

CHRISTIAN-APOCALYPTIC PROTEST FROM THE FIRST-CENTURY 90S AS A REACTION TO ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Peter Lampe

In the previous chapter, Kaja Wieczorek has shown how Luke's New Testament writings criticized the Roman Empire's economic conditions as well as its ideology of the Golden Age and developed alternative models of economic solidarity. The biblical book of Revelation, written at the end of the first century,¹ took a less diplomatic and less constructive stance, protesting and not really developing alternatives—except that God would, in the near future, overturn the present power system and make room for a thousand-year-long reign of Christ and his followers on earth (Rev. 20:1–6).² Expecting an impending eschaton, the author did not pay much attention to improving life under the present political-economic system. Upholding the Christian identity even when under attack, resisting attack patiently and passively, and being ready to suffer were the author's instructions for the present time (Rev. 2:10, 25; 3:3, 8; 14:13; 20:4; 6:9; 22:11). Thus, instead of

For the dating, see note 8, below.

In this sense, and only in this sense, the author can be called a revolutionary. Yet his ethos was nonviolent, with the monopoly on legitimate violence being in God's hands. Thus, a nonviolent ethos correlated with a violent image of the divine. God's violent intervention in the near future released humans from having to use violence themselves. For this and the nonviolent ethos of Christian writings such as Revelation, see P. Lampe, "Die Apokalyptiker—ihre Situation und ihr Handeln," in *Eschatologie und Friedenshandeln: Exegetische Beiträge zur Frage christlicher Friedensverantwortung*, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 101, ed. U. Luz, J. Kegler, P. Lampe, and P. Hoffmann (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1982), 59–114; regarding Revelation, 95–98; online at <http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/archiv/25279>; DOI: <http://doi.org/10.11588/heidok.00025279>; P. Lampe, "La littérature apocalyptique: un Dieu violent et un ethos orienté vers la violence?," in *Dieu est-il violent? La violence dans les représentations de Dieu*, ed. M. Arnold and J.-M. Prieur (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires, 2005), 31–48; P. Lampe, *Ad ecclesiae unitatem: Eine exegetisch-theologische und sozialpsychologische Paulusstudie* (Bern: Universität Bern, 1989), 253–81, online at <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/lampe1989>; DOI: 10.11588/diglit.48669.

trying to make the present world better, the author preferred its apocalyptic negation.

Yet Revelation is an outcry against the contemporary political and economic systems as the author perceived them. Preserved in the Christian canon, the book is a rare piece of underground literature from the provincial lower social strata of the Roman Empire,³ raising harsh political and economic protest in encrypted language that shows satirical features. It is worth zooming in on some of the texts in this document.

A white and a red horse race across the country (Rev. 6:2–4), their riders carrying a bow and a sword, probably symbolizing troops of the Parthian war and the first-century (BCE) civil war or the wars of succession in the year 68/69 CE. Behind them, hunger rides on a black horse with a scale in his hand (Rev. 6:5–6), representing high food prices caused by a shortage that plagued the province of Asia Minor in the early 90s: “A quart of wheat for a denarius, and three quarts of barley for a denarius, and do not harm the oil and wine!” (Rev. 6:6). An edict by the Emperor Domitian from the years 90–92 CE, which intended to increase grain production but also ordered the destruction of half of the vineyards of Asia Minor,⁴ and a decree by L. Antistius Rusticus⁵ show that, at least in the year 92/93 CE, a famine affected Asia Minor. The hunger horse is followed by a pale nag, representing death (Rev. 6:7–8).

Notwithstanding war and food shortages in the provinces, people in Rome lived the high life (Rev. 18:12 f, 16; 17:4). By juxtaposing chapters 6 and 17–18, Revelation emphasizes the contrast between the provinces and the capital

³ The author most probably was an early Christian ascetic itinerant prophet in Asia Minor, who moved around in the region of the seven cities in western Asia Minor addressed in Rev. 2–3. With his visions and oracles, he wanted to belong to the Christian prophets mentioned in Rev. 22:6, 9, 16; 11:18; 16:6; 18:20, 24; 19:10; 10:7 (cf. 22:7, 10, 18 f; 1:9–20). For rigorous and ascetic ethics, propagated as an ideal by the author, see 14:4 f; 2:14, 20–22; 3:15. For Christian itinerant prophets and teachers, see, e. g., Didache 13; 15:1 f; 11:8, 5 f.; 2 John 10 f.; 2 Cor. 11:4; Acts 11:27 f.; 21:10; 18:24–27; 8:4 f, 25 f.; 11:19–21; 15:32 f.; 13:1–3; 1 Cor. 9:14; finally, the people behind the Q-source, and Eusebius, *H.E.* 3.39.4 regarding the first half of the second century in Asia Minor, <http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/archiv/25279>; DOI: <http://doi.org/10.11588/heidok.00025279>.

⁴ B. Levick, “Domitian and the Provinces,” *Latomus* 41 (1988): 50–73, at 68. The edict stipulated, among other things, that in Asia Minor half of the vineyards had to be destroyed, possibly to protect the Italian vintners by keeping prices up. The exhortation not to harm the wine in Rev. 6:6 may refer to this stipulation.

⁵ AE 1925, 126; Robert K. Sherk, *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 149 f. The famine in Antioch/Pisidia seems to have been caused by a harsh winter.

city.⁶ Chapter 17 caricatures Rome satirically as a prostitute who intoxicated the entire Mediterranean world and their rulers, all having become dependent on her:

I will show you the judgment of the great prostitute [Rome] who is seated on many waters [dominating the Mediterranean world and its shores], with whom the kings of the earth [client kings such as the Herodians in Palestine, for example] have committed sexual immorality, and with the wine of whose sexual immorality the dwellers on earth have become drunk.

I saw a woman [Rome] sitting on a scarlet beast [the institution of imperial rule, having produced seven emperors until the reign of Domitian, in which the author writes] that was full of blasphemous names, and it had seven heads [Augustus 31 BCE–14 CE, Tiberius 14–37 CE, Caligula 37–41 CE, Claudius 41–54 CE, Nero 54–68 CE, Vespasian 69–79 CE, his son Titus 79–81 CE, and again Nero who, *redivivus*, returned⁷ as Domitian in 81–96 CE, thus seven emperors instead of eight; see 17:10–11, below]⁸ and ten horns [the client kings; see Rev. 17:12, below].

The woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet, and adorned with gold and jewels and pearls, holding in her hand a golden cup full of abominations and the impurities of her sexual immorality. And on her forehead was written a name of mystery: Babylon the great [cf. Rev. 14:8], mother of prostitutes and of earth's abominations. And I saw the woman, drunk with the blood of the saints, the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.

The pagan *Sibilline Oracle* (3.350–55), written before the battle of Actium (31 BCE), similarly highlights Rome's economic exploitation of the Asian province and prophesies that Asia will wreak revenge on Rome: "However much wealth Rome received from tribute-bearing Asia, Asia will receive three times that much again from Rome and will repay her deadly arrogance to her. Whatever number from Asia served the house of Italians, twenty times that number of Italians will be serfs in Asia, in poverty, and they will be liable to pay ten-thousandfold. O luxurious golden offspring of Latium, Rome, virgin, often drunken with your weddings with many suitors, as a slave will you be wed, without decorum." The latter motifs parallel Rev. 17, where Rome is portrayed as a prostitute sleeping with many rulers in the Mediterranean world and making the provinces drunk (see also Rev. 18:3). The theme of repaying in the Sibilline Oracle is echoed in Rev. 18:6: "Pay her [Rome] back as she herself has paid back others, and repay her double for her deeds; mix a double portion for her in the cup she mixed."

For the popular belief that Nero as *redivivus* returned to life in several men, such as Terentius Maximus and others, see, e.g., Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.8; Suetonius, *Nero* 57; Cassius Dio 66.19.3; *Oracula Sibillina* 5.360–69; 8.139–59 and 8.68–72. Revelation 13:3–18 most probably claims that Domitian was the *Nero redivivus*: Nero's deadly wound healed (Rev. 13:3, 12, 14), he is present in Domitian, who is criticized harshly in chapter 13. This is still the most plausible identification of the seven "heads" or emperors, with Domitian (and not later emperors, such as Hadrian) being contemporary to the apocalyptic writer and thus the main target of Revelation's criticism. This essay thus upholds the traditional dating of Revelation in the first half of the 90s CE.

The seven heads are seven hills on which the woman is seated; they are also seven kings [*basileis*, which also was the Greek title of the emperors], five of whom have fallen [Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero], one is [Vespasian, during whose era the apocalyptic author *pretends* to write], the other has not yet come [Titus], and when he does come he must remain only a little while [from 79 to 81 CE]. As for the beast [Nero] that was [54–68 CE] and is not [during Vespasian's reign], it is an eighth [Domitian] but it belongs to the seven [as *Nero redivivus*], and it goes to destruction.

And the ten horns that you saw are ten kings who have not yet received royal power [at the time of Vespasian's reign], but they are to receive authority as kings for one hour [in the wars of the end times], together with the beast. These are of one mind, and they hand over their power and authority to the beast. They will make war on the Lamb [Christ], and the Lamb will conquer them, for he is Lord of lords and King of kings, and those with him are called and chosen and faithful.

And the angel said to me, the waters that you saw, where the prostitute is seated, are peoples and multitudes and nations and languages. And the ten horns that you saw, they and the beast will hate the prostitute. They will make her desolate and naked, and devour her flesh and burn her up with fire.... The woman that you saw is the great city that has dominion over the kings of the earth.

This political protest by a provincial author, who raised his voice from a Christian underground using encrypted language understood only by insiders, draws a satirical caricature of the colonial power Rome and her emperors by depicting them as a harlot riding on a multiheaded beast. It was an outcry against colonialism and against Rome's rule in general, under which some Christians had suffered persecution (Rev. 2:13; 16:6; 17:6; 18:24).⁹ Chapter 13:1–10 also proclaims political protest, using the same satirical caricature as well as adding a protest against the imperial cult:

And I saw a beast rising out of the sea ... , with ten horns and seven heads, with ten diadems on its horns and blasphemous names on its heads. And the beast that I saw was like a leopard; its feet were like a bear's, and its mouth was like a lion's mouth. And to it the dragon [Satan, who is identified with Zeus in 2:13, enthroned in the Zeus temple of, e. g., Pergamon] gave his power and his throne and great authority. One of its heads [Nero] seemed to have a mortal wound [Nero's suicide with a dagger; Sueton, *Nero* 49], but its mortal wound was healed [in Domitian as *Nero redivivus*], and the whole earth marveled as they followed the beast.

⁹ The author has a case in Pergamon in mind (2:13) and possibly the Neronian persecution of Christians in the city of Rome in the year 64 CE (Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44). Larger persecutions especially targeting the Christians are not documented under Domitian but were feared to be imminent by the apocalyptic author.

And they worshiped the dragon, for he had given his authority to the beast, and they worshiped the beast [in the imperial cult], saying, “Who is like the beast, and who can fight against it?” And the beast was given a mouth uttering haughty and blasphemous words, and it was allowed to exercise authority for forty-two [more] months [until the eschaton; cf. 11:2; 12:6; Daniel 12:11]... It was allowed to make war on the saints and to conquer them [cf. note 9]. And it was given authority over every tribe and people and language and nation, and all who dwell on earth will worship it, everyone whose name has not been written before the foundation of the world in the book of life of the Lamb who was slain.

The priesthood of the imperial cult of Domitian (Rev. 13:14)—“making the earth and its inhabitants worship the first beast whose mortal wound was healed” (13:12) and “telling them to make an image for the beast that was wounded by the sword and yet lived” (13:14)—is satirically depicted as a second beast in Revelation 13:11–18. However, besides protesting against the political superpower Rome, the imperial rule, and the imperial cult, the apocalyptic prophet also targeted *economic deficiencies*, and did so with more aggressive language than Luke. As shown above, the apocalyptic author was aware of the economic imbalance between the capital city and the provinces and castigated high prices and famine because of the food shortages in the Asia Minor provinces. Moreover, in Revelation 13:15–17, he addressed the economic disadvantages Christians incurred by refusing to partake in the imperial cult or in public life in general:

It [the emperor’s image] might cause those who would not worship the image of the beast to be slain [a few Christians had already been killed; see 2:13; 6:9–11; 12:11; 20:4]. It [the second beast, that is, the priesthood of the imperial cult] also causes all, both small and great, both rich and poor, both free and slave, to be marked on the right hand or the forehead, so that no one can buy or sell unless he has the mark, that is, the name of the beast or the number of its name.¹⁰

These remarks imply that Christians not venerating the emperor suffered from disadvantages when trying to be active market participants as traders or craftspeople (when “buying or selling”). They were stigmatized as outsiders, even suspected of “hating other humans” (*odium humanum generis*, Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44.4 and Luke 6:22–23), thus not trusted, which was fatal for trade. Conversely, not only Christian businesspeople suffered but also other market participants, since

If the *charagma* (imprinted mark) of the emperor, with which all people of the empire are marked, is not to be understood as purely symbolic, it possibly alludes to the Roman coins that usually showed the embossed face of the emperor. Whoever refused to use these coins had problems selling and buying. Cf. A. Y. Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984), 126.

many Christians refused to buy meat that had been offered at pagan temples (Rev. 2:14, 20). According to Pliny, *Epist.* 10.96.10 (from the beginning of the second decade of the second century CE), many Christians refused not only to swear by the emperor's name and to participate in public festivals but also to go to the meat markets to buy meat slaughtered at pagan temples. Pliny observed that the meat markets suffered (*rarissimus emptor inveniebatur*) because of the sheer number of Christians in his province of Pontus-Bythynia, in northern Asia Minor. In addition, Pliny observed that the pagan temples, usually not just religious but also economic institutions, suffered from dwindling attendance. Christians, when sufficiently numerous, impeded normal functioning of the market economy. To a significant extent, their hands were bound by their religion.

The apocalyptic prophet's loudest economic protest can be heard in chapter 18: Merchants from all over the known world importing precious goods to Rome, shipowners and "all captains and seafaring people, sailors and all whose trade is on the sea" (18:17) have grown rich from luxurious living in the capital city (18:3, 11, 14-15, 17, 19, 22), while people starve in the province (6:6). Rome's merchants are princes on earth (18:23). "All who have ships at sea grow rich by her wealth" (18:19). But all of her glory (18:16 f.) will turn into torment, the prophet's oracle predicts:

She glorified herself and lived in luxury, so give her a like measure of torment and mourning, since in her heart she says, I sit as a queen, I am no widow, and mourning I shall never see (18:7)... And the kings of the earth, who committed sexual immorality and lived in luxury with her, will weep and wail over her when they see the smoke of her burning (18:9).

The protest is especially powerful in 18:11-13:

The merchants of the earth weep and mourn for her, since no one buys their cargo anymore, cargo of gold, silver, jewels, pearls, fine linen, purple cloth, silk, scarlet cloth, all kinds of scented wood, all kinds of articles of ivory, all kinds of articles of costly wood, bronze, iron, and marble, cinnamon, spice, incense, myrrh, frankincense, wine, oil, fine flour, wheat, cattle and sheep, horses and chariots, and slaves, that is, human souls!

The text shows how much merchants were dependent on shipments into the capital city. The list of their luxury goods escalates, with living creatures (cattle, sheep, horses) being featured at the end, and human slaves, being nothing but material goods, representing the climax. This is the only outcry against slavery in the New Testament. All other New Testament writers did not question the institution of slavery. They sometimes tried to make the lives of slaves easier (for example, Philem.; Eph. 6:9). However, the apostle Paul even discouraged slaves

from striving for freedom because, in his view, the eschaton was imminent, and therefore any changes of a Christian's legal and social status did not make sense to him.¹¹ The author of Revelation, however, who also propagated a near-end eschatology, seemed to sense the scandal of slavery and protested against it. Thus, the eschatology of an imminent end of the world did not necessarily have to lead to an acceptance of the institution of slavery.

Revelation's economic protest was broad-brush and lacked sophistication. Before the readers' eyes, it drew caricatures of the powerful and extravagant Rome, the imperial rule, imperial cult, and the Rome-centered trade of luxurious goods. The satirical character of this protest has not been acknowledged sufficiently.

Yet another first-century satire, a pagan novel, contains a similar text castigating Rome's luxurious life. In Petronius's *Satyrical*, one of the protagonists, the artistically and financially rather unsuccessful poet Eumolpus, recites his lengthy, moralizing poem about Rome's civil war between Caesar and Pompeius. The poem also presents an oracle, a *vaticinium ex eventu* or prediction of an event. Eumolpus calls his concoction "prophecies of a frenzied seer" (*furentis animi vaticinatio*), decorated with "allusions," "divine interpositions," and "mythology" (*Sat.* 118.6). In places, Eumolpus's protest sounds similar to that of Revelation. It starts with Rome's greed and lavish life, nurtured by colonialistic expansion, the plundering of other regions, and the importing of their lush goods to Rome:

(*Sat.* 119) The conquering Roman now held the whole world, sea, and land... The waters were stirred and troubled by his loaded ships; if there were any hidden bay beyond, or any land that promised a yield of yellow gold, that place was Rome's enemy, fate stood ready for the sorrows of war, and *the quest for wealth* went on... Bright colors dug from earth [mining] rivaled the purple [purple dye murex]; here the African curses Rome, here the Chinaman plunders his marvelous silks, and the Arabian hordes have stripped their own fields bare... Tables of citron wood are dug out of the soil of Africa and set up, the spots on them resembling gold, which is cheaper than they, their polish reflecting hordes of slaves and purple clothes, to lure the senses... The wrasse is brought alive to table in seawater from Sicily, and the oysters torn from the banks of the Lucrine lake make a dinner famous, in order to renew men's hunger by their extravagance. All the birds are now gone from the waters of Phasis; the shore is quiet; only the empty air breathes on the lonely boughs... The house of senators is corrupt, their support hangs on a price. The freedom and virtue of the old men has decayed, ... their dignity was stained by money and trodden in the dust... Moreover, filthy usury and the handling of money had caught the common people in a double

¹¹ 1 Cor. 7:17–24. Only unless the slave's master decides to manumit, the slave should embrace freedom (7:21b). In view of the imminent eschaton, for Paul, the legal and social status in the world was an *adiaphoron*. If Christians resisted manumission offered to them, or if they actively strove for manumission, they would show that the worldly status was *not* an *adiaphoron* for them.

whirlpool, and destroyed them.... The youth of Rome contemns its own strength, and groans under the wealth its own hands have heaped up. See, everywhere they squander their spoils, and the mad use of wealth brings their destruction. They have buildings of gold and thrones raised to the stars, they drive out the waters with their piers, the sea springs forth amid the fields: rebellious man turns creation's order upside down.

Fortuna, being upset by what she sees and ready to punish the Romans, predicts the devastation of the civil war, just as the apocalyptic seer in Revelation 17-18 foretells a destruction of Rome in the near future:

(*Sat.* 121) If I may foretell the truth without fear; for the anger that rises in my heart is stern.... I hate all the gifts I have made to towering Rome, and I am angry at my own blessings. The god that raised up those high palaces shall destroy them too. It will be my delight also to burn the men and feed my lust with blood.

Omens undergird Fortuna's prediction:

(*Sat.* 122) Straightway the slaughter of men and the destruction to come were made plain by omens from on high. For Titan [the sun] was disfigured and dabbled in blood, and veiled his face in darkness: you thought that even then he gazed on civil strife. In another quarter Cynthia [the moon] darkened her full face, and denied her light to the crime. The mountaintops slid down, and the peaks broke in thunder, the wandering streams were dying and no more ranged abroad between their familiar banks. The sky is loud with the clash of arms, the trumpet shakes to the stars and rouses the War God, and at once Aetna is the prey of unaccustomed fires, and casts her lightnings high into the air.

Finally, the civil war between Caesar and Pompeius is about to be unleashed:

(*Sat.* 123) Battle, blood, slaughter, fire, and the whole picture of war flits before their eyes. Their hearts shake in confusion, and are fearfully divided between two counsels. One man chooses flight by land, another trusts rather to the water, and the open sea now safer than his own country. Some prefer to attempt a fight and turn Fate's decree to account. As deep as a man's fear is, so far he flies. In the turmoil the people themselves, a woeful sight, are led swiftly out of the deserted city [Rome], where their stricken heart drives them. Rome is glad to flee, her true sons are cowed by war, and at a rumor's breath leave their houses to mourn. One holds his children with a shaking hand, one hides his household gods in his bosom and, weeping, leaves his door and calls down death on the unseen enemy.... (*Sat.* 124) And among them Madness, like a steed loosed when the reins snap, flings up her bloody head and shields her face, scarred by a thousand wounds, with a bloodstained helm.... The trumpets shook, and Discord with disheveled hair raised her Stygian head to the upper sky. Blood had dried on

her face, tears ran from her bruised eyes, her teeth were mailed with a scurf of rust, her tongue was dripping with foulness, and her face beset with snakes, her clothes were torn before her tortured breasts, and she waved a red torch in her quivering hand.

“Eumolpus poured out these lines with immense fluency” (*ingenti volubilitate verborum effudisset*, *Sat.* 124), the novel continues. Tongue in cheek, Petronius put this poem in the mouth of his Eumolpus figure. The (self-)criticism of Rome’s sissified and luxurious lifestyle at the expense of conquered countries seems a genuine concern of the moralizing Eumolpus, but the poem’s wordiness, dramatic pathos, and hyperbole at the same time render it ludicrous. The senator Petronius is a satirist, not a moralist, not calling for change. He himself is an expert in questions of taste and luxurious living (Tacitus, *Ann.* 16.18), making fun of Eumolpus and his moralistic indignation. His satire merely wants to entertain and please his readers’ artistic tastes.

By contrast, Revelation’s political and economic criticism was deadly serious and had a moralizing touch. The caricature-like images of two beasts, a harlot, and weeping merchants were satirical, but drenched in bitterness. They were outcries, genuine accusations. The author expected God to abolish the economic and political conditions that he castigated. The satirical elements thus are to be found on different levels in the two texts.

In conclusion, in a rare piece of underground literature from the provinces, the author of Revelation was sensitive to economic injustice and deficiencies, including slavery. He had the courage to harshly criticize and protest, albeit in an encrypted way to be understood only by insiders. Yet his protest vented his own and his Christian readers’ frustration and anger.

Contrary to Luke, Revelation did not offer much in terms of alternatives. The author did not suggest explicitly what should be done to create a better world, because the world he lived in was doomed to perish in the near future. This expectation was the apocalyptic author’s solution to all problems, preventing him from envisioning significant socioeconomic changes in the present age. Yet, the author de facto lived an alternative, which came somewhat close to Luke’s vision of a communal life in solidarity. As an itinerant prophetic preacher, the author of Revelation ignored the hierarchical tendencies and church offices in the local Christian congregations that had emerged in his time.¹² He did not mention church offices—except for charismatic “prophets” as well as “presbyters” in heaven (Rev. 4:4, 10; 5:8), not on earth. For the Christians, he seemed to have an egalitarian botherhood/sisterhood in mind, in which all were “priests” and jointly

¹² Cf., e.g., Ignatius, *Eph.* 4:1; *Magn.* 3:1; 2:1; Polykarp; the Pastoral Letters (e.g., Tit. 1:5); Acts 20:17, 28; 14:23; 1 Pet. 5; Eph. 4:11; 2:20; 3:5, et al.

partook of Christ's reign (ἱερεῖς, ἀδελφός, συγκοινωνός, σύνδουλος).¹³ However, he did not spell out any specific economic consequences of this ecclesiological model. Only once, in 2:19, did he praise *diakonia* as a virtue. This was scanty compared with Luke's utopian visions of economic solidarity in Acts 2:44–46 and 4:32–5:11, for example.¹⁴ One of the reasons for this difference again was the eschatology. Revelation's near-end eschatology did not motivate its author to develop models for the present time. Luke, on the other hand, did not count on an imminent eschaton when laying the ground for ethics, reckoning that the "end" could come in a distant future that left room to design alternative forms of social and economic life in the present.

¹³ Rev. 1:6, 9; 19:10; 22:9; 6:11; 12:10; cf. 2:20; 7:3; 19:2, 5; 22:3; 3:21; 20:6; 21:7. See further Lampe, "Die Apokalyptiker" (note 2, above), 102–04.

¹⁴ For these and their background in socio-utopian pagan texts, see, e. g., P. Lampe, *Athen und Jerusalem: Antike Bildung in frühchristlich-lukanischen Erzählungen* (Vorlesungsreihe uni auditorium: Alte Geschichte; München: Komplet-Media, 2010), 11–14.