. But it is helpful to show certain striking characteristics of Galilee in *Luke-Acts*, such as the neglect of the rural character of Galilee. In sum, this interdisciplinary approach added to the established

interpretations some new elements, brought other aspects to the attention and established new connections between elements within and without *Luke-Acts*.

The main value of the interdisciplinary approach of this thesis is that it connects the different levels of space, which are often separated in other studies. The interconnectedness of the several levels of space is an important aspect of Lefebvre's spatial approach and when his approach is applied to the New Testament one cannot but choose an interdisciplinary method. In former research, the study of space within the Gospels was often driven by either sociological, geographical, or theological concerns. But these three fields cannot be separated: social space is created by the interaction of these three aspects, which roughly correspond with the three levels of Lefebvre's theory (spatial practices, representations of space and representational space).

Finally, what does this thesis imply for further research? This thesis focused more on *Luke* than on *Acts*, but the used methods could be applied to *Acts* too. Because it is so obvious that geographical elements are important in *Acts* many studies have already been dedicated to the analysis of geographical places in *Acts.* But often the geographical analysis of *Acts* is not connected to the analysis of *Luke* and in many cases the three levels of space are separated.[442] So, here is an interesting field for future research.

Above, many spatial elements in *Luke-Acts* have been discussed, but more have been left without attention. The investigation of a wide range of spatial elements would be interesting, certainly when it is discussed how they are related to each other. The wilderness (ἔρημον τόπον, e.g. 4,1.42; 5,16), for instance, is not discussed above. How is this space related to the mountain (a comparable category) and to the city (a category that seems to be opposed to it)? More unexpected spatial items could be an interesting subject of discussion too, for example the space of the womb (1,15.31.41.42.44; 2,21.23; 11,27). Does the Lukan Jesus relativizes the importance of the womb as it is represented in the birth stories? And how is the space of the womb related to the function of women in this Gospel and to women's space?

In short, the innovative, interdisciplinary approach that was applied to *Luke-Acts* in this thesis has shown to be promising and should be implemented in future research of the New Testament. Not only geographical terms, but also a wider range of spatial terms is apt to be studied with use of this methodology.

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[442]The work of Sleeman being one of the exceptions. (Sleeman, M., *Geography and the Ascension Narrative in Acts* (Cambridge 2009)).

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NAS: *New American Standard Bible* (1977).

KJV: *King James Version* (1769).

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