

THE GENRE OF THE THIRD GOSPEL AND  
AUTHORITATIVE CITATION

by

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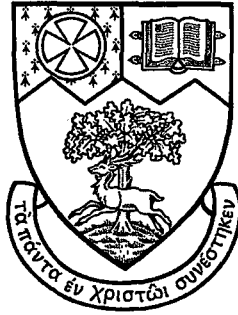
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## ABSTRACT

### “The Genre of the Third Gospel and Authoritative Citation”

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This dissertation seeks to explore how Luke’s socio-literary context may have impacted his use of authoritative citation. However, we must first seek to discern what that context is and specifically what genre Luke followed in composing the Third Gospel. Most biblical scholars place Luke, along with the other canonical Gospels, among the Greco-Roman βίαι of the ancient world. While biographical and historical literature have many overlapping formal features as instances of historically oriented Greek narrative discourse (isolated esp. through Burridge’s detection criteria), chapters 2-3 of this dissertation argue that Luke’s Gospel aligns more closely with ancient history than with βίαι on the basis of seven disambiguation criteria: (1) preface length ratio, (2) βίαι language in the preface, (3) attestation to event-participant orientation, (4) transition into the narrative body, (5) the placement of family tradition, (6) citation density, and (7) citation strategy. Having argued that Luke resembles ancient history more closely than βίαι, chapter 4 then seeks to develop a method for interpreting authoritative citation in Greek history. Chapters 5-6 apply this method to the Greek historians both co-textually and contextually. Chapters 7-9 apply the same method to Luke’s Gospel and conclude that Luke exhibits remarkable similarities with the Greek historians in his authoritative citation strategies.

## Acknowledgements

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## List of Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABRL	The Anchor Bible Reference Library
ACNT	Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AJT</i>	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>
AnBib	Analecta biblica
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>
<i>AJSR</i>	<i>Association for Jewish Studies Review</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin, 1972--
APAMS	American Philological Association: Monograph Series
<i>APB</i>	<i>Acta Patristica et Byzantina</i>
ARCA	ARCA, Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers, and Monographs
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BCAW	Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World
BCP	Biblical and Comparative Perspectives
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>BIAC</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity</i>
<i>BIOSCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BL	Biblical Languages
BMI	The Bible and its Modern Interpreters
BO	Biblica et orientalia
BWA(N)T	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CA</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CBSC	The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges
CDA	Collection d'Études Anciennes
CGTSC	Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges
CILT	Current Issues in Linguistic Theory
<i>CL</i>	<i>Christianity and Literature</i>
<i>Claw</i>	<i>The Classical World</i>
CM	Christianity in the Making
COQG	Christian Origins and the Question of God
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>

<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSCT	Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition
<i>CW</i>	<i>The Classical Weekly</i>
EBib	Etudes bibliques
ECHC	Early Christianity in its Hellenistic Context
ESEC	Emory Studies in Early Christianity
ECSSH	St. Edmund's College Series of Scripture Handbooks
ESHM	European Seminar in Historical Methodology
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
GR	Greece and Rome
FF	Foundations and Facets
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
HDAC	Histoire des doctrines de L'antiquité classique
HE	Historia, Einzelschriften
Hermeneia	Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible
<i>Historia</i>	<i>Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte</i>
<i>HT</i>	<i>History and Theory</i>
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>Interp</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
ISBL	Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JGRChJ</i>	<i>Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JLrSM	Janua linguarum Series major
JLSM	Janua linguarum Series minor
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
JPTSup	Journal of Pentecostal Theology: Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
KEHNT	Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
LBS	Linguistic Biblical Studies
LC	Literature and Culture
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LHBS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies

LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
MAARSup	Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplements
MBCB	Mnemosyne Bibliotheca Classica Batava
MHUC	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
NAC	New American Commentary
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTM	New Testament Monographs
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTSI	New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel
ÖBS	Österreichische biblische Studien
OCM	Oxford Classical Monographs
PAST	Pauline Studies
<i>PL</i>	<i>Philosophy and Literature</i>
<i>PWRE</i>	August Friedrich von Pauly, <i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . New Edition begun by Georg Wissowa. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1890—
<i>RBL</i>	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>RevExp</i>	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
RNTS	Reading the New Testament Series
<i>RRJ</i>	<i>Review of Rabbinic Judaism</i>
<i>RTCA</i>	<i>Revista de Retórica y Teoría de la Comunicación Año</i>
SB	Sources bibliques
SBG	Studies in Biblical Greek
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
<i>SBLSP</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
Sch	Sources chrétiennes
SCS	Septuagint Commentary Series
SCSt	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SH	Studia Hellenistica
SJ	Studies in Judaism
SM	Studies and Monographs
SNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SNTG	Studies in New Testament Greek
SNTSMS	Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series
<i>SPhilo</i>	<i>Studia philonica</i>
SS	Semeia Studies
SPHS	Scholars Press Homage Series
SSEJC	Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
<i>STDJ</i>	<i>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</i>

STP	Studies in Theoretical Psycholinguistics
StPB	Studia post-biblica
StudNeot	Studia neotestamentica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
<i>SwJT</i>	<i>Southwestern Journal of Theology</i>
SymSBL	Symposium series [Society of Biblical Literature]
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TCSup	Trends in Classics. Supplementary volumes
TENTS	Texts and Editions for New Testament Studies
TL	Trends in Linguistics
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentary
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TTCABS	T&T Clark Approaches to Biblical Studies
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>

## Chapter 1: Luke and Authoritative Citation: Recent Research and a New Proposal

The use of the Old Testament in the New or—as it is now commonly called—intertextuality (or at least, one form of it) continues to abide as a dominant concern for New Testament scholars.<sup>1</sup> Luke’s use of sacred traditions has been subjected to extensive analysis, but almost always within a Jewish interpretive framework. Though scholars commonly acknowledge the Greco-Roman context for the emergence of Gospel literary forms, few have approached the use of Scripture from this standpoint. Perhaps this is due to the fact that Luke shares with his Jewish predecessors an interest in the Scriptures of Israel. But if we widen the category slightly, we notice that the Gospels share with their Greco-Roman literary heirs an interest in authoritative citations (i.e. text or sources introduced by a citation formula)—even if the Greeks favor Homer, and the early Christians prefer Moses (and other Hebrew prophets). Both the Greeks and the Gospels cite authorities. They may be different authorities but they nonetheless serve as authorities for their respective implied readers. This, they have in common. And so I will often refer to Luke’s use of Scripture and the historians’ (and other ancient writers’) citation of texts and other sources as *authoritative citation*, defined simply as *the use of source material (i.e. reference to an external authority) within the narrative marked by a citation formula of some kind*.<sup>2</sup> The Greeks and the Gospels share in common formula quotations, in other words. But before outlining my own genre-configured approach to Luke’s authoritative citations, several prior studies deserve mention.

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<sup>1</sup> Most New Testament books have received fairly extensive treatment. For a treatment of the use of the Old Testament in each New Testament book, see Beale and Carson, eds., *Commentary*.

<sup>2</sup> On this terminology applied to the use of the Old Testament in Mark, see Porter, “Authoritative Citations,” 79–96.

## 1. *Recent Research on Authoritative Citation in Luke's Gospel*

Recent scholarship devotes a great deal of attention to Luke's authoritative citations and uses of Scripture more broadly. We find essentially three (often interrelated) ways of treating this material. Many interpreters read Luke's citation strategies contextually, attempting to situate Luke among ancient Jewish (esp. midrash) or Greco-Roman (esp. mimesis) forms of textual usage. Others seek to isolate the theological function of sacred traditions, including christological and ecclesiological uses. And as a growing trend, numerous scholars draw upon literary theory, especially studies in intertextuality.

### 1.1. *Historical Contexts: Jewish and Hellenistic*

A major question in the discussion of Luke's use of Scripture concerns the contextual and historical background from which Luke adopts his citation methodology. As Steyn puts it: "Did Luke made [*sic.*] use of the Jewish hermeneutical methods, or did he make use of the Greek methods, e.g. the rhetorical technique, μίμησις, when he used and re-interpreted the material from his Jewish Scriptures?"<sup>3</sup> That is the question, but it hardly represents a "debate" in scholarship since only a small handful of scholars have adopted the latter approach. Both are worth considering, especially mimesis (μίμησις), since this dissertation seeks to develop insights into Lukan citation strategies that surface in relation to Luke's Greco-Roman literary setting.

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<sup>3</sup> Steyn, "Luke's Use of ΜΙΜΗΣΙΣ," 552.

### 1.1.1. *Jewish Exegesis*

The vast majority of New Testament interpreters tend to employ Jewish hermeneutical techniques, especially midrash and pesher models, to explain uses and interpretations of the Old Testament. Luke-Acts is no exception. Most scholars approaching the use of Scripture in Luke-Acts appear to start from the basic assumption that the authors of the New Testament were working with an essentially Jewish (or at least, Jewish-Christian) hermeneutic when they cited Scripture.<sup>4</sup> Sanders and Evans exemplify this approach in their essay on methodology in *Luke and Scripture*, where they argue that “comparative midrash” embodies the best framework for approaching the evangelist’s citation strategy.<sup>5</sup> In assessing the genre of the Gospels, Evans contends that the Gospels “contain midrash and are in places midrashically driven,” a claim that justifies his larger midrashic interpretive framework.<sup>6</sup> But he also readily admits: “to conclude that the Gospels are themselves midrashim can lead to gross misunderstanding.”<sup>7</sup> Even in light of this deep literary discord between the Gospels and these Jewish texts, Evans and the vast majority of scholars continue to insist that first-century Judaism provides the most significant social matrix for understanding the use of Scripture in the Gospel tradition.

I must part ways with the consensus at this juncture and agree with Bovon that, so far, Jewish exegetical methods have not proven incredibly fruitful for understanding the

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<sup>4</sup> E.g. Crockett, *Old Testament*; Stendahl, *School*, 20–29; Bock, *Proclamation*; Chance, *Jerusalem*; Ellis, *Old Testament*, 91–101; Bovon, “Role of the Scriptures,” 27–28; Kimball, “Jesus’ Exposition of Scripture in Luke 20:9–19,” 77–92; Evans and Sanders, “Gospels,” 1–13; Evans, “Luke,” 170–201; Kimball, “Jesus’ Exposition of Scripture in Luke 4:6–30,” 179–202; Kimball, *Jesus’ Exposition of the Old Testament*; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*; Miura, *David*; Mallen, *Reading*; Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation*.

<sup>5</sup> For analysis of Luke’s exegetical practice as midrash, see also Laurentin, *Structure*; Fitzmyer, “Use of the Old Testament,” 295–313.

<sup>6</sup> Evans and Sanders, “Gospels and Midrash,” 3.

<sup>7</sup> Evans and Sanders, “Gospels and Midrash,” 3.



function of Luke's authoritative citations. Bovon insists that we still need to "specify the Hellenistic Jewish and Christian exegetical milieu in which Luke swims and determine which type of exegesis most influenced him (the recent distinctions between targumic, midrashic, and haggadic, hermeneutic have little influenced Lukan studies so far)."<sup>8</sup> Although Jewish sources have been thoroughly mined within Lukan studies in order to see what—if any—light they shed upon Luke's adaptation of Israel's biblical traditions, Bovon seems correct when he insists that Jewish exegetical methodologies have not proven to be incredibly illuminating thus far. Luke does not write within the literary context of Qumranic or Rabbinic Judaism, but from a Greco-Roman literary environment (see chapters 2–3 for discussion).

### 1.1.2. *Mimesis*

While contemporary scholarship has (for all intents and purposes) universally cast the function and interpretation of Scripture in the Gospels against a Jewish socio-literary context, Brodie—while not escaping the Jewish milieu entirely—puts forward the notion that the evangelists, including especially Luke, map their use of the Old Testament on Greco-Roman mimesis. Brodie's initial treatment along these lines surveys Greco-Roman imitation practices and argues that these provide a model for Luke's use of the Old Testament.<sup>9</sup> He provides three arguments for viewing Luke in light of this tradition: (1) Luke's Hellenistic mode of writing; (2) Luke's view of the Old Testament as a "normative text" with a status similar to the texts subjected to imitation in the Greco-Roman literary world (e.g. Homer); and (3) signs of continuity in literary genre between

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<sup>8</sup> Bovon, *Luke*, 121.

<sup>9</sup> Brodie, "Greco-Roman Imitation," 17–46.

Luke and Old Testament narratives. He also plots out interesting implications that these insights could have for the Synoptic problem. In several subsequent publications, Brodie continues to develop this thesis by suggesting that Luke specifically imitates the Elijah-Elisha narrative and composes his Gospel as a kind of Old Testament biography.<sup>10</sup> He claims that all four episodes in Luke 7 as well as the raising of the widow's son adopt this framework.<sup>11</sup> In his most recent work, Brodie expands much of this material further and sets it in relationship to the broader synoptic tradition, now claiming that the Gospels **heavily depend** not only on Old Testament material but also upon New Testament epistolary literature.<sup>12</sup> His view leads to a range of historical options, all of them fairly skeptical about what we can know of the Jesus of the Gospels.<sup>13</sup>

A few others have followed Brodie. Kurz works out a similar view, incorporating the Elisha-Elijah segment in Sirach into Luke's mimetic materials.<sup>14</sup> Steyn adds additional evidence to the Brodie mimesis thesis as well, but not without issuing some significant cautions. He notices in Luke's Gospel similarities between the birth narratives of Jesus and Isaac, traces of Malachi's Elijah and the Spirit from the scroll in Isaiah 11:1–2, but remains skeptical about whether we can decisively identify these motifs as Greco-

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<sup>10</sup> Brodie, "Towards Unraveling Luke's Use of the Old Testament," 247–67; Brodie, "Luke 9.57–62," 237–45; Brodie, "Luke-Acts," 78–85; Brodie, *Crucial Bridge*. These publications are based in varying degrees on his doctoral dissertation: Brodie, *Luke*.

<sup>11</sup> Brodie, *Crucial Bridge*, 84.

<sup>12</sup> Brodie, *Birthing of the New Testament*.

<sup>13</sup> Brodie, *Birthing of the New Testament*, 277, lists three possible ways forward in the quest for the historical Jesus: (1) *Carry on with the historical quest, perhaps in a modified form*. This point seems to suggest that the dependence of the Gospels on scriptural materials be viewed as the kind of myth that attached to the tradition (according to form criticism), but now it is the use of Scripture rather than the expansion of tradition through preaching that needs to be sifted out. (2) *Dismiss the figure of Jesus as an empty story, even a misleading lie*. Here, Brodie says, his thesis easily lends credibility to the mythicist view. (3) *Rethink what the figure of Jesus means*. What Brodie has in mind here is reminiscent of the Jesus of history / Jesus of faith discussion, now couched in Brodie's biblically mythicized Jesus. We find now a Jesus who needs to be de-Scripturized rather than de-mythicized.

<sup>14</sup> Kurz, "Intertextual Use of Sirach 48.1–16," 308–24.

Roman mimesis.<sup>15</sup> Thompson, an Old Testament scholar, makes the radical claim based on mimetic practice that the stories of Jesus and John never happened—in fact, Jesus never existed—and the Gospel narratives merely present “a Jewish Old Testament, interpreted in a Christian New Testament.”<sup>16</sup> As with Brodie, he leans heavily upon the Third Gospel’s borrowing from the Elijah-Elisha narratives in Luke 7, although failing to acknowledge Brodie’s prior work on this.<sup>17</sup> Also relevant to this discussion—though not an instance of Old Testament imitation—is the work of Dennis MacDonald. He argues that Luke 22:27–31 imitates *Iliad* 22.<sup>18</sup> He makes similar applications in Mark and Acts as well.<sup>19</sup> Anne O’Leary, Adam Winn, and Joel Watts follow MacDonald and / or Brodie in similar directions in their treatments of the Synoptic Gospels.<sup>20</sup>

MacDonald, Brodie, and those that follow them begin with the Greco-Roman context for source integration. However, the methodology, as it stands, entails severe limitations and has not convinced many scholars.<sup>21</sup> Karl Olav Sandnes offers the most sustained response to MacDonald.<sup>22</sup> His analysis focuses on whether Homer provides a suitable target for mimesis in Mark, given Mark’s lack of “advertising” that we find in later Christianizing of Homer.

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<sup>15</sup> Steyn, “Luke’s Use of *MIMHΣΙΣ*,” 554–556.

<sup>16</sup> Thompson, *Messiah*.

<sup>17</sup> Thompson, *Messiah*, 43–45.

<sup>18</sup> MacDonald, “Breasts of Hecuba,” 239–54.

<sup>19</sup> MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer?*

<sup>20</sup> O’Leary, *Matthew’s Judaization of Mark*; Winn, *Mark*; Watts, *Mimetic Criticism*.

<sup>21</sup> See esp. Mitchell, “Homer,” 244–58; Coot and Coot, “Homer,” 189–201; Winn, *Mark*, 38–40. Cf. also, for example, the generally negative reviews of Dowd, “Review,” 155–56; Hooker, “Review,” 196–98; Johnson, “Review,” 285. Hock, “Review,” 12–5, seems to appreciate the innovation of MacDonald and his move away from form criticism, but remains skeptical whether MacDonald has adequately respected Mark’s narrative.

<sup>22</sup> Sandnes, “*Imitatio*,” 715–32; Sandnes, *Challenge of Homer*; Sandnes, *Gospel*.

## 1.2. *Theology: Citation Strategies and Interpretation*

That Luke's citation strategy was motivated by theological concerns continues to represent a strong consensus among Lukan scholars. Typically, a Jewish exegetical social context of some sort is adopted and then combined with a Christological-messianic citation strategy. This makes sense. If Luke employed Jewish exegetical practices, then the agenda that informed his use of Scripture would likely cater to a Jewish audience in using Scripture as proof from prophecy that Jesus was the Christ.

### 1.2.1. *Christology: Prophecy-Fulfillment*

Jewish exegetical models lend themselves to viewing Luke's use of scriptural quotations along primarily theological-Christological lines. Luke cites and interprets Scripture within the context of Jewish exegesis in order to present Jesus as the fulfillment of Jewish prophecy. A Jewish historical context birthing some form of a prophecy-fulfillment for Old Testament citations in Luke represents a strong consensus in contemporary Lukan scholarship.<sup>23</sup> Cadbury first suggested the view.<sup>24</sup> Schubert followed and developed this analysis into the notion of "proof from prophecy."<sup>25</sup> Prophecy, in Schubert's view, proves Jesus is the Christ in Luke's Gospel. Conzelmann provided another significant development, explicating Luke's view of divine providence within his fulfillment-based citation strategy.<sup>26</sup> Some version of this prophecy-fulfillment model has been picked up, modified and / or developed by Lohse, Dahl, Crockett,

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. Porter, "Scripture," 106.

<sup>24</sup> Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, 149–62.

<sup>25</sup> Schubert, "Structure," 165–86.

<sup>26</sup> Conzelmann, *Theology*, 149–62.

Stendahl, Tiede, Marshall, Jervell, Sanders, Bock, Ellis, Evans, Sanders, Kimball, Steyn, Strauss, Fitzmyer, Bovon, Koet, Porter, Miura, Pao and Schnabel, and Mallen.<sup>27</sup>

These studies pick up on something important but I do not think it is what many of them claim. To the degree that scholars advocate prophecy-fulfillment as the rhetorical, redactional, or narratological function of Luke's citation framework, I think they misapprehend the use of this feature<sup>28</sup> (see chapter 4). We likely have a sound evaluation of Lukan interpretation at least with respect to certain texts, but I will argue that a better case can be made that Luke's motivation for Scripture citation involved different "levels" of Lukan usage, where such hermeneutic concerns function only at one of these levels and other concerns function at what we might call the "narrative level" (see chapter 4).<sup>29</sup>

### 1.2.2. *Ecclesiology: Identity-Formation*

While many traditionally emphasize the christological function of Scripture in Luke-Acts, Denova, Pao, Litwak, and Wendel have drawn attention to the ecclesiological dimension of Luke's citation strategy.<sup>30</sup> Although Mallen denies that his approach can be restricted to any one aspect of Luke's theology, he strongly insists that Luke transformed

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<sup>27</sup> Lohse, "Lukas," 256–75; Dahl, "Story," 102–161; Stendahl, *School*, 20–29; Marshall, *Luke*, 121–22; Franklin, *Christ*; Tiede, *Prophecy*, 97–125; Jervell, "Center," 122–37; Sanders, "Prophetic Use of Scripture," 191–98; Bock, *Proclamation*; Ellis, *Old Testament*, 135; Evans, "Prophecy," 171–211; Evans and Sanders, "Prophetic Setting of the Pentecost Sermon," 212–24; Kimball, *Jesus' Exposition*, 200–201; Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 233–44; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 4–15; Fitzmyer, "Use of the Old Testament," 295–313; Bovon, *Luke*, 93–94; Koet, *Dreams*, 76–77; Porter, "Scripture," 106–26; Miura, *David*, 239–41; Pao and Schnabel, "Luke," 253–54; Mallen, *Reading*, 207–208.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. Bock, *Proclamation*, 262–63.

<sup>29</sup> Thus, strictly in terms of interpretation, I can agree with the basic statement of this position by Pao and Schnabel, "Luke," 253, that for Luke "Scripture is the means to comprehend God's acts of salvation in the past, in the present, and in the future ... and is also a means of demonstrating the fulfillment of God's promises given to the people of Israel in the person of Jesus and of underscoring the presence of God's salvation in the ministry of Jesus."

<sup>30</sup> Denova, *Things*; Pao, *Acts*; Litwak, *Echoes*; Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation*.

Isaianic prophecies for the community that he addressed in order to assure them of God's plan.<sup>31</sup> These approaches all suggest in some form that Luke tends to cite Scripture to aid identity formation. While the type of content differs from the christological orientation of proof from prophecy models, the rhetorical assessment remains the same. It may be that these interpretations are not mutually exclusive with christological perspectives.

### 1.3. "Intertextuality": Terminology and Literary Criticism

Kurtz, Brawley, Litwak, and Mallen base their approach to Luke's use of Scripture on methodology derived from studies in "intertextuality."<sup>32</sup> Kristeva was the first to use this term. Through her studies in semiotics, she arrives at the following definition of intertextuality: "in the space of a given text, several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one another."<sup>33</sup> Kristeva's analysis, however, remains a far cry from the kinds of applications we see of the term in biblical studies. Leon Roudiez's (Kristeva's English editor) corrective is well known: intertextuality "has nothing to do with matters of influence by one author upon another, or with the sources of a literary work; it does, on the other hand, involve the components of a *textual system* such as novel."<sup>34</sup> Biblical scholars have failed to see their misuse of the term, unfortunately, even after the thorough criticism along these lines from Porter, on two

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<sup>31</sup> Mallen, *Reading*.

<sup>32</sup> Kurz, "Intertextual Use of Sirach 48.1–16," 308–24; Brawley, *Text*; Litwak, *Echoes*; Mallen, *Reading*, esp. 23.

<sup>33</sup> Kristeva, *Desire*, 37.

<sup>34</sup> Roudiez, "Introduction," 15. The same thought is expressed by Boje, *Narrative Methods*, 5, who states: "Intertextuality is not simply a citation index.... Rather, there is a dynamic textual system in play." Boje highlights two aspects of intertextuality, both radically different from the way that many biblical scholars use the term: "1. the dimension of the heterogeneous stitch and weave of utterances of a text, and 2. the way a text is part of an ongoing dynamic network of production, distribution, and consumption of antenarratives." See also Clayton and Rothstein, *Influence*, 154; Roughley, *James Joyce*, 68; Kuester, *Framing Truths*, 1; Whidden, *Models*, 7; Gallagher, *Metamorphosis*, 82–85.

occasions.<sup>35</sup> Porter criticizes several interpreters for reducing intertextuality to a mere allusion or paraphrase, which remains distinctly inconsistent with the word's original usage in literary criticism. These studies in general then seem to suffer from methodological imprecision and call for a reevaluation of this material.

## 2. *A Genre-Configured, Narrative-Linguistic Approach*

While scholars widely recognize that the evangelists' literary organization of the Jesus traditions reflects a Greco-Roman (biographical or historical) rather than a Jewish environment, relatively few scholars have asked how the literary genre of the Gospels might have impacted their use of authoritative citations. To my knowledge, only Stanley and Porter have seriously considered the potential usefulness of comparing New Testament Scripture citations with Greco-Roman literature. Stanley's study is limited, however, in that it does not consider the impact of genre—he simply (but nonetheless usefully) compares citation strategies in several samples of Greek literature with what we find in Paul.<sup>36</sup> Porter's study goes beyond this by comparing Mark's Gospel with the biography of Euripides in P.Oxy. 1176 but the conclusions he draws from the comparison are limited and await further investigation.<sup>37</sup> As a further development within this stream

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<sup>35</sup> Porter, "Use of the Old Testament," 79–96; and Porter, "Further Comments," 98–110. A few other biblical scholars have noted the inappropriate use of the term by their colleagues, e.g. Maurer, *Book of Ecclesiastes*, 9; Aaron, *Etched*. But Brodie, *Birthing of the New Testament*, 74, while acknowledging this corrective insists that it can refer to the relationship between literary texts as well, including allusions and the like. However, the previous numerous contemporary literary critics who still acknowledge the more precise use of the term as indicating interacting textual systems mentioned above disconfirms this assumption of Brodie.

<sup>36</sup> Stanley, "Paul," 48–78; Stanley, *Paul*, esp. 267–91.

<sup>37</sup> Porter, "Authoritative Citation," 79–96.

of investigation, this dissertation seeks to examine the use of authoritative citation in Greco-Roman history, and then compare Luke's authoritative citations to the patterns we discover.

In asking what implications a Gospel's genre might have for its citation techniques, this raises a preliminary set of questions revolving around appropriate identification of the genre of the Gospels, specifically Luke. The consensus view understands (1) Luke as *βίος*, (2) Acts as history, and (3) the two as a unified literary production. In chapters 2–3 I call the first perspective into question, and not only on the basis of the latter two—though these make powerful arguments in themselves against a *βίος* designation for the Third Gospel. Chapter 2 calls for a reconsideration of the various criteria used, especially by Burrige, to assign the biographical label to Luke. Burrige's criteria tend to function merely as detection criteria (they detect a group of often related genres, with overlapping features) not disambiguation criteria (criteria that help locate instances of divergence between related genres), but the latter are needed to distinguish *βίος* from history and, therefore, to properly configure Luke's literary setting. I put forward seven potentially promising disambiguation criteria—(1) preface length ratio, (2) *βίος* language in the preface, (3) attestation to event / participant orientation, (4) transition into the narrative body, (5) placement of family tradition, (6) citation density, and (7) citation strategy—and in chapter 3, I apply these criteria to several *βίοι* and histories and then finally to the canonical Gospels. I conclude that these criteria disambiguate the Third Gospel toward history, not *βίος*. These chapters thus not only attempt to provide a new argument for Luke as history, but they will seek to justify



further consideration of the authoritative citation techniques of the ancient historians in relation to Luke's Gospel.

Before considering the function of authoritative citation in ancient history, an interpretive framework is needed to render the data from Greco-Roman historiography and Luke meaningful. This is the project of chapter 4. It should be noted that each way of reading authoritative citations in Luke's Gospel discussed in Section 1 of this chapter has some validity. Attention must be given to historical context, but it seems that so far scholars have not given enough attention to literary genre in attempting to isolate the most appropriate socio-historical setting. Theological readings also have something to offer, but in chapters 5–8 I will attempt to show that issues related to interpretation and theology are most appropriately considered at more local levels of the discourse. Drawing upon insights from modern linguistics, chapter 4 thus attempts to configure a method that can interpret the function of authoritative citation at these various levels and render the data gleaned from ancient historical citation techniques (including Luke) meaningful.

Chapters 5–9 move forward on the social framework and linguistic methodology established in chapters 2–4. Chapter 5 investigates authoritative citation in five Greek historians, spanning the fourth century B.C.E to the second century C.E. Chapter 6 explores authoritative citation in Hellenistic Jewish historiography, especially Josephus. Chapters 7–9 then compares the citation strategies we discover in the ancient historians with the strategies employed in the Third Gospel. Luke turns out to resemble the historians not only with respect to the seven criteria laid out in chapters 2–3, but also in terms of the form, projection / expansion, and narrative function of his authoritative citations. In addition to establishing a further correlation between ancient history and the

Third Gospel (and thus between Luke and Acts), these chapters also provide a distinct literary-linguistic insight into Luke's use of authoritative citations and narrative structure. Chapters 7–8 offer a co-textual analysis of each authoritative citation in Luke's Gospel. Then chapter 9 situates this data contextually in relation to the developing tradition of Greco-Roman historiography.

Chapter 2:  
The Genre of the Third Gospel I: Distinguishing βίος from History

This dissertation attempts to set the use of authoritative citation in the Third Gospel in relation to its Greco-Roman literary context. Debate on the precise designation for the literary genre of the Third Gospel complicates this procedure. Due largely to the recent influence of Richard Burridge, most scholars believe that Luke, along with the other Gospels, aligns formally with ancient βίος.<sup>1</sup> Some dissenters still hold out for Luke as history due to especially its close connection to Acts, which most view as history of some sort,<sup>2</sup> but these are few and far between.<sup>3</sup> In this chapter, I argue that—at least in the case of Luke’s Gospel—Burridge and others have focused far too much on detection criteria for genre identification and not nearly enough on disambiguation criteria, especially as it relates to distinguishing βίος from history. I will suggest that Burridge’s analysis, although widely regarded, entails methodological problems that make his conclusions less stable than scholars often assume, largely due to a broad and unclearly defined set of features not developed fully enough to show all that Burridge claims. I close by reviewing the varied proposals for distinguishing βίος from history and suggest seven new or previously underdeveloped criteria that show potential in distinguishing history from βίος. These criteria then become the basis for a detailed investigation of Greek history, βίος, and the Gospels genre in the following chapter.

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. Burridge, *What are the Gospels?* 275–79; Kultz, *Exorcism Stories*, 124; Martin, “Progymnastic Topic Lists,” 18–41; Keener, *Historical Jesus*, 86; Adams, “Genre,” 98. Cf. also Barr and Wentling, “Conventions,” 63–88.

<sup>2</sup> Phillips, “Genre,” 365–96, argues for this consensus.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Aune, *New Testament*, 77; Sterling, *Historiography, passim*; Squires, *Plan of God*, 20–23; Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 2–6; Rothschild, *Luke-Acts, passim*; Garland, *Luke*, 26–27. But cf. Frein, “Genre,” 3–14, and Carroll, *Luke*, 2, see it as a mixture of genres, including history.

## 1. *The Third Gospel: βίος or History?*

Genre analysis in Gospel studies underwent a significant transformation in focus over the last century.<sup>4</sup> In the first part of the twentieth century, critics tended to believe that the Gospels were *Kleinliteratur gegen Hochliteratur*,<sup>5</sup> equated with “folk-books and legend-books” (*Legendenbüchern und Volksbüchern*)<sup>6</sup> not ancient literature.<sup>7</sup> Appropriately, then, biblical scholars made no attempt to situate the Gospels as documents in relation to surrounding literary culture. The Gospels emerged *sui generis* as anthologies of popular tales not primitive literary compositions shaped by the constraints of Greco-Roman literary standards. C.H. Dodd’s articulation of the gospel-as-*kerygma* was the most developed expression of the Gospel tradition as one that was culturally distinct due to its origins in missionary preaching.<sup>8</sup> This was the milieu of the form-critical era and so studies of Gospel genre remained limited by these assumptions.<sup>9</sup> Although other proposals are occasionally put forward,<sup>10</sup> in contemporary scholarship

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<sup>4</sup> Prior to the turn of the twentieth century, before the establishment of the form-critical paradigm, the Gospels were either assumed to be some kind of biographical portrait, as in the several “Lives of Jesus” that Schweitzer, *Quest*, documents. Or, at least in some cases, arguments were marshaled in support of understanding the Gospels as a form of ancient Greek βίος, as in Votaw, “Gospels,” 45–73, 217–49.

<sup>5</sup> Schmidt, “Die Stellung der Evangelien,” 59.

<sup>6</sup> Schmidt, “Die Stellung der Evangelien,” 61.

<sup>7</sup> Overbeck, “Über die Anfänge,” 417–72, had already perpetuated this disconnect with his insistence on viewing the New Testament and the apostolic fathers as *Urliteratur* in contrast to the later Christian fathers who employed secular literary media in their writings.

<sup>8</sup> Dodd, *Apostolic Preaching*.

<sup>9</sup> Bultmann, *Theology*, 10, for example, argues that Mark at the very least constitutes its own unique literary genre, given its distinct preliterate development. Dibelius, *Tradition*, 288, notes similarly that the Gospels represent a type of hybrid document, mainly characterized as *folk-tale*, but distinct even from *folk-tale*, due to their function as propaganda literature, a role altogether lacking for *folk-tale*.

<sup>10</sup> Willis, *Quest*, 21, argues that the Gospels are representations of the “cult narratives of a dead hero” found throughout the Mediterranean world. Some have attempted to fit Acts into the mold of ancient epic or novel, which could have implications for reading this genre back into Luke, since, as Pervo argues, many of the features he finds in Acts can be located in Luke’s Gospel as well. For this view, see MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer?*; Pervo, *Profit*.

most now reject the *sui generis* position.<sup>11</sup> Scholars instead tend to view Matthew, Mark, and John as a form of Greco-Roman βίος and the majority within this group of scholars typically place Luke among the ancient βίοι as well. A few dissenting voices still view Luke within the Greek historical tradition while placing the other Gospels in a biographical literary context.

### 1.1. *Luke as βίος*

Although C.W. Votaw first proposed reading the Gospels, including Luke, against the background of Greco-Roman biography in 1915,<sup>12</sup> with the emergence of source and later form criticism, his suggestion was not given the merit it perhaps should have been afforded (potentially, for the reasons listed above). In the 1960s and 70s, some began to question the historical critical paradigm's genre assumptions. Norman Petersen, for example, argued that while Mark was a Gospel (*sui generis*), John functioned as a type of Greek biography, Luke-Acts as history, and Matthew as an early church manual.<sup>13</sup> Norman Petersen, his colleagues on the SBL *Task Force on Gospel Genre*, and several other predecessors, contributed to the modern consensus that locates the Gospels within the biographical tradition.<sup>14</sup> However, most typically attribute the clarion call to return to understanding the Gospels as Greco-Roman βίος to Charles Talbert.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Hengel, *Acts*, 32, however, still holds the *sui generis* position only for Luke-Acts due to its unique theological character.

<sup>12</sup> Votaw, *Gospels*.

<sup>13</sup> Petersen, "So-called Gnostic Type Gospels," 20.

<sup>14</sup> The so-called *theios aner* and related categories (such as aretology or holy men), especially in Hellenistic (but also in Rabbinic) Judaism that served as an antecedent for Gospel christologies in a hand full of studies in the 1970s generated some initial discussion around possible biographical literary contexts for Gospels, as we see, for example, in Smith and Hadas, *Heroes*; Smith, "Prolegomena," 174–99; Tiede, *Charismatic Figure*; Kee, "Aretology," 402–33. See also the response to this literature in Holladay, *Theios Ander*.

<sup>15</sup> Talbert, *What is a Gospel?*

Talbert argues extensively against Bultmann's denial of a biographical context for Gospel origins on the basis of their mythical character and cultic function. In response to the first plank of Bultmann's argument, Talbert seeks to demonstrate that many βίοι in the ancient world had "immortals" as their biographical focus (e.g. Hercules, Dionysus, and the Dioscuri), showing that mythological elements were hardly lacking in ancient biographies.<sup>16</sup> Talbert identifies specifically the myth of descending-ascending redeemers as a mythological structure present in Greco-Roman and Jewish biographies, as well as in John's Gospel.<sup>17</sup> As for the second plank, Talbert develops a typology of ancient βίοι and shows that Bultmann's failure to identify analogies between the Gospels and ancient βίοι resulted from an overly circumscribed understanding of the genre, before finally dealing with eschatological concerns.<sup>18</sup>

Talbert did not immediately convince everyone. Many scholars were extremely critical of his work.<sup>19</sup> He did, however, issue a significant blow to the current form-critical analysis of Gospel genre. This paved the way for several more constructive studies that sought to position early Christian Gospels within a biographical context,

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<sup>16</sup> Talbert, *What is a Gospel?*, 25–52.

<sup>17</sup> Talbert, *What is a Gospel?*, 53–89.

<sup>18</sup> Talbert, *What is a Gospel?*, 115–31.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. Aune, "Problem of the Genre," 44–45, concludes his thorough criticism of Talbert's book by claiming that "A careful and critical appraisal, then, of the theses advanced by Professor Talbert must conclude that his arguments are flawed, the evidence adduced is frequently unable to bear the weight given it, and his proposal that the gospels share the genre of Graeco-Roman biography falls embarrassingly short of demonstration"—strong words from a scholar who would later embrace three of the four Gospels as Greco-Roman biography in his Aune, *New Testament*, 17–47. And still in 1981 Aune, "Problem," 49, can talk about the "present critical consensus that the gospels constitute a unique genre in the history of literature...." Even within the early 1990s, Guelich, "Gospel Genre," 205, can give a thorough survey of prior genre proposals and hardly engages at all with the notion of biography in this discussion. Instead, he interacts extensively with Dodd's gospel-as-*kerygma* proposal. Guelich eventually adopts the *sui generis* view of Gospel genre and argues that we only remove the term "unique" in the designation of the Gospels as a "unique literary genre."

primarily on stylistic grounds, which would ultimately lead to a paradigm shift on the Gospel genre question.<sup>20</sup>

Two of the more significant studies along these lines came in the early 1990s. The first, an expanded version of an earlier article originally published in German, came from Albrecht Dihle.<sup>21</sup> Although he explicitly denies any point of contact with Greek βίος, he states rather cautiously possible points of contact between the Gospels and Roman biography (*vita*) due to their “historiographic” function.<sup>22</sup>

The second, Richard Burridge, made a substantial impact.<sup>23</sup> His important dissertation sought for the first time to formalize many of the generic features of Greco-Roman βίος as a basis for literary comparison with the Gospels. He employs four sets of features that form the basis of his analysis: (1) Opening Features (openings, titles, etc.), (2) Subject (the subjects of verbs and allocation of space), (3) External Features (meter, size, length, structure, scale, external appearance, use of sources), and (4) Internal Features (style, tone, mood, attitude, values).<sup>24</sup> He then applies his criteria to what he views as five representative samples of “early Greco-Roman βίος”: Isocrates’ *Evagoras*, Xenophon’s *Agesilaus*, Satyrus’s *Euripides*, Nepo’s *Atticus*, and Philo’s *Moses*.<sup>25</sup> He also samples five “late Greco-Roman βίος”: Tacitus’s *Agricola*, Plutarch’s *Cato Minor*,

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<sup>20</sup> E.g. Shuler, *Genre*, who argued that (esp.) Matthew was an encomium type of biography. See also Berger, “Hellenistische Gattungen,” 1031–432, 1831–85; Koester, “Überlieferung,” 1543–704. Hengel, “Literary, Theological, and Historical Problems,” 212, makes the then radical claim that the readers / hearers of the “Gospel of Mark and the subsequent Gospels simply understood them as unique ‘biographies’ which bear witness to the career and teaching of the unique Messiah and Son of God, Jesus of Nazareth. No one in antiquity thought that the Gospels were a literary genre of a quite new and special kind. It was not the literary genre that was unique but the person described in it and his work of salvation.”

<sup>21</sup> Dihle, “Die Evangelien,” 33–49, who remains open to biography while also noting the complexities involved in identifying the genre from the ancient (esp. early) literature. Cf. Dihle, “Gospels,” 361–86.

<sup>22</sup> Dihle, “Gospels,” 383.

<sup>23</sup> Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*

<sup>24</sup> Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 107.

<sup>25</sup> Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 124–49.

Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars*, Lucian's *Demonax*, and Philostratus's *Apollonius of Tyana*.

While taking several steps forward and convincing many, Burridge's study is not without its problems. Some are not convinced that these are the best or most decisive criteria. To begin with, we have significant overlap between (1) and (4) since "opening features" would just be one kind of internal feature. The difference in these is not that one set of features opens and others function internally. Instead, this constitutes a distinction in narrative location and / or discourse rank (see chapter 4) where we have features functioning at the macro level of the discourse and others functioning more locally.

Further, on Burridge's proposal, the distinction between "external" and "internal" features remains unclear and potentially confusing. For example, within external features, he includes "mode of representation," "meter," "size and length," "structure or sequence," "scale," "literary units," "use of sources," and "methods of characterization." In what sense are these external? All of these features occur within the text, with the potential exception of "use of sources," an exophoric (extratextual) *and* endophoric (intratextual) form of reference (see Chapter 4). So in what sense are they external? Burridge does not provide clarification here. He only proceeds with instances of the broader function. The categories become more vague and perplexing when compared with the proposed internal features, which include "setting," "topics / τόποι / motifs," "style," "tone / mood / attitude / values," "quality of characterization," "social setting and occasion," and "authorial intention and purpose." Now we have not only a significant amount of overlap with the external features, but also a great deal of uncertainty about what constitutes an "internal" feature. Would not setting, social setting, and occasion—as



well as (arguably) authorial intention / purpose—function as features that remain external to the text? And how is “topics” different from “subject matter”? The answer is not intuitive. And it would appear that “mode of representation” would overlap with style, as would “methods of characterization” with “quality of characterization.”

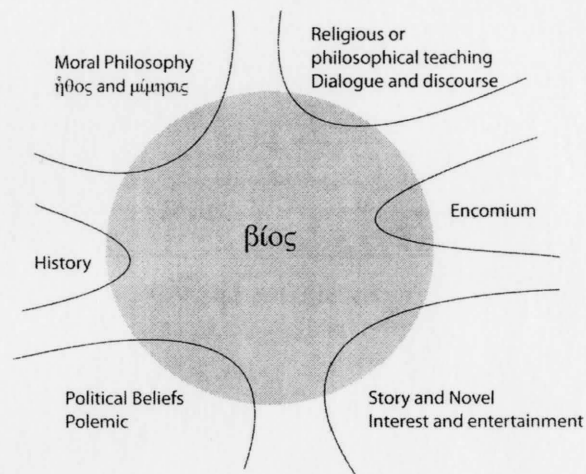
My point here is not to set up a strenuous methodological requirement that allows for no overlap within its categories. This lack of precision is indicative of a more fundamental problem with Burridge’s analysis. A well designed method for genre identification needs to identify not only the positive features of a genre, but also those features that disambiguate it from other overlapping genres, especially in the case of the Synoptic Gospels, where some debate continues over whether Luke’s Gospel represents history or βίος. As Burridge concedes, “Few of these internal features determine the genre of a work. Many occur in a similar fashion in a number of differing genres, and so caution must be exercised in deducing generic relationships between works on the grounds of such shared features.”<sup>26</sup> We need not only genre detection criteria but genre disambiguation criteria due to often substantial literary commonality among writings from a wide range of genres within antiquity.

Burridge acknowledges the literary overlap of βίος with several other genres from the ancient world. He represents this visually with a helpful display of the literary relation of βίοι to other Greco-Roman literary forms in the ancient world (see **Fig. 1**):<sup>27</sup>

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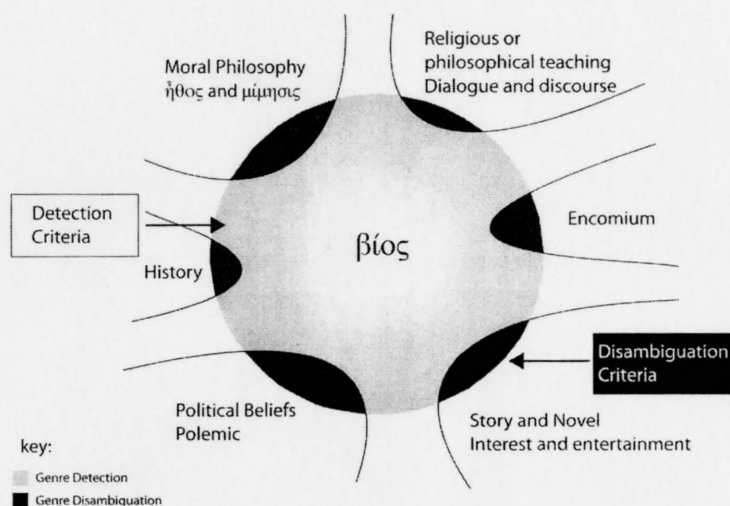
<sup>26</sup> Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 122.

<sup>27</sup> I have adapted this figure from Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 64.



**Fig. 1:** *Burrige's Genre Detection Criteria*

The only component I have changed in the above figure, originally presented by Burrige, is the color of the inner circle with βίος in the middle (the original is white). This grey circle now highlights all of the material that certain criteria from Burrige catch. As it stands, most of Burrige's criteria not only detect βίοι, but also elements found in both βίος and overlapping genres. We need these detection criteria to help determine the group of related genres that includes βίος, but we need more rigorous disambiguation criteria to complement this analysis that distinguish βίος from within this group of genres as well, which Burrige's method fails to emphasize (see **Fig. 2**). I say his method does not "emphasize" this because Burrige does propose a few disambiguation criteria, which I examine below, but they seem insufficient, for reasons I will mention. Solid genre analysis must emphasize both features for genre detection and genre disambiguation, especially with closely intersecting genres, such as βίος and history.



**Fig. 2:** *Genre Detection & Disambiguation Criteria*

One must analyze distinct features of a genre. But overlapping features require a further set of criteria designed to disambiguate the literary environment of texts with overlapping literary characteristics (see **Fig. 2**).

### 1.2. *Luke as History*

Thomas Phillips suggests an emerging consensus that recognizes at least Acts as some form of history, but allows that there may be literary variation within Acts, perhaps representing a number of differing forms that are not always easy to isolate independently of one another.<sup>28</sup> Since the significant work of Henry Cadbury,<sup>29</sup> the majority of scholars have viewed Luke and Acts as a two-volume collection, especially on the basis of the historical profile of the preface form found in the Gospel (Luke 1:1–4) and its recapitulatory link in Acts 1:1. This has become a significant factor for those desiring to affirm Luke as history since it seems to make more sense to have a

<sup>28</sup> Phillips, “Genre of Acts,” 384–85.

<sup>29</sup> Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*.

unified genre between the two volumes.<sup>30</sup> Since scholars identify Acts as history, they should do so for Luke as well—or, so the argument by most goes.<sup>31</sup>

The unity of the collection factors as an important dimension of the discussion—if it is in fact a collection. That the recapitulatory statement and mention of the “former treatise” in Acts 1:1 refers to the Gospel is not seriously questioned.<sup>32</sup> However, the implications for the literary relationship between the two volumes is not as clear—at least to many.<sup>33</sup> Does the unity of the collection entail that the individual volumes were composed under the same generic code? Should we reread Acts’ evidently historical character back into Luke, as Aune recommends?<sup>34</sup> Or does the apparent biographical nature of Luke suggest that the collection should be understood as intellectual or collected biography, as Talbert, Porter, and Adams propose?<sup>35</sup> Palmer claims that some collections in antiquity were understood as a unit, but did not employ the same genre

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<sup>30</sup> Although Keener, *Historical Jesus*, 85–86, takes a hybrid approach. He claims that “Luke’s Gospel is indeed biography, but it is part of a two-volume work (Luke-Acts) that when taken together cannot easily be defined as biography. Although the two volumes may differ somewhat in genre, the narrative unity of the two works would invite any attentive auditors to hear them together. Many scholars suggest that Luke may combine elements of two genres, especially in this case the related genres of history and biography. While taken by itself the Gospel is biography, as part of Luke’s two-volume work the Gospel becomes a biographic component in a larger history. Ancient auditors would not find such a combination difficult to comprehend; authors of multivolume histories could devote an entire volume or section to a particularly prominent character. Luke’s biography of Jesus is thus inseparable from his larger historical work.” I do not find this solution compelling, and not only because the research developed subsequently within this chapter disconfirms it based solely on observations connected with Luke’s Gospel rather than Acts, but also because we certainly have biographic portions represented as parts of histories (e.g. Appian’s *Bell. Civ. 2*; portions of Xenophon’s *Anabasis*), but this does not mean that those parts of the history are some kind of independent biography when taken on their own—if anyone did in fact take them on their own. Historians may document the life of a person but it is always in the context of how that life relates to surrounding political events. βίοι, by contrast, focus only on the acts and deeds of people, not mainly nations / wars and the relation of these men to these events.

<sup>31</sup> Aune, *New Testament*, 77. Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, moves in the opposite direction. Committed to the biographical nature of the Third Gospel, Talbert insists that both Luke and Acts are intellectual biography. See also, Alexander, “Acts,” 31–63. Most recently, Adams, *Genre of Acts*—for similar reasons—identifies Luke-Acts as collected biography.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Parsons and Pervo, *Unity*.

<sup>33</sup> For a survey of the issues, see Marshall, “Acts,” 163–82; Alexander, “Preface,” 23–27; Verheyden, “Unity,” 27–50.

<sup>34</sup> Aune, *New Testament*, 77. So also Shellard, *New Light*, 18–23, and Rothschild, *Luke-Acts*, 16–23, who view both as a branch of rhetorical historiography.

<sup>35</sup> Talbert, *Literary Patterns*; Porter, “Genre,” 1–15; Adams, *Genre of Acts*.

throughout the entire collection, as with Josephus's three major works: *Jewish War*, the *Antiquities*, and *Against Apion*.<sup>36</sup> Those books do not constitute a kind of collection as in the case of Luke-Acts, however—even if *Antiquities* and *Against Appian* are related. And as Alexander points out, “in these cases the changed subject matter and genre of the new work are indicated clearly in the preface.”<sup>37</sup> This is not the case in Acts. There are no obvious indicators that a shift in genre is occurring. Although the possibility that Luke is composing an (literarily) independent sequel to his previous composition cannot be ruled out,<sup>38</sup> this possibility seems unlikely due to the probable unity of the two volumes suggested by the recapitulatory link in Acts 1:1.

Others have pointed to a number of generic indicators that locate either Luke or Luke-Acts within the tradition of Greek history.<sup>39</sup> Penner and Sterling make connections with apologetic historiography.<sup>40</sup> Balch argues that the collection should be viewed in light of political historiography,<sup>41</sup> and Brodie suggests an Old Testament literary framework, borrowing from the Elisha-Elijah model in articulating a deuteronomic or prophetic history.<sup>42</sup>

Several observe features that further clarify the connection between Luke and ancient historiography. These include the implementation of symposia, genealogy, speeches, travel narratives, first person interjection, letters, identification of sources,

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<sup>36</sup> D.W. Palmer, “Acts,” 25.

<sup>37</sup> Alexander, “Preface,” 27.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Alexander, “Preface,” 27.

<sup>39</sup> For literary indicators aligning Luke / Luke-Acts with the ancient historical tradition, see esp. Sterling, *Historiography*, 369–74; Aune, *New Testament*, 77–157; Maier, “Luke,” 413–34. On Acts, see Hemer, *Book of Acts*, 262–330.

<sup>40</sup> Penner, *Praise*; Sterling, *Historiography*.

<sup>41</sup> Balch, “METABOΛΗ,” 141.

<sup>42</sup> Balch, “Comments,” 343–61; “Genre,” 5–19; “ακριβῶς... γράψαι (Luke 1:3),” 229–50; Brodie, “Greco-Roman Imitation,” 17–46; Brodie, “Luke-Acts,” 78–85.

historical prefaces, dramatic episodes, and digressions.<sup>43</sup> With the exception of the historical preface (see below), the issue with these τόποι—as with several of those recruited by Burridge for identifying βίος—lies in their inability to function as disambiguation criteria. They only offer a detecting tool that often discovers those features of history also shared with similar or related genres (not only βίος, but Greco-Roman novels, and monographs as well) and thus do not clarify our thinking on the relation of βίος to history. Likely for these and related reasons, Burridge can still conclude that “Most scholars seem to accept the obvious point that Luke’s genre belongs with the rest of the other Gospels” as βίος.<sup>44</sup>

To move beyond the literary ambivalence that continues to propel this consensus, we need formally constructed disambiguation criteria that can demarcate instances of βίος from history. So far, Lukan scholars have not been able to provide this and so debate lingers while the Luke-as-history position steadily loses momentum. To state the problem more directly: A fairly stable consensus locates Acts among the histories and most accept its literary unity with the Third Gospel. The major obstacle for this position remains the (non-Lukan) Gospels’ affinity with βίοι and Luke’s affinity with the other Gospels. So in order to profile Luke as most at home within the Greek historical rather than biographical tradition, we must develop criteria for genre demarcation that will not only enable history detection but also (where possible) differentiation of history from βίος so that we can then see whether Luke differs from the other Gospels in precisely these ways. But first, we need to clarify the relationship between βίος and history, their similarities and their divergences.

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. Aune, *New Testament*, 120–31, for a convenient survey.

<sup>44</sup> Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 279; Denova, *Things*, 84, thinks that “both books in the narrative unity of Luke-Acts defy genre categorization.”

## 2. *Toward a Scale of Greek Historical Discourse*

The above survey reveals essentially two options for Luke's literary environment: βίος or some form of ancient history. While a few scholars have proposed categories resembling novel or other genres, these theories have not generally caught on.<sup>45</sup> So for Luke's Gospel, these really remain the two available options in the genre discussion. This disjunction is in some ways problematic, however, since the genre of βίος shares many features of ancient history and often functioned as a substitute for it.<sup>46</sup>

The ancients did not have a single genre for history, it seems. Felix Jacoby classically delineated a typology of historical genres and their development that included five components: (1) mythography or genealogy, (2) ethnography, (3) chronography, (4) contemporary history (*Zeitgeschichte*), and (5) local history or horography.<sup>47</sup> Several accept this basic framework, with a few caveats. Many protest Jacoby's replacing of the Greek genre "history" with "contemporary history."<sup>48</sup> We also must be careful not to rigidly apply or force ancient writings into one of the genres since many writings exhibit a combination of the historical genres and we must also account for innovation.<sup>49</sup> Another persistent problem with Jacoby's taxonomy involves his explanation of βίος and horography, both of which he saw as inferior decedents of narrative, in relation to Greek history.<sup>50</sup> Most now accept instead Momigliano's reconstruction of its origins, going back far earlier (even if not in a very developed form) than Jacoby allowed.<sup>51</sup> Momigliano

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<sup>45</sup> E.g. Bonz, *Past*.

<sup>46</sup> Potter, *Literary Texts*, 68.

<sup>47</sup> Jacoby, "Über die Entwicklung," 80–123.

<sup>48</sup> See Fornara, *Nature*, 2.

<sup>49</sup> See Luce, *Greek Historians*, 78; Marincola, "Genre," 281–324; Potter, *Literary Texts*, 63–71.

<sup>50</sup> See Momigliano, *Development*, 25.

<sup>51</sup> E.g. Potter, *Literary Texts*, 68.

showed that the βίος likely developed out of the tendency of the ancients to collect sayings, antidotes, traditions about a person, autobiographical notes used as the raw data of historians as well as the practice in ancient rhetoric of eulogizing or criticizing another person.<sup>52</sup> The narrative and sequential organization of this material seems to have then developed later in relation to ancient history. As Potter observes, “The authors of the lives of great men (always men, it seems) found themselves increasingly drawn to the methods of narrative historians, creating a quite independent genre in its own right.”<sup>53</sup>

This results in a situation by the first century in which formally history and βίος remain notoriously difficult to distinguish—even to the point that many ancients and moderns view βίος as a form of historiography.<sup>54</sup> Burrige, Balch, and Porter caution against drawing a hard and fast distinction between the two genres since both make use of so many of the same literary forms.<sup>55</sup> Balch’s remarks are telling: “the line between history and βίος is not so easily drawn, as the overlap in material is not always statistically evident.”<sup>56</sup> But Plutarch still insisted that he wrote βίος, not history: “For it is not Histories that we are writing, but Lives” (οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους) (Plutarch, *Alex.* 1.2). For Plutarch, history involved a comprehensive account of **peoples’** (and it usually was men) actions (πράξεων) (Plutarch, *Alex.* 1.1). It involved detailed discussion of “battles where thousands fall, or the greatest armaments, or sieges of cities” whereas a βίος limited material to what yielded “greater revelation of the character” of an individual (Plutarch, *Alex.* 1.2). In his βίος of *Nicias*, Plutarch refuses to list all of the

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<sup>52</sup> Momigliano, *Development*, 38.

<sup>53</sup> Potter, *Literary Texts*, 68.

<sup>54</sup> E.g. Syme, “History,” 481.

<sup>55</sup> Balch, “METABOAH,” 143; Burrige, *What are the Gospels?*, 275–79; Porter, “Authoritative Citations,” 118.

<sup>56</sup> Balch, “METABOAH,” 143.



events and actions of Niceas's life and restricts his βίος instead to only those details that support the "appreciation of character and temperament" (Plutarch, *Nic.* 1.5). He makes the same argument for including lengthy discussions about Cato's personal affairs (*C.min.* 37.5). Nepos confirms this distinction when he urges that "if I start to give a full account of [Pelopidas'] actions (*de virtutibus*), I may seem, not to be documenting his life (*vitam*), but to be writing a history (*historiam*)" (Nepos, *Pel.* 1.1). Similarly, Tacitus speaks of a βίος as "a record of the deeds and characters of distinguished men" (*Agr.* 1.1). Thus, according to the biographers, histories had a general event-orientation while βίοι had a more specific biographical participant orientation.

Historians maintain that their discipline involves a distinct event orientation. Polybius draws a clear line between "panegyric" (a literary predecessor to the βίος) and his current work, which is history (ἱστορία), and therefore refuses to focus on issues of character related to the praise or blameworthiness of Philopoemen (a person whom he provides a biographical description for) and instead limits himself only to true statements and "the policy which dictated the several actions" (Polybius 10.21.8; cf. also Lucian, *Hist.* 7 for the distinction between history and encomium). Thus, Diodorus Siculus, in the preface to his *Bibliotheca historica*, can describe the entire enterprise of universal history as the "presentation of events with the most excellent kind of experience" (τῆς πραγματείας ταύτης περιποιούσι τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν) (Diodorus Siculus 1.1.1).<sup>57</sup> And Cassius Dio can refer to a history Nero was composing as the "deeds of the Romans" (τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράξεις) (Cassius Dio 62b.29.2), for as Herodian puts it, history is "the memory of past events" (Herodian 1.1). And Xenophon can describe the future of Greek

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<sup>57</sup> For similar statements regarding ancient history, see Diodorus Siculus 1.1.2, 3; 2.1. Adams, *Genre of Acts*, 122, thus rightly notes "Individual biographies, in contrast to histories, begin with reference and focus on an individual."

history as τὰ ... μετὰ ταῦτα when he ends his *Hellenica* by saying “Thus far be it written by me; the events after these will perhaps be the concern of another” (ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου γραφέσθω· τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἴσως ἄλλω μελήσει) (Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.5.27). Thus Lucian directs the historian to “to give a fine arrangement to events [εἰς καλάν διαθέσσαι τὰ πεπραγμένα] and illuminate them as vividly as possible” (Lucian, *Hist.* 52).

According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, “a good historian not only narrated historical events, but could assess their causes [ἀφανεῖς αἰτίας], as Theopompus could” (*Ep. Pomp.* 6.7 = T 20). This leads to a variety of organizational paradigms in ancient history (cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Thuc.* 9), ranging from organization around war (Herodotus Books 1-5) and empire (Herodotus Books 6-9), around summer and winter seasons (Thucydides), time frames as marked by wars and individuals (see Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 1.6), annual chronologies (Livy, *Roman History*), and so on, in contrast to biographical writings which tend to be organized around the life of a single participant. So in the minds of many ancients, history and βίος represented distinct literary configurations that at the very least could be located on the basis of event vs. participant orientation to the narrative.

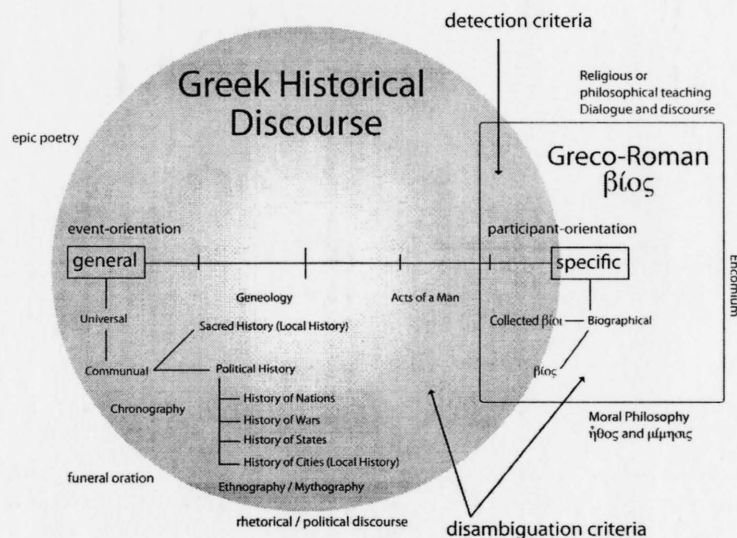
Clearly, a great deal of overlap exists between the two genres, which were not always distinguished. Historiography may exhibit biographical interest or intent, resulting in greater levels of participant orientation. This must be distinguished from the βίος as an independent literary form structured around a singular participant.<sup>58</sup> This creates literary overlap and accentuates the pressing need for criteria designed to identify not only commonality between history and βίος but formal literary divergence as well. But before

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<sup>58</sup> Stadter, “Biography,” 528.

we can differentiate the two, we need to clearly set them in relation to one another, noting especially similarities.

My proposal for a scale of Greek historical discourse within the broader spectrum of Greek narrative (prose) discourse proceeds from the position of Momigliano and Potter that while the βίος developed independently of Greek historiography, it was later influenced by it, especially in terms of its narrative form. So by the first century, instead of a definitive distinction between the βίος and history, we likely have a fluid body of Greek historical writings that way may differentiate on the basis of a scale of more general event-oriented history to more specified participant-oriented biographical writing, which constituted separate but closely related—often formally overlapping—instances of Greek narrative discourse.



**Fig. 3.** *Scale of Historical and Biographical Greek Narrative Discourse*

**Fig. 3** illustrates the cline of more and less specifically focused historical writings. This figure depicts at the edge of the genres many influences upon Greek historical discourse

and Greco-Roman βίος.<sup>59</sup> As noted above, the βίος would eventually borrow the narrative form of Greek historical discourse, even though it otherwise developed independently of it in the context of moral discourse, rhetoric, and especially encomium. We can see the influence of epic poetry (esp. Homer) found certainly in Herodotus but even later in the historians' preoccupation with epic wars and battle scenes. Prior to the fairly quick development of history within Hecataeus, Herodotus, and Thucydides, ancient rhetoric (esp. the *epitaphios* or Greek funeral oration) was the primary vehicle for transmitting Greek history, especially the history of Athens.<sup>60</sup> Juridical, deliberative, and epideictic rhetoric all functioned as mechanisms for the traditioning process in ancient Athens.<sup>61</sup> Funeral orations were particularly well suited for this purpose. Nicole Loraux insists that as one of their fundamental functions, they convey "The Athenian History of Athens."<sup>62</sup> Various individuals and their fate emerge from these settings. Demosthenes (19.273) tells of the punishment of Callias, for example. The orators also document the relation of various democratic heroes. Although the traditions remain somewhat bleak, both Demosthenes (23.205) and Andocides (3.3) relate traditions about Cimon and his relation

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<sup>59</sup> Others have adopted the label "general history" to describe the genre of Luke. For example, Aune, *Literary Environment*, 88, states that general history narrates "... the important historical experiences of a single national group from their origin to the recent past." He is followed by Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 3.

<sup>60</sup> Thomas, *Orality*, 199.

<sup>61</sup> Grethlein, *The Greeks and their Past*, 106, acknowledges, "The past comes into play in all three types of oratory, but ... in judicial speeches the focus is mostly on the case under discussion and references to the past are limited.... Owing to the difference in function and setting [between deliberative and epideictic oratory], they draw on the past in different ways. The use of the past in the same narrative form, albeit in different settings, is particularly interesting for a study that examines the ways in which ideas of history are shaped by narrative form and communicative context." He points to Lysias as an example of epideictic oratory and Andocides as an example of deliberative.

<sup>62</sup> Loraux, *Invention*, 132–71. She (132) summarizes the basic historical function of the funeral oration as follows: "Whatever the real power of Athens may have been in the Greek and Mediterranean world, and whether the dead were victors or vanquished, the funeral oration was responsible for reminding Athenians that, in its many acts, diversity of situations, and vicissitudes of change, the city remained one and the same. It is not, therefore, strictly speaking, a history in the sense that a 'historical account' of events leads from the city's origins to the last year of war, the direct cause of present ceremony. But we still have to examine, in the rhetorical, pre-established form of the narrative itself, the techniques that make it possible for the oration to present always the same satisfying version, effacing the problems that a critical study reveals."

to Athens and its history in their speeches. Thomas insists that among these speeches, the *epitaphios* was put to frequent use in the transmission of oral tradition about the city. She examines several funeral orations including those of Pericles' Samian oration in Thucydides (2.35; although perhaps the most famous, it is somewhat atypical), Lysias' *epitaphios* on the Corinthian War (Lysias 2),<sup>63</sup> Plato's *epitaphios* in the *Menexenus*, and the Phliasian oration in Xenophon (*Hell.* 6.5.38).<sup>64</sup> Thucydides (1.73.21; 11.36.4) shows knowledge of the general format of these speeches, which, following the *prooimion*, included a *epainos* or section of praise. But rhetoric also influenced the development of ancient βίος so that it serves as an influence upon both genres, especially the rhetorical use of the *encomium*.

The scale of Greek historical discourse in **Fig. 3** includes the various genres that the ancients included among historical writings as well as indicating some of the specific forms that ancient history took on the trajectory of more or less event-oriented history.<sup>65</sup> Hecataeus's *Genealogies* (500 B.C.E.) provides the most well-known sample of the first historical genre identified by Jacoby and others. Hecataeus and other genealogists, as the name indicates, sought to establish family relationships between the heroes of historical and mythical eras. Later historians continue to draw upon the genealogical tradition of history writing, showing a distinct interest in genealogical information within their histories, and drawing upon or competing with the work of the genealogical historians

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<sup>63</sup> On the transmission of history in Lysias, see Grethlein, *The Greeks and their Past*, 105–25 (109), who contends “Lysias presents Athenian history from the beginning to the present in chronological order. Needless to say, the narrative has a strong patriotic bent, and of course, only few selected events are mentioned. Whole periods are skipped; for example, the Archaic Age is left out completely and the Peloponnesian War is only touched upon most perfunctorily. Yet, despite this patriotic cherry-picking, Lysias' account somehow looks like an uninterrupted sequence, since temporal markers link the single events to each other and transform the ‘best-of’ collection into a coherent succession.”

<sup>64</sup> Thomas, *Orality*, 206–13.

<sup>65</sup> On the treatment of these historical genres, see esp. Fornara, *Nature*, 12. My treatment below draws extensively from his work.

(e.g. Herodotus, 2.143.1-4; 5.36.2; 6.137.1; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.108, 159). However, genealogy as a distinct historical genre seems to be replaced by (or rather incorporated in) within later historiography.

Ethnography, by contrast, continued into the late Roman empire. It involved documenting the “self-conscious study of non-Greek peoples” in prose form,<sup>66</sup> designated later by an adjective that identified the object of the people group under investigation (e.g. *Persika*, *Lydiaka*). Herodotus’s history is deeply indebted, therefore, to the Greek ethnographic tradition. Horography or local history recorded a city’s history year by year or **centered** upon some aspect of a city, for example its local cult (sacred history).<sup>67</sup> Jacoby identified Hellanicus of Lesbos (*FrGrH* 323<sup>a</sup>) (fifth century B.C.E.) as the first local historian; however, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Thuc.* 5) seems to contradict this, placing horography even earlier.<sup>68</sup> In any case, local histories seem to have been written by at least the fifth century B.C.E. Cicero describes chronography as *annals* (*De Rep.* 2.10, 18). This became the “backbone” of Greek historiography.<sup>69</sup> Most date chronography to the fifth century B.C.E., originating with the organization of historical events into chronological lists (e.g. Hippias’s *List of Olympic Victors*, the *Athenian Archon List*).<sup>70</sup>

What the Greeks call “history” (ἱστορία) goes back to Hecataeus (550-476 B.C.E.) and is then continued by Herodotus (484-425 B.C.E.) and later Thucydides (460-395 B.C.E.), being embodied in the historical war monograph and later in histories

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<sup>66</sup> Skinner, *Invention*, 3.

<sup>67</sup> See Dillery, “Greek Sacred History,” 505–26.

<sup>68</sup> Fornara, *Nature*, 17; Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography*, 65–66; Dillery, “Greek Sacred History,” 505–07.

<sup>69</sup> Fornara, *Nature*, 28.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Mansfeld, *Studies*, 314–16.

ranging from history of nations to local histories. These works can be broadly defined as focusing on the actions of men (cf. the βίος, which focused on the character of a man). These works identify themselves through a focus on πράξεις (Thucydides 1.1.2; Polybius 1.1.1; 9.1.5-6; Diodorus Siculus 1.1.1; 4.1.3 = T 9) and can be even applied to the πράξεις of a single man, especially in the Roman empire where the Latin *res gestae* is used instead of πράξεις to describe the “acts” of a man (e.g. *Res Gestae Devi Augusti*) in contrast to βίοι, which focus on the character of a man.<sup>71</sup> In the evolutionary development, histories draw upon the prior historical genres but they also constitute a genre in themselves. This is what Plutarch, Nepos, and Polybius seem to have in mind when they distinguish βίος / panegyric from history.

Many Greek histories were national histories, but not in the purest sense of that term since a comprehensive view of the nation is often not in view.<sup>72</sup> As Momigliano asserts: “The relation between biography and history is ... Greek historians were concerned with political and military events. Their subject matter was states, not individuals.”<sup>73</sup> *Communal* in **Fig. 3** thus constitutes a helpful category for incorporating more event-oriented Greek history. Herodotus is probably the most general of the extant Greek historians since most would classify his work predominately as universal history.<sup>74</sup> Since Herodotus chronicles the history of several nations, he tends to focus much less in most cases on specific individuals so that his history would be located at the far general side of the scale. The vast majority of extant Greek histories focus on a community of

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<sup>71</sup> Aune, *Literary Environment*, 78.

<sup>72</sup> Momigliano, *Classical Foundations*, 87.

<sup>73</sup> Momigliano, *Development*, 39.

<sup>74</sup> E.g. Alonso-Nuñez, *Idea*, 18.

some sort. These can range from sacred histories<sup>75</sup> to various forms of political history. Some histories, such as Xenophon's *Anabasis* or Appian's *Civil Wars*, may have a greater participant orientation within the political histories due to distinct biographical interest so that these move more toward the biographical end of the scale—and even more so, the acts of a man. At the far end of the specific participant-oriented side of the scale we have **the** βίος, which constitutes the most individualized form of Greek narrative discourse, with focus upon a single participant. But in collected βίοι, we have a slight move toward a more general form of ancient history since now more than one participant is being considered (it is thus less specified) but still firmly situated within the biographical tradition of history writing.

This scale of Greek historical discourse then allows us to map both similarity and divergence within the Greek historical tradition while noting instances of divergence and similarity with the Greco-Roman βίος. We might expect Greek historical discourse and βίος to exhibit a number of formal features in common, illustrated in **Fig. 3** by the overlap between the two genres. These features will be important to isolate as detection criteria for both genres. Equally important, however, will be identifying disambiguation criteria that help us demarcate Greek historical discourse from Greco-Roman βίος. Due to close literary proximity (displayed in **Fig. 3**) these criteria will not always expose hard generic boundaries—there may be a limited range of exceptions—but will instead draw attention to highly persistent patterns of divergence across a larger number of sample texts from both genres.

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<sup>75</sup> See Dillery, "Greek Sacred History," 505–26.



### 3. *Detection Criteria for the βίος and History*

Greek history and βίος share many things in common as instances related but distinct Greek narrative discourse. In this section we will explore those features that tend to occur together in both genres and make the βίος and history sometimes difficult to distinguish formally. Following from the previous sections, we shall continue to refer to these criteria as detection criteria.

While Burridge presents his readers with what appear to be several criteria that enable interpreters to identify Greco-Roman βίος, *it must be recognized that he really only has one set of two criteria*—contained within his “Subject” category—that he claims are “determinative for βίος.”<sup>76</sup> In other words, for Burridge, in terms of disambiguating the βίος from other genres there are really only two criteria—subjects of verbs and allocation of space—and I shall argue below that these two really reduce to just one, subjects of verbs, since the subject of a work must first be determined by subjects of verbs before allocation of space can then be applied to see how a subject is distributed (see below on disambiguation criteria). So the remaining criteria, no matter how numerous, really just confirm the assignment of βίος or not made through analysis of subjects.

Before we treat in detail Burridge’s disambiguating subject criteria in the next section, what can be said of his confirmatory detection criteria? First, some of them are quite helpful, even if underdeveloped and / or defiant of the larger categories Burridge places them within. Mode of representation, where βίος (and I would add history) are composed in (for the most part third person) prose narrative, likely represents a sound

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<sup>76</sup> Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 107.

detection criterion for Greek narrative discourse. “Length and size” is a helpful detection criterion as well but it to detects several groups of works. And although Matthew, Mark, and John fit the medium range length where biographical writings fall (5,000 to 25,000), this becomes problematic if Luke-Acts is a two-volume work (at 37,982 words in NA28)<sup>77</sup> since it would easily fit within Burridge’s large work category (above 25,000 words) where ancient history falls. As instances of narrative, both the βίος and history are composed in the same prose meter so this provides another detection criterion (cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Comp.* 3<sup>78</sup>). The authoritative citation based criteria that I shall propose in the present chapter and develop in the next chapter essentially offer a version of what Burridge calls “use of sources.” But when Burridge speaks of “use of sources” as a genre indicator, he just notes the types of sources βίοι used (oral tradition, histories, memoirs, the poets, etc.), sources used by many other genres in the ancient world, including ancient history, so this cannot function as a disambiguation criterion, which Burridge recognizes.<sup>79</sup> Literary units (e.g. speeches, discourse, sayings, etc.) likely have an important detecting function as well since both histories and βίοι include similar kinds of literary units but ones distinct from, say, epic poetry. “Style” can serve to disambiguate the type of Greek a genre was typically composed in but this too will cast a wide net and so merely functions as a detecting criterion. Atmosphere refers to the “tone, mood, attitude and values”<sup>80</sup> of a work but ancient βίοι and histories often tend to exhibit serious overlap in these areas. “Setting,” “Social Setting and Occasion,” and “Authorial Intention and Purpose” all seem to me to conflate around issues of context / register and

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<sup>77</sup> See Verheyden, “Unity,” 27–50 for discussion.

<sup>78</sup> Dionysius here divides genres into metered (poetry) and non-metered (narrative).

<sup>79</sup> Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 120–21.

<sup>80</sup> Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 176.

only serve a detecting function since many ancient literary writings emerge out of similar social situations.

Second, some of Burridge's criteria could be reconstructed to function as disambiguation criteria but remain undeveloped as they currently stand. For example, "Opening Formulae / Prologue / Preface," as stated by Burridge, really just means having an opening of some kind but further features might reveal whether an opening aligns more with historical or biographical openings, with important potential implications for examining Gospel openings. What Burridge describes as "scale" (indicating the concentration of a work) could potentially have a disambiguating function but Burridge does not indicate the formal features of the Greek used to encode scale. Similarly, "structure or sequence" may likewise have a disambiguating function but this would require Burridge to take into specific account not only the structure / sequence of βίοι but also where this structure overlaps or diverges with other genres.<sup>81</sup> Often, several genres will share the same "topics / τόποι / motifs" but for this criterion to be of use, one must show how specific τόποι, for example, are employed in a specifically biographical or non-biographical way.<sup>82</sup>

A third group of criteria seem too subjective, underdeveloped, irrelevant to the Gospels or lack the necessary formal grounding to be of much use at all. One of the strengths of Burridge's work is the sheer volume of criteria that it puts forward. But this also turns out to be a significant weakness since it does not allow him the space needed to

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<sup>81</sup> His analysis is clearly limited to βίοι without reference to a control group in another genre that allows him to demonstrate divergence: "Thus, βίοι usually have a basic chronological framework, which may be just the birth or public arrival as a starting point and the death as the end, together with topical inserts" (Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 136).

<sup>82</sup> Malherbe makes a similar mistake in his assessment of τόποι in philosophical letters, which also incidentally occur in non-literary letters. See Pitts, "Philosophical and Epistolary Contexts," 269–306.

develop each criterion sufficiently. “Titles,” for example, may be of use for Greco-Roman literature, but do not help much with the Gospels since they were not composed with titles and the titles added early on in transmission label them as neither βίος nor history.<sup>83</sup> So these cannot be used as part of a case that the Gospels are βίοι. “Allocation of space” is based on Burridge’s outline of several books but without explicit criteria in place, such broad topical assessments can tend toward subjectivity. And Burridge confesses that there is no strong consistent pattern here in any case.<sup>84</sup> The mode of “characterization” seems to be recognized by the ancients as a difference between βίοι and histories, where βίοι tended to focus on the character of a person rather than their actions, as in history (see above). Unfortunately, Burridge does not provide us with any way of formally identifying this feature, although this would be worthy of further investigation.

These detection criteria seem to be the most important contribution of Burridge’s work. Burridge has isolated several important features of ancient βίοι also often possessed by history and other genres in the ancient world. A confluence of these in a single document such as a Gospel may help interpreters in assessing its genre. Problems arise, however, when shared features between βίοι and another genre(s) introduce literary

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<sup>83</sup> Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 188, seems to concede this point when, after a detailed discussion of the Gospel titles transmitted in their earliest manuscripts, he concludes: “The situation regarding the titles of the gospels is thus rather complex, but they suggest that the books were seen as a literary group together, possibly with a connection with βίος.” But that may even be too strong. The titles may suggest *reception in the early church* as a similar group but the way in which they are similar need not be related to literary form. It is equally likely that they are grouped together due to similar *theological content* or other factors.

<sup>84</sup> Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 133, states that: “These analyses show that the author may order and allocate the interior structure of a βίος as he wishes, with material in a chronological sequence, or mixed up with topical analysis. There may be a generally even coverage of the subject’s life, as in the *Evagoras*, or the author may choose to emphasize one small period at the expense of others (e.g., *Agessilaus* and *Atticus*).” What I note in Burridge’s analysis here is that these works typically begin the same with some information about the subject’s early years but then the way space is allocated is pretty open to the decisions of the author, not clearly constrained by the genre.

ambiguity. This is the case with Luke's Gospel in particular, which appears to share features of the βίος and ancient history.

#### 4. *Disambiguation Criteria for the βίος and History*

In order to determine whether Luke's Gospel exhibits closer affinities with the ancient βίος or history on a scale of Greek narrative discourse, disambiguation criteria are needed, in addition to detection criteria, to make this assessment. In this section I survey two proposals—that I will argue are inadequate—for such criteria and then offer a series of new and / or underdeveloped criteria that may prove to be more promising upon further analysis.

##### 4.1. *Richard Burridge's Disambiguation Criteria*

The role of Burridge's work in establishing the current census that views Luke (along with the other Gospels) as a βίος not history calls for a thorough analysis of his disambiguation criteria. Among his several features, only the first few possess a disambiguating function. According to Burridge, the primary features that allow us to pick out βίοι from other ancient genres are opening features and subject (his first two feature-sets). On the basis of these two criteria, we should have a pretty good idea of the genre, but only subject criteria are “determinative for βίοι.”<sup>85</sup> The preface merely provides generic expectations “which are then confirmed or corrected as the work proceeds and more features appear.”<sup>86</sup> The external and internal features—either due to

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<sup>85</sup> Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 107.

<sup>86</sup> Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 109.

overlap with other genres, diversity within genres, or levels of subjectivity—then merely “confirm and correct” the analysis made on the basis of these forms, according to Burridge.<sup>87</sup> I agree that prologues / prefaces and titles will often help determine genre. However, titles do not help in the case of the Gospels (see above) and only Luke contains a preface, but biographical and historical prefaces share many features in common and Burridge’s analysis of the opening features of the Synoptics remains far too general to exploit any of the differences. Within the subject component Burridge discusses allocation of space to specific topics but this criterion is apparently derivative. Burridge says that once verbal subjects indicate the subject of a work then “analysis of allocation of space will make it clear how this subject is being treated...[so that] we have more evidence for deciding what the real subject of the work actually is.”<sup>88</sup> So Burridge really only proposes one disambiguation criterion, upon which the other few lean.<sup>89</sup>

So in addition to opening features, subject analysis leans very heavily upon analysis of verbal subjects to disambiguate the βίος from other genres in the ancient world and so this is where we will focus our attention. As a potential virtue of this feature, Burridge develops a “control group” that consists of Homer’s two epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and select passages from Herodotus. This is exactly what Burridge would need to make his case that proper names realized as explicit subjects have a higher

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<sup>87</sup> Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 113.

<sup>88</sup> Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 112–13.

<sup>89</sup> Other scholars, notably Richard Pervo (unpublished conference paper referred to by Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 261) and Adela Collins (“Genre,” 239–46), have criticized this criterion due to its central role in Burridge’s methodology. Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 263, replies, however, that: “It must be stressed that genre is mediated through the whole range of generic features, and analysis of verbal subjects is just *one* of those—although it is particularly useful for disentangling *genera proxima* which share many features in common, like biography and historical monograph, where the subject of the former is a person’s life and character, while the latter is more focused on a single topic, often involving many people.” This seems to be a softening of his earlier statements, quoted above. However, this only amplifies the problem since none of Burridge’s other features propose a control group and, therefore, do not even have the formal potential to function as disambiguation criterion. So with this slightly revised role for subjects of verbs in Burridge’s methodology, Burridge reduces his disambiguation criteria functionally from one to zero.

density in the βίος than in other genres but it highlights a weakness in his methodology as well since none of his other criteria include such a control group. This, by definition, limits his disambiguation criteria to this single criterion. And unfortunately, the group Burridge constructs remains inadequate. As it turns out, whereas the *Iliad* has fewer proper names in the subject slot of its syntax, the *Odyssey* actually features grammaticalized subjects quite often in a “pseudobiographical” way, as Burridge calls it.<sup>90</sup> So at best, Homer’s *Iliad* likely does not provide the most suitable candidate for the control group since it blends with the biographical genre and thus—according to Burridge’s assumptions—represents an atypical sample. At worst, these findings begin to disconfirm Burridge’s methodology from within. A sound control group will represent typical trends in non-biographical genres. So if Burridge claims that a higher density of proper names as grammaticalized subjects per sentence characterizes the βίος in a way that it does not in other literary genres, he will need to establish a control group that exhibits this characteristic. Herodotus, although often referred to as the father of historiography, might not provide the best sample here either—at least not on his own—because most consider Herodotus epic history, since it emerged in close literary (although not chronological) proximity to Homer (drawing extensively from his material) and so will likely have a good bit of overlap with the epic tradition.

The size of the control group presents another problem. Burridge selects a very small sample of two—in many ways intersecting—genres and if the explicit subject for proper names density marks off the βίος from other genres, we will need to see not only more genres but more variation within these genres. Herodotus has some unique features as what many believe to be the first complete extant formal history in our possession

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<sup>90</sup> Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 112.

(though a growing number of scholars do not recognize the initiation of Greek historiography proper until Thucydides), so we need to see more histories considered here along a longer chronological trajectory. The same is true for poetry. We would then need, it seems, to add further genre representation from the ancient world to show that this really is a distinct feature of the βίος.

Also problematic is Burridge's lack of comprehensiveness in his treatment of Greek subjects. To properly dissect explicit subjects in these and other writings we need to understand the syntactic and pragmatic profile for the function of subjects in the Greek language and what—if any—relevance the use of explicit grammatical subjects has for considerations of genre. To begin with, “subjects of verbs” is misleading as a description of the data Burridge collects (proper names in the nominative case). This is seen in the observation that many kinds of words beyond proper names can be used as subjects in Greek and proper names themselves can be resumed as subjects through an actual syntactic slot (pronoun) or in verb forms (morphology), a weakness Burridge recognizes.<sup>91</sup> So Burridge's study really does not undertake an analysis of “subjects of verbs”—or, at least, certainly not a comprehensive one.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 111. In the revised edition of his book, *What are the Gospels?*, 262, he responds to those who have criticized this criterion by insisting that, “Computer analysis is a quick and easy way of looking for distribution of verbal subjects through the nominative cases of proper names and nouns; indeed, such are the advances of technology with laptops and CDs of the whole corpus of ancient literature, that it is even quicker and easier now, than when I was pioneering such techniques on mainframes and magnetic computer tape in the mid 1980's! However, such analyses will include only those with nominative nouns—and thus miss many instances where the subject is contained within the verb, or is understood from the previous verb or sentence.” But then does not this skew Burridge's analysis when he comes to the Gospels and counts the subjects manually?

<sup>92</sup> Greek subjects may be coded at any one of three levels based on a scale of increase in explicitness as part of a wider participant reference system in Hellenistic Greek. Within the Greek referential system, we have endophoric (intratextual) and exophoric (extratextual) reference. The way a subject is coded in Greek discourse impacts its reference type. Subjects can be coded through full noun phrases (including proper names, as Burridge discusses). Linguists refer to these as grammaticalized or explicit subjects. These refer outside the text to a participant of some sort and are thus exophoric. Subjects can also be coded endophorically. Once a full noun phrase introduces a participant, pronouns and verb morphology then code



Another issue that surfaces involves grammatical analysis apart from a sound linguistic framework. Burridge offers only a few scattered comments on his linguistic methodology that draw attention to this breakdown. He sets up this subjects of verbs method against case frame analysis as the two potential models for determining subject matter, neither of which has been a major tool in the discussion of discourse topic—and case frame analysis relates instead more to valence properties of verbs, not encoding of topicality.<sup>93</sup> Topicality is certainly more multifactorial and linguistically nuanced than Burridge's analysis allows for, most helpfully illuminated, by contrast, through recent studies in discourse analysis.<sup>94</sup> Burridge, nevertheless, attempts to justify his assessment by appealing to the commonly known reality that language encodes meaning above the word level, but this hardly represents the meaning of Louw (whom he cites)<sup>95</sup> or those like Barr or even Saussure who went before him—and Burridge's analysis seems limited to the word level in any case since he bases his analysis on morphological categories.

Burridge's method also fails to address the distinction between subject types. Linguists often discuss two types of subjects in Hellenistic Greek (and other languages): obligatory and non-obligatory. Obligatory subjects are most frequent since they are required by the syntax for either topic shift or narrative participant disambiguation. They often function as “cohesive devices” (linguistic devices that help discourse “hang

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the participant throughout the remainder of the discourse scene. Linguists refer to these as reduced (pronoun) and implied (verbs) forms of participant reference. Thus Burridge's label for this category as “subjects of verbs” seems inappropriate. There are two ways of labeling the phenomenon Burridge draws attention to. We can describe it functionally as the type of form that occupies a syntactic slot (proper names in the subject slot of a clause) or formally as a noun type with a particular morphology (nominative case). Of these two options, I think the latter is more appropriate given the limitation of Burridge's databases, which are not annotated syntactically and thus Burridge's analysis is morphologically driven.

<sup>93</sup> See the many applications of this theory to the New Testament by Paul Danove, most recently Danove, *Grammatical and Exegetical Study of New Testament Verbs*, and Danove, “Comparison,” 365-399.

<sup>94</sup> For a survey of related issues here, see especially Reed, “Identifying Theme,” 79-101. More recent treatments include Westfall, *Discourse Analysis*; see also several essays in Porter and O'Donnell, eds., *Linguist*.

<sup>95</sup> Louw, *Semantics of New Testament Greek*.

together” as a unified literary production) and may work with “referential chains” (chains created through the Greek reference system, whether through full noun phrases, pronouns or the person system [i.e. 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> person] in verb morphology) to help—along with other features—indicate subject matter, but probably should not be assessed for this function on their own. The Greek verbal system is monolectic. Subjects are encoded in the verbal forms. Verbs (implied reference) then work with pronouns (reduced reference) to carry the subject through the discourse in cases where disambiguation is not needed.

So: that Burridge finds a high density of proper names with the nominative case in a number of Greco-Roman βίαι does not come as all that surprising. We should expect narratives, with “crowded stages” (many discourse participants at once)<sup>96</sup>—no matter what genre of narrative—to have a higher density of explicit subjects due to the need for topic shift or character disambiguation in order to re-encode the subject in the verbal and pronominal reference systems when the introduction of new narrative characters causes interference (ambiguity) in the referential system. Likewise, we should expect for expositional discourse (such as letters) to exhibit a very low density of proper names in the nominative since disambiguation is not usually needed in this way. So in a Pauline letter, for example, we have explicit subjects realized in the epistolary openings (exophoric reference), but then Paul leans on the verbal and pronominal systems (endophoric reference) throughout most of the rest of the letter—at least until the epistolary closing—because disambiguation is not needed. The main exceptions to this will be narrative portions in the letters (e.g. Gal 2:1-10; Phil 2:18-30). But Gospels, as narrative discourse, which requires a crowded stage—regardless of what genre of narrative they are—will naturally need to grammaticalize explicit subjects more

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<sup>96</sup> Longacre, *Grammar of Discourse*, 40.

frequently as characters interact with one another. Within narrative, the use of obligatory explicit subjects will depend on how crowded the stage is within each narrative scene, not the literary genre.<sup>97</sup>

Another linguistic oversight revolves around issues of linguistic evolution and language formality. Burridge analyzes a set of texts from the 800s B.C.E. (Homer) and from the 400s B.C.E. (Herodotus) to generate his control group. But a major problem that surfaces here is the rise of Atticism (esp. in the case of literary texts like history, βίος, poetry, and rhetoric) and its impact upon issues of sentence length through an increase in hypotactic structuring of Greek syntax, a phenomenon that reached its climax in the second century C.E. Sentence structure tended to be more elaborate in literary writing as we approach the second century C.E. We must also account for earlier authors whose style set the trajectory toward what would later result in Atticizing tendencies (later authors canonized the earlier so-called Attic authors and would seek to accommodate their style to this canon). Authors like Thucydides (in history) or Isocrates and

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<sup>97</sup> What about the role of non-obligatory subjects? In general, Burridge appears to equivocate “subject” as a pragmatic function of discourse with grammatical or syntactic subject by assessing thematization through investigating the use of proper names in the nominative and allotment of space. Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 112, thinks that “verb subjects can tell us about the over all subject of a work.” That’s a clear equivocation on the term subject, causing serious confusion around his definitions and analysis. What grammarians talk about in terms of grammatical subjects are not the same thing as the subject of an entire work nor are they even necessarily related. But that raises a second confusion, as to what is meant by the latter use of “subject.” Linguistically informed grammatical theorists distinguish between thematization and prominence. Thematization has to do with what is being discussed and prominence with what is being emphasized. What Burridge seems to be talking about is what is being discussed (thematization). Obligatory subjects will have *some* relevance at this level of the language but shifts in topic involve a range of multivariate considerations that help create new semantic environments in order to establish a new topic, not just the use of an explicit subject. For example, if we have an explicit subject located in the rheme of the clause (the theme is the first clausal component; the rheme is the second [set of] clausal component[s]), this indicates a de-thematization of the explicit subject. See Pitts, “Greek Word Order,” 330–40. Non-obligatory subjects help support not what the discourse is about necessarily but what is being emphasized. Though these are often related, they are not the same. So if an explicit subject or pronoun is not realized in the syntax in response to the need for disambiguation or topic shift, these subjects will be marked for emphasis. In other words, there may be a narrative scene about Jesus that emphasizes Jesus’ authority (prominence) through additional pronouns drawing attention to specific actions. The problem here is that Burridge does not maintain this distinction in his analysis and so his study picks up both obligatory and non-obligatory subjects, creating a set of imprecise data.

Demosthenes (in philosophy and rhetoric; also two of the ten Alexandrian Attic orators) greatly differed from Homer and Herodotus in their syntax, as it regards sentence length and structure particularly. In ancient literary Greek, we find a basic scale of language formality, ranging from highly paratactic to hypotactic. Paratactic Greek discourse is carried along by finite verbs whereas hypotactic discourse depends much more heavily upon non-finite forms (esp. participles) creating extremely dense and long sentences through syntactic embedding. So regardless of literary genre, literary Greek writings closer to the hypotactic end of the language scale will naturally have a lower percentage of sentences, where a sentence is a finite verb clause and its dependents (and a clause is a predicator and its constituents, including conjunctions, subject, complements, and adjuncts). So if subjects are weighed against the percentage of sentences in a discourse (as Burridge does), the results will obviously be skewed toward results that show a higher density of explicit subjects (a proper name or not) in works with fewer sentences (i.e. discourses with lower sentence density). So if Burridge weighs his proper names in the nominative per sentence against a group of writings characterized by more paratactic sentence structure resulting in shorter sentence lengths based around finite verbs, that is going to likely yield a lower ratio of his proper name in the nominative feature—not because of genre, but due to language formality. This exposes a severe problem in Burridge's control group, based on Homer and Herodotus, who are both dramatically closer to the paratactic side of the scale. Notice the vast variation in sentence length, based on language formality between Burridge's control group and the higher literary Greek of Thucydides, Isocrates, and Demosthenes. This is a helpful comparison because

it includes one of the authors that Burrige uses as a biographical sample, Isocrates.

Thus, **Tab. 1** illustrates increasing sentence lengths of Greek writers over time.

Clauses:	Homer	Herodotus	Thucydides	Isocrates	Demosthenes
per sentence	0.76	1.5	2.47	2.59	5.52
per 1,000 words	53	91	97	93	128

**Tab. 1:** *Variation in Sentence Length of Classical Authors based on Language Formality*<sup>98</sup>

The date of composition arises as an obvious difference between this control group and the biographical writings Burrige examines. Xenophon (428/7-354 B.C.E.) and Isocrates (436-338 B.C.E.) are the oldest, but they are still not as old as Herodotus (484-425 B.C.E.) and nowhere near the date of Homer (850 B.C.E.). And we can see that Demosthenes (384-322 B.C.E.), the latest writer on our scale above, has the most hypotactic syntax. As the Greek language evolved toward the first century, the highest literary expressions of Greek became more and more hypotactic. And we can already start to see how skewed toward language formality Burrige's results will be by comparing Isocrates, the author of one of Burrige's biographical samples, with the control group consisting of Homer and Herodotus—factors Burrige's proposed control group does not attempt to calculate.

Setting aside for now the skewed ratios based on sentence length, Burrige is able to produce some level of variation between the biographies he examines and in Herodotus Books 6-9 and at least Homer's *Iliad*, but when we consider even these variations more closely, they do not perform the task that Burrige asks of them. Disambiguation needs will vary for Homer's Greek poetry since it combines exposition and narrative. The narrative portions will have greater explicit subject density, where

<sup>98</sup> The data from this chart was collected from Webster, "Architecture of Sentences," 387.

Homer must distinguish between participants, and less so in expository or highly poetic portions. Less crowded stages in the narrative scenes of Herodotus account for the lower density of proper names in the nominative per sentence in his syntax. Take, for example, Burridge's observation that Xerxes and Darius only occur as the subjects for 2.4% and 2.9% of the sentences in Herodotus.<sup>99</sup> In addition to considerations of language formality discussed above, two other factors are relevant. The first is that Herodotus covers a wide range of material in his universal history, skewing Xerxes and Darius as explicit subjects toward low percentages. More significantly, however, Herodotus's narrative scenes tend to have little crowding. The basic narrative structure of much of Herodotus's history involves a recounting of his encounters with the people of the various places he visited.

Herodotus 1.5.2 is fairly typical:

περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰουῶς οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι Πέρσησι οὕτω Φοίνικες: οὐ γὰρ ἀρπαγῆ σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἄργεϊ ἐμίσητο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νέος: ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθε ἔγκυρος εὐοῦσα, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας οὕτω δὴ ἐβελοντὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλᾶσαι, ὡς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται.

The topic shifts with the obligatory explicit subject Φοίνικες needed to differentiate the Phoenicians from the Persians, the topic of the previous narrative scene (Πέρσησι, shifted into the narrative background with the dative). τῆς Ἰουῶς is the content of their testimony and then monolectic reference through the verb system is used to carry the narrative, encoding Φοίνικες in λέγουσι. We have no referential interference with Φοίνικες from other stage occupants and so disambiguation is not required.

To illustrate this point, take Appian (95-165 C.E.), a widely regarded Greco-Roman historian—clearly not a biographer—who wrote in the second century C.E. If we take book 2 of his five-volume work, the *Civil Wars*, and assess the ratio of proper nouns

<sup>99</sup> Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 112.

in the nominative to number of sentences (sometimes Burrige says clauses) that Burrige claims as a distinctive feature of the ancient βίος we get the same kinds of distribution density that Burrige finds in the biographies he examines. Caesar in the nominative occurs in 26% of the sentences. Other participants, less so. We can compare this to one of Burrige's computer based assessments of βίος and quickly see that proper names in the nominative do not disambiguate this βίος from at least one history.

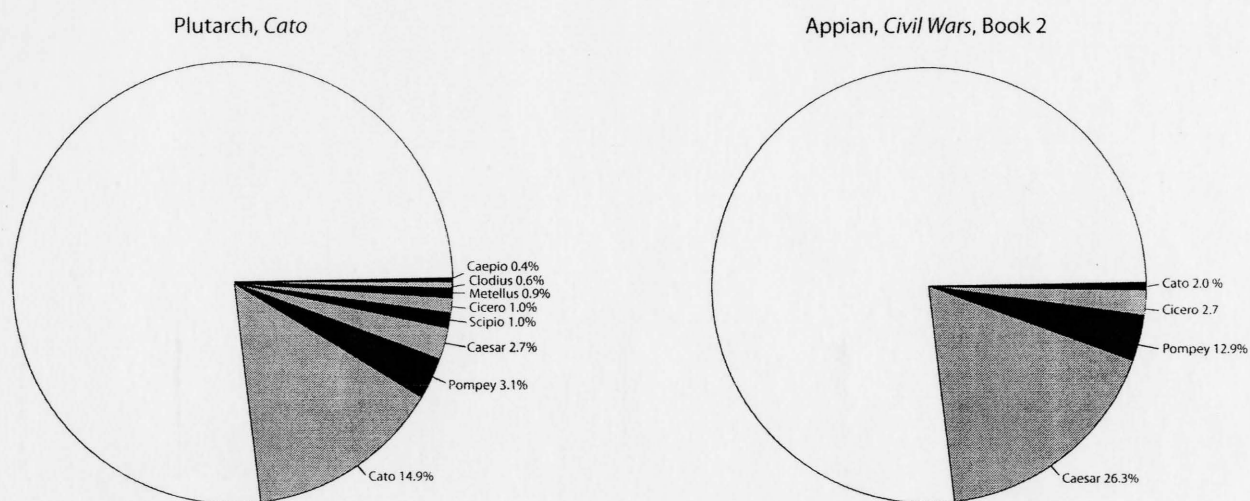


Fig. 4: A Comparison of Plato's Cato with Top Four Participants in Appian's Civil Wars, Book 2

What this shows is that even on Burrige's own methodological assumptions, this criterion does not help us due to the inadequacy of the control group, among other things. As we can see, Appian's *Civil Wars* is well within—in fact more, by way of this comparison—the density for proper names in the nominative that Burrige uses as a disambiguation criterion for the βίος between other genres, such as history and epic poetry. Some βίοι have higher densities than Plutarch and Appian, according to Burrige's counts, such as Lucian's *Demonax*, where Demonax takes the nominative at a rate of 33%. So if Cato constitutes a density at the lower end of the spectrum (14.9%) and

Demonax at the upper end (33%), Appian fits snugly within BurrIDGE's biographical range according to the use of proper names in the nominative case. The only problem is, Appian's *Civil Wars* is not a βίος. (At the risk of stating the obvious) Merriam Griffin concurs: "Appian and Dio were not setting out to write histories of Caesar, but histories that included him. Still less was it their aim to compose a biography."<sup>100</sup>

One might protest that Appian, *Bel. Civ. 2* is a more biographical portion of Appian, documenting the life of Gaius Caesar, but BurrIDGE claims that that his criterion will disambiguate even here and to prove this exact point BurrIDGE's Herodotus selection is a biographical portion of that history oriented around Xerxes.<sup>101</sup>

So, on BurrIDGE's methodology, we really do not have any formal features that allow us to isolate areas of divergence between the βίος and ancient history, especially as it concerns Luke in relation to the other three canonical Gospels. So we have now dealt with BurrIDGE's primary disambiguation criterion, proper names in the nominative.

Despite these methodological problems, BurrIDGE's landmark study continues to function as the foundation for much Gospels research and is acknowledged by some for its rigor.<sup>102</sup> We see the most recent example of this impulse in Sean Adams, whose dissertation extends BurrIDGE's treatment to Acts. Following suit with the recent trends, Adams adopts BurrIDGE's method (with minor caveats at a few places) and applies his list

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<sup>100</sup> Griffin, *Companion*, 270.

<sup>101</sup> This appears to be in tension with BurrIDGE's later conclusion where he, in *What are the Gospels?*, 239, states that "the generic boundaries of historiography, monograph and βίος could get blurred even within one work: thus Diodorus Siculus' massive history of the world in forty books devotes an entire book (XVII) to Alexander the Great, displaying many features of βίος, which is then followed by the 'Acts of his Successors' (τὰς τῶν διαδεξαμένων πράξεις, XVII.118.4); however, his treatment of Agathocles' activity in Sicily is fitted around events elsewhere in Greece or Asia in annalistic fashion, with a wider focus, typical of monograph (XIX.70–XX.101). The differing approach probably results from the sources available to Diodorus for the respective sections." But does this account for similar encoding of the subject in Appian and other historical works as well (e.g. Xenophon, *Anabasis*)? While we want to account for some amount of genre blending, perhaps this is more indicative that this criterion is unable to disambiguate genres in the way that BurrIDGE proposes.

<sup>102</sup> E.g. Edwards, "Biography," 229.



of criteria (and a few additional ones) to Acts in order to establish it, with Luke, as an instance of (collected) biography.<sup>103</sup> Many of the criticisms of Burrige then will also now apply to Adams's work since here the ability to distinguish history from βίος remains absolutely critical in that Acts exhibits so many evidentially (to many) historical features.

Burrige's book makes an important contribution in gathering together many detection criteria for Greek narrative discourse and the βίος in particular. It makes a fairly compelling case that the Gospels share several literary features in common with the βίοι of the ancient world and a confluence of these features in a single document such as a Gospel is certainly suggestive of a biographical label. Nevertheless, Burrige's method remains inadequate for establishing whether Luke's Gospel (or any writing in question) is βίος or history and its lack of linguistic awareness and grammatical clarity creates results that often seem unreliable.

#### 4.2. Phillip Stadter's Disambiguation Criteria

Stadter proposes a set of criteria for demarcating the βίος from history, which emerge from features specific to individual categories of the ancient βίος.<sup>104</sup> Philosophical βίοι are characterized by the tendency to draw a correlation between the moral character of the teachers they chronicle and their teachings. Literary βίοι (of poets and rhetoricians) drew heavily upon the primary writings of their subjects. And so on. At the local level of the text, the biographical form of encomium could also be deployed

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<sup>103</sup> Adams, *Genre of Acts*, 126, states that "analysis of verbs' subjects is a good way of determining the key agents in a work.... Burrige has made good use of this approach to establish the emphasis the Gospels place on Jesus and other key figures," although in his own analysis Adams prefers to lean more heavily on Burrige's criterion of allocation of space.

<sup>104</sup> Stadter, "Biography," 529–31.

inside of other genres, such as history. So the genre-specific features of βίος in distinction from history will be dependent upon the type of βίος that is being composed, according to Stadter. But though these criteria have some validity and may help establish some basic tendencies of βίοι often not found in history, they are not formally rigorous enough to enable definitive distinctions—as Stadter recognizes.

#### 4.3. *New or Previously Undeveloped Disambiguation Criteria*

Stadter’s disambiguation criterion, in final analysis, is not entirely helpful and Burrige has functionally only one disambiguation criterion, which I have argued is inadequate. In place of these, this section will propose seven new or previously underdeveloped criteria. So in addition to Burrige’s several detection criteria, which appear to detect especially biographical and historical instances of Greek narrative discourse, the following criteria may potentially help disambiguate these two genres.

They are organized in three categories:

- (1) preface criteria
- (2) event-participant orientation criteria
- (3) authoritative citation criteria

I suggest the use of a different taxonomy for the most helpful of Burrige’s detection criteria. Rather than introducing confusion through an internal / external contrast, I group Burrige’s detection criteria from the top down. Some of Burrige’s features are relevant to the (social or situational) context of a work while others draw upon co-textual features (i.e. features of the text itself), which can be defined globally (features of the entire discourse) or locally (features isolated to only a portion[s] of a discourse). So detection criteria are both contextual and co-textual whereas my new or previously underdeveloped

disambiguation criteria are all co-textual. **Fig. 5** provides an overview of these criteria, including the best of Burridge's detection criteria that I do not develop further into disambiguation criteria.<sup>105</sup>

	Criterion Type	Individual Criteria
<i>Detection Criteria:</i>	<i>Contextual:</i>	(1) Social Setting and Occasion (2) Authorial Intention and Purpose (3) Geographical Setting
	<i>Co-textual:</i> <b>Global</b>	(4) Mode of Representation (5) Meter (6) Style (7) Structure (8) Use of Sources
	<b>Local</b>	(9) Literary Units (10) topics / τόποι / motifs (11) atmosphere
<i>Disambiguation Criteria: (Co-Textual)</i>	<i>Preface Criteria:</i> <b>Global</b>	(1) Preface Length Ratio (2) Biographical Attestation
	<i>Event-Participant Criteria:</i> <b>Global</b>	(3) Attestation to Orientation (4) Transition into the Narrative Body
	<b>Local</b>	(5) Placement of Family Tradition
	<i>Authoritative Citation Criteria:</i> <b>Global</b>	(6) Citation Density
	<b>Local</b>	(7) Citation Strategy

**Fig. 5.** *Detection and Disambiguation Criteria for βίος and History*

<sup>105</sup> The more subjective or underdeveloped criteria have been removed as have the ones that I develop into disambiguation criteria.

#### 4.3.1. *Preface Criteria*

While the majority of interpreters acknowledge that Luke's preface fits most comfortably within the Greco-Roman historical tradition,<sup>106</sup> this does not appear to be evidence enough for identifying the Gospel with the genre of history. Burrige, in particular, is able to use the preface as a detection criterion that identifies Luke, along with the other Gospels, with the biographical tradition on the basis of a parallel "opening formulae / prologue / preface" defined broadly as "a formal preface by the author, in the first person, explaining his reason and purpose in writing and giving a clear indication of the genre...." On this broad definition, both biographical and historical prefaces can be included. Thus, Burrige does not view the preface as a disambiguating criterion (see above). In the case of Luke, then, we have a preface that may create expectations for reading the Gospel as history, but these are corrected by the pervasive biographical features that emerge as the Third Gospel continues to unfold.

The ancients recognize the potential role of the preface / opening features in distinguishing genres. Horace emphasizes the importance of introductory features within a particular genre (Horace, *Ars* 136-52). Within history, specifically, Lucian appears to view features of the preface as a disambiguating criterion between history and rhetoric. He says: "whenever [the historian] does use a preface, he will make two points only, not three like the orators. He will omit the appeal for a favorable hearing and give his audience what will interest and instruct them" (Lucian, *Hist.* 53). The historical preface thus functions to open the minds of the readers to the body of the work which is

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<sup>106</sup> Cadbury, "Commentary," 489-510; W.C. van Unnik, "Remarks," 6-15; Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 287-301; Balch, "ἄκριβως," 84-123; Moessner, "Appeal," 84-123; Moessner, "Lukan Prologues," 399-417; Moessner, "Appeal," 84-123; Moessner, "Lukan Prologues," 399-417; Aune, "Luke 1.1-4," 138-48; Adams, "Luke's Preface," 177-191.

“facilitated by a preliminary view of the causes in operation and a precise summary of events” (Lucian, *Hist.* 55). Lucian (*Hist.* 55) insists that there is a proper length for the historical preface, and that it should be neither too long nor too short, relative to the length of the entire history—although he does not indicate what the proportion should be. And Edwards makes the observation that especially in the later periods, biographical literature tended to refer to itself as βίος.<sup>107</sup> However, he fails to recognize that this tended to occur mainly when the writing included a preface, being absent when it did not (e.g. Plutarch *Caesar; Cicero; Romulus*; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*), and so wrongly excludes the possibility that the Gospels are βίοι on this basis. These suggestions will lead me to formulate two criteria for further investigation in chapter 3: (1) preface length ratio and (2) βίος language as a genre attestation or lack thereof within the preface.

#### 4.3.2. *Event-Participant Oriented Criteria*

If one of the primary differences between history and the βίος is the difference between a general event orientation and a specific participant orientation then we expect this to show up in formal differences. Burridge begins to hint at this with his criterion of “scale,” but as noted above this needs further development especially in terms of assigning formal criteria that enable detection of a narrative’s orientation. I propose three potential formal features that may potentially reveal the orientation of a work: (1) attestation to orientation, (2) narrative transition into the body (from the preface), and (3) the placement of family tradition.

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<sup>107</sup> Edwards, “Biography,” 230.

#### 4.3.2.1. *Attestation to Orientation*

As already noted, several histories state in their preface that they are concerned with events or actions. Histories often attest that they are about πράξεις whereas βίοι tend to identify their focus upon individuals in some way. Several have explored the role of introductory formulas within the preface or prologue of a work and their implications for genre,<sup>108</sup> but attestation to orientation serves as a particularly useful feature that often occurs within the preface of a work but in many cases can be detected at later points in an author's narrative as well.

#### 4.3.2.2. *Transitions*

The narrative frame, marked by the transition from the preface into the narrative body, constitutes another somewhat underdeveloped criterion that has been suggested very briefly, for example, by Alexander.<sup>109</sup> She does not propose that transitions mark a kind of disambiguating criterion but she does draw attention to the fact that historians, at least, tend to transition from the preface into the narrative in a somewhat consistent manner.

Lucian provides us with a clue that the transition from the preface into the body might yield a greater understanding of the historical genre. He says: "After the preface, long or short in proportion to the subject, should come an easy natural transition to the narrative" (Lucian, *Hist.* 55). Lucian says that since history is essentially a "long narrative" it must have all of the stylistic characteristics of a good narrative, but should also be characterized by the treatment of "connected events." The transition must set this

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<sup>108</sup> E.g. Burrige, *What are the Gospels?*, 109; Alexander, *Preface*, 26–41.

<sup>109</sup> Alexander, *Preface*, 30–31.

up, according to Lucian. Therefore, another formal difference between biographical and historical writing may be that biographical discourse tends to begin immediately after the preface to discuss the subject that it documents whereas as history tends to frame its narrative in terms of events. We might say then that the narrative body of biographical literature tends to operate from a “participant frame” and history tends to proceed from an “event frame.” Cicero hints at this when he notes that the beginnings of history proceed from documenting material along a chronological event line of a nation. He says:

For *historia* began as a mere compilation of annals, on which account, and in order to preserve the general traditions, from the earliest period of the City down to the pontificate of Publius Mucius, each High Priest used to commit to writing all the events of his year of office, and record them on a white surface, and post up the tablet at his house, that all men might have liberty to acquaint themselves therewith, and to this day those records are known as the Pontifical Chronicles (*De orat.* 2.52-53; LCL, Sutton).

This reflects a much different point of origin than the Greco-Roman βίος, which appears to have emerged as the result of collecting sayings, antidotes, and actions of an individual.<sup>110</sup> The basic narrative frame for history is organized around events, from its very beginnings, rather than an individual, as in the βίος. Since histories tend to be event oriented, we might expect their narrative bodies to commence with an event or circumstance whereas we might expect βίοι to move directly into the life of the participant that constitutes the focus of the βίος.

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<sup>110</sup> Potter, *Literary Texts*, 69.

#### 4.3.2.3. *Placement of Family Tradition*

The placement of family tradition (e.g. statements of origins, genealogies, etc.) may provide another formal means of detecting orientation. Since Greco-Roman βίοι tended, as a genre, to focus upon a singular participant we may expect comments at the beginning of a biographical narrative regarding the central participant's family and / or origins. Histories, however—since they remain more event oriented—will likely include this material later, if they include it at all.

#### 4.3.3. *Authoritative Citation Criteria*

Another formal feature that has been observed revolves around the use of citation formulas to identify sources. While Burrige promotes “use of sources” as one of his criteria, he does not give this criterion much weight. He says, “Sources cannot be determinative for genre, for the same source may be used by different writers (or even the same writer) to write totally different genres.” Although this appears correct, Burrige goes on to insist that the use of source material does play a confirmatory role since “within a genre we may expect to find similar sorts of sources being used in a similar sort of way; thus the bard's use of oral formulae and units previously composed is a typical feature of Homeric epic and quite different from the balance of sources found in some forms of historiography.”<sup>111</sup> So Burrige thinks that this criterion, while helpful, cannot function to disambiguate the βίος from other genres.<sup>112</sup> Nevertheless, I think that we shall find this criterion quite helpful in assisting efforts to distinguish between history and βίος.

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<sup>111</sup> Burrige, *What are the Gospels?*, 116.

<sup>112</sup> Along with many of his other criteria, Burrige's two paragraph analysis of the use of sources in the Gospels is too underdeveloped to be of much use.



#### 4.3.3.1. *Citation Density*

The classicist Potter proposes that though the literary features of history and βίος are parallel in almost every way:

In terms of form, perhaps the most important point is that [βίος] allowed for direct quotation of documents in a way that the generic rules for narrative history did not. It is not altogether clear why this should be so, but it may be that the tradition of the eyewitness memorialist influenced the later practitioners in such a way that they too wished to include first-hand statements about their subject.<sup>113</sup>

Similarly, Luce notices, “History...was to be written in the language of its creator: quotation of documents and direct transcriptions had little place. Only rarely would a historian admit into his text the verbatim language of others.”<sup>114</sup> This is not to say that historical writings did not employ direct citations—they just did so less frequently, and for differing purposes. According to Potter, we find a distributional distinction between βίος and narrative history in terms of what is acceptable regarding direct citation of sources. Unfortunately, Potter does not provide us with quantifiable data by which we can gauge formally whether this is correct, so we will need to test Potter’s intuition on this by formulating a detailed comparison of authoritative citation in the next chapter (chapter 3) through quantitative formal analysis of citation density in the two respective genres. Interestingly, Potter fails to notice differences in source citation density distribution within the New Testament Gospel tradition, treating them all as βίος on the basis that they frequently cite prophetic sources.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Potter, *Literary Texts*, 67.

<sup>114</sup> Luce, *Greek Historians*, 3.

<sup>115</sup> Potter, *Literary Texts*, 145–46.

#### 4.3.3.1. *Citation Strategy*

It will also be worth exploring where citations are placed in the narrative. If the βίος exhibits less restricted use of citations then we might expect them to occur less strategically. By contrast, less frequent use of citation in ancient history may yield more principled placement of authoritative citations. We will explore this further in the next chapter.

### 5. *Conclusions*

Due largely to the important contribution of Richard Burridge, the majority of scholars understand the Third Gospel, along with the other Synoptics and John, firmly within the Greco-Roman biographical tradition. Nevertheless, a few scholars still assign a historical label to Luke so that the *status quaestionis* on the genre of Luke's Gospel requires analysis before an investigation of the impact of genre upon Luke's authoritative citations can proceed. The difficulty of defining the close literary relationship between history and βίος perpetuates this enigma, making detection criteria for the two genres easy to come by while reliable disambiguation criteria remain more difficult to establish. After examination of several of Burridge's detection criteria and noting their important role in locating many parallel features between the Gospels and Greco-Roman βίος, I argued that in the case of Luke's Gospel these criteria do not go far enough since βίος and history share many of the same features. To plot the course through this generic incongruity, I proposed seven new or previously undeveloped disambiguation criteria that may prove promising in isolating the formal boundaries of βίος and history—even if

these boundaries may turn out to be blurred at times: we are looking for highly persistent features not hardened literary horizons. The next chapter assesses these criteria in detail.

### Chapter 3: The Genre of the Third Gospel II: Luke, βίος, and Greek History

The apparent literary ambivalence of Luke's Gospel obfuscates any initial attempt to measure the impact of Luke's Greco-Roman literary context upon his authoritative citations. Before analysis can proceed with the latter task, this dissertation must seek resolution regarding the genre of Luke. Is Luke's Gospel βίος or history? To set up this project, the previous chapter insisted that scholars need to offer more sustained attention to individual disambiguation criteria that might help better define the overlap *as well as* the boundaries of βίος and history. Burrige's several criteria make a pioneering contribution in that they, for the most part, help isolate the overlap and so I have defined these as detection criteria. However, we are still in need of disambiguation criteria that help locate the appropriate generic boundaries, even if those boundaries may blur on occasion. I argued that Burrige's subject based criteria are not adequate for this undertaking and suggested several potential new or previously underdeveloped disambiguation criteria that may perform this function more efficiently. We begin by introducing several historical and biographical samples that will allow us to test these disambiguation criteria to see whether they will offer useful guides in disambiguating Luke's genre.

#### *1. Introducing the Samples*

In order to differentiate between histories and βίοι we will need to develop a representative corpus of writings from both genres. The seven histories I have chosen are Herodotus (484–425 B.C.E.), Thucydides (460–395 B.C.E.), two works from Xenophon

(430–354 B.C.E.) (*Anabasis* and *Hellenica*), Polybius (200–118 B.C.E.), Josephus's (C.E. 37–100) *Antiquities*, and Appian's (C.E. 95–165) *Civil Wars*. This gives us a wide-ranging chronological sample, representing very different styles of writing and topic matter and these historians (with the exception of Josephus, who adds Jewish variety, and maybe Appian) are among the most hailed expressions of the Greek historical genre from the ancient world.

The selection of βίοι is a bit more tricky. Friedrich Leo famously traced the origins of Greek biography to two trajectories. The first he related to the Peripatetics, going back to Aristotle and ultimately connected with Socrates. The second, which he referred to as the Alexandrian school or the grammarians, was reflected in the later members of the Mouseion.<sup>1</sup> Most now reject this neatly organized schema for the developmental history of Greek βίος in favor of numerous antecedents to the genre, beginning in the fifth century until reaching its final highly formalized expression in Plutarch and his successors in the first century C.E.<sup>2</sup> The primary predecessors to the formation of Greek βίος are the various encomia and embedded biographical sketches in various other genres, such as history and rhetoric in the fourth century B.C.E. While writers of full βίοι apparently existed in this century and those leading up to the first century C.E. (e.g. Antisthenes or Aristoxenus)<sup>3</sup> we unfortunately do not possess full copies of their works.

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<sup>1</sup> Leo, *Griechisch-römische Biographie, passim*.

<sup>2</sup> The reasons for this involve the recognition that the close associations with the Peripatetic school among the earliest βίοι that Leo imagined can hardly be sustained and the claim that the development of a genre itself had its own external rules governing the process appears reductionistic. See Momigliano, *Development*, 74–76; Hägg, *Art*, 67–69, 79.

<sup>3</sup> See Stuart, *Epochs*, 119–54.

Isocrates' (436–338 B.C.E.) *Evagoras* marks what many view as one of the earliest antecedents to the biographical genre that we possess. In form, as a speech that eulogizes a king, *Evagoras* remains exceedingly short compared to other biographical treatments (which were not speeches). The biographical portion of the speech itself, beginning with Evagoras' death, does not even begin until *Evag.* 12. The speech does not terminate with the death of its subject either, a central characteristic of later βίοι. It also radically misses the source citation density ratios of its biographical successors with only four source citations scattered throughout the entire speech. The work nevertheless remains significant for the development of the Greek biographical tradition since Xenophon would use *Evagoras* as his model for his *Agesilaus*.

Tomas Hägg claims that ancient biography begins with Xenophon's memoirs, encomia, and romances.<sup>4</sup> D.R. Stuart echoes similar sentiments.<sup>5</sup> In Xenophon (430–354 B.C.E.), we find a highly underdeveloped beginning to the trajectory toward the formalization of the Greek biographical genre. We start to observe the initial underpinnings of this in some of his characterizations in *Anabasis* and later in *Agesilaus* (only the latter of which was an imitation of Isocrates' *Evagoras*).<sup>6</sup> But his *Cyropaedia* comes closest to the form that we would later identify as Greek βίος. Momigliano calls it Xenophon's "greatest contribution to biography...indeed the most accomplished biography we have in classical Greek literature."<sup>7</sup> But we may note in *Cyropaedia* the

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<sup>4</sup> Hägg, *Art*, 10–66.

<sup>5</sup> Stuart, *Epochs*, 31.

<sup>6</sup> Momigliano, *Development*, 52.

<sup>7</sup> Momigliano, *Development*, 54–55.

highly sketchy nature of the literary form.<sup>8</sup> *Cyropaedia* radically exceeds the length boundaries of later βίοι, for example.

Burridge was sharply criticized by the classical scholar M.J. Edwards for including works too early to represent the biographical genre, including Isocrates's *Evagoras* and Xenophon's *Agesilaus*, which are properly panegyrics, not biography.<sup>9</sup> According to Edwards, Philo's *Life of Moses* never purports to be a βίος<sup>10</sup> and Xenophon's *Memorabilia* exceeds length standards for ancient βίος,<sup>11</sup> one of Burridge's own criteria.<sup>12</sup> In general, Burridge does seem out of step with the consensus views in classics in designating these earlier writings as βίοι and he does not seek to offer any justification for his inclusion of these texts within his sample group, regarded by many as at best earlier historical precedents for the genre or even potentially unrelated to the development of ancient βίος (e.g. Philo). While recognizing earlier antecedents during the Hellenistic empire, Momigliano, for example, identifies Plutarch as the first person to acknowledge their writing as βίος and insists that the only works of biography which we

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<sup>8</sup> According to Gera, *Xenophon's "Cyropaedia,"* 1, the *Cyropaedia* "can be described as a biography of Cyrus the Great, a history of the beginnings of the Persian empire, a romance, an encomium, a military handbook, a guide to the political administration of the empire, a didactic work on ethics, morals, and education, etc.; it is, in fact, all of these things."

<sup>9</sup> Edwards, "Biography," 229–30. Momigliano, *Development*, 49, agrees: "The encomium is organized in chronological order but cannot properly be described as a biography of Euagoras from birth to death." Klink, *Audience*, 58–65, uncritically follows Burridge in using many of the same samples.

<sup>10</sup> This statement is simply false. Philo, *Mos.* 1.1 states: Μωυσεώς τοῦ κατὰ μὲν τινὰς νομοθέτου τῶν Ἰουδαίων, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς ἐρμηνέως νόμων ἱερῶν, τὸν βίον ἀναγράψαι διενοήθη, ἀνδρὸς τὰ πάντα μεγίστου καὶ τελειοτάτου, καὶ γνώριμον τοῖς ἀξίοις μὴ ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποφθῆναι.

<sup>11</sup> Momigliano, *Development*, 53, insists that Xenophon's *Memorabilia* potentially represents a unique genre of its own and, in any case, is not a biography.

<sup>12</sup> Edwards, "Biography," 229–30. Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 266, attempts to answer these criticisms in the second edition of his book by picking apart a few (rightly) incorrect details in Edwards's largely negative appraisal. For example, Edwards seems to think that Burridge only covers these earlier writings when in reality Burridge treats both earlier and later instances of what he considers proper representations of the form. But I think Edwards would say that the early literature Burridge includes should not be weighed at all. So picking apart these incidental details will not blunt the sting of Edwards's main criticism, that the works Burridge considers do not reflect an unambiguous form of ancient biography. Burridge does not directly address this issue and still has not provided adequate justification for using these earlier works, not widely acknowledged to represent the Greek biographical form, other than to simply state that the genre includes a wider range of works than instances of later self-attesting βίοι.

have direct acquaintance with are the ones from the Roman Empire.<sup>13</sup> Satyrus's *Life of Euripides*, though fragmentary, counts as evidence of earlier βίοι—even if we do not have them within our possession in their complete state. Dihle goes as far as to assert that in terms of the genre label of Greek “biography,” where someone assigns the term “on conceptual and formal grounds, one can only gain an impression from the parallel ‘Lives’ of Plutarch. The genre present here clearly possessed enough vitality to affect regions beyond the literature of the Greeks.”<sup>14</sup> So in the end, Burrige damages his case by choosing several contestable examples.

When examining the Gospels, however, consideration for the appropriate historical precedents for the genre will be important since most date the Gospels either slightly earlier or right around the time when the first proper expression of the genre begins to emerge in Plutarch's *Lives*, even if there were a small number of proper βίοι in circulation prior to this. Chronologically, then, we find the Gospels not located firmly within the midst of a developed literary tradition, as Burrige's samples appear to indicate, but only surfacing at the dawn of the formalization of the Greco-Roman βίος. So

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<sup>13</sup> Momigliano, *Development*, 9. In Gospels criticism, see also Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, 330, 350, citing Shultz, for criticism of the view that the Gospels align with the βίος form.

<sup>14</sup> Dihle, “Gospels,” 378. In his significant study, Dihle argues (371) that “All one can say without fear of contradiction is that the *Lives* of Plutarch possess a highly developed literary form and hence that they distinguish themselves from all other extant biographical accounts in Greek literature; further, that this form is inseparably bound up with a conception of ethics.” He goes on: constantly in Hellenistic times, authors “like Satyrus, who made a name for themselves *inter alia* by writing βίοι, were called Peripatetics in our tradition, although in their case no closer connection with the school of Aristotle can be demonstrated... and the close and very specific link between the literary form and the ethical-anthropological conception of Peripateticism which gives the *Lives* their distinctive stamp belongs to the tradition of this literary genre and must not just be regarded as the possession of the author.” He notes difficulties with classifying various other sources, therefore, as biography. While the biography of Augustus by Nicolas of Damascus, from about 100 years before Plutarch, is among the only ones that parallels Plutarch, Dihle remains skeptical due to its fragmentary condition. Dihle is more hopeful for the βίοι after Plutarch's *Lives*, especially the *Demonax*, *Peregrinus Proteus* and *Alexander*, referred to by Lucian (377). He also raises the possibility of Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius* but dismisses it (378) “because of the religiously motivated miracle-and-travel stories completely overshadow the overall structure of the work.” While most of us will not find ourselves quite as skeptical as Dihle he clearly, at the very least, makes a good case for Plutarch as the best representative sample of the βίος genre.



while Edwards and others rightly criticize Burridge for his imprecision in designating the biographical genre, some of the documents (though not all) seem relevant as antecedents rather than specimens for consideration due to their chronological relation to the Gospels.

Consequently, in the selection of βίοι that follows, we will emphasize Plutarch as a paradigmatic case of ancient βίος and will consider several of his *Lives*. But we will also look at three antecedents to Greek biography (Isocrates' *Evagoras*, Satyrus's *Life of Euripides*, and Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*) before the first century as well as a third-century, highly formalized collection of βίοι by Diogenes Laërtius.

This selection of histories and βίοι will serve as the sample group that will provide the starting point for our analysis; however, several further supplementary writings from both genres will be recruited as well.

## 2. Preface Criteria

Luke's well defined preface (with the recapitulation in Acts) probably signaled a broadly historical work to its original readers. However, biographical, historical, and other literary works tended to exhibit many of the same formal features in their prefaces.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, preface length ratio and the use of self-attesting βίος language in

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<sup>15</sup> Alexander, *Preface*, 69–91, lists the following formal features of “scientific” prefaces: 1) the author's decision to write; 2) subject and contents of the book; 3) dedication (with second person address); 4) the nature of the subject matter; 5) others who have written on the subject; 6) the author's qualifications; and 7) general remarks on methodology. Included among her samples for determining these characteristics are both biographical and historical prefaces. Alexander's analysis shows (even if too great a weight is placed upon Thucydides within the historical genre) that the vast majority of these characteristics tend to be shared by the prefaces in both genres. This highlights further that Burridge's use of opening features remains underdeveloped and his formulation of the criterion can only serve a detecting function.

the preface may provide two substantial differences between historical and biographical prefaces.

### 2.1. Preface Length Ratio

Taking Lucian's cue (*Hist.* 55) that historical prefaces should exhibit a proper length relative to the subject and body of the work, the following histories and βίοι from earlier in this chapter (as well as several supplementary writings from both genres) will be discussed below.

Ancient Work	Word Length	Preface Length	% against Entire Work
<i>Histories</i>			
Herodotus	184,947	675	.036
Thucydides	150,173	3,498	2.32
Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i>	66,514	8	.01
Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i>	57,174	N/A	N/A
Polybius	311,667	429	0.13
Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i>	305,870	1,086	0.35
Appian, <i>Civil Wars</i>	116,927	1,108	0.94
<i>Biographical Predecessors</i>			
Isocrates, <i>Evagoras</i>	4,682	624 ( <i>prooimion</i> )	13.32
Xenophon, <i>Cyropaedia</i>	79,283	607	0.76
Satyrus, <i>Euripides</i>	1,321	N/A	N/A
<i>βίοι</i>			
Plutarch, <i>Alexander-Caesar</i>	36,237	138	0.03
Plutarch, <i>Demosthenes-Cicero</i>	19,169	590	3.07
Plutarch, <i>Theseus-Romulus</i>	17,042	285	1.67
Diogenes Laërtius	109,777	1,796	1.63

Tab. 2: Preface Length Ratio in History and βίοις

Length of historical prefaces may vary from as short as 0.01% (Xenophon's *Hellenica*) to 2.32% (Thucydides), a percentage measured against the total words of a given historical

preface, with most falling within the range of 0.36–0.94%. Thucydides is atypical when compared to other histories, especially when this study is extended to include the preface length ratios of Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca Historica*, 0.33%) and Plutarch (*Rise and Fall of Athens*, 0.23%). But Thucydides was even considered atypical in his preface lengths by ancient critics (e.g. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Thuc.* 19-20). Βίοι on the whole tend to have larger prefaces relative to the overall size of the work. Of the samples considered, Plutarch's *Alexander-Caesar* provides the only exception to this. All other βίοι tend to have prefaces several times larger than historical prefaces relative to size. Adams' study of several later collected βίοι seems to confirm this assessment. According to his analysis, the preface of Jerome's *On Illustrious Men* consists of 2.6% of the entire work and the preface of Eunapius, *Vitae Philosophorum*, occupies 4.6% of the entire writing. Similarly, Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum*, has a preface with a length of 836, which accounts for 2.87% of the entire work.<sup>16</sup>

This seems to be true of independent βίοι (i.e. not part of a larger collection of lives) as well. Lucian's (120-180 C.E.) *Demonax*, for example, is 3,172 words with a preface length of 171 words (*Dem.* 1–2) constituting 5.39% of the entire work. Tacitus's Latin *Life of Agricola* (98 C.E.) is 6,789 words long with a preface of 387 words (*Agr.* 1–3) which means that the preface accounts for 5.7% of the total length of the book. Or sometimes, as in Apollonius's *Philostratus*, independent βίοι will employ a genealogical statement or statement of origins as the preparatory material for the work. The predecessors to ancient βίοι, however, are fairly inconsistent with reference to this feature.

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<sup>16</sup> Adams, *Genre of Acts*, 273–78.

Length ratio does not provide an absolutely determinative criterion since we have at least one exception within each genre—Thucydides and Plutarch’s *Alexander-Cicero*. However, the broad and quite consistent tendency does seem to indicate that on the whole histories seem to have much shorter prefaces relative to the length of the entire work.

## 2.2. βίος Language in the Preface

Several βίοι and even some histories lack a formal preface. Nevertheless, when a preface does occur in a βίος, it tends to include a genre attestation through βίος-language. Historical prefaces, by contrast, lack such an indication, sometimes but not always attesting to writing history.

### 2.2.1. The Lack of βίος Attestation in Historical Prefaces

Historians typically begin their work with a discussion of theoretical concerns. These prologues tend to use very formalized, elevated Greek language,<sup>17</sup> often beginning with a third-person introduction of the historian and his origins (Herodotus 1.1; Thucydides 1.1).<sup>18</sup> They regularly include a discussion of various sources and prior histories (Thucydides 1.21–22; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.15–26). Often, there is a statement of the intention for why the historian composes the specific history (Herodotus 1.1; Thucydides 1.1–3; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.1–4) or an outline of the various events and persons that the history will document (Xenophon, *Hell.* 1.1; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 1.6; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.1–14). And biographical prefaces actually share many of these features in common. One

<sup>17</sup> Cadbury, “Commentary,” 492–510; van Unnik, “Remarks,” 7; Marshall, *Luke*, 37–38.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Alexander, *Preface*, 26–27. However, cf. the preface in Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.1–2, which uses the first person. It also includes a dedication, another of Alexander’s features that historical prefaces apparently lack.

feature, however, that does seem to clearly distinguish a biographical from a historical preface is that biographical prefaces tend to describe the ensuing work as a βίος or collection of βίοι. Histories will often (but not always, e.g. Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.1; *Hell.* 1.1) indicate that they write ἱστορία (e.g. Herodotus 1.1; Arrian, *Anab.* 1.5; Appian, *Hist. rom.* 1.1; Josephus *Ant.* 1 pref.) but they certainly lack any indication that they are writing a biographical account.

### 2.2.2. βίος Attestation in Biographical Prefaces

One of the persistent features of βίοι involves the use of biographical language in the preface. Many βίοι do not have a preface, but begin immediately with a genealogical statement (see below). Of those that do have a preface, however, βίος language is used within it to indicate the type of work that the author composes. The feature is not fully formalized in the biographical predecessors. Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* does not contain it. Isocrates uses τοῦ βίου in 9.3 but not as a self-designation for the work. Plutarch's *Caesar*, *Cicero*, and *Romulus* do not employ the language, but each of these books share in common being the second volume of one of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*. Each of these sets includes a preface for the set located at the beginning of the first life Plutarch documents and describe their work with βίος language, in the case of these three sets: *Alexander* (3x), *Demosthenes* (1x), and *Theseus* (1x). Plutarch follows this pattern in several other of his βίοι as well (e.g. Plutarch, *Aem.* 1.1–3; *Ara.* 1.2–3; *Cim.* 2.3). Diogenes describes his work in terms of βίος within the preface to his *Lives* and several of Lucian's βίοι continue this pattern as well (e.g. Lucian, *Alex.* 1–2).

### 2.3. *Summary*

Preface length ratio, as originally suggested by Lucian, seems to be a persistent feature of history, with a fairly definable range in all of the works examined with the exception of Thucydides, whom even the ancients viewed as atypical preface form. Βίοι, likewise, tend to have fairly consistent ratios, again with only one exception in the works examined. Βίοι tend to have longer prefaces relative to the length of the entire work. Histories tend to have shorter prefaces.

Although some histories contain the Greek word βίος within their prefaces (e.g. Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.1; Diodorus Siculus 1.1), they do not designate themselves as such. Βίοι, when they do include a preface, tend to indicate within the preface an attestation to their genre through the use of βίος language.

### 3. *Event-Participant Oriented Criteria*

In the previous chapter, I sought to show that the fundamental difference between βίος and history can be articulated according to a scale of general event-orientation to more specific participant orientation. While both βίοι and histories focused on individuals, histories often collected the speeches and lives of several men related around a particular topic or event frame (e.g. a war) of inquiry (Thucydides 1.22.1–2; Polybius 2.56) rather than orienting the narrative to a singular participant. This distinction emerges formally in histories and βίοι in a number of distinct ways.

### 3.1. *Attestation to Event / Participant Orientation*

Examination of self-attestations, especially in but not limited to the preface of a document, provides one of the clearest ways to ascertain the intention of a work and its focus. In this section I seek to show that both histories and βίοι tend to identify quite explicitly their orientation on the scale of event-oriented or participant-oriented discourse discussed in the previous chapter, both within the preface and the bodies of their narratives.

#### 3.1.1. *Event Orientation in Histories*

Herodotus opens his history in the following way: “This is the display of the inquiry [ἱστορίης] of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, so that things done **by a person** [τὰ γεγόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων] not be forgotten in time, and that great and marvelous deeds [ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά], some displayed by the Hellenes, some by the barbarians, not lose their glory, including among others what was the cause of their waging war on each other” (1.1.0; LCL, Godley). So Herodotus not only claims to write history but indicates that his purpose in so doing is to document the actions of people (ἀνθρώπων), especially the deeds (ἔργα) of Greeks and foreigners. We see from the outset then a self-attested event-orientation to the narrative. Similarly, Thucydides says that he sets out to write “the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians” (1.1.1). His narrative centers on “greatest movement yet known in history” (1.1.2) for both Greeks and foreigners. For the purpose of education in “political acts” (τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις), Polybius says that he seeks to indicate “the catastrophes of others” (1.1.2) in his history. He claims directly that he writes about surprising events (αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ παράδοξον τῶν

πράξεων, ὑπὲρ ὧν προηγήμεθα γράφειν) (1.4). Polybius adopts a kind of historical narrative that leaves him “resolved to confine [himself] to chronicling actions [τὰς πράξεις]” (Polybius 9.1), as does Herodian who defines his history as “reviving the memory of past events” (Herodian 1.1). Xenophon’s *Hellenica* begins with the formula μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (“after these things”), indicating a continuation of Thucydides’s *Peloponnesian War* (which was event oriented, as we see above), picking up where his predecessor left off, as well as his own concern for events. Appian uses a similar formula in his preface. After giving an overview of the Roman political climate, he says that he writes to show “how these things came to be” (ταῦτα δ’ ὅπως ἐγένετο) (*Bel. civ.* 1.6).<sup>19</sup> Josephus writes to tell the history of the “war which we Jews had with the Romans, and knew myself its particular actions” as well as to explain the origins and nature of the

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<sup>19</sup> Attestation to event orientation appears to be a quite persistent feature within Greek historiography. Dio Cassius, in a fragment from Book 1, says that his history emerges out of a desire to write “a history of all the memorable achievements [μνήμης ἐπράχθη] of the Romans” (Dio Cassius Frag. 1.1 B p 25 LCL). Diodorus Siculus not only describes universal history as the “a presentation of events, with a most excellent kind of experience” (1.1.1) but also indicates that “the failures and successes of other men, which is acquired by the study of history” (Diodorus Siculus 1.1.2) helps educate others—again, the focus remains upon the actions and events of men, rather than their character. For Diodorus, “the historians, in recording the common affairs of the inhabited world as though they were those of a single state, have made of their treatises a single reckoning of past events [πραγματείας] and a common clearing-house of knowledge concerning them” (1.1.3). He conceives of history as the “commemoration” (μνήμην) of the “good deeds” (ἀγαθῶ) of men (1.2.1). History is “the guardian of the high achievements of illustrious men, the witness which testifies to the evil deeds of the wicked, and the benefactor of the entire human race” (1.2.3). And Diodorus marks the chronological framework for his historical narrative as covering the activities that transpired between two events: “from the Trojan War we follow Apollodorus of Athens” (1.5.1). This event-driven theory of history, with its pragmatic function of educating and guiding action, may go back to an earlier historian, perhaps Ephorus or, possibly the Stoic, Posidonius. Jacoby, *FGrH* 70, F 7–9 Com., thought it derived from Ephorus. So does Barber, *Historian*, 70. Burton, *Diodorus*, 36, however, locates the tradition in Posidonius. But even if we cannot link Diodorus’s model back to Ephorus, Ephorus still seems to have conceived of the narrative frame of his history in terms of an event orientation. This can be derived from the fragments that indicate his avoidance of the “mythological period,” preferring instead to document the “events that took place after the Return of the Heracleidae” (“Εφορος μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κυμαῖος, Ἰσοκράτους ὧν μαθητῆς, ὑποστησάμενος γράφειν τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις, τὰς μὲν παλαιὰς μυθολογίας ὑπερέβη, τὰ δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδου πραχθέντα συνταξάμενος ταύτην ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἱστορίας) (Diodorus Siculus 4.1.3 = T 8). Similarly, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his *Epistula ad Pompeium Geminum*, commends the ability of Theopompus (= T 20) to get behind the causes of the actions of men and those that do them (τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν πραξάντων) (*Ep. Pomp.* 6.7). A good historian not only narrated historical events, but could assess their causes (τὰς ἀφανεῖς αἰτίας), as Theopompus could (*Ep. Pomp.* 6.7 = T 20). We can see evidence, then, even in several fragmentary historians (for which the preface has not been preserved) of the fundamental event orientation of ancient history.



Jewish people and their governments (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.1.4–5). Although Xenophon’s *Anabasis* does not include a preface or statement of intention, several places in his narrative attest to the event orientation of the history (e.g. Xenophon, *Anab.* 2.1; 3.1.13; 4.8.27; 7.1.76). Several histories, in fact, reveal the event orientation of their own histories or portray prior histories in this way throughout their narratives (e.g. Polybius 9.1.5–6; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.338;<sup>20</sup> 8.314;<sup>21</sup> Diodorus Siculus 4.1.3; 17.1.1–2;<sup>22</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ep. Pomp.* 6.7).<sup>23</sup>

### 3.1.2. Participant Orientation in βίοι

Of the ancient βίοι, the predecessors to the genre provide only limited information. Isocrates’ *Evagoras* is again a speech not technically a βίος, but one which, nonetheless, attests to having a distinct focus upon King Evagoras. Isocrates says his encomium is for the purpose of “honoring him” and recounting “his principles in life and his perilous deeds than to all other men” (Isocrates, *Evag.* 2). But in this recounting of the “deeds” of Evagoras, Isocrates only hoped to illustrate his “virtues” (Isocrates, *Evag.* 4). So we potentially find here in this encomium the beginnings of a distinct individual

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<sup>20</sup> Josephus ends Book 2 here with a reflection of what he has narrated so far concerning the “actions of Alexander” (τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις) and “these events / things” (τούτων) that he has documented (cf. Arrian, *Anab.* 1.26; Callisthenes frag. 25). It is thus clear that for Josephus, an event orientation continues to frame his narrative. He conceives of it as fundamentally structured by a narration of things / events rather than the character of an individual.

<sup>21</sup> As with *Ant.* 2.348, here Josephus cataphorically describes his prior narrative in terms of a litany of “things” (ἐκ τούτων) that he has recorded.

<sup>22</sup> Here Diodorus transitions into Book 17 and we can see that the narrative frame is governed fundamentally by an event rather than a participant orientation. Although Diodorus states that Book 16 concerned Philip the son of Amyntas and his career, this merely seems to set a timeline for “those events connected with other kings, peoples and cities which occurred in the years of his reign” (Diodorus Siculus 17.1.1).

<sup>23</sup> Josephus’s *Against Apian* is, likewise, event oriented. As a continuation of his *Antiquities of the Jews* (*Ag. Ap.* 1.1–3), Josephus writes about “the history of five thousand years, and are taken out of our sacred books; but are translated by me into the Greek tongue” (*Ag. Ap.* 1.1) and in this second volume answers criticisms against the events narrated in the *Antiquities* (*Ag. Ap.* 1.2–5).

orientation. The focus remains on the character of a person and is not as straightforward as later βίοι but we can begin to see an initial pattern of the genre. Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* also indicates a distinctly individual focus. He says regarding Cyrus, the subject of his work: "Believing this man to be deserving of all admiration, we have therefore investigated who he was in his origin, what natural endowments he possessed, and what sort of education he had enjoyed, that he so greatly excelled in governing men" (Xenophon, *Cyr* 1.6). Xenophon centers his narrative on the details relevant to the admiration of a man rather than being interested in the events of a nation's or city's history. Satyrus's *Euripides* lacks a preface so we do not have a self-attestation regarding orientation from that document.

The later βίοι formulate the attestation to participant orientation very strongly. Plutarch begins his *Alexander* by stating: "It is the life of Alexander the king, and of Caesar, who overthrew Pompey, that I am writing in this book" (*Alex.* 1.1). In Plutarch's *Caesar*, a self-attestation of any kind is missing, but classicists almost universally accept that the original beginning of this document is now lost.<sup>24</sup> Plutarch begins his comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero by stating: "Therefore, in this fifth book of my Parallel Lives, where I write about Demosthenes and Cicero, I shall examine their actions and their political careers to see how their natures and dispositions compare with one another" (*Dem.* 3.1). Chronicling actions merely serves the ulterior purpose of displaying the nature and disposition of the individual. Similarly, in his *Parallel Lives of Theseus and Romulus* Plutarch states: "It seemed to me, then, that many resemblances made Theseus a fit parallel to Romulus. For both were of uncertain and obscure parentage, and got the reputation of descent from gods" (*Thes.* 2.1). So in these parallel lives we have focus on

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<sup>24</sup> See Pelling, *Plutarch*, 129–30 for discussion.

more than one individual but the self-attested participant orientation remains the same. We see this in Diogenes Laërtius. At the end of his preface to the *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, he states as the transition into the body of his work: “It remains to speak of the philosophers themselves, and in the first place of Thales” (*Vit. Phil.* 1.21.2).<sup>25</sup>

### 3.2. *Transition into the Narrative Body*

Another way to detect the event or participant orientation of a discourse involves consideration of the narrative frame. Does the narrative initiate at the most outer level, as it transitions from the preface into the narrative body, with an event or with a participant?

#### 3.2.1. *Transitions in Histories*

Lucian highlights the importance of a smooth transition into the narrative body after the preface among ancient histories (Lucian, *Hist.* 55) but such transitions can also indicate event or participant orientation. Herodotus exemplifies the event orientation that he attests to in his preface. After his brief preface (Herodotus 1.0), he starts the body of his work with “The Persian learned men say that the Phoenicians were the cause of the dispute” (the Persian war) (Herodotus 1.1). After the Thucydidean preface (Thucydides 1.1-23), the body initiates with “The city of Epidamnus stands on the right of the entrance of the Ionic gulf. Its vicinity is inhabited by the Taulantians, an Illyrian people” (Thucydides 1.24). Polybius begins the body of his work with “I shall adopt as the starting-point of this book the first occasion on which the Romans crossed the sea from Italy” (Polybius 1.5.1). Xenophon’s *Hellenica* lacks a proper preface, besides the formula

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<sup>25</sup> So also Philo, *Mos.* 1.1: Μωυσέως τοῦ κατὰ μὲν τινὰς νομοθέτου τῶν Ἰουδαίων, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς ἑρμηνέως νόμων ἱερῶν, τὸν βίον ἀναγράψαι διενοήθη, ἀνδρὸς τὰ πάντα μεγίστου καὶ τελειοτάτου, καὶ γνώριμον τοῖς ἀξίοις μὴ ἀγνωεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποφῆναι.

indicating his continuation of Thucydides's work. After this formula, Xenophon states: "not many days later, Thymochares came from Athens with a few ships; and thereupon the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians fought another naval battle, and the Lacedaemonians were victorious, under the leadership of Agesandridas" (*Hell.* 1.1). After its preface, Appian's *Civil Wars* begins with "The Romans, as they subdued the Italian nations successively in war, seized a part of their lands and built towns there, or established their own colonies in those already existing, and used them in place of garrisons" (*Bel. civ.* 1.7). Josephus opens his Jewish history with the first lines of Genesis (*Ant.* 1.27) and continues to rewrite Israel's history from there. Each of the histories examined initiates its body with mention of at least one of the events that the history will document. Xenophon's *Anabasis* counts as a potential exception because it has no preface (which fits within historical convention, cf. Lucian, *Hist.* 52) and mentions Cyrus in its opening line, who will become a major focus in his narrative; however, Cyrus later drops out of focus as other figures take the stage, not least Xenophon himself.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> This pattern can be shown in several historians outside of our sample group as well. Two further examples warrant mention. Diodorus Siculus, for example, transitions into his history by giving an account of cosmic origins: "Concerning the various conceptions of the gods formed by those who were the first to introduce the worship of the deity, and concerning the myths which are told about each of the immortals, although we shall refrain from setting forth the most part in detail, since such a procedure would require a long account, yet whatever on these subjects we may feel to be pertinent to the several parts of our proposed history we shall present in a summary fashion, that nothing which is worth hearing may be found missing. Concerning, however, every race of men, and all events that have taken place in the known parts of the inhabited world, we shall give an accurate account, so far as that is possible in the case of things that happened so long ago, beginning with the earliest times [περι δὲ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐν τοῖς γνωρίζομενοις μέρεσι τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὡς ἂν ἐνδέχεται περὶ τῶν οὕτω παλαιῶν, ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψομεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων ἀρξάμενοι]. Now as regards the first origin of mankind two opinions have arisen among the best authorities both on nature and on history. One group, which takes the position that the universe did not come into being and will not decay, has declared that the race of men also has existed from eternity, there having never been a time when men were first begotten; the other group, however, which hold that the universe came into being and will decay, has declared that, like it, men had their first origin at a definite time" (Diodorus Siculus 6.1–3; Oldfather [LCL]). Dionysius of Halicarnassus clearly frames his narrative according to an event orientation. His opening line in the narrative body indicates that he will begin with a discussion of the origins of "the city the Romans now inhabit": "This city, mistress of the whole earth and sea, which the Romans now inhabit, is said to have had as its earliest occupants the barbarian Sicels, a native race. As to the condition of the place before their

### 3.2.2. *Transitions in βίοι*

The predecessors to ancient βίοι, if they have any introductory material, tend to begin talking about their subjects immediately after the preface. Isocrates begins his speech about King Evagoras after a salutation to his son Nicocles (who was putting on the festival that was the occasion of the speech), with “I judged that Evagoras (if the dead have any perception of that which takes place in this world)” (Isocrates 9.2). Something like a preface is found in *Cyropaedia* and then in 2.1 it opens with “The father of Cyrus is said to have been Cambyses.”

After the formal preface, βίοι consistently initiate the body of their work with a mention of their subject in the first line of the body of the work. If the work does not have a preface, this is how the opening of the work itself begins. The opening lines of his *Alexander* announces, “It is the life of Alexander the king” (*Alex.* 1.1). Plutarch opens his βίος of *Caesar* with “The wife of Caesar was Cornelia” (*Cae.* 1.1). Similarly, *Demosthenes*, after the preface, begins with “Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes” (*Dem.* 4.1) and *Cicero* with “It is said of Helvia, the mother of Cicero” (*Cic.* 1.1). Theseus begins with “The lineage of Theseus” (*Thes.* 3.1) and *Romulus*, after three chapters on the origin of the name of Rome, with “Now there was a wild fig-tree hard by, which they called Ruminalis, either from Romulus, as is generally thought, or because cud-chewing, or ruminating, animals” (*Rom.* 4.1). Diogenes Laërtius, in his βίος of

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time, whether it was occupied by others or uninhabited, none can certainly say. But some time later the Aborigines gained possession of it, having taken it from the occupants after a long war” (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Rom. ant.* 9.1). Herodian constitutes a potential exception but the title of his history indicates that his “event frame” is the death of Marcus Aurelius and so this is where he begins (Herodian 2.1)—perhaps we note a bit of genre blending here. But again the goal is to highlight highly persistent patterns across a large corpus of sample texts from a genre not to demonstrate a hard inflexible boundary. This allows us to avoid reductionism while also accounting for potential genre blending, literary innovation, and lack of literary awareness.

*Thales*, begins the body of the work with “Herodotus, Duris, and Democritus are agreed that Thales was the son of Examyas and Cleobulina” (*Vit. Phil.* 1.22).<sup>27</sup>

### 3.3. *Placement of Family Tradition*

Related to the previous criterion (at least for βίοι), the location of family tradition within the narrative serves as another indicator of whether a work is more event or participant oriented. Since βίοι tend to focus on individuals, we discover family tradition for the subject of their work among the first information in the body of their narrative. Since histories are more event oriented, they too contain family traditions, but these are usually introduced later in the narrative with the introduction of a significant participant. So assessing whether the body of a work begins with family tradition or not will provide another way to assess its orientation and, therefore, its genre.

#### 3.3.1. *Family Tradition in Histories*

Histories contain genealogical information<sup>28</sup> about the participants in their histories<sup>29</sup> but in light of their event orientation, they do not tend to occur in the

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<sup>27</sup> See also Plutarch, *Lyc.* 1.1; *Num.* 1.1; *Pub.* 1.1. Suetonius seems to pick up the referent of his major bibliographical participant from the work’s title rather than using a full noun phrase in the body of the work itself. See, for example, *Cea.* 1.1; *Aug.* 1.1; *Tib.* 1.1; *Cal.* 1.1; *Cla.* 1.1.1; *Ner.* 1.1; *Gal.* 1.1; *Oth.* 1.1; *Vit.* 1.1; *Ves.* 1.1; *Tit.* 1.1; *Dom.* 1.1. See also, on this feature, Nepos, *Mel.* 1.1; *Them.* 1.1; *Aris.* 1.1; *Paus.* 1; *Cim.* 1.1; *Alc.* 1.1; *Thr.* 1.1; *Dio.* 1.1; Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 1.1; 2.1; 4.1; 5.1; 7.1; 8.1.

<sup>28</sup> They also often competed with the prior genealogists that went before them, e.g. Herodotus, 2.143.1–4; 5.36.2; 6.137.1; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.108, 159.

<sup>29</sup> Greek history emerged in close relationship with the transmission of family tradition, especially in ancient Athens. Family tradition appears to have originally been transmitted in the form of speeches, which then provided tradition for later historians to draw upon. We discover family tradition, especially from the elite, preserved in fifth- and fourth-century rhetoric as family members (usually from the aristocracy) would deliver addresses to the people (the *demos*) through defense speeches in an attempt to move the hearers in favorable direction toward a particular family and / or its ancestry when it had been called into question. These defenses would often function as a response to the accusations of other orators about themselves or their families and can sometimes embody both polis and family tradition. For example, Lysias (26.21) responds to the criticisms of Thrasybulus by reckoning the role of his ancestors in the city,

programmatic narrative frame. Dionysius of Halicarnassus views the insertion of a genealogy as something that “interpret[s] the narration that follows” (βούλομαι ... ἐπιστήσας τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον) (*Rom. ant.* 4.6.1)—nevertheless, he sees this material as useful for historical purposes and therefore includes a genealogy of Tarquinius in his *Roman Antiquities*. Genealogies in the historians were, therefore, typically embedded somewhere within the narrative rather than in the programmatic introductory material for the entire work (i.e. the preface) or for the body of the narrative (i.e. the transition into the narrative body).<sup>30</sup> They were viewed as parenthetical information rather than a literary feature that helped develop the narrative. For example, Herodotus’s first piece of family tradition outside of merely specifying the father-relation for the purpose of identification (e.g. Alexandrus, son of Priam, Herodotus 1.3.1) is found in his record of

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insisting that “concerning myself or my father or my ancestors he will have nothing to allege that points to hatred of the people ... or that my father did either, since he died while holding command in Sicily, long before those seditions.” Beyond these kinds of defense orations, family traditions remain limited to a small amount of poetry about various aristocratic families and the—even less helpful—tombstone inscriptions but these written traditions often contain legendary elements reaching far into the mythic past and by no means seem to be considered the primary vehicles for transmitting the tradition. On this, see Thomas, *Orality, passim*. Family tradition transmitted orally could include a number of elements. An account of a family’s origins was not uncommon (e.g. Herodotus, 5.57). Speeches often refer to accomplishments in the games by particular members of a family’s ancestry that brought honor to a city. Demosthenes, for example, calls for the jury to “remember” (ἀναμνησθέντες) his grandfather Epichares who “was victor in the foot-race for boys at Olympia and won a crown for the city, and enjoyed good report among your ancestors as long as he lived” (Demosthenes, 58.66; cf. also Isocrates, 16.25). A memory then embedded within the Athenian society is called to mind and transmitted here in the form of oration before the jury, assuming a knowledge of such tradition on the part of the hearers. Other speeches highlight the embassy services of particular families. Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.3.4), for instance, records a speech of Callias, elevating the glory of his ancestors who were chosen by the Athenians to bring peace (see also Plato, *Charm.* 158a). Victories in war were also featured as a significant element of tradition transmitted in Athenian oratory (e.g. Isocrates 5.41; Demosthenes 40.25; 44.9). Lists of lack of family achievements also work their way into Athenian oratory when criticizing a family. Demosthenes (14.282), for example, asks (rhetorically) of Aeschines his family: “Has the state ever had to thank any one of them in the whole course of his life for so much as a horse, or a war-galley, or a military expedition, or a chorus, or any public service, assessed contribution, or free gift, or for any deed of valor or any benefit whatsoever?”

<sup>30</sup> Polybius 9.1 seems to relegate discussion of genealogies to an older style of historical writing (ὁ γενεαλογικὸς τρόπος; Polybius 9.1.4), suited for the “curious reader,” and he tends away from this style so that he can maintain a focus on “actions” (τὰς πράξεις) (Polybius 9.1.6). This further lends itself to the view that historians, by Polybius’s time, tended to view genealogies as somewhat of an interruption to their style. This may be due to the ancient perception that genealogies contained much that was untrue—thus Polybius groups it with mythologies (Polybius 9.1.1–4; on this suspicion, see Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. gramm.* 1.25; Plato, *Thea.* 155d, 174e–175b).

the genealogy of Cambyses at the introduction of Book 2 (cf. also Herodotus 3.2.1 for a conflicting genealogy), who will become a significant figure throughout his history. He also includes family tradition for the Gephyraioi (Herodotus 5.57), and then refutes their version of their origins. Thucydides tends to only use the father-relation to identify a person and so avoids full genealogies. Similarly, in Polybius, genealogical information appears for the most part limited to identification of a figure through the naming of his father. Xenophon's *Hellenica* includes a very brief genealogical (two generations) description of Autoboesaces and Mitraeus, although not until *Hell.* 2.1.8, but a much fuller genealogy occurs in *Hell.* 6.3.2, indicating the lineage of Callias.<sup>31</sup> Likewise, Josephus rewrites the genealogy from Jared to Adam, but locates it well after the transition into the narrative body (*Ant.* 1.63). In *Civil Wars*, Appian's first piece of family tradition occurs at the end of chapter 2 of his first book with a brief genealogy of Gracchus (*Bel. civ.* 1.17).<sup>32</sup> Histories, then, often include genealogies<sup>33</sup> but they do not tend to initiate the body of their narrative with a genealogical formula or piece of family tradition.<sup>34</sup> This like results from the event orientation of the narrative. Since histories are

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<sup>31</sup> Xenophon's *Anabasis* serves as the only exception to this of the several histories examined. *Anabasis* begins with details regarding the lineage of Cyrus, though it is not quite as formalized as what we find in Plutarch or Diogenes Laërtius: "Darius and Parysatis had two sons born to them, of whom the elder was Artaxerxes and the younger Cyrus" (*Anab.* 1.1). While this is atypical, it does not conflict with the conclusions drawn later where I argue that Luke's preface is distinctly historical since although this history may begin in distinctly biographical way—besides introductions for collections of βίοι (e.g. Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*) that tend to include a single preface for any two parallel βίοι they introduce—we do not typically find βίοι beginning with features characterizing the historical preface.

<sup>32</sup> Diodorus Siculus 4.57, after recording the "deeds of Heracles" then details the deeds of his sons.

<sup>33</sup> As discussed in chapter 2, "genealogy" was one of the earliest forms of ancient Greek history. Thomas, *Oral Tradition*, 155, *passim*, marks the establishment of genealogies as the "intrusion of writing" into oral history. Hecataeus's *Genealogies* is of course the most well known, but we have evidence of other genealogies as well (e.g. Pherecydes *FGH* 3 F 2, F 59; Hellanicus *FGH* 223a F24). Thomas, *Oral Tradition*, 161, argues that these genealogical traditions were shared by Herodotus but were preserved with major discrepancies.

<sup>34</sup> We see this in the fragmentary historians as well. We do not have the introductory material for these histories so we know that the family tradition included in their works occurred in the body of the history. Ephorus records family traditions about the Nomad Scythians (Strabo 7.3.9 = F 42). Ephorus in fact represents the "genealogical style" (ὁ γενεαλογικὸς τρόπος), according to Polybius (Polybius 9.1.4).



concerned with actions not the character of individuals, they do not bring family tradition onto the stage of the narrative body.

### 3.3.2. *Family Tradition in βίοι*

Many of the βίοι in the ancient world constitute part of a set of βίοι. Ancient biographers tended to think of their βίοι in relation to the lives of other significant figures and this led them to various groupings. Often a group of βίοι will contain a preface but after the preface, the individual βίος usually begins with a genealogical formula or a statement of origins of some other type (e.g. citizenship, philosophical school, etc.). We also possess individual βίοι that tend to follow the same pattern (e.g. Tacitus, *Agr.* 1.4; Lucian, *Dem.* 3; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.1).

One element that the predecessors of the Greco-Roman βίος all share in common is their lack of a biographical preface, including a statement of genealogical origins. Since Isocrates' *Evagoras* functions as a praise speech rather than a formal biography, it lacks many formal features of the genre. Although it certainly entails literary innovation in departing from the then popular poetic encomium (cf. Isocrates, *Evag.* 8), using a prose form encomium, in praising King Evagoras for his deeds, from life to death, it is still far from constituting an ancient βίος, in the formal sense of that description. One of the significant formal elements that it lacks is the biographical preface.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, after a preamble on the nature of his task, Isocrates does begin the body of his eulogy with genealogical information regarding the King (Isocrates, *Evag.* 12). Satyrus' *Euripides* is

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Theopompus relates the family tradition of Dionysius the Younger, indicating a lineage of drunkenness and tyranny (Athenaeus, 10.435d = F 283a; Aelian, *Var. hist.* 6.12 = F 283b).

<sup>35</sup> Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 130, attempts to sidestep this difficulty by noting that the speech includes a statement of intentionality but this hardly aligns it with later biographical prefaces.

fragmentary and we do not possess the beginning of the work. Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, although it contains a preface, begins a bit differently than later βίοι. He starts with a description of the instability of political structures due to the general difficulty of ruling over men, but Cyrus was nonetheless up to the task (*Cyr.* 1.1–6). In *Cyr.* 2.1, however, we come to what would later become standardized ways of beginning a biography, with a genealogical statement. So in Isocrates and Xenophon we can begin to see the formalization of this feature, even though it is not yet fully developed.

Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* are among the collected βίοι of the ancient world so that each collection of parallel Greek and Roman βίοι often has its own preface, preceding the individual βίοι contained within the collection. So we will want to examine the individual βίοι themselves and how these texts initiate in order to draw proper comparisons with Gospel prologues. When we examine the introductions in Plutarch, we find a very distinct pattern in each βίος. They begin, as their first order of business, with a tracing of the lineage (γένος) of the biographical subject. So, for example, Alexander's biography first traces his father's ancestry back to Heracles through Caranus and then locates his mother as a descendant of Aeacus through Neoptolemus (Plutarch, *Alex.* 2.1). Plutarch's *Caesar* also starts with a discussion of Caesar's family, but traces Caesar's wife's lineage and provides details about Caesar's father's sister and his cousin. *Demosthenes* begins the collection of parallel lives devoted to Demosthenes and Cicero. The first three chapters introduce the collection and *Dem.* 4 begins the portion on Demosthenes himself. As with *Alexander*, Plutarch begins his βίος of Demosthenes with an account first of his father's ancestry and then of his mother's (Plutarch, *Dem.* 4.1). Similarly, *Cicero* begins with his mother and then proceeds to his father's lineage (Plutarch, *Cic.* 1.1). And after

introducing the Theseus-Romulus set of lives, Plutarch's *Theseus* begins with the heritage of Theseus's father and mother and then goes on to provide information regarding his grandfather and daughters (*Thes.* 3.1). *Romulus* provides the only exception to this pattern. Instead of going straight into Romulus's genealogy, Plutarch begins with the debate over the naming of Rome and its relation to Roma who turns out to be relevant to Romulus's lineage, a topic Plutarch turns to directly in chapter 2.

Diogenes Laërtius begins his entire collection with a preface regarding other sources on his topic and various other methodological concerns. However, his lives of the individual philosophers themselves share in common a persistent feature: initiation of the βίος with genealogical remarks or a statement of origins. These take on a more formulaic expression than what we discover in Plutarch's *Lives*, with each βίος essentially beginning with a statement of who the philosopher was a son of in the form of a genitive modifier of the biographical subject in the head term slot.<sup>36</sup> So for the biography of Solon, son of Execestides: Σόλων Ἐξηκεστίδου (Diogenes Laërtius, *Vit. Phil.* 1.45). Similarly, the biography of Myson: Μύσων Στρώμωνος (Diogenes Laërtius, *Vit. Phil.* 1.106); the biography of Arcesilaus: Ἀρκεσίλαος Σεύθου (Diogenes Laërtius, *Vit. Phil.* 4.28). In both the case of Plutarch and Diogenes Laërtius, biographical prefaces tend to follow a very formalized pattern, beginning with genealogical remarks about their

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<sup>36</sup> The main set of exceptions to this is the detailing of various Peripatetics and those from other schools in Diogenes Laërtius, *Vit. Phil.* 2.65–125; 4.1–6. When Diogenes, in general, takes special interest in the development of the various philosophical schools he often tends away from genealogical formulas to initiate the biography and focuses first on the citizenship of the philosopher instead. Or in other cases, he will combine the two types of preface formulas, incorporating both ancestral information and national or philosophical heritage. Cf. *Life of Secundus the Philosopher* 1.1, which begins by stating Secundus's philosophical heritage as a Pythagorean. Apparently, he was separated from his mother at birth and reunited later, a fact that may have led the author to begin with philosophical rather than genetic origins.

subjects as the very first topic introduced addressed in the βίος. This, in fact, seems to be one of the most pervasive features of the genre, both in the Greek and Roman tradition.<sup>37</sup>

Typically, the narrative structure of a βίος after the genealogy is quite consistent and straightforward. If the biographer includes a birth narrative for the biographical participant it documents, it almost always follows the genealogy (see Plutarch, *Alex.* 3.2; *Cic.* 2.1; *Rom.* 3.3; *Thes.* 3.3–4.1; Tacitus, *Agr.* 4.1; Suetonius, *Aug.* 5.1; *Tib.* 5.1; *Cal.* 8.1; *Ner.* 6.1; *Gal.* 4.1; *Oth.* 2.1<sup>38</sup>). Nevertheless, several βίοι do not include a birth narrative, often picking up the story somewhere in the subject's youth (e.g. Plutarch, *Cea.* 1.2; *Dem.* 4.1–2;<sup>39</sup> Diogenes Laërtius, *Vit. Phil.*<sup>40</sup> 1.22–23, 45–46; 5.1–2; Lucian, *Dem.* 3<sup>41</sup>).

<sup>37</sup> See also, for example, *Vit. Aes.* 1; *Vit. Arist.* 1; *Vit. Eur.* 1–2; *Vit. Pind.* 1; *Vit. Soph.* 1; Athanasius, *Vit. Ant.* 1; Diogenes Laërtius, *Vit. Phil.* 1.22, 68, 74, 82, 89, 94, 101, 106, 109, 116; 2.1, 3, 6, 16, 18, 48, 60, 65, 105, 125; 3.1; 4.1, 6, 16, 21, 28, 46, 62; 5.1, 36, 58, 65, 75, 86; 6.1, 20, 85, 94; 7.1, 167, 168, 179; 8.1, 51–53, 78, 79, 86; 9.1, 18, 21, 24, 25, 34, 50, 57, 61; 10.1; Iamblichus, *Pyth.* 2.1; Plutarch, *Lyc.* 1.1–2.1; *Num.* 1.1–4; *Pub.* 1.1–3; Ps.-Herodotus, *Vit. Hom.* 1; Porphyry, *Vit. Pyth.* 1–2; Soranus, *Vit. Hip.* 1; Tacitus, *Agr.* 4; Suetonius, *Aug.* 1–5; *Tib.* 1–5; *Cal.* 1–7; *Cla.* 1.1–6; *Ner.* 1–5; *Gal.* 1–3; *Oth.* 1.1–3; *Vit.* 1.1–3.1; *Ves.* 1.1–4; *Tit.* 1.1; *Dom.* 1.1; Nepos, *Mel.* 1.1; *Them.* 1.1; *Aris.* 1.1; *Paus.* 1; *Cim.* 1.1; *Alc.* 1.1; *Thr.* 1.1; *Dio.* 1.1, and so on; Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 1.1; 2.1; 4.1; 5.1; 7.1; 8.1; and so on—Jerome, in general, tends to include genealogical information when available at the beginning of his a life, but clearly in many cases this information was not available to him.

<sup>38</sup> As can be seen from this list of Suetonius's lives, the birth narrative after the genealogy was a persistent literary feature for him. See also Suetonius, *Ver.* 3.2; *Ves.* 2.1; *Tit.* 1.1.

<sup>39</sup> We see in this text the genealogical record and the Plutarch picks up the story with Demosthenes at age 7: “Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, belonged to the better class of citizens, as Theopompus tells us, and was surnamed Cutler, because he had a large factory and slaves who were skilled workmen in this business. But as for what Aeschines the orator says of the mother of Demosthenes, namely, that she was a daughter of one Gylon, who was banished from the city on a charge of treason, and of a barbarian woman, I cannot say whether he speaks truly, or is uttering slander and lies. However, at the age of seven, Demosthenes was left by his father in affluence, since the total value of his estate fell little short of fifteen talents; but he was wronged by his guardians, who appropriated some of his property to their own uses and neglected the rest, so that even his teachers were deprived of their pay” (Perrin; LCL).

<sup>40</sup> Diogenes Laërtius, in general, seems more concerned with a citizen's and a philosopher's early education and so does not include birth narratives in his βίοι.

<sup>41</sup> As with several of the philosophers that Diogenes Laërtius write a βίος for, Lucian picks up Demonax's story with his education rather than his birth.

### 3.4. *Summary*

Several closely related features emerge in connection with the distinct orientations of history and βίος. One of the salient differences between history and βίος involves the self-attestation of the work as to its orientation. βίοι claim that they focus upon participants, whether an individual or more than one individual, as in collected βίοι. Histories, by contrast, are event-oriented and claim that they intend to document a series of activities, usually related to the political sphere. When histories and βίοι include a preface, the transition from the preface into the narrative body can reveal the orientation of the entire work. In the case of collected βίοι, such as Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* or Diogenes Laërtius's *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, a preface might span the entire collection, but the individual βίοι begin with a genealogical formula. In these cases, however, we notice that the genealogical formula introducing the first subject comes directly after the preface that introduces the collected work (e.g. Plutarch, *Alex.* 1.1–2.1; Diogenes Laërtius, *Vit. Phil.* 1.1–22). Related to this transition is the placement of this genealogical information, especially as its location is contrasted with ancient history. Histories include such family tradition as well but it tends to occur later in the narrative, not at the beginning of the body of a work.

### 4. *Authoritative Citation Criteria*

One challenge with citation related criteria involves defining and quantifying citations. First, what is an authoritative citation? We spend considerable energy exploring the answer to this question in chapter 4 but a very minimalist definition of a citation can

be proposed for now as *the use of source material (i.e. reference to an external authority) within the narrative marked by a citation formula of some kind*. It thus refers to any mention of source material, whether a direct quote from the source is included or not. This may be contrasted with mimesis (again, developed more thoroughly in chapter 4), which involves *the use of source material within the narrative not introduced by a citation formula*. So an authoritative citation, as technically defined in this dissertation, does not merely refer to the use of a source but to the formal marking of source material through a formula. This raises a second question. How big is a typical citation formula? The average source citation formula consists of about three words (e.g. οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, Plutarch, *Alex.* 46.1), whether we are dealing with the ancient βίος or history—this does not, of course, include the amount of text cited, only the citation formula. Citation formulas range can constitute a clause either as a single verb (e.g. λέγονται, Diogenes Laërtius, *Vit. Phil.* 6.76) or with an explicit subject (e.g. καθά φησι Σωσικράτης, Diogenes Laërtius, *Vit. Phil.* 1.62) (on these citation types and further examples from the historians, see chapters 4–6). While these distinct citation formulas can take on varying lengths based on these considerations (e.g. whether explicit subjects are employed), they tend on average to use around three words. But I employ a three-word average density not as a scientific or reductionistic label but simply because it will be important to determine a quantifiable word density that can then be measured against the total word count of a book in order to measure citation formula density in βίος as opposed to history.

#### 4.1. Citation Density

Originally suggested by Potter (see chapter 2), citation density seems to be a global feature of both the βίος and history since it applies to an entire discourse. Since Potter's criterion as it stands remains quite underdeveloped, it will be helpful to test his intuition against several ancient histories and βίοι.

##### 4.1.1. Low Citation Density in Histories

With the exception of the biographical predecessor *Cyropaedia*,<sup>42</sup> ancient histories tended to introduce their source material with a citation formula far less frequently than did ancient βίοι (see **Tab. 4**, for comparison). This likely results from the fluid state and early shaping of a literary form with some components only beginning to slowly solidify. Further proof of this derives from the fact that the two histories with the highest citation densities—Xenophon's *Anabasis* and Appian's *Civil Wars*—also contain the highest number of biographical portraits within the flow of the historical narrative (see chapter 5 for analysis). For this reason, Momigliano positions Xenophon's *Anabasis* as an important precedent for Xenophon's later biographical developments in *Cyropaedia*.<sup>43</sup>

	Herodotus	Thucydides	Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i>	Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i>	Polybius	Josephus, <i>Ant.</i>	Appian, <i>Bell Civ.</i>
<i>Citations</i>	281	43	29	45	187	120	85
<i>Word Count</i>	184,947	150,173	66,514	57,174	311,667	305,870	116,927
<i>Density</i>	0.45%	0.08%	0.13%	0.23%	0.17%	0.11%	0.21%

**Tab. 3: Citation Density in Greek Historiography**

<sup>42</sup> Although *Cyropaedia* exhibits a higher citation density than the histories examined, it does so only slightly more than Xenophon's *Anabasis* and Appian's *Civil Wars* but does significantly exceed the other histories.

<sup>43</sup> Momigliano, *Development*, 50.

When we can compare this phenomenon to the first historian (chronologically), mentioned in **Tab. 3**, Herodotus (484–425 B.C.E.). As with Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* for Greco-Roman biographical literature, Herodotus seems to function as a kind of entry point into the historiographic tradition that represents a transitional link into universal history rather than a paradigmatic sample. Developing out of epic poetry and largely influenced by the Homeric tradition, Herodotus still carried over many dimensions of ancient poetry, representing a kind of epic history.<sup>44</sup> While acknowledging the origins of Greek historiography in ethnography, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for example, in his essay *On Thucydides*, considered the tradition of universal history writing to have been initiated with Herodotus and then to have congealed with Thucydides.<sup>45</sup>

Felix Jacoby, by contrast, although he recognizes Herodotus’s history as having strong universal tendencies, situates it at least partially within the ethnographic tradition since it still embodies the more descriptive elements of this tradition, especially in Books 7-9.<sup>46</sup> Not until Thucydides do we see the most complete expression of early contemporary Greek history. Thucydides perfectly embodies the form. Rather than focusing on a segment of time, authors after Thucydides give attention to specific events (see chapter 2). For Jacoby, Herodotus functions as an important transitional writer, incorporating geography, ethnography, and war monograph. While many have subjected Jacoby’s model to severe criticism,<sup>47</sup> the basic insight that in Herodotus we find a still fluid state of ancient history seems valid.

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<sup>44</sup> Cf. Momigliano, *Studies*, 79, summarizes the evolution of the stages as follows: “(1) Homeric poems; (2) epic cycle; (3) ‘logographoi’; (4) Herodotus.”

<sup>45</sup> Marincola, “Introduction,” 5, suggests that this developmental view goes back originally to Aristotle’s *On History*.

<sup>46</sup> Jacoby, “Über die Entwicklung,” 80–123.

<sup>47</sup> See Marincola, “Genre,” 281–324.



Related specifically to the issue of citation, Marincola observes how atypical the first-person intrusions of source-citation that we find in Herodotus are when set against the backdrop of the development of later history: “The Herodotean narrator is, in fact, unique amongst ancient historical texts, and even later writers who consciously imitate him have nothing like the number of authorial intrusions that we find in Herodotus.”<sup>48</sup> So while Herodotus certainly represents a milestone in the development of the Greek historical tradition, we might not expect a fully expressed form of the genre at this stage (noted in **Tab. 3**).

Thucydides through Appian (chronologically speaking), then, represents the proper formalization for histories featuring a lower range of citation densities relative to ancient βίοι (see **Tab. 4** for comparisons). Thucydides represents the low end (0.08%) and Xenophon’s *Anabasis* the high end (0.23%) of the scale. Just under Xenophon’s *Anabasis*, we find Appian’s *Civil Wars* (0.21%), another more biographically oriented history, with a significant emphasis upon Caesar’s military achievements in the early parts of the work. This is not to say some histories may not be higher or even somewhat lower than these density ranges, but the contrast is nevertheless stark when compared with Greco-Roman βίοι.

#### 4.1.2. *High Citation Density in βίοι*

Greco-Roman βίοι tend to cite their sources much more frequently than the Greek histories, as Potter suspected.

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<sup>48</sup> Marincola, *Greek Historians*, 40.

	Xenophon, <i>Cyrop.</i>	Satyrus, <i>Euripides</i>	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i>	Plutarch, <i>Caesar</i>	Plutarch, <i>Dem.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Cicero</i>	Plutarch, <i>Romulus</i>	Diogenes, <i>Thales</i>
<i>Citations</i>	64	12	114	56	47	28	78	67
<i>Word Count</i>	79,283	1,321	20,118	16,119	6,959	12,197	9,440	1,866
<i>Density</i>	0.24%	2.7%	1.70%	1.04%	2.02%	0.68%	2.47%	10.77%

Tab. 4. *Citation Density in Greco-Roman Biographical Writings*

In the previously section, we already observe that in both the ancient βίος and history, we discover a great deal of flexibility around the documents closest to the origins of the genre, with Herodotus using fewer citation formulas than any of the later βίοι would and Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* using slightly more source citations than we find in any of the major ancient histories.<sup>49</sup> In the historical tradition, the selective use of direct citation seems to most strongly codify from Thucydides on and in the biographical tradition it already seems highly formalized by Satyrus's *Euripides*.

Satyrus's *Life of Euripides* (third century B.C.E.) is one of the most important of these because it is represented not just in the citations of other ancient scholars but is partially preserved in the manuscript P.Oxy. 1176.<sup>50</sup> Many have ignored P.Oxy. 1176 in their treatments of ancient biography precisely because the text of Satyrus's biography is so fragmentary but a substantial amount of the original remains (at the least the part that dealt with the life of Euripides) and since the history of ancient biography remains so patchy prior to Plutarch, P.Oxy. 1176 deserves serious consideration in our reconstruction.

The author, Satyrus (P.Oxy. 1176 fr. 39.23.1)—about whom we know relatively little—originally composed this text as a collection of βίοι on three significant tragedians.

<sup>49</sup> Isocrates' *Evagoras* contains very little authoritative citations (3x), perhaps due to the genre of speech that it operates within.

<sup>50</sup> On this text, see Porter, "Use of Authoritative Citations," 79–96.

Satyrus chose Euripides as the subject of one of the βίοι at the end of the collection and this is the portion of the manuscript now preserved for us. Although the copy of the text that we have dates to the second century C.E., the document itself was likely composed in the third century (or perhaps second century) B.C.E. (if we are going by the date of the manuscript itself). We first begin to see here the massive spike in citation density relative to ancient history. According to an appendix provided by Burrige, 17.5 % of the total text that we possess consists of quoted material.<sup>51</sup> Gilbert Murray summarizes the content as “a mass of quotations, antidotes, bits of literary criticism, all run together with an air of culture and pleasantness....”<sup>52</sup>

When we measure the length of the small portion of this work that we have, we get somewhere around 1,321 words (depending on how lacuna are reconstructed) and likely 12 citation formulas, indicating a density of 2.7% according to the scale used in this chapter. Now for any kind of definitive analysis, we would want to be able to examine a more extended (complete) text, but this assessment does yield some indication that βίοι in the third century B.C.E. were beginning to stabilize toward more frequent usage of citation formulas than we find in ancient history.<sup>53</sup>

Plutarch’s voluminous collection of βίοι, *Parallel Lives*, represents not only an excellent specimen of the Greco-Roman βίος but likely a (or, the?) paradigmatic one. Quantitative examination of several of Plutarch’s βίοι confirms that βίοι tend to have a much greater density of source citation than ancient history. Plutarch’s citations usually

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<sup>51</sup> Burrige, *What are the Gospels?*, 312.

<sup>52</sup> Murray, *Euripides*, 13.

<sup>53</sup> As Lefkowitz, *Lives*, 99–100, puts it: “As a biographer, however, Satyrus is distinguished by his learning and his understanding of the biographer’s art. Like other writers, Satyrus continued to use quotations as the building blocks for his biography and has his interlocutors use whatever the poet wrote as evidence of his own personal views, although none of Euripides’s dramas (by their very nature) could have contained explicit biographical materials.” Similarly, Hägg, *Art*, 78, asserts that the basic structure of Euripides’ biography is between “paraphrase and quotation.”

consist of λέγεται formulas (e.g. *Alex.* 2.1; 6.5; 9.2; 13.2; 14.3; 39.6; *Thes.* 29.1), often with ὡς but sometimes with γάρ (e.g. *Alex.* 10.4). Plutarch also uses other forms of λέγω. At times, for example, he will introduce his subject (e.g. Alexander) (or someone else) as a narrative figure and then use him as a source with the formula ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε (e.g. *Alex.* 8.3), other times merely adjusting the tense form to suit his narrative (e.g. λέγουσι, *Alex.* 3.1; *Thes.* 4.1; 30.1) or sometimes using a nominal form with a copulative verb (e.g. ἐστὶ λόγος, *Alex.* 2.5).

Plutarch uses φημί as his other primary verb for drawing attention to his source material (e.g. *Alex.* 2.3; 3.2; 27.1; 63.1; *Thes.* 30.4). But sometimes he prefers a verb of cognition rather than speech (e.g. ὡς οἶεται Θεόφραστος, *Alex.* 4.3; Ἡρόδωρος μὲν οὐδενὸς οἶεται τὸν Θησέα μετασχεῖν, *Thes.* 29.3). Plutarch also shows knowledge of documents written by his subjects and cites them verbatim (e.g. ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν λαβεῖν ἔστιν, *Alex.* 8.1; cf. also *Alex.* 7.4). He cites various historians and other literary texts (e.g. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος εἶρηκεν, *Thes.* 3.2; τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος εἶρηκεν, *Thes.* 5.1; see also *Thes.* 23.3; 24.4) as well as representatives from various nations he apparently interviewed (*Thes.* 26.2). He cites coins and various inscriptions (e.g. *Thes.* 25.3). At times, he draws attention to a narrative figure reading or reciting a passage from a source (ἐντυχόντος, *Alex.* 10.4). Plutarch also often alludes to the consensus view of “writers” as a body of source material (e.g. οἱ πλεῖστοι γράφουσιν αὐτός, *Alex.* 27.1).<sup>54</sup> We may observe the densities of these formulas in several of his biographical writings.

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<sup>54</sup> Hammond, *Sources*, 6, thinks that these are places where Plutarch calls attention to his source material to indicate that he thought the record of events that he recorded was in doubt.

As we can observe from **Tab. 4** in Plutarch's *Alexander* and the seven ancient histories in **Tab. 3**, Plutarch exhibits over 200% increase in citation formula density relative to Herodotus and much more to the Greco-Roman historians on the lower end of the density spectrum, marking a distinct quantifiable, formal difference between the two genres. Plutarch also wrote a number of Roman βίοι, one of which was Caesar's. Plutarch's *Life of Caesar* employs the same kinds of formulas for authoritative citation as his other works and exhibits a high density as well. Although the *Life of Caesar* evidences less citation density relative to some of Plutarch's other βίοι, when compared to works of history, Plutarch still consists of between 0.81% (relative to Xenophon, *Anabasis*) and 0.96% (relative to Thucydides) greater citation density than what we find in the seven Greek histories analyzed above.

Featuring the highest volume density of citation formulas within the βίοι of Plutarch examined, *Life of Theseus* has an over 400% increase in citation density relative to Greek histories, with the exception of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, which is just barely under that (by 0.01%). We find the second most dramatic divergence here, with over a 200% increase in citation density relative to the seven histories examined. Again, this confirms formally Potter's intuition that βίοι tend to cite their sources more frequently than ancient Greek histories.

Diogenes Laërtius provides us with one of the most thorough collections of Greek βίοι from the ancient world. By the time that Diogenes writes, we have a highly formalized genre, although his numerous βίοι are a bit shorter than earlier works. As Thucydides moves radically beyond Herodotus in formalizing the trends that Herodotus had set in motion, so in Diogenes we find an overwhelming response to the Plutarchian

emphasis on authoritative citation where almost every portion of the narrative derives from explicitly cited source material. Mimesis (borrowing source material without a citation formula) is virtually lacking, at least on a surface reading. Diogenes Laërtius's *Plato* certainly exhibits lower density than his *Thales*, but his *Thales* provides us with an important sample since it shows how strongly codified this formal feature became in the later development of the biographical tradition.

#### 4.2. Citation Strategy in *Histories* and *βίοι*

A final criterion that appears to differentiate βίος and history involves citation strategies. Citation strategy refers to the tendency of authors to use authoritative citations locally in connection with specific events.

In Greek history, authoritative citations serve to strengthen the narrative development at key places where additional validation is needed. A number of recent studies on the narrative function of authoritative citation in ancient history confirm this. Fehling asserts, for example, that one of Herodotus's primary reasons for citing sources was to establish credibility and he employs sources most frequently when events are most fantastic, especially for "astounding stories" involving the miraculous.<sup>55</sup> When stories are too astounding or he lacks source support, Herodotus seems to distance himself further from the reality of the event. Grey observes a similar phenomenon in Xenophon's writings where "The major function of citation is to validate content that the reader might find too hard to believe. The writer engages with his reader to authorize: excessively large or small numbers, sensational deaths, significant reputations, great impiety or the

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<sup>55</sup> Fehling, *Herodotus*, 143.

activities of gods, significant sayings, and that which is generally excessive.”<sup>56</sup> She also suggests that citations are used to validate very significant turning points in narrative.<sup>57</sup>

She supports these claims with numerous examples from the *Hellenica* and *Anabasis*.

While imitation and autopsy were the most common ways of maintaining historical authority, Marincola comments that authoritative citations in the ancient historians more generally was reserved “for emphasizing special sources and as a validation for exceptional events.”<sup>58</sup> In local sacred histories, citation served the same purposes.

According to Dillery, “in addition to documents, historical narratives are cited as supporting evidence” at key points in the narrative-historical development.<sup>59</sup> This is especially significant for the present purpose since the documents being cited were often temple and various priestly documents, being used to validate divine events in order to enshrine the local religion and its deities. Thus, direct citations were used selectively and purposefully by the ancient historians so that the impact was not lessened *in cases where authoritative validation was needed or a significant turning point in the narrative needed to be established* (see chapters 5-6 for further analysis of primary sources).

Greco-Roman βίοι, by contrast, employ citations to support almost any kind of tradition or event in *order provide an authoritative biographical portrait*.<sup>60</sup> Whereas historians sought to give authority to their narrative via citation through very selective

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<sup>56</sup> Gray, “Interventions,” 116–17.

<sup>57</sup> Gray, “Interventions,” 118.

<sup>58</sup> Marincola, *Authority*, 86.

<sup>59</sup> Dillery, “History,” 521.

<sup>60</sup> Potter, *Literary Texts*, 149, notes that “The citation of documents is a feature of Suetonian biography that has its roots in the tradition of books about famous people to which Suetonius had contributed before turning to the lives of the Caesars. The tradition is usually referred to as antiquarian, which tends to evoke a mindless accumulation of fact for its own sake. This may not be the best way to characterize work that employs direct quotation of documents to make a point, but it is a useful term to distinguish records that stop short of full literary style in their presentation of evidence, while bringing original materials, through direct quotation, to readers.”

usage at highly strategic points in the narrative, biographers used citation liberally to yield authority to the presentation of their subject.

As I highlighted above, Satyrus's *Life of Euripides* (P.Oxy. 1176) consists of 17.5% directly cited material so that the backbone of the narrative itself seems composed around authoritative citation. The citations occur indiscriminately at almost every juncture in the narrative. These citations are typically associated with some event or tradition about Euripides's character or actions but can be used to support secondary events related to Euripides's life as well.

The same is true of Plutarch's *Alexander*. Some citations seem strategically located (e.g. in support of Alexander's genealogy, Plutarch, *Alex.* 2.1) but some seem to support quite incidental details (e.g. the color of Alexander's skin, the fragrance of his perfume, etc., Plutarch, *Alex.* 4.2–3). Similarly, in Plutarch's *Demosthenes*, we have several short chapters and nearly every event documented in each chapter receives at least one citation (only Plutarch, *Dem.* 2, 8, 12, 16, 24–25, and 29 do not contain at least one citation). This lends the impression that Plutarch's citation strategy revolves around lending authority to his biographical portrait. For example in Plutarch, *Dem.* 6–7, Plutarch seeks to fill out Demosthenes' character as an orator. He supports Demosthenes' introduction to oratory with a citation (*Dem.* 6.2), his confiding in Satyrus about the toll oratory had taken on his body (*Dem.* 7.1–2), and his development of a subterranean study to cultivate his action and voice (*Dem.* 7.3). Citations are used in this way to provide support to the development of Demosthenes' character and identity. Only chapters 14 and 18, of 36 chapters, do not have at least one citation in Plutarch's *Theseus* and the vast majority of these chapters include multiple citations, supporting almost every



circumstance Plutarch relates about Theseus. We see this pattern throughout Plutarch's various βίοι. Diogenes exemplifies this fairly even pattern of citations for various traditions as well. His narrative, as with Satyrus's, is essentially framed by citation formulas so that virtually every piece of tradition that he documents about Thales is supported by a citation formula (*Vit. Phil.* 1.22–44). This probably results from the fact that the genre allows for such a liberal use of citations but more fundamentally from a citation strategy aimed at deriving authority for details of the identity and character of the biographer's subject.

#### 4.3. *Summary*

We examined three significant predecessors to the ancient βίος, six of Plutarch's βίοι and Diogenes Laërtius's *Thales*. Beginning with the actual dawn of the genre with Plutarch, the density of citation formulas ranges from 0.68% to 10.77%, and these by far exceed the normal densities for the histories examined. Even in Satyrus's *Life of Euripides* we already observe a fairly high citation density, substantially earlier than Plutarch. Historians seem concerned to use citation only in very rare instances. They apparently reserve their citations. The constraints of the genre seem to have developed in such a way that frequent citation, as we find in later Greco-Roman βίος, became suddenly inappropriate after Herodotus. It is not entirely clear why this is the case, but it may be that as the writers of contemporary history began their attempt to move beyond the myth that so often infiltrated the early mythographies and ethnographies they had less need for authorization. This lower density in citations potentially led to divergent biographical and historical citation strategies. The ancient historian tends to draw attention to their sources

through authoritative citation and this likely leads them to use citation mainly when they were documenting the unusual or the supernatural or at a major narrative event.

Biographers, by contrast, could use authoritative citation more frequently and this allowed them to employ citations in order to help with identity and character development for their subjects, citing sources even with respect to incidental details in order to bolster their narratives.

We also notice a scale within this criterion, confirming that a hard boundary between these two genres cannot be drawn in most cases. In histories with biographical material (e.g. Xenophon, Appian), we discover a higher density of citations but still not at the level of any of the βίοι we examined. But even in βίοι where the citation densities are lower, they still are not as low as any of the histories examined. So while we do observe some real flexibility for this feature, it still seems to aid in disambiguating the two genres.

### *5. The Third Gospel: βίος or History?*

The previous two sections attempted to delineate seven disambiguation criteria that help formally distinguish βίος from history by calling attention to highly persistent patterns across multiple represented literary samples rather than marking a hard inflexible genre boundary. We now turn to the Gospel writers themselves to see how the canonical Gospels fit along this spectrum.

### 5.1. *Preface Criteria*

Most scholars now generally grant that Luke's preface aligns with the tradition of Greek historiography<sup>61</sup> but tend to assume that its similarity to the other Gospels (and their notable parallel to biography) circumvents the initial historical expectations of the audience toward reading Luke as a βίος rather than history. However, the role of preface related criteria in genre disambiguation should not be minimized in seeking to discern whether Luke is more closely related to a βίος or history. Two criteria related to the preface were put forward earlier in this chapter: (1) preface length ratio and (2) βίος language in the preface. We may compare Luke to the other Gospels with reference to these two features.

#### 5.1.1. *The Preface in Luke*

Perhaps the most often discussed indicator of the historical status of the Lukan tradition has been the style of the preface used to introduce the Gospel in Luke 1:1–4.<sup>62</sup> Alexander suggests that the preface aligns with the scientific history preface form in antiquity.<sup>63</sup> However, Balch, Moessner, Aune, and, most recently, Adams, have convincingly shown that Alexander's arguments for making this correlation place too much emphasis upon the normative status of the Thucydidean preface, which was atypical in many respects.<sup>64</sup> Adams demonstrates, "there are many parallels between Luke's preface and the prefaces of the Greek historians and Luke falls well within the

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<sup>61</sup> E.g. Marshall, *Luke*, 37–41; Moessner, "Appeal," 84–123.

<sup>62</sup> E.g. Cadbury, "Commentary," 489–510; W.C. van Unnik, "Remarks," 6–15; Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 287–301; Balch, "ἀκριβῶς," 84–123; Aune, "Luke 1.1–4," 138–48; Adams, "Luke's Preface," 177–191.

<sup>63</sup> Earl, "Prologue-Form," 842–56; Alexander, *Preface*, 21–42; Alexander, "Preface," 73–103.

<sup>64</sup> Balch, "ἀκριβῶς," 229–50; Moessner, "Appeal," 84–123; Moessner, "Lukan Prologues," 399–417; Aune, "Luke 1.1–4," 138–48; Adams, "Luke's Preface," 177–91.

accepted spectrums of style and content for Greek prefaces.”<sup>65</sup> However, Alexander, Kennedy, and Burridge dismiss the potential of the historical preface in Luke for disambiguating the genre in the direction of ancient history—they contend that the evidentially historical character of the preface is not inconsistent with the biographical content of the Gospel.<sup>66</sup> However, in the prior analysis, two preface features were identified that can have a disambiguating function and these can be applied to Luke’s preface.

#### 5.1.1.1. *Preface Length Ratio*

Luke’s preface consists of 42 words. The Gospel of Luke is 19,482 words whereas Luke-Acts is 37,982 words, meaning that the preface to the Gospel accounts for 0.21% of the entire book (book 1, if we assume the unity of the work) or 0.11% of the two-volume work. Either way, Luke(-Acts) fits comfortably within the preface length ratio range of ancient histories, a feature likewise observed by Adams.<sup>67</sup>

#### 5.1.1.2. *Lack of Biographical Attestation*

Luke also includes a preface, as with many ancient βίοι, but does not employ biographical language within the preface as a self-designation. This further distinguishes Luke’s Gospel from the βίοι of the ancient world. These two features, therefore, seem to place Luke closer to the historical rather than biographical spectrum of literature examined in chapter 2.

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<sup>65</sup> Adams, “Luke’s Preface,” 191.

<sup>66</sup> Alexander, *Preface*, 204–05; Kennedy, *New Testament*, 107–08; Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 188–89.

<sup>67</sup> Adams, “Luke’s Preface,” 183.

### 5.1.2. *The Preface and Mark, Matthew, and John*

Mark, Matthew, and John all share in common the lack of a formal preface, discussing methodology or other preliminary matters. As with many (esp. individual) βίοι in Greco-Roman antiquity, they begin with a statement of origins regarding their primary discourse participant. Mark has the shortest introduction, a single verse. John's statement of cosmological origins occupies five verses and Matthew's Gospel contains the longest piece of family tradition at 17 verses. It might be objected, therefore, that the criterion of preface length ratio is unhelpful since we cannot apply it to the non-Lukan Gospels. But although we remain unable to compare these genealogical statements with his preface, the length conventions for Luke clearly match what we know of mainstream historiography. That Luke's preface fits the length boundaries helps disambiguate his Gospel toward history, regardless of whether the other Gospels can be assessed according to this criterion.

A second issue involves the acknowledgement within the preface to a work's biographical status. Edwards emphasizes the self-attestation of a piece of literature to being a biographical work.<sup>68</sup> However, as observed above, many individual βίοι do not have a preface, which is where this self-attestation typically occurs, and often in the case of collected βίοι, only the first βίος has a preface and the second generally commences with a genealogical statement, and only rarely includes a self-attestation (indicating that the document is a βίος) (but see Plutarch, *Cic.* 1.3). Therefore, since βίοι that tended to lack a formal preface often did not include a self-attestation to genre, this cannot be used to distance the non-Lukan Gospels from the βίος.

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<sup>68</sup> Edwards, "Biography," 230.

## 5.2. *Event / Participant Orientation*

The fundamental difference between βίος and history, I argued in chapter 2, involves distinct orientations. Biographical literature tends to be participant oriented whereas histories are more event driven. From here, three criteria have been developed that can be applied to Luke and the other Gospels. We begin with Luke.

### 5.2.1. *Event Orientation in Luke*

Several features of Luke's Gospel reveal an event orientation to the structure of his narrative. For the convenience of the reader, these may be quickly restated from above: (1) attestation to orientation; (2) transition into the body of the narrative; and (3) placement of family tradition.<sup>69</sup>

#### 5.2.1.1. *Attestation to Event Orientation*

Luke frames his narrative as an account of contemporary (ἐν ἡμῖν) “deeds” (πράγματα) (Luke 1:1) not an account of a specific participant—employing similar language to that used by other historians to describe their event-oriented histories (Thucydides 1.1.2; Polybius 1.4; 9.1.5–6; Diodorus Siculus 1.1.1; 4.1.3; Cassius Dio 62b.29.2; cf. also Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.47-48; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ep. Pomp.* 6.7).<sup>70</sup> As Byrskog notes, “The use of the plural *πράγματα* would be an odd way of

<sup>69</sup> Burrige, *What are the Gospels?*, 196, briefly comments on the “scale” of Luke as follows: “This is true of the whole narrative; a wider scale comes in Luke’s second volume, Acts—although even here, the focus is still upon certain key individuals, especially Peter and Paul, rather than attempting a comprehensive history of the early church. However, the gospels themselves all restrict their scale to the person of Jesus in a manner typical of βίος literature.” But note that he does not explicate any specific formal features that reveal this participant orientation.

<sup>70</sup> As Cancick, “History of Culture,” 675, asserts, “This historical work (διήγησις) runs ‘from the beginning’ (ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς; ἀνωθεν); it is complete (πάντα), exact (ἀκριβῶς), and in order (καθεξῆς). It has many good sources, even eyewitnesses (πολλοί; αὐτόπται). The goal of the work is certainty, knowledge

referring simply to the life-story of one person.”<sup>71</sup> In a contemporary history, *autopsy* or first-hand witness of *the events* that the historian documents played a crucial role in navigating authority.<sup>72</sup> A focus upon *autopsy*, therefore, often implies an orientation toward events, especially when used in connection with language for events such as πράγματα. Luke creates this authority via autopsy by emphasizing that the events he records happened “among us” (ἐν ἡμῖν) and that his accounts are connected to (καθώς) eyewitness tradition (αὐτόπται). The content of the eyewitness testimony is the “events among us” (ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων). The terminology διήγησιν helps further establish this event orientation,<sup>73</sup> since it was used in a variety of ancient contexts to refer to the

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(ἀσφάλεια; ἐπιτηγνώσκειν). Luke’s preface corresponds to the topics of prefaces in ancient Western historiography. Strikingly, the theme of the work is characterized by the most general of all possible expressions: Luke will write about ‘deeds’ (πράγματα), and contemporary ones (ἐν ἡμῖν). The expressions that one would expect in light of the ancient historiography of philosophy—βίος of the founder, his teachings (δόξαι, γνῶμαι, αἴρεσις), his successors (διαδοχαί)—do not occur in the prologue of the first logos, which may be the prologue for the whole work.”

<sup>71</sup> Byrskog, *History*, 229. In support of this point he observes further that “Already in 1:1 the author places himself in the midst of the events, they have been fulfilled ‘among us,’ evidently regarding his own present time as part of what other authors had dealt with. Not only the past history of Jesus is his concern in the prologue of the gospel, but also the present time of the spirit’s continuous [*sic.*] manifestation of Jesus’ ministry in deed and word.” Others have recognized the distinct event orientation of this language as well, some even drawing out the connection that this orientation moves the reading expectations away from a biographical reading of the Gospel. Kurz, “Promise,” 151, states “‘events that have come to fulfillment among us’ (Luke 1:1) include the stage-by-stage spread of God’s word from Jerusalem to Judea and Samaria (Acts 8:1, 5, 26), to Caesarea Maritima (8:40), and Galilee (9:31), to Damascus (9:2), to Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch in Syria (11:19), to the Roman providences of Cilicia, Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia, and finally to Rome (Acts 1:8; 23:11; 28:14).” Thus for Kurz, the event frame Luke references is the spread of God’s word through multiple regions. The narrative is organized and collected under this basic event frame and, by implication, not driven primarily by the participant frame of Jesus’ life and, in Acts, the lives of his most significant followers. Similarly, Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 39, claims that “Luke’s emphasis on ‘events’ directs our attention to historiographical rather than biographical interests—where the contributions of such persons as (even) Jesus, Peter, Stephen, and Paul are related within larger narrative sequences whose interest transcends their individual deeds. Luke’s words, ‘that have been fulfilled among us,’ indicate his concern with how the events narrated in the Gospel and Acts are understood as divine affairs. This indicates, first, that these events are incomplete in themselves and must be understood in relation to a wider interpretive framework.... In his opening phrase, Luke signals his understanding that the events he will narrate are related to God’s purpose, evident in the OT and the history of God’s people, as its culmination.” See also Fitzmyer, *Gospel According to Luke I–IX*, 293; Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 41; Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 38–39.

<sup>72</sup> See Marincola, *Authority*, 63–86.

<sup>73</sup> BDAG 245 defines διήγησις as “an orderly description of facts, events, actions, or words.” Byrskog, *History*, 230, states that it is “a term describing an account composed of a number of events, without

assemblage of a number of events into a single narrative and frequently to describe histories, used in conjunction with language for deeds (Diodorus Siculus 11.20.1; Lucian, *Hist.* 55; see also Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Rom. ant.* 4.7.5). Luke's language about his aim resembles Lucian's charge to the historian: εἰς καλὴν διαθέσθαι τὰ πεπραγμένα (Lucian, *Hist.* 52). On its own, the term is not a decisive indicator of genre but in the context of other event language,<sup>74</sup> it helps establish the orientation of Luke's narrative toward an event rather than participant frame. Jesus, the main participant on a biographical reading of the Gospel, is not even mentioned in the preface—a feature seemingly unprecedented in biographical prefaces. Instead, Luke is composing a narrative of events accomplished among “us” based on eyewitness testimony of these events.<sup>75</sup> The Gospel attests to be oriented, then, around events rather than a single participant.

#### 5.2.1.2. *Event Oriented Transition into the Narrative*

Both Greek histories and βίοι contained prefaces but these two genres are distinct in the way that they transition from the preface into the narrative body. Βίοι transition by immediately turning to the central participant in their narrative whereas histories tended to initiate the body of their work with an event. Whether a participant or an event initiates the narrative body then functions as a significant indicator of orientation.

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narrow generic implications.” Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 38–39, views the terminology among Luke's special vocabulary for describing the “mighty deeds of God” (cf. Acts 9:27).

<sup>74</sup> This terminology is used to describe several non-historical writings, e.g. Plato, *Rep.* 3.392D; Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.8.13; 3.16.1; Strabo 8.3.5; Plutarch, *Art.* 11.1.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Callan, “Preface,” 578, for another argument that the lack of the mention of Jesus indicates that Luke records history not βίος.



After the preface, Luke begins the body of his narrative with a time-frame, connected with a participant (King Herod) who will not be the primary focus of the Gospel: Ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας (Luke 1:5). Historians tended to follow this pattern.<sup>76</sup> In βίοι, it was shown, after the preface, the biographer moves immediately into a focus upon the biographical subject in almost all cases. Luke instead follows the event-oriented pattern of the historians. He continues to move his narrative forward through temporal deictic markers. He initiates the next small paragraph with Μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας (1:24) and then moves into the prophecy of the birth of Jesus with another temporal transition: Ἐν δὲ τῷ μηνὶ τῷ ἕκτῳ (1:26). This paragraph mentions Jesus for the first time but the angel Gabriel, not Jesus, figures as the central participant on the stage of the paragraph. Then the focus moves to Mary, with another temporal transitional device: Ἀναστᾶσα δὲ Μαριάμ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις (1:39). Luke uses yet another temporal transition to shift the narrative to Elizabeth's birth of John: Τῇ δὲ Ἐλισάβητ ἐπλήσθη ὁ χρόνος (1:57). Luke introduces the next paragraph, which centers in upon Zachariah with a full noun phrase (1:67), before finally coming to Luke's second chapter, detailing the birth of Jesus (also introduced by a temporal formula: Τῇ δὲ Ἐλισάβητ ἐπλήσθη ὁ χρόνος [2:1]). Luke, as with the historians, then includes several events leading up to one of the participants that will take center stage within a large portion of his narrative.

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<sup>76</sup> In addition to the evidence cited above, see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Rom. ant.* 1.9.1, who after his preface immediately moves into the narrative to begin discussion of a city the Romans now possess but which at a latter time “the Aborigines gained possession of it.” Diodorus Siculus 1.6.1–2 transitions out of the preface and claims that he will now document “the events that have taken place in the known parts of the inhabited world.” He begins this discussion (1.7.1) by use of a temporal transition formula κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς and discusses an account of creation.

We may compare Luke with Appian, a biographically oriented historian (as I am arguing is the case with Luke). Appian tends to move his narrative along according to several events, using a variety of temporal formulas in Book 1 (e.g. *Bel. civ.* 1.2.14,<sup>77</sup> 4.28,<sup>78</sup> 12.103,<sup>79</sup> 13.110<sup>80</sup>) before Gaius Caesar becomes the central participant in focus for Book 2 (see chapter 5 for analysis). So Appian transitions out of his preface into the narrative body (often shifting his frame of reference and beginning new paragraphs through temporal markers) through documenting a series of events. Though Caesar plays a central role in his history, Appian still writes history and thus events set the orientation for the narrative directly after the preface, not Caesar's life and character.

#### 5.2.1.3. *Placement of Jesus' Family Tradition*

The location of Jesus' family tradition provides another event-oriented distinctive of the Third Gospel. Unlike Matthew (1:1-17), Mark (1:1), and John (1:1-4) (see below), who begin their narratives with a genealogy or statement of Jesus' origins, Luke does not introduce Jesus' family tradition until 3:23-38. As was shown above, this represents a fundamental difference between history and βίος and provides another clue to the orientation of a work.<sup>81</sup> Several commentators view Luke's genealogy of Jesus as an

<sup>77</sup> Θέρος δ' ἦν ἤδη.

<sup>78</sup> Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ.

<sup>79</sup> Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους.

<sup>80</sup> Καὶ τότε μὲν χειμῶνος ἐπιόντος.

<sup>81</sup> Burrige, *What are the Gospels?*, 141, recognizes this feature: "Most βίοι begin with a mention of the subject's ancestry and heritage, his family, or his land or city. Isocrates has a long section on the nobility of Evagoras' ancestry, tracing it back to Zeus and down through the Trojan War hero, Teucer (chapters 12–20). Xenophon also praises Agesilaus' ancestry (back to Heracles), his royal family and the greatness of his country, Sparta (I.2–4). Nepos' opening sentence tells us that Atticus was born of the most ancient Roman stock ('ab origine ultima stirpis Romanae generatus'), whereas Philo comments that Moses was a Chaldean by ancestry (Μωυσιῆς γένος μὲν ἔστι Χαλδαῖος), but born and raised in Egypt (*Moses* I.5)." However, he fails to note that Luke's Gospel does not begin this way and this feature aligns it more closely with ancient historical conventions. While Burrige, *What are the Gospels?*, 201, recognizes that "Matthew and Luke

“interruption” to his narrative.<sup>82</sup> We may recall at this point Dionysius’s view that his own genealogy of Tarquinius resulted in such an interruption to his own work (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Rom. ant.* 4.6.1). Scholars typically account for this apparent intrusion through Lukan redaction of Mark’s narrative structure. Fitzmyer represents this view when he says, “it is clear that Luke is inserting a genealogy of Jesus into the otherwise Marcan framework—between the Marcan episodes of Jesus’ baptism and temptation in the desert.”<sup>83</sup> But this really does not solve the problem of placing the genealogy so late in the narrative. Scholars remain perplexed as to why Luke would choose to insert the genealogy so deeply in his story.<sup>84</sup> Our discussion so far seems to suggest a different literary motivation for Luke’s placement of the genealogy.<sup>85</sup> Unlike the other Gospel authors, Luke seems to be creating an event-oriented discourse and thus places his

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include genealogies tracing Jesus’ descent back to Abraham (Matt. 1:2–17) or to Adam (Luke 3:23–38),” he fails to note the literary impact of the differing placement of the two genealogies.

<sup>82</sup> E.g. Schleiermacher, *Critical Essay*, 54–55; Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 156; Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 188.

<sup>83</sup> Fitzmyer, *Gospel according to Luke I–IX*, 488. Surprisingly, Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 84–95, does not address this issue though he seeks to compare the genealogies of Matthew and Luke, respectively.

<sup>84</sup> Craddock, *Luke*, 52–53, picks up on this when he says, “While it is evident that Luke is now following the outlines of Mark, he does insert a genealogy between the baptism and the temptation of Jesus. Luke’s intention in giving the genealogy is not clear, nor is his reason for placing it here.” He suggests as one possible solution that “that Luke’s pattern was suggested by the fact that Moses’ call and ministry are separated by a genealogy in Ex. 6:14–25” (53) and that it brings chapters 1–3 to a close by offering several pieces of valuable information: (1) Jesus’ age; (2) Jesus’ link to God through Adam; (3) Jesus’ heritage as a true son of Israel (53–54).

<sup>85</sup> Plummer, *Gospel according to St. Luke*, 101–02, asks and answers the question this way: “Why does Lk. insert the genealogy here instead of at the beginning of his Gospel? It would be only a slight exaggeration to say that this is the beginning of his Gospel, for the first three chapters are only introductory. The use of ἀρχόμενος here implies that the Evangelist is now making a fresh start. Two of the three introductory chapters are the history of the Forerunner, which Lk. completes in the third chapter before beginning his account of the work of the Messiah. Not until Jesus has been anointed by the Spirit does the history of the Messiah, i.e. the Anointed One, begin; and His genealogy then becomes of importance. In a similar way the pedigree of Moses is placed, not just before or just after the account of his birth (Exod. 2:1, 2), where not even the names of his parents are given, but just after his public appearance before Pharaoh as the spokesman of Jehovah and the leader of Israel (Exod. 6:14–27).” Plummer’s solution here begins to get at the event driven framework of the Lukan narrative. As Plummer states, the first three chapters of the Third Gospel lay out several events key to understanding not only the life of Jesus, but earliest Christian history. This results in the later placement of genealogy on my view, but can also, therefore, account for some of the observations made by Plummer.

genealogical material much later in his account of Jesus' deeds, as something of an interruption to the narrative, but nevertheless, an important one.<sup>86</sup>

In addition to the placement of the genealogy in relation to the preface, Luke distinguishes himself from the other Gospels and from ancient βίοι by the placement of Jesus' birth account in relation to the genealogy.<sup>87</sup> It was shown that βίοι either begin with a genealogy or place it directly after the preface (if a preface is included) and then give the birth account directly after the genealogy. Luke, by contrast, provides his account of the birth of Jesus *prior to* the genealogy, which defies biographical conventions. There was no consistently formalized location for the genealogy and birth narratives in ancient history, and a genealogy could appear after the birth narrative, as it does for example in the birth / genealogy of Lucumo / Tarquinius in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Rom. ant.* 3.46.5 (birth narrative) and 4.6.1–6 (genealogy).

### 5.2.2. *Participant Orientation in Mark, Matthew, and John*

The Gospels of Mark, Matthew, and John do not contain prefaces so we will restrict treatment in this section to (1) attestation to participant orientation and (2) the location of Jesus' family tradition.

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<sup>86</sup> Similar to Plummer, *Gospel according to St. Luke*, 101–02 (see fn 237), Bovon, *Luke 1*, 135, sees the motivation for placement stemming from literary strategies in the Hebrew Bible: “In the Hebrew Bible, genealogies are placed either at the beginning of an account (Abraham, Gen 11:10–16\*), or after a few initial episodes (Moses, Exod 6:14–20\*). The same liberty in composition is evident in Matthew and Luke.” However, this seems to impose an otherwise artificial literary framework upon Luke. What other evidence do we have that Luke has organized his Gospel according to the literary conventions of the Torah? Perhaps we can account for certain mimetic elements here, but historical explanation seems to have more to commend it.

<sup>87</sup> Aune, “Greco-Roman Biography,” 122, groups Matthew and Luke together as exhibiting biographical tendencies in documenting Jesus' family tradition. He says: “The authors of Matthew and Luke, who have more consciously literary concerns than Mark, follow accepted biographical practice by prefacing the career of Jesus with accounts of his birth and genealogy.” However, as the above analysis shows, Luke exhibits specifically non-biographical tendencies in his placement of Jesus' genealogy and birth.

### 5.2.2.1. *Attestation to Participant Orientation*

Mark attests to being an εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Mark 1:1), focused specifically upon its “beginning” (ἀρχή). While this stops short of calling the work a “life” (which was uncommon in any case in βίοι without a preface) it certainly—from its opening line—indicates that the document will focus upon a single participant, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Matthew opens in a similar fashion, with Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ (Matt 1:1). Again, this signals a highly participant driven narrative, with the opening line of the Gospel introducing the participant that will occupy the central focus of the narrative. Burrige thus rightly notices that “like most Graeco-Roman βίοι, Mark and Matthew include the name of their subject at the very start.”<sup>88</sup> Similarly, in John, Jesus, who is referred to as ὁ λόγος (cf. John 1:17), takes center stage in the opening and occupies the focus of John 1:1-5,<sup>89</sup> again indicating a participant orientation in the programmatic introductory material of the narrative.

So, it seems, with Mark, Matthew, and John, that we have a strong indication from the start of a participant driven narrative. Luke’s opening lines do not mention Jesus’ name, however (the first occurrence is in Luke 1:31). They remain focused on the events Luke plans to document. Burrige seeks to escape the force of this evident difference between Luke and the other Gospels by drawing attention to the fact that some βίοι have a preface.<sup>90</sup> However, it was shown earlier in this chapter that the existence of a preface is a feature shared between histories and βίοι, often with many of the same

<sup>88</sup> Burrige, *What are the Gospels?*, 189.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Burrige, *What are the Gospels?*, 216.

<sup>90</sup> Burrige, *What are the Gospels?*, 189. He mentions Lucian and Philo (having a shorter preface) as well as Isocrates, Tacitus, and Philostratus (having a longer prologue). Köstenberger, “Genre,” 439, misses this point when he says, in a list of “differences between the Gospels and Greco-Roman biographies” that “First, of the four Gospels, only Luke has a formal literary preface (Luke 1:1–4; cf. Acts 1:1–2).” Many βίοι, of course, did have a formal literary preface that would exhibit several similarities to Luke, as they would to ancient histories, so this feature cannot count as a difference, on its own.

preface features. So that Luke contains a preface does not, on its own, indicate a biographical over against a historical genre. And one difference that does surface in biographical prefaces, however, is the biographical attestation—which is lacking in Luke—and Luke’s preface length ratio aligns his Gospel more closely with history than with βίος (see above). When a βίος does not include a preface, it initiates with the mention of the primary participant of the narrative, usually in the first line of the work, as with Mark, Matthew, and John. When it does include a preface, the transition into the body is participant not event driven, which also differentiates Luke from βίοι (see above).

#### 5.2.2.2. *Placement of Jesus’ Family Tradition*

In the use and placement of family tradition, Matthew’s Gospel seems to take the most explicitly biographical form with a thorough genealogy introducing the narrative. As with Greek βίοι, Matthew begins with a γένεσις of Jesus Christ who is the υιοῦ Δαυὶδ υιοῦ Ἀβραάμ (Matt 1:1).<sup>91</sup> Then we find Jesus’ genealogy. A parallel here may be found in Plutarch’s *Antonius* (1.1, 2): “Antonius, grandfather was that famous orator whom Marius slew because he took Sylla’s part. His father was another Antonius surnamed Cretan... His wife was Julia, of the noble house and family of Julius Caesar....” As with most βίοι, Matthew places his birth narrative directly after his genealogy of Jesus. John provides an account of Jesus’ cosmic origins rather than a genealogical description (John 1:1-5),<sup>92</sup> but statement of divine origins was not outside the purview of Greco-Roman

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<sup>91</sup> Cf. Plutarch’s tendency to use a γένεσις-formula to introduce family tradition (e.g. Plutarch, *Alex.* 2.1; *Thes.* 3.1).

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 216; Köstenberger, “Genre,” 245–46.

biographical prologues (e.g. Plutarch, *Rom.* 2.4–6; *Alex.* 2.5–3.1).<sup>93</sup> Some manuscripts of Mark include Jesus as υἱοῦ θεοῦ (κ<sup>1</sup> B D L W) while others do not (κ\* Θ 28. 1 2211 pc sams) and so this may be either a scribal attempt to conform Mark to biographical genealogical standards or an attempt by Mark to reorient the genealogical formula to display Jesus' supernatural origins. Collins overlooks this point when she notes that most βίοι begin with the ancestry, followed by a birth account, whereas Mark begins his narrative with John the Baptist.<sup>94</sup> The external evidence is slightly in favor of υἱοῦ θεοῦ so that we can likely trace υἱοῦ θεοῦ back to Mark, which means that there would at the very least be use of kinship language in the opening line of the Gospel and more likely a statement of divine ancestry (cf. Iamblichus, *Pyth.* 2.1, for similar usage). While it is true that a birth account, when it is included, always follows the genealogy in βίοι, not all ancient βίοι included a birth account. So, on its own, lack of a birth narrative does not rule decidedly against a biographical orientation for John and Mark. Returning to the example of Plutarch's *Antonius*, after the genealogy, Plutarch moves right into the early years of Antonius without providing a birth account at all (Plutarch, *Anton.* 1.2; see also Plutarch, *Dem.* 4.1–2; Diogenes Laërtius, *Vit. Phil.* 5.1–2; Lucian, *Dem.* 3). Matthew's Gospel aligns with biographical conventions in locating Jesus' birth directly after his family tradition.

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<sup>93</sup> We may note here especially Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1, where the divine origins of Apollonius, to the degree that he was said to be god, is documented in the prologue: “in his own case he said that Apollo had come to him acknowledging that he was the god in person; and that Athena and the Muses and other gods, whose forms and names men did not yet know, had also consorted with him though without making such acknowledgment.” Many, especially in the older form-critical era, made a great deal of the many parallels with the life of Jesus and the life of Apollonius of Tyana. See Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, 83; Bultmann, *History*, 218–44; Smith, *Jesus*, 84–91.

<sup>94</sup> Collins, *Is Mark's Gospel a Life of Jesus?*, 28.

### 5.3. *Authoritative Citation Criteria*

The Gospels, history, and βίος share in common the use of authoritative citation within their narratives. In the Gospels, we do not have citation of “sources” as such, but we do observe the use of numerous authoritative citation formulas. These introduce Israel’s Scriptures, often cited in order to lend prophetic authority to their narratives. This may at first seem foreign to the kinds of sources used by the ancient histories and βίοι until we realize that the kinds of sources cited by these texts were not only sources that provided the content for their narratives but also the normative literary texts of the Greco-Roman world. Thucydides, for example, cites Homer (1.3.2–3; 1.9.4; 1.10.3–4; cf. also 2.41.4; 3.104.4 for references to Homer)<sup>95</sup> more than any other single source. And these citations seem to function in quite the same ways as other sources Thucydides cites (see chapter 5 for further analysis).<sup>96</sup>

One reason why the Gospels may share many of the features of Greco-Roman βίος and history but lack their citation of Greco-Roman sources could be that the standard Greco-Roman texts not only had nothing to say about Jesus but were also not largely normative for the Jewish communities that the Gospels (at least partially) addressed. Jewish education in the diaspora in fact followed the Hellenistic paradigm but, instead of Homer and other Greco-Roman literature functioning as the normative texts, Jews learned the LXX. We also have precedent for this in Josephus. Josephus cites the Old Testament in ways that often parallel the Greek histories that he refers to, quoting as authoritative the normative bodies of writings not only for the Jews, but also for the

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<sup>95</sup> Kallet, *Money*, 97–110, proposes that the entire Troy exhibition in Thucydides is mapped on the Homer account. See also Rutherford, “Structure,” 13–38.

<sup>96</sup> E.g. Thucydides uses Homer as proof (τεκμηριοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος) for the gradual application of the name Hellene (Ἕλληνη) to Hellen and his sons only after they grew mighty in Phthiotis and were invited to ally with other cities in 1.3.2–3.



Roman audience that he addresses.<sup>97</sup> Many studies of the Gospels thus rightly understand that evangelists employ authoritative citation of the Old Testament in functionally similar ways to the historians and biographers who cite their normative texts as authoritative—even if the content of these two sets of texts remains radically different.<sup>98</sup> Others have argued that early Christians were certain that Israel’s Scriptures spoke of Jesus, so much so that they felt warranted in using them *as historical sources for the life of Jesus*.<sup>99</sup>

Citation of Scripture also fits the criteria for authoritative citation used in this chapter to assess historical and biographical material as *the use of source material (i.e. reference to an external authority) within the narrative marked by a citation formula of some kind*.

### 5.2.1. Citation Density in the Gospels

Taking the citation of Israel’s authoritative texts as functionally similar to the historians’ and biographers’ citations of the authoritative texts of the Greco-Roman world, we have a disambiguation criterion that can be applied to the Gospels to distinguish the βίος from history based on density of authoritative citations. Our empirical study above confirmed Potter’s suspicion that histories have a drastically lower citation density than do ancient βίοι. The lowest density for βίοι examined was 0.68%, which is still a drastic contrast to the highest density levels for ancient history at 0.23%, and the extremes on both ends remain incredibly accentuated with Thucydides at 0.08%

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<sup>97</sup> Jonah (*Ant.* 9.205–208), Isaiah (*Ant.* 9.276), Jeremiah (*Ant.* 10.104, 106, 112, 114–20, 124, 141; cf. *Ant.* 10.176–80; so also *J.W.* 5.391–92), and Daniel (*Ant.* 10.264–68; cf. *Ant.* 10.272–80; 11.337; 12.332). See chapter 6 for further analysis.

<sup>98</sup> E.g. Shuler, *Genre*, 99; Sterling, *Historiography, passim*; Potter, *Literary Texts*, 145–46; Porter, “Authoritative Citation,” 79–96. Cf. also Stanley, “Paul,” 48–78, who makes this equation for Paul.

<sup>99</sup> E.g. Brodie, *Birthing, passim*. Similarly, Hanson, *Prophetic Gospel*, 242, claims that in John’s Gospel, “theophanies under the old dispensation afford [John] the opportunity of claiming that the appearance of the Word in Jesus Christ was no bolt from the blue, but was the culmination of a series of appearances of the Word in Israel’s history.”

and Diogenes Laërtius at 10.77%. And the higher and lower end spectrums are explicable in terms of greater biographical influence in the two higher density histories examined (Appian's *Civil Wars* and Xenophon's *Anabasis*) and greater formalization of the genre in the case of Diogenes Laërtius. So where do the Gospels fit within these ranges of authoritative citation density?

Many observe that in comparison to the other Gospels in the synoptic tradition, the Third Gospel is far more selective in its citations than Mark or Matthew. Luke only contains 15 authoritative citations, defined above as source material marked by a citation formula, about 75% less than Matthew (54) and only slightly less than Mark (16). But as Moyise notes, "Bearing in mind that Luke is nearly twice as long as Mark, we can say that quotations in Luke are about half as frequent as in Matthew and Mark."<sup>100</sup> We will see below that Moyise's appraisal here is not quite as precise as we would hope, but this basic distributional phenomenon is interesting in light of the distribution densities for Greek history and βίος.

All four Gospels and their density levels in comparison to the ranges and averages for both history and βίος break down as follows:

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<sup>100</sup> Cf. Moyise, *Old Testament*, 45. A fact also noticed but explained away by Pao and Schnabel, "Luke," 251: "The fact that Luke uses fewer explicit quotations in his Gospel (twenty-five [(according to) Fitzmyer ...]) than Matthew does in his (thirty-eight) must not be misread to suggest that Luke was less interested in intertextual links with Israel's Scriptures. Luke's allusions to OT material need to be taken into account as well: C. A. Kimball ... finds 439 OT allusions in the Gospel of Luke (note that Kimball ... finds thirty-three OT quotations in Luke). It is not helpful to argue that 'Jesus rarely appropriates scripture to talk about himself specifically,' interpreting Luke's use of explicit quotations as 'a conservative portrayal' on the basis of eliminating allusions to and echoes of OT passages .... In the first-century Jewish context it does not seem to have made much difference whether a passage of Scripture is explicitly quoted or alluded to. Luke's references to the law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms clearly express his conviction that the person and ministry of Jesus, as well as the Christian communities and their message, are based on the Jewish Scriptures." As we shall see, recourse to Luke's allusions or mimetic references remains unnecessary to account for his less frequent usage of authoritative citations while still allowing the evangelist to hold the LXX in high regards. Luke has plenty of respect for his normative texts but the genre of ancient historiography, in which he writes, potentially constrains him toward selective citation of these sources.

	Luke	Mark	Matthew	John	Range for βίος	Average βίος	Range for History <sup>101</sup>	Average History
<i>Citations</i>	15	17	54	25	28-114	71	29-187	131.66
<i>Word Count</i>	19,482	11,304	18,346	15,335 <sup>102</sup>	6,959- 20,118	10,614	57,174- 311,667	170,467
<i>Density</i>	<b>0.23%</b>	<b>0.45%</b>	<b>0.88%</b>	<b>0.48%</b>	<b>0.68- 10.77%</b>	<b>3.6%</b>	<b>.08-0.23%</b>	<b>0.15%</b>

Tab. 5: Citation Density in βίος, History, and the Gospels

Luke hits on the very top of the upper range (with Xenophon's *Anabasis* and just below it Appian's *Civil Wars*) of the citation densities for Greek history and Matthew fits nicely within the lower range of Greek βίος, right between Plutarch's *Cicero* (0.68%) and Plutarch's *Caesar* (1.04%). This data is what we would expect to find if Luke composed a history with significant biographical interest (as with Xenophon, *Anabasis*, and Appian, *Civil Wars*), and if Matthew is a βίος. Mark and John fall in the middle ranges, not strongly oriented toward either genre with respect to this feature. While this feature does not provide much insight, then, with respect to Mark or John, it does seem to provide a differentiating feature between Luke and Matthew and still places Luke with the lowest citation densities among the Gospels.

### 5.2.2. Citation Strategy in the Gospels

There is, of course, great debate over how and for what reasons the Gospel writers employ authoritative citation of Scripture. Nevertheless, some broad generalizations can be made. For Luke, the Scriptures seem to have a literary-historiographic function. As with the ancient historians, Luke's limited range of citations seem to cluster around and

<sup>101</sup> This range begins with Thucydides, as the first historian to fully codify this generic feature.

<sup>102</sup> This number excludes John 7:53–8:11.

in support of major narrative events / transitions<sup>103</sup> and instances of the supernatural<sup>104</sup> (see chapters 7-8 for further analysis). Matthew,<sup>105</sup> Mark,<sup>106</sup> and John<sup>107</sup> distribute citations somewhat more evenly and freely throughout their narratives while tending to use Scripture to support the developing identity of Jesus, especially emphasizing the fulfillment motif in Matthew (16x<sup>108</sup>) and John (9x<sup>109</sup>). Fulfillment is significant in that it identifies Jesus as the Jewish messiah.<sup>110</sup> Use of authoritative citation to develop the character or identity of the biographical subject, as we saw, was a common strategy in ancient biographical literature. As Shuler notices in his analysis of the biographical character of Matthew,

Matthew further validates his narrative with numerous Old Testament quotations, each of which is introduced with relatively fixed formula quotation clauses (e.g., 1:22; 2:15, 17, 23, and so on). In a similar though not conclusive manner, Plutarch's "Lives" (*bioi*) incorporate quotations from ancient poets to support the praiseworthiness of his subjects (*Philopoemen* XI.2-3, and *Aristides* III.4).<sup>111</sup>

Luke, by contrast, only uses fulfillment language twice in connection with citations of the Old Testament. The majority of Mark's citations occur in Jesus' teaching material in

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<sup>103</sup> 2:23, 24, 28; 4:4; 4:10; 4:12; 7:27; 19:46; 20:17; 22:37.

<sup>104</sup> 3:4; 4:17; 20:37, 42.

<sup>105</sup> Matt 1:23; 2:5; 15, 17, 23; 3:3; 4:4, 6, 7, 10, 14; 5:17, 18, 19, 21, 27, 31, 33, 38, 43; 8:4, 17; 9:13; 11:10, 13; 12:3, 5, 7, 17; 13:14, 35; 15:4, 7; 19:4, 5, 7, 17, 18; 21:4, 13, 16, 42; 22:24, 31, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43; 24:15; 26:31, 64; 27:9-10.

<sup>106</sup> Mark 1:2-3; 4:12; 7:6, 10; 10:5, 6, 19; 11:17; 12:10, 19, 26, 29, 31, 36; 13:14; 14:27.

<sup>107</sup> John 1:17; 23; 2:17; 22; 5:45, 46, 47; 6:31, 45; 7:22, 23; 7:38; 7:51; 10:34; 12:14, 16; 12:38, 39, 41; 13:18; 15:25; 19:7, 24, 36, 37.

<sup>108</sup> Matt 1:22-23; 2:5, 15, 17, 23; 3:3; 4:14; 8:17; 11:10, 13; 12:17; 13:14, 45; 21:4, 16; 27:9.

<sup>109</sup> John 12:14, 16, 38, 39, 41; 15:25; 19:24, 36, 37.

<sup>110</sup> Shuler, *Genre*, 103-04, notices this as well in Matthew's Gospel: "Matthew intends to state clearly the identity of Jesus as the 'Son of God.' The importance of this identification for Matthew is clear from the key positions it occupies in the text, for it is the title to which the first four chapters build. The authentication of this identity by numerous Old Testament prophecies understood to be related to 'the one who is to come' confirm for the reader the messianic identity of the person about whom the narrative has been written."

<sup>111</sup> Schuler, *Genre*, 98-99.

order to develop his identity as messiah (16/17).<sup>112</sup> This enables Mark to present Jesus as one having great authority, including the authority to interpret Scripture and apply it prophetically to himself.<sup>113</sup> Luke, Matthew, and John include about half of their citations within their teaching material. In Luke's case, several of these occur in the temple incident. In their characterizations of Jesus using Scripture, as in biographical texts, Matthew and John both use authoritative citation even to support incidental details in Jesus' life, including Herod's killing of the children (Matt 2:17), Jesus living in Nazareth (Matt 2:23), Jesus' garments being divided (John 19:24), none of Jesus' bones being broken (John 19:36), and those who gazed upon Jesus at the crucifixion (John 19:37). Each of these citations help establish important details related to Jesus' messianic identity but they are not major events in the narrative. Luke, by contrast, as with the Greek historians, seems to limit his authoritative citations to major narrative events and / or the supernatural such as Jesus' birth (2:22, 23, 24), temptation (4:4, 10, 12), healing ministry (4:17), temple action (19:46; 20:17) death (22:37), resurrection (20:37), and exaltation (20:42) (each passage is analyzed in detail in chapters 7-8). While studies on the function of Scripture in Mark, Matthew, and John vary, most agree that the citations are introduced for theological reasons and unified by their emphasis upon establishing christological identity.<sup>114</sup> And there are an increasing number of scholars who see no

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<sup>112</sup> Parables: 4:12 12:10; discourses: 7:10 10:19 11:17 13:14 14:27; theological debates: 7:6 10:5 10:6 12:19 12:26 12:29 12:31 12:36. Only the opening citation of Isa 40:1 occurs outside of the speech margins in Mark (1:2–3).

<sup>113</sup> Powery, *Jesus*, 46.

<sup>114</sup> E.g. Mark: Marcus, *Way*, argues for a christological reading of Mark's use of the Old Testament in most cases; Hatina, *In Search of a Context*, esp. chapter 3, argues that Mark's ideological point of view assumes Jesus' identity as the long awaited messiah of Israel and this motivates his Scripture citations; Powery, *Jesus*, 46, argues that Mark's Jesus is portrayed through the use of Scripture as an authoritative interpreter; Watts, "Mark," 113, argues that Mark uses Scripture to show that "only in Jesus do God's people, Jew and Gentile together, find their true identity." Cf. Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus*. Matthew: Powery, *Jesus*, 90–91, notes that "most scholars suggest that Matthew's citations emphasize christology

unifying theological scheme to Luke's Scripture citations introduced by a formula, related to Jesus' identity or otherwise.<sup>115</sup> The citation strategy of Mark, Matthew, and John, in addition to the higher densities of citation (esp. in Matthew), aligns more with the biographical use of authoritative citation, where citations were employed to develop the identity of their subjects. Luke's strategy aligns more closely with the historians, a point I will seek to further substantiate in chapters 5-9.

### 6. *Luke-Acts as Collected Biography?*

One potential objection that could be raised here would be to pose that Luke-Acts forms a kind of collected biography as we find in Plutarch or Diogenes Laërtius. This is the proposal of Talbert, Porter, and, recently, Adams.<sup>116</sup> The same criteria discussed above have been designed to disambiguate Luke from both individual and collected βίοι since two of the central samples considered were collected βίοι (Plutarch; Diogenes Laërtius). The preface length ratios considered numerous biographies, both individual and collected, as did the criterion of βίος language in the preface. Even though collected

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more than any other theme." This is borne out by a closer look at the recent studies. Allison, *New Moses*, seeks to show that Mark's use of scriptural typology reveals his view that Jesus should be identified as the new Moses. Knowles, *Jeremiah*, argues that Matthew's use of Jeremiah identifies Jesus as the rejected prophet. Powery, *Jesus*, 189, proposes that Matthew uses Scripture to characterize Jesus as the ultimate teacher: "Matthew portrays Jesus as one who instructs numerous groups, including the disciples and the crowds, throughout the Gospels." Similarly, Blomberg, "Matthew," 1-2, affirms that "Matthew could simultaneously emphasize the uniquely Jewish stages of Christ's mission (10:5-6; 15:24), depict all the links with the Jewish Scriptures, and highlight distinctively Jewish theological categories in his redactional emphases, including Jesus as the Son of David and messianic king and discipleship as practicing righteous living as the fulfillment of the Law." John: Through John's use of Scripture, Hanson, *Prophetic Gospel*, seeks to establish Jesus' identity as the pre-existent Word within Israel's history. Daly-Denton, *David*, argues that John employs Scripture to establish Jesus' identity as the Davidic King. Köstenberger, "John," 411-512, argues that John uses Scripture to establish "the matrix of messianic expectations fulfilled in Jesus, the Christ and Son of God."

<sup>115</sup> E.g. Barrett, "Luke / Acts," 243; Powery, *Jesus*, 243; Pao and Schnabel, "Luke," 252.

<sup>116</sup> Talbert, *Literary Patterns*; Porter, "Genre," 1-15; Adams, *Genre of Acts*.

βίοι gather together lives of several different individuals, each βίος is still participant driven. This is not the case with Luke's Gospel, which, I have argued, has an event orientation. Collected βίοι contain a preface that has some commonalities with the historical preface at the beginning of a collection of βίοι. However, in these cases, a genealogical or origins formula consistently introduces the first biographical subject immediately after the preface. This is not the case in Luke's Gospel. After the preface, Luke moves on to describe the prophecy of John the baptizer's birth. The genealogy comes much later in the narrative, after Luke has documented several further events, including Jesus' birth, a feature unprecedented in collected βίοι. Similarly, the authoritative citation related criteria examined the use of citations in Plutarch or Diogenes Laërtius (as central examples of this phenomenon) reveal striking differences between these writings and Luke's Gospel.

Adams's study focuses exclusively upon Acts, proceeding from the biographical nature of Luke's Gospel. Following Pervo, Adams offers only one argument for the biographical status of the Gospel, which is fair for a study on Acts. Pervo and Adams urge that ὃν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν links back to and defines the Third Gospel as a biographical writing.<sup>117</sup> But it is not uncommon for a historical document to refer back to a large section of the narrative in terms of the deeds of a significant figure. Appian (*Bel. civ.* 3.1.1) does this as he transitions away from the large portion of his narrative that focused upon Caesar.<sup>118</sup> Josephus (*Ant.* 14.68) refers to several historical authors who wrote on the "acts of Pompey" (τὰς κατὰ Πομπήιον πράξεις), including

<sup>117</sup> Pervo, *Acts*, 33; Adams, *Genre of Acts*, 174.

<sup>118</sup> Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ πλείστου Ῥωμαίου ἀξίος ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν γενόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνήρητο καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τέθαπτο· ἀπάντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν σφαγῶν δίκην δόντων, ὅπως οἱ περιφανέστατοι μάλιστα ἔδοσαν, ἦδε ἡ βίβλος καὶ ἡ μετὰ τήνδε ἐπιδείξουσιν, ἐπιλαμβάνουσαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Ῥωμαίους ἐμφύλια ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐγγίνετο ὁμοῦ.

Strabo, Nicolaus of Damascus, and “Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman History.” And we have already discussed in chapter 2 the Roman tradition of *Res Gestae*, which was a historical account of the acts of a person. This differed from βίος which elaborates on the character of a person. In an earlier study, Adams documents the consensus of scholars that views Luke as a βίος. Before Adams, this consensus led Porter to want to read Acts that way as well, since understanding both documents as βίος helps bring clarity to the literary relationship between the Luke’s Gospel and Acts.<sup>119</sup> But if Luke’s Gospel fits closest to historical discourse in the ancient world then this alleviates an apparent literary tension between the two works.

A further distinctive that seems to set Acts apart from collected βίοι of the ancient world is its structure. Participants are not introduced into the narrative with a statement of origins, as in collections such as Plutarch, Diogenes Laërtius, Nepos, and Suetonius. It might be argued that in Luke we find some of this information. However, it would be a complete novelty in the genre to weave several βίοι together into a running narrative (although absolutely typical of ancient history) so that Luke-Acts is a βίος both of Jesus and his disciples. Adams is correct to note that Acts contains several of the *topoi* of ancient βίοι. But as I argued in chapter 2, these tend to count as detection not disambiguation criteria. We can only disambiguate the genres of history and βίος as we look more precisely at *how* these *topoi* are deployed at specific places in the narrative in a specifically biographical (or historical) way.

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<sup>119</sup> Adams, “Genre of Luke,” 98–100; Porter, “Genre,” 1–15.



### 7. *Conclusions: A Literary Context for Luke (and the Other Gospels)*

In order to evaluate how the genre of the Third Gospel may have impacted Luke's implementation of authoritative citation, an assignment of Luke's literary genre must be solidly in place. Due to formal literary overlap between βίος and history, however, genre disambiguation in the Gospels constitutes a significant challenge for Gospel scholars. Burridge originally proposed a helpful set of detection criteria but these did not go far enough because the questions remained—at least in the minds of some scholars—whether the Third Gospel still might be best viewed as history. Therefore, in addition to Burridge's detection criteria, which identify both βίος and history as instances of closely related Greek narrative discourse, a set of disambiguation criteria needed to be applied in the case of Luke's Gospel. Although Burridge proposed subjects of verbs as one such criterion, chapter 2 sought to demonstrate its inadequacy. In its place, I proposed seven new or previously underdeveloped criteria that showed potential promise as disambiguation criteria in chapter 2. The present chapter then applied these criteria to six historians (Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Josephus and Appian) and several βίοι (Satyrus, *Life of Euripides* [P.Oxy. 1176], a number of Plutarch's *Lives* and Diogenes Laërtius's *Thales*), as well as several other supplementary writings from both genres. The result was that Luke aligns much more closely with the formal disambiguating features of ancient history than the other Gospels, which resemble the Greco-Roman βίος more closely. Note that the arguments in this chapter do not make a definitive case for Luke being a history or the other Gospels being instances of the βίος but they do seem to show that the former more closely resembles history and the latter

more closely resemble βίοι according to the ten detection criteria and, in particular, the seven disambiguation criteria laid out in this and the previous chapter.

The first set of criteria dealt with the preface. Luke's preface fits with the historical preface length ratios (biographical prefaces were longer) and lacks a central feature of biographical prefaces—genre attestation through βίος language. The other Gospels lack a preface—and so do not contain βίος language in their opening material—but as with many such ancient βίοι, they begin with a statement of genealogy or origins. Chapter 2 sought to show that the fundamental difference between βίος and history can be articulated on a scale of event to participant orientation and that several formal criteria help identify a writing's trajectory along this scale. I argued in the present chapter that Luke's Gospel includes event attestation, and an event oriented transition into the narrative body, and places its family tradition of Jesus' ancestry according to the event-oriented standards of ancient history, not βίος. The other Gospels disclose their participant orientation through mention of their primary narrative figure in the opening line of the work while also placing genealogical (or origins) tradition at the beginning of their narrative body. Matthew's Gospel has the best (or at least, most common) biographical form in that it begins with a detailed account of the ancestry of its participant. The Gospels of John and Mark lack an extended genealogy but provide a statement of family or (with Mark, assuming υἱοῦ θεοῦ is original) cosmic origins. I also sought to demonstrate that ancient βίοι exhibit a drastically higher density of authoritative citations than do ancient histories (with more than a 10.0% increase in at least one case) and that histories reserve their citations for exceptional events while βίοι tend to spread their citations across the narrative more evenly in support of the developing identity or

character of their subjects. As with the event-oriented criteria, Matthew here too has the best biographical form, exhibiting the highest density and the most even spread of authoritative citations across his narrative. I also sought to show that Luke's citation density and strategy aligns closely with (esp. the more biographically oriented) Greek historians. The Gospels of John and Mark yield higher citation densities than ancient histories but slightly lower than the Greco-Roman biographical material examined, but all of the Gospels have higher citation densities than Luke's Gospel.

We might say then that with respect to the criteria introduced in this chapter, Matthew and Luke evidence the best Greco-Roman literary form in their writings—Matthew most closely resembling biographical, and Luke historical, material. John and Mark tend to correspond to biographical standards but do not seem as literarily conscious as Matthew and Luke. Most scholars generally recognize these two Gospels (first Luke<sup>120</sup> and then perhaps Matthew) as the most Hellenistically influenced of the four Gospels so that interpreters often speak of Luke and Matthew “improving” Mark's Greek language style and language.<sup>121</sup> And John's Gospel is typically viewed as closest to vulgar Greek.<sup>122</sup> Luke has the closest to literary Greek among the four Gospels, followed by Matthew. Thus, that these two most strongly exhibit the formal literary features of the Greco-Roman genre in which they were likely composed seems consistent with what we already know about these writings based upon their linguistic style.<sup>123</sup> We should also factor in the issue of chronology. The Gospels were written before what most consider

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<sup>120</sup> See recently the several essays in Wifstrand, *Epochs*; Adams, “Atticism,” 91–112; Lee, “Atticist Grammarians,” 283–310, the latter of which recognizes a higher quality to the Greek of Luke's Gospel but not Atticizing.

<sup>121</sup> E.g. MHT 4:38–41, 57–60; Koester, *History*, 111.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Haenchen, *John 1*, 62.

<sup>123</sup> For a detailed account of linguistic style, including definitions, see Pitts, “Style,” 113–15.

the formal beginnings of the Greco-Roman βίος with Plutarch so we should not expect the forms to be as deeply codified as we find in later βίοι. The evangelists write in a time when the genre was still somewhat flexible and still developing its most distinctive formal features. And chapter 2 urged that we must not insist upon hard unyielding generic boundaries since lines could be blurred due to the literary proximity of βίος and history but also due to lack of literary awareness.

Having designated Luke as more closely aligned with ancient history than βίος on the basis of these disambiguation criteria, we must address the question that many pose as to history type. Scholars identifying Luke-Acts as history evidence a deep concern to tie a specific historiographic label to it, ranging from apologetic (Sterling, Penner)<sup>124</sup> to political (Balch)<sup>125</sup> to deuteronomistic (Brodie)<sup>126</sup> historiography. John Marincola cautions, however, against overdefining the historical genre as the tendency of several biblical scholars appears to be.<sup>127</sup> History in the ancient world was a flexible and often changing literary type that cannot always be neatly classified within a so-called historical sub-genre. We also need to allow for literary innovation. So in situating Luke's Gospel generally within the ancient tradition of history writing does not require further specifying which set of broadly related histories Luke fits most closely with. Luke has affinities with Xenophon and Appian in their tendency toward biographical portraits but shares with Josephus's *Antiquities* an interest in the Scriptures of Israel while Luke's preface most closely aligns with Josephus's *Against Appian* (due to its dedication and

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<sup>124</sup> Sterling, *Historiography*; Penner, *Praise*.

<sup>125</sup> Balch, "METABOAH," 139–88.

<sup>126</sup> Brodie, *Crucial Bridge*.

<sup>127</sup> Marincola, "Genre," 301–324.

first person narrative, cf. Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.1–2), so we need not necessarily expect Luke to instantiate exclusively one or another specific form of history.

Now with Greek history as Luke's closest literary counterpart in place, we may turn in the remaining chapters to explore this relationship further, especially as it seems to have relevance for Luke's authoritative citations. Authoritative citation has already been introduced as a distinct feature of Luke likely related to literary genre. The next chapter will develop a methodological framework for interpretation of authoritative citation. The remaining five chapters will apply this framework to authoritative citation in the Greek historians (chapters 5–6) and in Luke (chapters 7–9). The focus of this dissertation is upon Luke's Gospel so this work will necessarily receive more attention in the analysis.

#### Chapter 4: A Linguistic Theory of Narrative and Source Integration in Greek Historiography

Based upon seven disambiguation criteria, the analysis in chapters 2–3 revealed that of the two likely candidates for Luke’s genre—βίος and history—Luke’s Gospel most closely resembles ancient history. Having answered this preliminary set of issues related to Luke’s most viable literary context, we can now move forward with exploring authoritative citation within this genre and then consider how it compares to Luke’s authoritative citations. We begin in this chapter by delineating an interpretive methodology that will enable assessment of the literary and linguistic data generated by the historians’ (including Luke’s) uses of their source material.

Source integration among the Greek historians remains a highly complicated and at the same time greatly understudied issue among both classicists and New Testament scholars. While there is a great deal of discussion about sources—how they were used and the role that they played within broader concerns of historical method—substantial attention has not been given to the textual relationships between the historians themselves or their literary predecessors. A small sample of research has undertaken investigation along these lines, but even fewer have sought to develop an integrated methodological framework that allows for meaningful interpretation of the data.

One of the dominant trends in classical study of ancient historiography—not unlike biblical studies—revolves around understanding the (often very local) narrative techniques employed by the historians. The historians used important programmatic indicators as well as a number of structuring devices in pursuing their narrative agendas

and classical scholars frequently deploy narrative methods of interpretation to assist in understanding the significance of these devices. Hornblower, for example, applies narratological principles to Thucydides, as do Morrison and Gribble.<sup>1</sup> Gray and Tsagalis use narrative criticism in their examination of Xenophon. de Jong incorporates it in his analysis of Homer.<sup>2</sup> While these and other classicists typically point to a number of significant narratological strategies, most of these studies limit themselves to focusing upon individual narrative techniques and devices. Hornblower, for instance, restricts his analysis to issues of narrative displacement, presentation through negation, denomination for rhetorical reasons, and the use of narrative voice.<sup>3</sup> Morrison's study focuses upon multiple perspective, authorial reference, and episodic presentation.<sup>4</sup> Gribble and Gray highlight the narrative function of first-person interventions.<sup>5</sup> In other words, most of these studies neglect important issues of narrative structure, focusing only on narrative strategies, often at a fairly localized level rather than viewing the features they investigate in the context of global narrative organization. The way that such strategies and programmatic indicators govern the literary structure of the historians still remains a fairly open domain of study. Only the programmatic function of the preface occupies much attention when considering these higher levels of literary structuring. This dissertation attempts to establish that the Greek historians (along with Luke) used the distribution and location of authoritative citations as one of their distinct techniques to construct the global literary landscape of their histories and the methodology developed

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<sup>1</sup> Hornblower, "Narratology," 131; Morrison, "Preface," 94–131; Gribble, "Narrator Interventions," 41–67.

<sup>2</sup> Gray, "Interventions," 111–23; de Jong, "Homer," 305–25; Tsagalis, "Names," 451–80.

<sup>3</sup> Hornblower, "Narratology," esp. 165–66.

<sup>4</sup> Morrison, "Preface," 94–131.

<sup>5</sup> Gribble, "Narrator Interventions," 41–67; Gray, "Intervention," 111–23.

in this chapter seeks to set in place the analytic and interpretive tools needed to evaluate this material.

Classicists tend to identify two forms of source integration in the Greek historians, even if this description does not always get stated explicitly: μίμησις/*imitatio* and authoritative citation.<sup>6</sup> These refer to two distinct ways of citing sources. The former method introduces material into the historical narrative without formal indication of source integration (i.e. without a citation formula). The historian simply imitates (thus μίμησις) and adapts his source material from a literary predecessor. This can, therefore, include a whole spectrum of parallel material, ranging from a simple verbal cue that may or may not invoke other literary associations in the mind of the audience to the exact repetition of wording from a previous literary text without formally indicating that the tradition is being taken over from a source. This chapter develops a narrative-linguistic method for analyzing this material at the local and global levels of a discourse, especially focusing on authoritative citation.

### 1. *Narrative, Markedness, and Source Integration*

Linguists dealing with the Greek of the New Testament have in recent years given increasing attention to the issue of markedness in assessing linguistic choices. This analysis has ranged from semantic considerations<sup>7</sup> to more discourse based concerns

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<sup>6</sup> Marincola, *Authority, passim*; Hornblower, "Introduction," 1–88; Perry, "Rhetoric," 158–60; Bakker, "Verbal Aspect," 7–54; Santoro L'Hoir, *Tragedy*, 222; Pitts, "Source-Citation," 349–88. Cf. also Dionysius, *Pomp.* 3–5. For analysis of individual historians on these issues, see chapters 5–6.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Porter, *Verbal Aspect*; Porter and Pitts, "Πίστις," 33–53.



revolving around notions like prominence.<sup>8</sup> In this section, I show that the notion of markedness may be fruitfully applied to narrative analysis as well, specifically as it relates to the question of source integration.

### 1.1. *Narrative Markedness*

Narrative elements that are more well-defined or semantically specific are said to be “marked.”<sup>9</sup> These marked elements are able to be projected onto the foreground or frontground of the narrative (see below). There are multiple language-specific diagnostics for determining markedness relations.<sup>10</sup> The most significant of these is semantic indeterminateness (i.e. less defined semantic content), which refers to the level of semantic specification grammaticalized by the form.<sup>11</sup> The specified character of the marked element causes it to have a more contoured meaning and restricted range of usage, giving rise to additional marked categories. Semantic markedness (markedness on a scale of more or less semantically determinate) is the most fundamental criterion since semantically marked items usually end up more formally complex and less frequent precisely because they are more semantically marked, and vice versa.

Semantically based diagnostics include semantic indeterminateness and prototypicality. These basic features give rise to other frequently discussed categories,

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<sup>8</sup> Westfall, *Discourse Analysis*, 28–78; esp. Porter, “Prominence,” 45–74.

<sup>9</sup> On linguistic and narrative markedness, see Andrews, *Markedness Theory*, 2. On markedness, see also Shapiro, “Explorations,” 343–64; Mary-Louise, “Theory,” 559–604; Kean, “Theory,” 225–250; Eckman, Moravcsik and Wirth, eds., *Markedness*; Gair, “Kinds of Markedness,” 225–50; Tomic, ed., *Markedness*; Battistella, *Markedness*; Fleischman, *Tense*, 52–56; Battistella, *Logic of Markedness*; Givón, *Functionalism*, 24–69. There is a tight connection between linguistics and narratology that often goes unnoticed, but semantic features of the language will inevitably have an impact upon the shape of a narrative so that the narratologist cannot afford to neglect foundational linguistic issues in their analysis. On the connections between narratology and linguistics, see esp. Rivara, *La langue*; Rabatel, “Brief Introduction,” 79–98; Patron, “Enunciative Narratology,” 313–35.

<sup>10</sup> Battistella, *Markedness*, 27.

<sup>11</sup> See Jakobson, “Structure,” 1–14.

such as distributional breadth and simplicity which are significant at the levels of frequency and form.<sup>12</sup> Semantic indeterminateness thus refers to the level of semantic specification grammaticalized by the form. Marked elements are specified and determinate whereas unmarked elements are characterized by indeterminateness. Jakobson pioneered this criterion based on privative oppositions in the Russian verb system.<sup>13</sup> One element in the opposition was marked for the specification of a semantic feature while the other element was not. Feature values in a system network (a system of linguistic choices that confront a language user) are also differentiated on the basis of semantic indeterminateness, but each of the terms in the opposition has a semantic weight—the marked term carries the greater semantic freight. Determinateness as a corollary to semantically based markedness has also been confirmed by studies in psychology related to grounding.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Battistella, *Markedness*, 27.

<sup>13</sup> Jakobson, "Structure," 1–14.

<sup>14</sup> Wallace, "Figure," 201–223. Cognitive markedness realized through prototypicality is another form of semantic markedness. Prototypicality as a diagnostic for assigning markedness values has its origins in psycholinguistics and was developed in cognition theory. The prototypicality criterion is best known from the work of Rosch and has been developed by van Langendonck, Lackoff, Winters, and several others. See Rosch, "Human Categorization," 1–49; Van Langendonck, "Markedness," 39–76; Lackoff, *Women*; Winters, "Toward a Theory of Syntactic Prototypes," 285–307. Categories which are more conceptually or psychologically basic are prototypical. Wallace's ("Figure and Ground," 212, 214) assessment of salience associations with cognitive categories is very similar to prototypes developed out of psychology:

More Salient	Less Salient
human	non-human
animate	inanimate
concrete	abstract
thing-like, solid, discrete	unformed, diffuse, shapeless, broken
well-defined, tightly organised	less definite, unstructured, loosely organised
contoured, surrounded, bounded, enclosed	boundless
localised	unlocalised
with distinguishable parts	without distinguishable parts
near	far
above, in front	below, behind
greater contrast	lesser contrast
stable	unstable
symmetric	irregular

Semantic markedness, then, is the most fundamental criterion since formal and distributional phenomena should be understood as morphological and pragmatic consequences of marked semantic relations due to the less defined nature of the form and formal reduction (e.g. a word becoming smaller or more reduced over time) for the purposes of economy. But semantic markedness does not always correspond to formal markedness because language is not always sensitive to principles of formal economy.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, semantically based markedness realized through indeterminateness and prototypicality should be given priority with type frequency and formal simplicity serving as reliable heuristics that often confirm markedness determinations assigned on the basis of semantic considerations.<sup>16</sup>

Much of this discussion so far has built off of studies in linguistics and psychology; however, markedness has been fruitfully adopted in narratology as well

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We see, then, on Wallace's scale a confirmation in cognitive based studies of markedness, where more determinate features are considered more marked. Wallace's less salient cognitive categories correspond closely to psychological prototypes while more salient categories are marked and nonprototypical.

<sup>15</sup> Lyons, *Semantics*, 306; Andrews, *Markedness Theory*, 37.

<sup>16</sup> Distributional breadth is often given significant weight, especially in recent application of markedness theory to Hellenistic and biblical Greek discourse. Battistella lists three ways in which distributional phenomena may be understood: (1) text frequency, (2) type frequency, and (3) occurrence in positions of neutralisation. Text frequency refers to simple repetition of the form, predicating that the unmarked element will be more frequent than the marked element in a representative corpus of the language. This is the diagnostic that has typically taken prominence in the analysis of marked features in Hellenistic Greek and some linguists have insisted that text frequency may function as a sole indicator of markedness (cf. Greenberg, *Language*, 65). However, text frequency often results in factors unrelated to the asymmetry of semantic categories, leading many recent studies to reject it as a reliable diagnostic. As Andrews, *Markedness Theory*, 137, comments, in a section entitled "Myths about Markedness," "The purpose of markedness theory is to explain properties of meaning that are invariant, not to justify a system based upon statistical probability, which, by definition, is a context-specific phenomenon" (cf. Battistella, *Markedness*, 38). A tighter distributional connection with asymmetrical semantic choices seems to be more plausible with respect to type frequency which refers to syntactic or grammatical distribution. The lack of specificity of the unmarked term will allow it to be used in more diverse, less restricted syntactic contexts. Neutralisation relates to the possible cancellation of a marked element within a particular syntagmatic context. The notion has its roots in markedness theory at the phonological level, however, and offers little help in semantic and morphological descriptions (cf. Andrews, *Markedness Theory*, 139). Simplicity is characteristic of formal markedness and occurs at the phonological and (more significantly) morphological levels of language. Terms that are unmarked are formally reduced due to frequent use while marked terms exhibit morphological bulk and / or irregularity—augmentation, complexity, compounding, and so on.

through a notion referred to by Matthew Ritchie as *narrative markedness*.<sup>17</sup> As Battistella acknowledges: “It is possible to examine narrative and poetic techniques and the conventions that underlie metaphor and other figures in terms of marked and unmarked techniques and the patterning of such stylistic oppositions.”<sup>18</sup> Linhares-Dias understands markedness as contributing to what he refers to as “narrative pace.”<sup>19</sup> His methodology configures narrative components like Summary and Scene to model narratologically marked categories, where Scene is marked over against the unmarked Summary.<sup>20</sup> Fleischman illustrates the narratological function of marked tense-aspect categories to encode “*mode of representation*, with a particular *activity* carried out by the narrator,” and what she refers to as “*narrating persona*.”<sup>21</sup> Marked modes of narrative portrayal within the narrating persona function (e.g. Historian, Painter) based on tense-aspect categories allow the narrator to create narrative prominence (see below), drawing attention to or framing emphatic information. Couper-Kuhlen highlights the marked narrative function of what she calls “narrative temporal clauses” based on ordering relations.<sup>22</sup> Wilt discovers the usefulness of markedness for understanding narrative characterization in biblical Hebrew narrative.<sup>23</sup>

One of the most thorough and helpful applications of markedness to narratology comes from Pomorska. She begins with Jakobson’s basic notion of markedness drawn

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<sup>17</sup> Ritchie, *Functional Context*, 54. Powery, *Jesus*, 183, uses this term as well to refer to the function of explicit Scripture citation in narrative discourse—an idea not dissimilar to what I am proposing in this chapter.

<sup>18</sup> Battistella, *Markedness*, 186.

<sup>19</sup> Linhares-Dias, *How to Show Things*, 19. He contends that within narrative, markedness is characterized by “(i) the existence of alternative marked and unmarked constructions; (ii) the presence vs. the non-persistence of some feature *x*, which is just the mark of opposition; (iii) the inverse proportion relation between the marked form and the frequency of its occurrence; (iv) the expressive communicative value intended with the marked construction type, that is, the effects or implicatures of markedness.”

<sup>20</sup> Linhares-Dias, *How to Show Things*, 20.

<sup>21</sup> Fleischman, *Tense*, 56–63.

<sup>22</sup> Couper-Kuhlen, “Markedness of ‘narrative temporal clauses,’” 359–72.

<sup>23</sup> Wilt, “Markedness,” 89–102.

from phonology and creates a narrative typology. Her main concern is to understand marked and unmarked Events within Episodes—the basic narrative unit—according to the narrative feature  $\pm$ distinctive: unmarked Events = -distinctive / marked Events = +distinctive.<sup>24</sup> The nondistinctive Events allow for the creation of the narrative background: “A series of events that has no resultative effect...and consequently also fails to produce a change in setting, becomes the *unchanging background*, which is in turn an important factor for the unmarkedness of events.”<sup>25</sup> Authors mark various *narrative persona* as well, again drawing attention to key narrative figures.<sup>26</sup> Markedness can thus be used as a heuristic for better understanding narrative as well as linguistic categories.

### 1.2. *Mimesis and Citation: Narrative Markedness in Greek Historiography*

For narrative purposes, it is important to note the varying levels of specificity that source integration can take on. Mimesis uses no citation formula and so is less direct, specific, and determinate. It is, therefore, unmarked in opposition to authoritative citation, which is more direct, specific, and determinate, using a citation formula of some sort to mark the intrusion of source material into the narrative. We cannot identify all instances of mimesis in Greek history due to the fact that the authors have in many cases woven their source material seamlessly and undetectably into their narrative. We do know, however, that mimesis was the most frequent method of source integration that was used by historians, with citation being reserved for more significant narrative events, reflected not least in the low citation densities exhibited by ancient histories (see chapters 3, 5-6).

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<sup>24</sup> Pomorska, “Segmentation,” 14.

<sup>25</sup> Pomorska, “Segmentation,” 16.

<sup>26</sup> Pomorska, “Segmentation,” 16–26.

Thus, at the level of frequency, mimesis is far more frequently used than authoritative citation, a distributional phenomenon emerging from its semantic indeterminateness. This results in a narrative for which the body of materials drawn for mimesis enter the narrative semantically and distributionally unmarked.

Source citation is marked in relation to mimesis but we discover a graduating scale of specificity (and therefore markedness) within formulas introducing source citations as well. A source may be cited in an anonymous fashion (λέγεται: “it is said”) or the exact author of the source might be named (ὡς Ὅμηρος τοῦτο δεδήλωκεν: “as Homer declares,” Thucydides 1.9.4) or something in between, such as “the Egyptians say” (ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, Herodotus 1.182.1). These formulas then function in the narrative source framework to highlight marked source material.<sup>27</sup>

## 2. *Mimesis (Unmarked)*

Since a detailed treatment of Luke’s mimesis techniques is outside the scope of this dissertation, I will provide only a limited overview of the role of mimesis within the historian’s source framework, for the sake of comprehensiveness. I will then give considerable focus to the historian’s use of citation and the necessary methodology for assessing citation.

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<sup>27</sup> Biblical scholars seem, for the most part, unaware of this functionality for citation formulas. Powery, *Jesus*, 183, however, recognizes the possible use of citation formulas to indicate this kind of narrative markedness in Matthew’s Gospel. He says: “In a narrative-compositional analysis...what is significant in a Gospel is the narrative markedness of an explicit introductory formula...[that brings] into consideration [the cited passage’s] larger narrative emphasis.” Unfortunately, Powery’s analysis does not extend beyond this rather simplistic statement, but he does recognize the potential narratological use of citation formulas. Cf. also Cirafesi, *Verbal Aspect*, 93.

Mimesis or imitation played a significant role within the development and transmission of Greek historiographic tradition. At the most basic level, mimesis proceeds from the fact that the literary predecessors of a given historian would provide the major pool of background material that helped give shape to their own narrative. This pool of data would be drawn upon for informational purposes to provide actual content for the narrative account, for stylistic purposes to support the literary structure and development of a historical writing, and for authoritative purposes to give credence to the narrative or for the mere sake of artistic quality. Imitation ranged from the imitation of the character and emotions of the participants being described within the historical narrative to the imitation of the details of previous historical accounts. The types of sources imitated and the level of integration was in many ways dependent upon the time and location of the author. Herodotus obviously did not have the same rich historical tradition to draw upon as, say, Diodorus. This led him to draw more heavily from the lyrical poetic tradition whereas someone like Diodorus or Polybius would have a much richer historical tradition to draw from.

### 2.1. *Intertextuality or Mimesis?*

Although used by interpreters in various ways, many contemporary biblical scholars have grown accustomed to describing literary borrowing between the two Testaments in terms of “intertextuality.” Classicists have analyzed Greek historians along the same lines.<sup>28</sup> Although criticisms of this application of the term have been numerous and extensive, few scholars have attempted to generate a descriptive model for source-integration in its place. I argue that assessment of material commonly referred to as

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<sup>28</sup> E.g. Hornblower, *Commentary*, 37; Hornblower, “Introduction.”

allusions or echoes (material woven into the narrative without citation formulas) by way of mimesis,<sup>29</sup> an approach grounded in the sociolinguistic (treating citation as a historiographic and linguistic function) framework of the authors will provide a better description of the data than the often vague, misused, and generally unhelpful notion of intertextuality. We count material introduced by a formula as citation. All other material functions mimetically with varying levels of probability for intentional borrowing based on the amount of material adopted. It is outside of the scope of this dissertation to develop this feature thoroughly other than to tentatively state that it does seem to function more adequately than the notoriously vague categories of intertextuality and related literary terminology.

## 2.2. *Mimesis in Historical Theory*

Mimesis for the historical theorists represents the background pool of language which they draw from to re-create reality. It is unmarked and in its best expressions only draws attention to itself through nuance and subtlety. This body of material includes the historian's linguistic repertoire conditioned through education and enculturation to imitate the language of the classics as well as the sources of tradition from which historians draw (see Dionysius, *Thuc.* 1; *Pomp.* 3-5). At the most basic level, in the process of representing historical reality, a properly mimetic production will be constructed with language that fits the events and speeches of the historical characters it narrates (see Durius, *FGH* 2a 76 F1.2; Longinus, *Subl.* 13-14; 22; 44). When this process

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<sup>29</sup> Marincola, *Authority*, 16, refers to "echoes" and allusions as precisely what the ancients referred to as mimesis. Debate continues in NT studies over criteria for identifying such allusions and echoes. Since this dissertation focuses on authoritative citation marked by a formula, this debate is not relevant for its thesis. See Porter, "Use of the Old Testament," 79-96 and Porter, "Further Comments," 98-110, for discussion.



involves imitation of a prior model or tradition, the same constraints apply. Historians must resist the urge to use overly elevated language which yields the impression of embellishment (Lucian, *Hist.* 15-19, 34-35, esp. 38).<sup>30</sup>

### 2.3. *Mimesis, Speech Material, and Luke's Source Framework*

Historians included a great deal of speech material within their narrative, as did the Gospel writers. However, the sources of speeches were almost never explicitly stated in the *flow of the narrative*. For example, Thucydides, 1.21 mentions his sources for speeches in his preface but this is a feature of the preface form (mention of sources), not a citation formula. Speeches were thus brought into the narrative through mimesis since sources for the speeches are not cited using a formula in the flow of the narrative. Durius, Longinus, and Quintilian speak about the imitative conventions for the use of speech material in Greek historiography. They say that historians should record speeches in a way that reproduces the character of the individual giving the speech and fits the situation for the speech (Durius, *FGH* 2a 76 F1.2; Longinus, *Subl.* 13–14; 22; 44; Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.101). This seems to be the case for the Gospel writers as well. They never introduce a speech from Jesus or another narrative character with any indication of where they derived the material.

Often, historians will cite eyewitnesses to the events they record in connection with the happenings of these events within their narratives. Luke, however, prefers to maintain his eyewitness (oral) tradition within the mimetic framework of his history. In his preface, he mentions two kinds of sources, (1) διήγησιν (“narrative[s]”) and (2) αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου (“eyewitnesses and ministers of the word”)

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. also Muckelbauer, “Imitation,” 84, on this point.

(Luke 1:1–2). But within the narrative of the Gospel itself the only sources he cites with a formula are his scriptural sources. Perhaps these emerge from the ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου as the scriptural traditions that were embedded in the apostolic kerygma. In any case, we do find that several distinctly Lukan passages are constructed around scriptural citation (see chapter 9). But regardless of their origin, this dissertation focuses only upon those sources that Luke identifies with a citation formula which limits the analysis to Luke’s use of the Old Testament rather than Luke’s sources for the Jesus tradition more broadly (e.g. speeches, activities, etc.).

This raises a final issue related to Luke’s source framework. Most still working within the historical-critical paradigm adopt the four source hypothesis pioneered by Streeter, in which Luke is believed to have used a version of Mark very similar to the canonical version as well as Q along with his own special material (L), likely derived from interviews and other unknown sources—possibly oral and written.<sup>31</sup> The view of **Farrer** and **Goulder**, which dispenses with Q and insists that Luke used Mark and Matthew, has been developed and defended recently by Mark Goodacre,<sup>32</sup> who has convinced an increasing number of scholars.<sup>33</sup> Goodacre insists that only a Marcan priority view without Q can give the recognition needed to Luke’s literary abilities. The Goulder-Goodacre thesis is in fact a bit of a spin off—at least in the sense of getting rid of Q—of the older Griesbach or two-Gospel hypothesis that asserted Matthean priority, with Luke writing second, and Mark writing last as an epitomizing Gospel, mainly of

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<sup>31</sup> Streeter, *Four Gospels*. For this view in recent Lukan scholarship, see, Fitzmyer, *Gospel According to Luke I–IX*, 63–109; Tuckett, *Revival*; Bock, *Luke Volume 1: 1:1–9:50*, 7–12; Nolland, *Luke 1:1–9:20*, xxviii–xxxi; Bovon, *Luke 1*, 6–8.

<sup>32</sup> **Farrer**, “**Dispensing**,” 55–88; Goulder, *Luke*; Goodacre, *Goulder*; Goodacre, *Case*.

<sup>33</sup> See the collected essays in Goodacre and Perrin, eds., *Questioning Q*.

Matthew.<sup>34</sup> These variations are vintage historical criticism of the Third Gospel. Some more recent renditions of Luke's source framework emphasize an oral reception and narrative integration of the evangelist's Jesus tradition.<sup>35</sup> These theories all relate to Luke's mimetic source framework since they attempt to locate the origins of Luke's source material not introduced by a citation formula. This dissertation will, however, remain neutral on the question of the nature of these unmarked mimetic sources. Nevertheless, in chapters 7-8, I will seek to deal with issues related to Synoptic comparison where relevant and will use the designation L to refer generically to tradition unique to Luke without implying a particular theory of Synoptic relations.

### 3. *Authoritative Citation (Marked)*

Authoritative citation, the second major form of source integration in Greek historiography, functions as a more direct, more immediate, more intentional historical-narrative technique.<sup>36</sup> Direct citation of sources is far less common than mimesis in general, although there does seem to be a distributional distinction between biography and history in terms of what is acceptable regarding direct citation of sources (see chapter 3). In history, in any case, semantic determinateness and distributional frequency both indicate citation as marked in opposition to mimesis.

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<sup>34</sup> See Tuckett, *Revival*, for a review of the research and the impact of the Griesbach hypothesis in recent scholarship.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. Byrskog, *History*, 228–34; Dunn, *Jesus, passim*; Bauckham, *Jesus*, 114–54.

<sup>36</sup> See Hornblower, "Introduction," 54–72; MacDonald, "Introduction," 1–9. No one up to this point has conducted a comprehensive analysis of the constraints of genre on citation strategy—much less, from a linguistic vantage point. The treatment of Stanley, *Paul*, 267–91, is one of the few to even consider Greco-Roman literature, but he does so independently of a specific methodology designed to interpret the data.

The historians had access to and cited directly a wide variety of source material. These included written and oral sources, although oral sources seem to be most readily available. Among written records, historians refer to the work of other literary texts, especially other historians. They also cite documentary evidence, including inscriptions and various types of records—both official and unofficial. Citations of religious authorities and the invocation of muses are also common and may originate in oral or written traditions. National and anonymous citations, some of the most frequently referenced sources, are primarily oral but may on occasion be located within a literary tradition.

### 3.1. *Citation Formulas and the Greek Referential System*

As a linguistic phenomenon, authoritative citation of a source is encoded formally as a type of reference. In Hellenistic Greek, authors encode reference to sources in three ways: *explicit reference* (the use of a full noun phrase), *generic reference* (through substitution, often through the pronominal system or reference to groups for a singular tradition or source), and *anonymous reference* (zero anaphora: reference through the use of finite verb forms).<sup>37</sup> *Explicit citations* occur when a specific source is named through a full noun phrase. This is the most specific, most marked usage. *Generic citation* refers to the tendency to reduce specific sources to collectives through substitution with a broader category (e.g. the law says), taking the focus off of an individual. *Anonymous citation* acknowledges a source behind the information but the source itself remains unknown, encoding the source reference within the person system of the finite verb. These citation formulas are mapped on a scale of determinateness and specificity. The more

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<sup>37</sup> Cf. O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 157–58.

semantically determined and specific the formula gets, the more rarely it (typically) occurs<sup>38</sup> and its usage is, therefore, more marked. The historians cite several types of sources, often indicated by the form of the citation formula they use: (a) literary works, (b) documentary sources, (c) religious authorities, (d) muses, (e) nations, and (f) anonymous sources, as shown in the examples below. Citations have both an *exophoric* and an *endophoric* function.<sup>39</sup> They are exophoric in the sense that they are situational, referring to something identified within the context of situation (an authority of some sort). But they also constitute an instance of endophoric or textual reference, referring to something within the text (the cited material itself). Endophoric reference, furthermore, can be *anaphoric* or *cataphoric*. Sometimes authors use a citation formula as forward pointing (cataphoric) or back pointing (anaphoric) within the discourse. And we see both types of usages in the historians and in Luke, with cataphoric citation tending to occupy the less frequent, more marked form of citation.<sup>40</sup>

### 3.1.1. *Anonymous Citation*

Anonymous citation indicates that a source was involved but does not specify the source. In this sense, they are anonymous citations. Anonymous citations are the most frequent citation formulas employed by the historians. The forms of these formulas usually tend to indicate access to and use of some form of oral tradition, though a literary source may be in mind from time to time. These citations are introduced with various

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<sup>38</sup> Note comments above on markedness and frequency. Frequency is a derivative markedness criterion and may vary, depending on a number of other factors.

<sup>39</sup> On exophoric and endophoric reference, see Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion*, 31–37.

<sup>40</sup> Within these categories, authors may also bring further layers of markedness to a formula at more local levels of the discourse through the use of tense forms for the saying verb involved. Aorist verbs (perfective aspect) are least marked background forms, present / imperfect (imperfective aspect) are more marked foreground forms, and perfect / pluperfect (stative aspect) are most marked foreground forms (on grounding, see below). See Porter, *Idioms*, 20–44.

forms of “it is said” or “they say” or “it is reported,” employing verbs such as λέγειν (which can be used to refer to written sources as well), λέγουσιν, λέγεται, ἔφασαν, φάναι, and ἀκούειν. Examples are numerous. This formula is extremely prevalent. Xenophon, for example, notes that “it was said” that Mnasippus was not willing instead of unable to pay his soldiers since most allies had already sent money (*Hell.* 6.2.16). In many of these instances, the source is known, but for various reasons, it is left unnamed. Xenophon, in the passage cited above, probably knows his source(s), but chooses not to call direct attention to it by using an anonymous citation formula. Chapters 5-6 engage with several further examples. On the scale of markedness, this formula is least specific and semantically determinate of the citation formulas, also usually being distributionally most frequent. We might also talk about formal markedness at this level. Anonymous source citation is unmarked formally. These formulas usually only contain one word (e.g. λέγεται) whereas generic and explicit citations will include a noun phrase in their syntax not just implied monolectic reference based in the verbal form. So anonymous source citation is marked in opposition to mimesis but unmarked in opposition to generic and explicit source citation.

### 3.1.2. *Generic Citation*

Generic citations are reduced through substitution of some sort, from naming a specific individual to citing a broader category or use of pronominal reference. This may be the result of having interviewed more than one person with similar stories but nevertheless tends to yield a less marked result within the narrative since generic citations lack semantic specification when set in opposition to explicit source citation. Reduction

in this way can function as a type of referential substitution, thus reducing the reference level. For example, Luke often cites Moses with the generic terminology, “the Law of the Lord” (e.g. καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου, Luke 2:24), where the collective reduces the specificity of the reference (likely due to the fact that explicit reference was already used in 2:22, thus the more generic formula, which does not name the author of the source, “the Law of the Lord” reduces “the Law of Moses” from 2:22). National citations, the most common form of generic citation, involve various references to national sources. For example, Herodotus says that “The Persian learned men say that the Phoenicians were the cause of the feud” (1.1). Similarly, Lucian (*Icar.* 19) mentions a number of national sources, including what the Cretans, Thessalians, and Athenians “say” about various things, especially different myths. As the typical citation forms associated with national citations seem to indicate, these sources originate primarily in oral tradition.

### 3.1.3. *Explicit Citation*

At times, the historian will deem it necessary to mention a specific person or literary composition by name. These are explicit citations since they explicitly refer to an individual source. These references function as most marked on the scale of narrative markedness for source citation since they are most defined, contoured, and specific in meaning. Historians, especially later ones who have a greater abundance of tradition to draw upon, often make reference to literary texts, especially other historians.<sup>41</sup> For example, Arrian cites the marginal historian Aristos: Ἄριστος δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀναγραφάντων (*Anab.* 7.15.5). Thucydides cites Hellanicus at 1.97. Sometimes historians are cited and criticized as we find, for example, in Polybius’s

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<sup>41</sup> On the use of literary texts among the historians, see Potter, *Literary Texts*.

criticisms of Callisthenes' account of the battle of Issus (12.19) or his corrections of Timaeus (a regular sparring partner for the ancient historians) (12.4). Thucydides often cites Homer (1.3.2–3; 1.9.4; 1.10.3–4; cf. also 2.41.4; 3.104.4 for references to Homer).

Although not as frequent as some types of citation, written official and unofficial documents were employed as sources from time to time.<sup>42</sup> Herodotus cites several inscriptions—for example, a Delphic inscription at 8.82.1.<sup>43</sup> Thucydides also refers to various inscriptions,<sup>44</sup> as well as to official documents, such as an alliance treaty between Athens and Argos (8.4.117–5.81). Religious authorities are important sources for the historians to cite. Fehling recognizes this for Herodotus but assumes the fictive nature of all such authorities, such as the law of Moses and the *Book of Ahiqar*.<sup>45</sup> However, these sources were clearly not always perceived as fictive by the historian and their implied readers. Sterling notes a number of examples in Jewish Historiography (Josephus, 1 Esdras, Pseudo-Philo) where the Scriptures of Israel are treated as a reliable and trustworthy source.<sup>46</sup> In Greek Sacred History, a branch of local history according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Thuc.* 5.1), records from temple archives were commonly employed as accepted legitimate authorities (e.g. the second-century C.E. historian Leon of Samos, *FGH* 540). Dionysius claims further that Herodotus employed sacred local tradition in his historical accounts (*Thuc.* 5.1).<sup>47</sup> A written or oral source could be employed in these citations.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> See Finely, *Ancient History*, 27–46; Rhodes, “Documents,” 56–66.

<sup>43</sup> On the citation of inscriptions in Herodotus, see Stephanie West, “Herodotus’ Epigraphical Interests,” 305; Osborne, “Archaic Greek History,” 497–520.

<sup>44</sup> For further references, see Smarczyk, “Thucydides,” 495–522.

<sup>45</sup> Fehling, *Herodotus*, 161.

<sup>46</sup> Sterling, “Jewish Appropriation,” 238–39.

<sup>47</sup> For further references, see Dillery, “Greek Sacred History,” 505–26.

<sup>48</sup> We might distinguish the invocation of a muse as a category of citation differing from reference to a religious authority in that it is a more general divine reference, such as, “according to the gods,” and the



### 3.2. *Levels of Citation: Form, Projection / Expansion, and Narrative Function*

Another methodological consideration should answer an important question (also allowing us to plot out a method of citation analysis) to which scholars have often assumed the answer: what does it mean for citations—specifically scriptural citations—to have a “function” or “role” in the narrative? What does it mean, for example, to talk about the “use” of Scripture in a Gospel?<sup>49</sup> Answers to this question suffer from methodological imprecision in current Lukan scholarship. In the proof-from-prophecy idea we find interpreters arguing that Scripture’s “function” is toward prophecy-fulfillment, a strong consensus in how Luke employed biblical texts (see chapter 1). But what does it mean for Scripture to function or have a use in a discourse, like Luke’s Gospel? It seems that these questions can be answered most efficiently by positing several “levels” of usage. This can be contrasted with most proof from prophecy accounts which either treat fairly local instances of citation<sup>50</sup> or only posit a single level of usage.

The Greek language out of which authors generate narratives is structured according to a scale. As authors make paradigmatic (vertical lexicogrammatical) and syntagmatic (linear organizational) linguistic choices, language groups into what the linguist M.A.K. Halliday refers to as *ranks* (or linguistic levels), creating a *rank scale*. A

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like. Historiography developed out of the epic tradition, where reference to muses and other divine sources functioned as an important authority and this technique is carried over in the historiographic tradition to some degree as well. Numerous examples could be cited from Herodotus along these lines, although not all with equal authority. For example, in his *Histories* (6.105.1–2), Herodotus informs us of the god Pan’s appearance to Philipides while he was running over the mountains to Sparta—or at least, Philipides says that Pan appeared to him. Later he states that the killing of two Spartan heralds by the hero Agamemnon “was obviously the action of divinity” (7.137.2). Again, written or oral sources could be employed here.

<sup>49</sup> E.g. Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 76; Litwak, *Echoes*, 65; Atkinson, “Use of Scripture,” 106–123.

<sup>50</sup> Some scholars like Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 76 and Litwak, *Echoes*, 65, creatively seek to locate global citation strategies in the programmatic portions of the narrative (esp. the birth narratives) and infer from there a broader narrative level functionality. But these frameworks tend to discount other (seemingly equally) programmatic material. And they often cannot take into consideration each explicit citation in Luke’s Gospel (see analysis throughout chapters 7–9).

typical systemic functional rank scale posits individual linguistic components, beginning with the smallest meaningful unit, graduating up to larger meaningful units of text.<sup>51</sup> Grammarians typically acknowledge the morpheme as the first rank followed by the word, phrase / group, clause, and the sentence/clause complex (an independent clause with the hypotactically related elements that depend upon it) ranks.<sup>52</sup> Each rank is made up of elements from lower ranks (the *principle of hierarchy*).<sup>53</sup> Words are comprised of morphemes, word groups of words, clauses of word groups, and so on. This represents the situation at least up through the clause level, the level that has become the major emphasis of Halliday's analysis of rank scale. Halliday also insists that "Units of every rank may form complexes: not only clause complexes but also phrase complexes, group complexes, word complexes and even morpheme complexes may be generated by the same grammatical resources."<sup>54</sup> But we may also posit higher levels of grouping: clause complexes group to form paragraphs; paragraphs group to form episodes; and episodes group to form discourses. I argue in this section that the function of citation in the historians (and Luke) relates to higher level concerns (esp. episode and discourse level) while issues of interpretation and theology tend to emerge in connection with more local level phenomena (esp. in the paragraph and below). Additionally, biblical scholars also tend to analyze the *Vorlage* and citation formulas used for Scripture citations. Analysis of these features weigh in at a still more local level (the clause / clause complex). This wider interaction of the varied levels of Luke's use of scriptural source material has not yet been explored. Assessing larger narrative purposes for source integration must begin by

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<sup>51</sup> Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, 5.

<sup>52</sup> On this precise taxonomy, see for example, Morley, *Explorations*, 154–55.

<sup>53</sup> Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, 60.

<sup>54</sup> Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, 9.

distinguishing differing types of Scripture function in Luke's Gospel. Descriptively, then, we may analyze how Luke uses Scripture, or more broadly, how historians use their sources in terms of "levels" of usage: (1) *form*, (2) *projection / expansion*, and (3) *narrative function*.

### 3.2.1. *Form*

I use *form* to describe the formal realizations of the semantic features of the source integration system (anonymous, generic, explicit)—thus functioning at the clause level of the discourse—and the formal shape of the adapted tradition (i.e. the degree to which the *Vorlage* has been reworked).<sup>55</sup> At this level, we are concerned with both the citation formulas used and an author's *Vorlage*. Applied to the authoritative citation in Luke, for example, a consideration of the form of the source involves the question: Do the differences (differences in the language) between a source text and receptor text result from the author's reworking the source text or from the use of an alternative tradition to the (often nebulously defined) 'LXX'?<sup>56</sup> Is it reworking of a source or repetition of a different textual tradition for the source? So assessment of the form level differences between text A and text B (i.e. identifying the textual tradition of the source used by the author) determines whether reworking has occurred at the level of form.

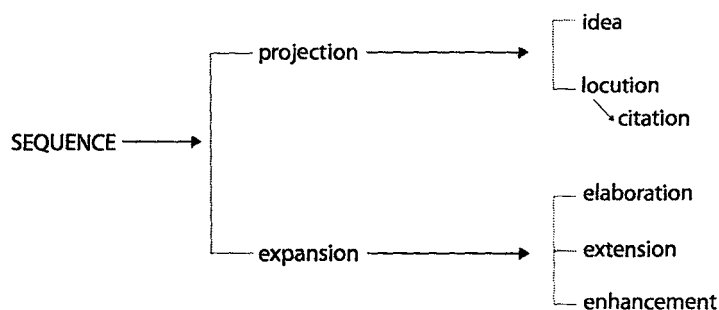
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<sup>55</sup> Although an author may cite a text and the size of the text may elevate the level of usage (e.g. the author cites an entire paragraph), *Vorlage* form is conveniently treated here due to its interpersonal function, a feature also relevant for citation types (see §5.2 below in this chapter).

<sup>56</sup> As McLay, *Use of the Septuagint*, 5, observes, "Sometimes 'LXX' refers to the reading in the Greek Jewish Scriptures that has been judged by the editor of a critical text to be most likely the original reading, that is, what is believed to be the closest approximation that we can make to what was probably written originally by the translator. In other cases 'LXX' may refer to any reading that is found in any Greek manuscript of the Jewish Scriptures, which is not necessarily the original or even a very early reading. It could be any reading or word that appears in any Greek manuscript of a book in the LXX. In the same way, it is often stated that the NT writer quotes the 'LXX' version of a biblical text, as opposed to the Hebrew version or the MT, without any qualification." See also Greenspoon, "Use," 21–29; Stanley, "Pearls," 126–128.

### 3.2.2. *Projection / Expansion*

According to Halliday, quoted discourse functions as a component of the logico-semantic system *projection / expansion*, part of a broader system of parataxis / hypotaxis. Syntactic relations organize *sequences* either through parataxis (primary or independent clause relations) or hypotaxis (secondary or dependent clause relations).<sup>57</sup> Sequences in a discourse involve various configurations of processes / participants and circumstances, which the projection / expansion system then provides further organization to. When an author cites a source, the source text is *projected* through the primary clause that introduces it in the receptor text, making it a function of the hypotaxis system.<sup>58</sup> It is not a representation of reality but a representation of a representation of reality. This can occur through a thought (e.g. Bill thought he had a dog [an idea]) or a locution (e.g. Bill said ‘he had a dog’ [a locution]). So projection through locution remains the concern when dealing with cited material.



**Fig. 6:** *The Projection / Expansion Systems with Citation Realization*

<sup>57</sup> Halliday and Matthiessen, *Construing Experience*, 222–26; cf. Halliday, *Introduction*, 250; Ventola, *Perspectives*, 44–46.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Eggins, *Introduction*, 336–40.

And we can see how ‘he had a dog’ is projected through or embedded in ‘Bill said.’

*Expansion* occurs when an author expands upon another clause—and we will, for our purposes, want to focus on expansion upon quoted clauses. They may do so through *elaboration* (restating), *extension* (qualifying), or *enhancement* (adding):<sup>59</sup>

1. *Elaboration* is a relationship of restatement or clarification, by which one sentence is presented as a re-telling or representation of another. In Hellenistic Greek, this may occur through appositional or exegetical relations of various sorts.
2. *Extension* is a relationship of either addition (one sentence adds to meanings made in another) or variation (one sentence changes the meaning of another by contrast, qualification or omission). In Hellenistic Greek, this can be realized, for example, through the conjunction or negation system.
3. *Enhancement* refers to ways by which one sentence can develop on meanings of another in terms of dimensions such as time, comparison, cause, condition or concession. In Hellenistic Greek, this will be created by various narrative relations, such as paragraph or discourse level conjunctions, narrative reframing, temporal deixis, spatial deixis, and adverbial participles.

In reference to authoritative citation, this often occurs as authors interpret the material they cite, either through reworking the source text or through an interpretive comment following the citation. Authors may expand upon a text after the citation or within it. In biblical texts, they often do so through elaboration or enhancement by expanding upon or imputing new / fulfilled meanings to older prophetic texts. Through analysis of authorial expansion or comment on a projection (citation), then, we examine how the author strategically reworks and / or interprets their sources. We also look at how interpretation

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<sup>59</sup> The following summary is based on Eggins, *Introduction*, 47–48.

functions in light of the context in which the citation occurs.<sup>60</sup> Since the projection / expansion system by definition involves a complex(es) of clauses, it functions at the clause complex and paragraph levels of narrative history.

### 3.2.3. *Narrative Function*

*Narrative Function* assesses the role of the citation beyond the clause complex level to weigh its position within the broader narrative. This relates to issues of narrative strategy and describes the use of citation at higher ranks of discourse, usually the episode and discourse ranks. At this level, historians seem to use citations for the specific purpose of strengthening the narrative development at key places where additional validation is needed. Authoritative citations were thus used selectively and purposefully by the ancient historians (as shown in chapters 2-3) so that the impact was not lessened in cases where authoritative validation was required or a significant turning point in the narrative needed to be established.

## 4. *Narrative Markedness and Source Integration*

Linguistics can also inform how we understand choices by the author that contribute to narrative development through source integration or, in other words, how sources were processed in narrative composition. I am using the term *source integration* here to describe the process whereby an author accesses and consciously integrates source material into the narrative. And this refers to all sources—applied to Luke’s

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<sup>60</sup> Meek, *Gentile Mission*, 17, comes close to a similar idea when he remarks that “While the summaries [of the OT] indicate generally *what* Luke believes the OT says about these things, the explicit citations indicate *how* it does so, i.e. his hermeneutic.”

Gospel—both the available Jesus tradition and written sources like the LXX. What we are asking then is: how citation or lack thereof (mimesis) impacts narrative composition and gives insight into the motivations for the authors' choices for source integration.

#### 4.1. *Systemic Linguistics and Source Processing*

As a significant part of their linguistic resources, biblical authors possessed source material. *Source*, then, in this dissertation refers generically to any text or tradition an author used in composing their narrative. This material was processed as they integrated it into the narrative. Some material would provide the unnoticed background for the narrative while authors would draw attention to other more important sources through the use of citation formulas. This seems to indicate that as authors reflected on the location, distribution, and formal marking of their source materials, they were confronted with a series of narrative-linguistic choices (systems) not only regarding the compositional placement of their source material but also the highlighting or backgrounding strategies they would use when weaving their sources into their literary production.

Systemic linguistics provides a suitable framework for these kinds of questions since it explores “the relation between levels of FORM and SEMANTICS.”<sup>61</sup> As Lyons notes, “Having ‘meaning’ implies choice.”<sup>62</sup> And I agree with Fawcett that, “System networks (and their derived equivalent in stratificational theory) offer the most comprehensive notation so far developed for modeling paradigmatic relationships.”<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Fawcett, “English Personal Pronouns,” 185. Among many other works on systemic linguistics, see Barry, *Introduction*; Halliday and Martin, *Readings*; Butler, *Systemic Linguistics*; Ventola, ed., *Functional and Systemic Linguistics*; Eggins, *Introduction*; Morley, *Syntax*; Halliday, *Continuum Companion to Systemic Functional Linguistics*.

<sup>62</sup> Lyons, *Introduction*, 413.

<sup>63</sup> Fawcett, “English Personal Pronouns,” 185.

Systemic linguistics can then offer descriptive categories helpful for understanding *source processing* in relation to historical narrative production while also fitting nicely within a descriptive social framework, such as ancient history. As Margret Berry emphasizes, system “is directly relatable to the systemic interest in the sociological aspects of language.”<sup>64</sup> Ancient historiographic culture provides a sociological “register” (see below) which constrains the available language choices that can thus be described systemically.

Halliday, the major theoretician of what has come to be known as systemic-functional linguistics (SFL), built in many ways upon the insights of J.R. Firth (the founding father of the London-school of linguistics)<sup>65</sup> in his analysis of language in terms of system and function. The idea of systemic, Halliday emphasizes, should not be confused with *systematic*. Systemic linguists use the term to signify that the “fundamental concept in grammar is that of ‘system.’ A system is a set of options with an entry condition: that is to say, a set of things of which one must be chosen, together with a statement of the conditions under which the choice is available.”<sup>66</sup> Oppositions can be *privative* in the form of *x* or non-*x* or *equipollent* in the form of *x* versus *y*.<sup>67</sup>

As we move forward in this brief section, we must remember this crucial clarification: system networks do not *prescribe* how linguistic processes must work. Based on the linguistic data, they attempt to *describe* how the processes do work. They are descriptive, not prescriptive. They are also intuitive. System networks describe a set of linguistic choices language users seem to intuitively make as they generate their

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<sup>64</sup> Berry, *Introduction*, 32.

<sup>65</sup> Butler, *Systemic Linguistics*, 1.

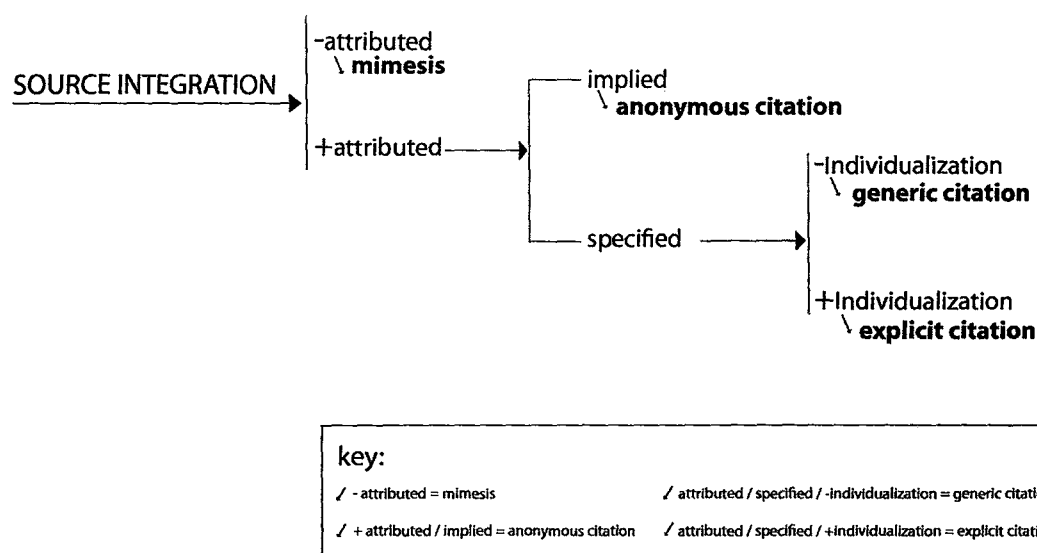
<sup>66</sup> Halliday, *System*, 4.

<sup>67</sup> E.g. Halliday, *Explorations*, 39; Butler, *Systemic Linguistics*, 41–44.



narratives. System networks, therefore, move from data to system, not vice versa. They help us in turn understand how the data is processed and brought into narrative form. They also provide theoretical structures that help illuminate textual phenomena such as narrative prominence and grounding (see below).

The unmarked narrative choices within the system then do not stand out and are chosen as a default. In the case of source integration in ancient history, mimesis forms this pool of unmarked source material within the narrative. When the narrator wants to bring special emphasis to a particular source, character, or event they draw upon more marked narrative devices—again, in the case of source integration, authoritative citation. These choices can be illustrated in the following equipollent set of oppositions on a markedness scale for narrative source integration with the oblique arrows indicating the formal realizations for each subsystem (a network within a broader system network)



**Fig. 7:** *Source Integration and Citation Realizations in Greek Historiography*

As can be seen in this figure, source integration in narrative historiography works

on a scale of markedness toward citation, specification, and individualization. *Source Integration* functions as what linguists refer to as the entry condition for the system.

Source integration is the language user's subjective portrayal of their relationship to source material. This term covers any type of intentional literary dependence.

Intentionality distinguishes source integration from an author's use of their natural language, which may be shaped by prior exposure to source material now united with their linguistic reservoir, but which emerges within the text unintentionally. So we have two basic language systems: (1) non-integration (the author's own language), by which language users construct the original portions of their narrative and (2) source integration, in which they borrow from literary or oral predecessors.

The first opposition is  $\pm$ attributed. When dealing with source citation specifically attribution functions as the primary feature since it is the semantic feature that sets the author in most direct relation to the cited source. The semantic feature of attribution reveals the author's portrayal of his or her relationship to cited source. +Attributed allows the author three possible types of citations. *Citation* functions in this dissertation as a technical term for linguistic realization of source integration that involves explicit formal marking of some type. So in this more technical sense, uncited or -attributed material is mimesis—the use of source material without a citation formula. Mimesis then acts as unmarked background material, chosen by the narrator as the default mode of source integration. (For material not borrowed from a source, the author's non-integrated language system services this purpose—i.e. it is language not integrated with source material.) If the author desires to employ more marked text strategies at the level of their source framework then they will use +attribution over against -attribution as the

linguistic realization for source integration. Once the narrator chooses +attribution they face the choice of +implied or +specified source integration. Implied citations are not specified since the formula does not specify a source, leaving the witness behind the source anonymous—thus its formal realization is an anonymous citation (e.g. “it is said”). While implied source citation is marked against the choice for -attributed source integration (mimesis), it is unmarked in relation to the two remaining options for source integration. There are two ways an author can specify sources—with or without individualization. So this represents the last choice:  $\pm$ individualization. If the author uses a generic citation (e.g. “the Egyptians say”) this is -individualized because it does not specify an individual. The most marked text citation strategy thus is +specification/+individualization, naming the specific individual whom the information goes back to, i.e. explicit citation.

#### 4.2. *Narrative Prominence: Planes of Discourse*

In cognitive, psychological, and now more recently within linguistic and narratological studies, discourse is often understood in terms of distinct planes of communication. Linguists and literary critics typically explain these as the contrast between a “figure” and a “ground” within the discourse. Dressler explains his two planes of discourse as:

[The] parameter of contrasting a more important, more precise, more dynamic figure (or foreground) with a less important, more pallid, more static ground (background)....This parameter seems adequate for capturing hierarchies within the rhythmic structuring of sequential linearization of text—and all texts must have hierarchical structuring. This rhythmic structuring follows—again iconically—from underlying cognitive, pragmatic,

and semantic hierarchies. The stronger the contrast between figure and ground, the better the figure is perceived....<sup>68</sup>

Building upon this framework, Porter, writing in the context of Greek linguistics, has suggested a third plane of discourse, which he identifies as the foreground.<sup>69</sup> So in addition to background elements, which usually provide the backbone material in narrative, and foreground elements, which generally serve to highlight the mainline or thematic material, Porter suggests that the user of Hellenistic Greek also incorporates foreground material, which serves to establish those themes that are most prominent, contoured, and well-defined in the author's mind. These planes are related to narrative markedness. Less marked narrative forms will be cast on the background of the narrative whereas more marked narrative forms will be projected onto the foreground or foreground of the narrative.<sup>70</sup> Thus citation functions on distinct planes of the discourse in the following way:

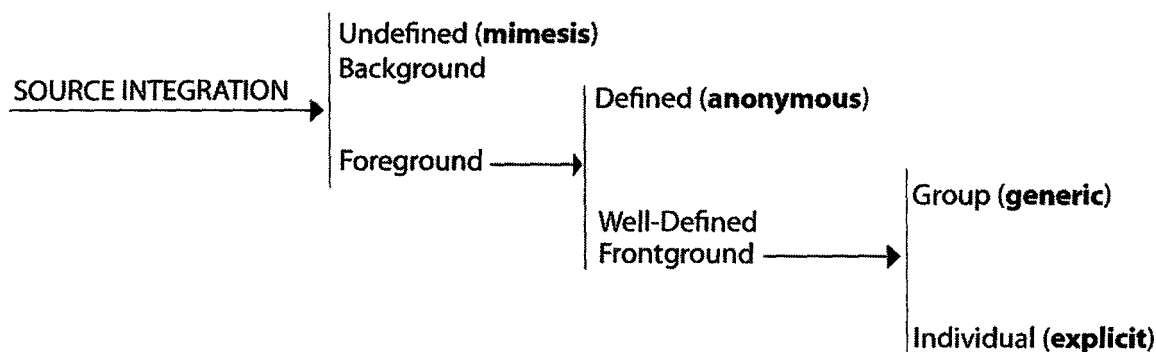


Fig. 8: *Source Integration and Narrative Planes in Greek Historiography*

<sup>68</sup> Dressler, "Marked and Unmarked Text Strategies," 14–15; but cf. Dry, "Foregrounding," 42, who suggests that foregrounding is in need of redefinition in accordance with the discipline that is using the term.

<sup>69</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 23.

<sup>70</sup> On foregrounding in narrative criticism, see Fleischman, *Tense*, 168–98; Peer, *Stylistics*; Dry, "Foregrounding," 435–50; Fludernik, *Towards a 'natural' Narratology*, 204; Prince, *Dictionary*, 31; Sinding, "Foregrounding," 180; Schmid, *Narratology*, 5; Patron, "Enunciative Narratology," 321–23. Within narratological studies, foregrounding is closely connected to point of view or focalization. See Bal, *Narratology*, 145–61; Rabatel, "Brief Introduction," 78–98.

Bohuslav Haveránek differentiates how foregrounded elements will vary between literary types depending on the way “automation” functions in that environment. Thus, he defines foregrounding as “the use of the devices of the language in such a way that this use itself attracts attention and is perceived as uncommon, as deprived of automation, as deautomatized.”<sup>71</sup> So automation describes the usual background form of language in contrast to the uncommon, foregrounded form. But, Haveránek emphasizes, automation will occur with differing linguistic forms in essays on linguistics than in poetic literature or scientific reports. Grounding may then in certain instances be genre dependent. Source integration may have a different grounding function in Greco-Roman biographical literature than it does in Greco-Roman history, for example.<sup>72</sup>

Terms that get projected onto the fore- or frontgrounds exhibit *narrative prominence*.<sup>73</sup> According to Dry’s analysis, narrative prominence breaks down into two further categories, each with subcategories: (1) *narrative importance* (thematic, human, causal, and eventline) and (2) *narrative salience* (unexpectedness, figural properties [smallness, closure, detachment, etc.], and cognitive accessibility).<sup>74</sup> Authors thus use marked forms to create the foregrounds and frontgrounds of the narrative and to bring prominence to narrative figures or events they wish to highlight. Some features may be prominent due to their role in the thematic development of the discourse whereas others may support temporal development.

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<sup>71</sup> Haveránek, “Functional Differentiation,” 10.

<sup>72</sup> For example, the present tense form grammaticalizes foreground verbal aspect and thus exhibits substantially less density in narrative Greek discourse than the background aorist aspect. However, in the paraenetic sections of epistolary New Testament literature, aorist and present tense verbs have a fairly even distribution. See Pitts, “Philosophical and Epistolary Contexts,” 301–05. We have already seen that Greco-Roman βίος exhibits a distributional divergence from history in its citation techniques. This difference in source citation density warrants a reconfiguring of foregrounding techniques based on literary genre, as Haveránek recommends.

<sup>73</sup> Dry, “Foregrounding,” 438.

<sup>74</sup> Dry, “Foregrounding,” 438; cf. Fleischman, *Tense*, 168–98; Wallace, “Figure and Ground,” 212–14.

Applied to source integration, this entails that less specified, more frequent<sup>75</sup> citations are less marked whereas more specified, less frequent usages count as more marked. The fact that imitated material is, on the one hand, far more frequent than direction citation and is, on the other hand, not marked by specificity through the use of a citation formula, highlights its background function. The historian does not attempt to draw attention to this source material—it is not narratologically prominent—but to the original composition that he intends to create. On the mimetic plane, then, historians locate events and participants along the basic backbone of source-development within the narrative. The semantic specificity through the use of a formula and relatively lessened frequency of direction citation, by contrast, indicates that the author intends to draw attention to the information these sources convey. The motivation for drawing attention to this information will vary according to the author's narrative interests. Further specificity within the formula itself will tend toward higher levels of markedness, moving information from the foreground to the frontground.

#### 4.3. *Markedness and the Linguistic Construction of Citation Formulas*

Authors typically construct citation formulas using several linguistic systems that each possess markedness values of their own:

- syntax:** Predicator + optional conjunctions, Subjects, Compliments, Adjuncts
- lexis:** a word for communication (L&N 33, subdomains E-F)
- reference:** anonymous (null); generic (pronoun/group); explicit (full NP)
- process-participant:** third person (for finite verbs), any aspect-mood-voice

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<sup>75</sup> Bearing in mind the caveats mentioned above regarding frequency as a byproduct of semantic indeterminateness.

These will vary according to which formula an author uses. For example, generic and explicit citations tend to employ Subjects whereas anonymous citations do not. Lexically, citations involve a word for communication as well, typically selected depending on the type of source cited. Authors often introduce a written source with a word from subdomain E (words for written communication) whereas oral source citation will typically use words from subdomain F (words for spoken communication), but this is by no means always the case. The previous section discussed the referential dimensions of citation formulas, but verbal properties will be important to consider as well. Citation formulas use third person verbs (when the verb is finite—typically singular for anonymous and explicit; often plural for generic citations) with a variety of aspect, mood, and voice variations.

This multifactorial construction of citation formulas, involving numerous linguistic elements, introduces complexity in assessing markedness and grounding. For example, we often find an anonymous (foreground) formula with the highly marked stative (frontground) aspect (e.g. *γέγραπται*, Luke 19:46). These anomalies occur throughout the language, not merely in the construction of citation formulas. In Eph 1:3–14, for example, we discover two stative (frontground) aspects (*ἠγαπημένω*, 1:6; *προηλπικότης*, 1:12).<sup>76</sup> However, both forms are participles, fairly deeply embedded within the syntactic structure of the paragraph. The best way to deal with these tensions is to posit markedness independently with respect to particular features. In this scenario then we have backgrounded syntax with frontgrounded aspect.

Grounding may be accomplished in a discourse through the use or a combination of several systems, including lexis, aspect, mood, voice, participant reference, person-

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<sup>76</sup> On aspect and markedness, see Porter, “Prominence,” esp. 58–59.

number, deixis, and syntax.<sup>77</sup> Each semantic system functions with its own system of markedness in which particular forms are marked relative to other forms within that system. So within any instance of Greek discourse we will have a web of markedness and grounding relations relative to how an author uses each system. This can be particularly helpful in establishing a high-level semantic shift, when various discourse features jolt out of the event line, establishing a new semantic environment (e.g. the transition into a new paragraph or episode). This disruption in the pattern used to establish the mainline creates a “zone of turbulence”<sup>78</sup> around the semantic boundary or discourse peak through the use of a high density of marked features.<sup>79</sup> But often times within the flow of a narrative, an author may just want to foreground a single element of the discourse. He or she may not desire to create a high-level semantic shift but only foreground a particular set of processes, as in the Ephesians example.

The contribution of this dissertation adds an additional feature related to the way that Greek historians, in particular, ground material related to their source framework. Therefore, source integration is one feature of the author’s language that can be employed to mark material related to sources. The aspectual feature of the verb or other features may then function independently to mark material related to the type of process employed. So, for example, with a *γέγραπται* formula the author foregrounds his or her material in relation to their source framework, but foregrounds the aspectual process encoded in the verb. So the citation formula takes on a function that works with the implementation of the source integration system throughout the narrative whereas the

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<sup>77</sup> See Porter, “Prominence,” 45–74, for a survey of several of these features.

<sup>78</sup> Longacre, “Discourse Peak,” 85.

<sup>79</sup> For a treatment that raises important issues regarding topic shift and anaphora, including a hierarchy of topicality, see Givón, “Topic,” 149–88.



aspect functions with the aspectual system directly related to the process of the verb. The Greek speaker / writer, in other words, draws attention to the written state of the source through the use of a foreground stative aspect but through the use of anonymous citation chooses to draw less attention to the actual source(s) employed relative to foreground citation (generic and explicit).

This grounding of source material may then serve wider narrative or discourse purposes. Returning to Eph 1, each foregrounded stative aspect identifies a source in the narrative of salvation that Paul unfolds in Eph 1:3-14. The Father begins as the initial agent of salvation (1:3) and then the author deploys marked aspects to shift the focus first to Jesus as the beloved redeemer (ἡγαπημένω, 1:6) and then to the Spirit (προηλικότας, 1:12) so that these marked structures not only serve a semantic (indicating the state of the process) and relative prominence (drawing attention to the process) function, but also help structure the discourse. These distinctions help refine the notion of narrative function discussed above. When an author foregrounds an element of their source framework, they employ a foreground citation, he or she foregrounds that *source* relative to other sources in his or her source framework. The same is true of background and foreground material. But this often tends to have a secondary structural function within the discourse as well. Thus an author can foreground a source in order to validate an event or activity within the discourse but this, on its own, does not foreground that event but connects a single foregrounded feature (authoritative citation) to it.

### 5. *Genre, Context, and Co-text*

According to Halliday, a discourse is composed of *contextual* and *co-textual* components. Context refers to the social environments that provide the setting for the production of the discourse and are, therefore, extralinguistic. Co-textual components are intralinguistic. Halliday organizes these according to the hierarchical rank scale already referred to in this chapter (word, word group, clause, clause complex, etc.).

Sociolinguistic analysis typically divides the contextual dimension of discourse into the *context of culture* and the *context of situation*—a distinction originally posited by Firth. Context of culture refers to the whole range of social issues and relationships that an author brings to the discourse from his or her culture, including things such as dialect, language varieties, education, social status, knowledge of literary conventions, and so on. Context of situation or *register* pertains to more specified social relationships such as the relationship between the author and addressees, time and place of writing, and so on.

Halliday's systemic functional model of language is built around three components of register for interpreting the social context or semiotic environment in which meanings are exchanged: (1) field of discourse, (2) tenor of discourse, and (3) mode of discourse.<sup>80</sup> He also outlines three metafunctions of language—ideational (experiential and logical) meaning, interpersonal meaning, and textual meaning—which are woven together to make up the fabric of a discourse, each of which function to realize a specific aspect of the context of situation. The field of discourse is realized by the ideational semantic function. The tenor of a discourse is realized by the interpersonal

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<sup>80</sup> Halliday, "Context of Situation," 12–14.

semantic function. And the mode of a discourse is realized by the textual semantic function.<sup>81</sup>

A delicate relationship exists between genre, context of culture, and context of situation that has not always been easy for linguists to specify. Is genre a component of context of situation (register) or context of culture? Reed equates genre with register.<sup>82</sup> But Biber asserts that genre or “*Text types* are different than *registers* in that they are defined in linguistic rather than situational terms” (emphasis his).<sup>83</sup> Halliday himself is contradictory on this matter. Sometimes he places genre within mode; other times, he disassociates it from contextual features.<sup>84</sup> And his disciples follow him in both directions.<sup>85</sup> We can see why even Halliday expresses differing opinions here. Genre does seem in significant ways connected to the higher levels of the mode of the discourse and then realized through textual functions. However, it also has points of contact with context of culture so that it cannot be analyzed by strictly intralinguistic means, either. Something like the approach of J.R. Martin seems to capture these seemingly conflicting dynamics the best.

Martin expands on Halliday’s sociosemantic model and employs the notion of “forms of communication.” Register is the “content form” for genre and genre is the “expression form” for register, with the widest form being ideology, a feature of a large range of texts, reflecting the culture. Martin insists instead that text structure is generated at the level of genre.

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<sup>81</sup> Halliday, “Functions of Language,” 18–23.

<sup>82</sup> Reed, *Discourse*, 52–53.

<sup>83</sup> Biber, *Dimensions*, 7.

<sup>84</sup> Martin, *English Text*, 500. See now, more recently, Martin and Rose, *Genre Relations*.

<sup>85</sup> E.g. Contrast O’Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 125, who places it within context of culture with Reed, *Discourse Analysis*, 52–53, noted above.

Genre networks would thus be formulated on the basis of similarities and differences between text structures which thereby define text types. As part of the realisation process, generic choices would preselect field, mode and tenor options associated with particular elements of text structure... with genre defined as a staged, goal-oriented social process realised through register.<sup>86</sup>

Or as Bawarshi and Reife summarize it, on Martin's model, "genre connects culture to situation, and register connects situation to language."<sup>87</sup> Registers then form, at least in certain respects, as particular configurations constrained by genres. Fig. 9 illustrates this relationship as follows:<sup>88</sup>

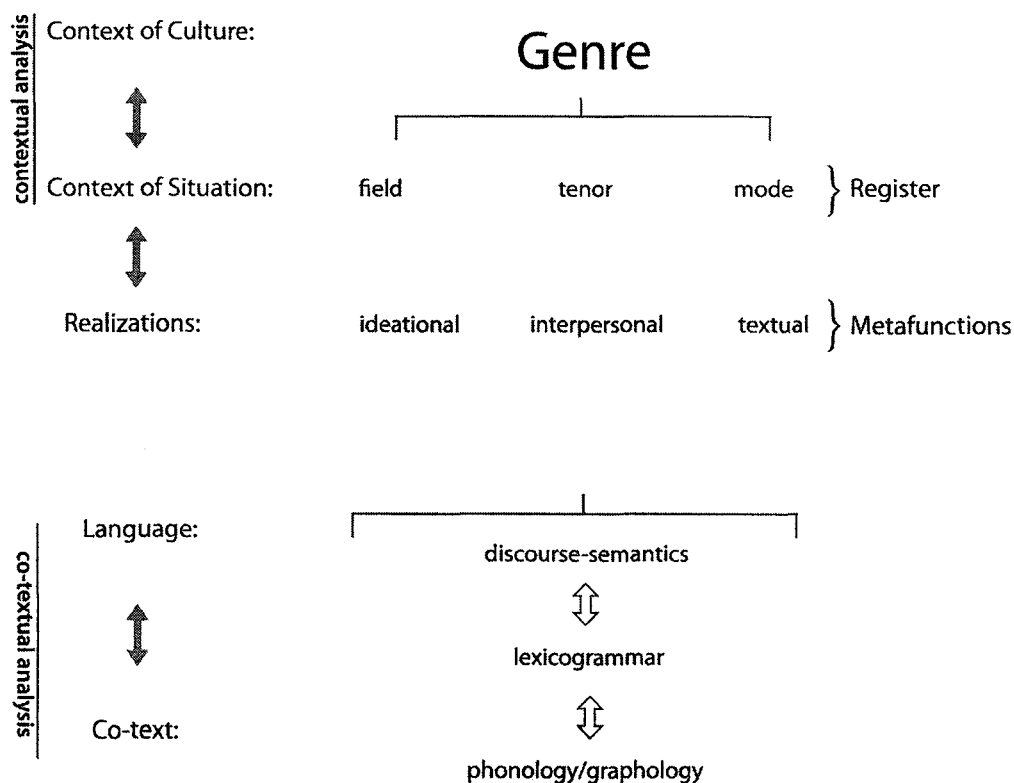


Fig. 9: Martin's Genre Taxonomy: Register, Context, and Co-Text

<sup>86</sup> Martin, *English Text*, 505.

<sup>87</sup> Bawarshi and Reife, *Genre*, 33.

<sup>88</sup> The following chart is revised and expanded from Bawarshi and Reife, *Genre*, 33.

Genres are likely formed, then, within the context of culture through literary convention and culture. However, we assess genre through realizations of register. So, for example, the context of situation (e.g. an oral dissertation defense) for a given communication might include a set of social relations (e.g. dissertation defender / dissertation examiners), temporal relations (the date/time of the dissertation defense), geographical relations (e.g. McMaster Divinity College in Hamilton, ON), and so on. This situation will constrain language in a certain way, resulting in a particular set of register realizations from those involved in the communication. Some language will be appropriate. Some language will not. It would be inappropriate (and unwise!) to make a joke about one of the examiner's ties where another register might allow for such language. These language conventions for a dissertation defense are, then, drawn down from the context of culture. We might say that this represents one realization of the genre of debate. Therefore, to analyze genre we may look at particular configurations of field, mode, and tenor and ask what ways genre may have constrained these particular realizations. These register components are then realized through the various metafunctions and thus surface as patterns in the language. It will be recalled from chapters 2-3 that the text structures for the disambiguation criteria that distinguish from the βίος history—preface criteria, event-participant criteria, authoritative citation criteria—were for the most part textual phenomena related to the organization of ancient biographical and historical literature. Much of the similarity that exists between βίος and history occurs as a result of parallel realizations, especially within the field and tenor components, while the few differences that emerge seem to do so in connection with mode. For example, we saw that many histories and βίοι address the same topics (field) but the way these topics are organized

(mode) is different. Both genres contain family tradition but βίοι tend to locate this tradition at the beginning of their works whereas histories tend to embed it more deeply within the narrative. Thus we disambiguate βίοι from histories by focusing on especially textual realizations or mode whereas other genres may have disambiguating criteria that occupy other register components as well. Thus, technically—as least as far as it is related to disambiguating the two genres—the differentiation between histories and βίοι is one related to register not genre; however, the language of genre is used throughout this dissertation since more people are familiar with the notion of genre and tend to conflate issues of genre and register, in any case.

We also notice that we can understand genres by assessing co-textual linguistic realizations across several texts to discover parallel realizations. Authoritative citation strategy was proposed as a disambiguating criterion for βίοις and history and this feature will be assessed co-textually across several Greek historians in the next two chapters (5–6) and then in Luke in the following two chapters (7–8). Then at the end of both sets of chapters (the last section of chapter 6 and chapter 9), we will take a step back to see what kinds of contextual observations can be made based upon the co-textual analysis. This will also provide a convenient way of collecting the data gathered in the co-textual analysis into a comprehensive summary.

## 6. Conclusions

Having established ancient history as the most plausible social framework for Luke's Gospel in chapters 2-3, this chapter has attempted to construct an interpretive methodology for assessing source integration in the Hellenistic historians and in Luke. The historians employ two methods of source integration: mimesis and authoritative citation. Mimesis recruits oral and literary source material and introduces it into the narrative without a citation formula, using this tradition to help create the discourse background of the narrative. Authoritative citation occurs when a citation formula is present and functions as a direct, marked form of source integration. As citation formulas increase in specificity, they increase in markedness and, therefore, in narrative prominence relative to other forms of source integration. Anonymous citation projects onto the foreground of the discourse whereas generic and explicit citation project onto the foreground. The way that authors process this source material in narrative composition can be clarified by systemic linguistic analysis and assessing how authors use sources at different "ranks" or levels of language in terms of form (citation formula, clause level; use of *Vorlage*), projection / expansion (modification and / or interpretive comment, clause complex), and narrative function (role of citation in narrative strategy, paragraph and above). This all deals with the co-textual features of source integration. But we must also consider contextual phenomena in order to evaluate the way authoritative citation is employed within the historiographic genre. The next several chapters, dealing with both the Greek historians and Luke, will proceed from these categories of analysis.

## Chapter 5: Authoritative Citation in Greek Historiography

This dissertation seeks to establish the Third Gospel's closest literary neighbor (esp. focusing on βίος and history) and compare its use of authoritative citation to writings that emerge from that genre. Chapters 2-3 uncovered several correlations between Luke and Greek history, not present in the other canonical Gospels, which seem to align more closely with Greco-Roman biographical literature relative to seven proposed disambiguation criteria. Having situated Luke's Gospel in closest relationship to Greek history, chapter 4 developed an interpretive linguistic framework for assessing authoritative citation within this literary context. The present chapter applies this methodology to five Greek historians, spanning the fourth century B.C.E. to the second century C.E., beginning with the so-called father of historiography, Herodotus. It also features two histories by the same historian (Xenophon) to show a continuity of the patterns observed in a single author. We will assess the use of authoritative citation according to form, projection / expansion, and narrative function. Unlike our ensuing analysis of Luke, we will limit analysis of form (considering the textual history, types of sources, and citation formulas) mainly to citation formulas and the types of sources used since most of the citations, especially of the early historians, come from oral tradition and when they cite written documents, the textual tradition is not nearly as complex as that of the New Testament so that discovering if a differing *Vorlage* accounts for variation is often not a productive task. In the projection / expansion portions of our analysis, where possible, we will treat the author's use and interpretation of Homer since the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* offer a normative body of writings with a cultural status that may be compared



to the normative status of the LXX in Hellenistic Judaism. There may be some slight overlap in the treatment of projection / expansion and narrative function since the projection / expansion system is often recruited for interpretive purposes to help support wider narrative developments, but we nevertheless will attempt to preserve the highest levels of fidelity for each category.

### 1. *Mimesis (Unmarked)*

While this dissertation mainly concerns citation in the ancient historians, a few briefs remarks on mimesis as the mechanism used to create (from source material) the unmarked background of the narrative against which citations are projected warrants brief discussion. The meaning of mimesis in any given context will be highly contingent upon its literary location within the ancient world. It has differing meanings in Greek philosophy, poetics, and rhetoric. Greek historiography functions as a branch of rhetoric (see Pliny, *Ep.* 5.8.9-10; Cicero, *De leg.* 1.5; Cicero, *Brut.* 42-43) and so we begin with this basic framework and see how mimesis develops within Greek historiography. Surprisingly, very little work has been done in this area so far.<sup>1</sup> As Gray notices, by the end of the first century B.C.E. at the latest, history was being described as imitative art and yet the function of mimesis still “needs to be more widely recognized as a technical term in ancient historical theory and its meaning needs to be more precisely defined by proper assemblage of the most relevant evidence.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Marincola, *Authority*, 79.

<sup>2</sup> Gray, “Mimesis,” 468.

As with ancient rhetoric, in Greek historiography, complete or partial originality was never the expectation, at least not in the way that we typically think of it—Perry speaks of a distaste toward the “exact copy” in creative imitation.<sup>3</sup> On the one hand, historians took over the essential core of material from their predecessors and moderately adapted it for their purposes through internal content mimesis;<sup>4</sup> while on the other hand, they adopted the style, arrangement, language, and diction of their predecessors to frame their own history through external stylistic mimesis. As Marincola’s analysis shows, historical compositions were quite unoriginal, based primarily upon imitation of previous works, seeking to only make gradual advances within and alterations upon the prevailing tradition.<sup>5</sup> At the most basic level, historical mimesis proceeds from the fact that the literary predecessors of a given historian would provide the major pool of background material that helped give shape to their own narrative. “In the basic narrative, however, the narrator who was intrusive called attention to himself in a way that might reveal his prejudice, a less intrusive approach would have a greater chance of success.”<sup>6</sup> The types of sources imitated and the level of integration was in many ways dependent upon the time / location of the author, the object of investigation, and the communities the historian had access to (and their methods of tradition transmission).<sup>7</sup> But the historians

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<sup>3</sup> Perry, “Rhetoric,” 158–60.

<sup>4</sup> See Kraemer, “Imitation,” 135–36.

<sup>5</sup> Marincola, *Authority*, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Marincola, *Authority*, 174.

<sup>7</sup> At some level, then, dealing with early examples of history, mainly Herodotus, due consideration must be given to the temporal location of the history. The most influential study of the origins of Greek historiography as an independent discipline was undertaken in Jacoby, “Über die Entwicklung,” 1–44. Jacoby proposed an evolutionary theory using a method inspired by stemmatic analysis (the dominant text-critical model in classical studies) according to which historiography developed in opposition to the epic tradition. Jacoby proposed a form of source criticism that presupposed that one could trace all the variations of the literary spectrum back to a single genre. Most now consider the method itself to be invalid, but still recognize the importance of noticing significant patterns of literary dependence among the historians and using such patterns to set them in some type of evolutionary relation to one another. See Potter, *Literary Texts*, 62–66. Whatever else one may think of his theory, most classical scholars grant Jacoby’s

would inevitably use the mimetic plane to bring the majority of their historical traditions into the narrative, creating a background against which more marked citation strategies could be employed.

## 2. *Authoritative Citation (Marked)*

Against this nonintrusive mimetic plane, historians could project, on occasion, direct citations. When the mimetic plane is broken through citation, this draws a great deal of attention to the material marked by the formula. Citations tend to surface in the historians in relation—for the most part—to a small amount of related narrative material.

The individual historians chosen for the survey below represent a broad chronological sample, ranging from the fifth century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. They also represent varying types of history. Many label Herodotus epic history in contrast to the scientific history of Thucydides later perpetuated by historians like Polybius and Lucian, with their detailed emphasis on method. We also will sample the histories of Xenophon and Appian, which—at least in certain portions—have a more biographical orientation. Chapter 6 then turns to Hellenistic Jewish historiography.

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fundamental insight that the origins of ancient history can be traced back to the Greek epic tradition, especially Homer and Hesiod. See also Bury, *Ancient Greek Historians*, 1–35. Historiography distinguished itself from epic in two ways: historians compose in prose and they tend to focus on factual rather than mythical history. Cf. Momigliano, “Greek Historiography,” 2. One of the major cornerstones in setting this movement from epic into motion was the foundational work of Hecataeus. He did work in geography and wrote a history of Greece. But while he composed in prose style, he had a tendency in his geographical and historical work toward mythologizing. For example, in his *Genealogies*, he attempted to construct something that might look like a history according to later ancient standards, but the methods employed were weak and faulty. In the genealogy of his history, Hecataeus traces his family origins back to the mythological pantheon. His literary successors, Charon of Lampsacus and Dionysius of Miletus, imitated the historical trajectory of his research in their histories of Persia. We also know of Xanthus from this period, who wrote a history of Lydia.

## 2.1. *Herodotus*

As the first to attempt a serious history beyond the mythography that was so prevalent in his day among the epic writers, many in the ancient world consider Herodotus the father of Greek historiography. Herodotus took over the basic themes (e.g. war) and format (narrative poetry) of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but sought to impute to his work a greater sense of veracity.<sup>8</sup> The problem Herodotus faced was a frequent inability to fully dislodge himself from his mythical predecessors, including within his history many fantastic stories and incredible traditions that remain open to question.<sup>9</sup> Several of the formal characteristics in Herodotus will be picked up and enshrined in the later historiographic tradition. Many will not. Herodotus thus functions as an important transitional piece of ancient history, at least with respect to certain formal features.

### 2.1.1. *Form*

Herodotus's ratio of anonymous to generic / explicit citations presents itself as one anomaly compared to later histories. He uses only 93 anonymous citations and 188 generic / explicit citations.<sup>10</sup> Although in markedness theory linguists sometimes relate distributional phenomena as a primary indicator of marked terms, recall that a more accurate portrayal configures distributional markedness as a category derivative of semantic markedness, occurring as a result of semantic specificity over time (see chapter 4). Prior to significant grammaticalization of the formula (e.g. formal reduction of less

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. Luce, *Greek Historians*, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Marincola, *Greek Historians*, 19.

<sup>10</sup> Shrimpton and Gillis, "Herodotus' Source Citations," 237–242—this essay significantly contributes to the data on Herodotus below. According to Shrimpton and Gillis, Herodotus's books 1 and 5–8, have less frequency of direct citations (a ratio of 0.8720) and one and a half times this much in 2 to 4. And they are least frequent in book 9 (0.9513).

marked terms over time) we might expect marked terms to exhibit semantic markedness only early in their development, with distributional phenomena occurring later in the historical tradition as more authors use and adapt the form (one of the peculiarities resulting from Herodotus's chronological placement at the beginning of Greek historiography).

Herodotus uses a fairly standardized set of formulas that will be adopted by later historians. Many of his formulas are based on λέγω, including the imperfective (e.g. λέγεται, 1.75.4, 87.1, 153.1; 202.1; 6.61.4, 74.2; 7.56.2; λέγουσι, 1.1.4, 2.1, 3.1, 5.1, 21.1, 23.1, 65.4 2x, 70.2, 70.3; 2.2.5; λέγοντες, 1.78.3; 2.15.1; 3.30.1) and, less frequently, the perfective (e.g. εἰπόντα, 1.27.2; ἔλεξαν, 2.20.1) aspects. Herodotus also employs at times various forms of φημί (e.g. φασί[v], 1.33.2, 37.2, 38.2, 51.3; 3.105.2). He primarily cites oral sources in these instances, and only rarely documents, inscriptions, or literary sources.<sup>11</sup> These consist for the most part of the various peoples he interviews from the nations he apparently visited. A common feature of the ethnographic historical tradition that preceded him,<sup>12</sup> Herodotus shows a deep interest in national origins and cites representatives from several peoples, including the Chaldaeans (e.g. 1.182-83), the Greeks (e.g. 1.216.1; 2.154.4-182.2), the Persians (e.g. 3.1-2, 86-87), the Egyptians (e.g. 2.156.2; 3.1-2), the Arabians (e.g. 3.108.1), the Scythians (e.g. 4.27), the Delians (e.g. 4.33.1), the Carthaginians (e.g. 4.195-96), the Lacedaemonians (6.84), and many others.

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<sup>11</sup> The estimate is typically that Herodotus relied on oral sources for roughly 80% of the entire stock of his source material. See Aune, "Prolegomena," 77; Waters, *Herodotus*, 75.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the classic treatment in Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte*, 42–104.

### 2.1.2. *Projection / Expansion*

We may highlight Herodotus's citation of the Egyptian priests along with Homer as examples of the function of citation within the projection / expansion system of Herodotean discourse. For the ancients, Homer functioned as a highly normative text, containing great knowledge and thus was prime material for direct citation. Herodotus cites Homer six times directly (2.23.1–2, 116.1–6 3x; 4.32.1; 5.67.1), often in competition with him. He portrays Homer and other poets, for example, as inventors of tradition (2.23.1–2, 116.1–6). But Herodotus also cites Homer (*The Heroes' Sons*)<sup>13</sup> favorably to validate tradition also found in Hesiod (4.32.1). Reference is also made to Homer as an explanation of actions (5.67.1). Most of the citations of Homer serve a purely narrative function, with no interpretation introduced through expansion.

Only in 2.116.1–6 does Herodotus actually quote a section of Homeric text via direct citation. This set of directly cited passages serves as an excellent example of the projection / expansion system at work through projection and elaboration / enhancement. Herodotus chooses in this passage to place the expansion at the end of his projection of Homer's discourse, quoting Homer exactly and introducing interpretation only at the end. Herodotus cites three texts (*Il.* 6.289–92; *Od.* 4.227–30, 351–52) in the context of a developing narrative that undermines Homer as a historical source, demonstrating his own eyewitness testimony as superior.<sup>14</sup> Here, however, he begins to offer redemption to Homer, since although Homer often does not record the truth about what happens,<sup>15</sup> he nevertheless knows how things really was (cf. Herodotus, 2.116.1: δηλώσας ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίσταιτο τὸν λόγον). So he redeems the highly important and strategic literary

<sup>13</sup> Although Herodotus questions whether Homer did indeed compose this work.

<sup>14</sup> Kim, *Homer*, 28–33.

<sup>15</sup> Kim, *Homer*, 33–35.

source that he has in Homer through these expansions and enables the forming of his emerging identity as historian through competing with Homer while still preserving in the narrative a great amount of respect for the Greek icon.

The several citations that seem to only have a narrative (i.e. not interpretive) function (see below) indicate that narrative function appears to be the primary motivating factor for when and where to introduce citation into the narrative. Once a citation is introduced, Herodotus may or may not provide interpretation to that text. We see then at this level that while no single unifying Herodotean hermeneutic can be detected, the projection / expansion system does often service interpretive purposes when historians desire to comment on a text in addition to employing it for more global narrative reasons.

### 2.1.3. *Narrative Function*

Herodotus employs direct citation as a strategy for establishing the credibility or truthfulness of his account. Shrimpton and Gillis notice this in their important essay on source citation in Herodotus,<sup>16</sup> as does Fehling's detailed analysis of Herodotus's citation of sources.<sup>17</sup> Herodotus frequently uses anonymous citation when the narrative is in

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<sup>16</sup> Shrimpton and Gillis, "Herodotus' Source Citations," 236, identify three potential motivations for source-citation in Herodotus: (1) recording non-Greek culture, (2) remoteness in time, or (3) remoteness in distance (There are a number of citations that fall outside of these categories, however, including, for example, conflict between sources, doubt, and miracles). Herodotus strategically uses the citation of these sources, according to Shrimpton and Gillis, to strengthen the narrative at places where people may be in doubt of the credibility of the testimony, especially involving some kind of remoteness—in culture, time, or space. When Herodotus describes geographically, temporally, or culturally remote events, greater likelihood for error is introduced into the narrative, creating a need for source-citation to reassure the reader of his reliability. Shrimpton and Gillis establish, then, a connection between named citations and information in need of special validation.

<sup>17</sup> Fehling, *Herodotus*, 143, asserts, for example, that one of Herodotus's primary reasons for citing a source was to establish credibility and he employs sources most frequently when events are most fantastic, especially for "astounding stories" involving the miraculous. When stories are too astounding or he lacks source support, Herodotus seems to distance himself further from the reality of the event. Fehling thinks that Herodotus is lying when he does this—he does not really have any sources; he fabricates them to lend credence to his story-telling. Nevertheless, Fehling makes a convincing case at several places that

question or where some doubt may be introduced (e.g. 1.216.1; 2.15–17.1, 17.2, 20.1, 106.2<sup>18</sup>, 106.161; 3.3.1, 3.56 2x; 5.32.1 2x, 85.1–87.3; 6.74.2, 76.1; 8.8.2; 9.84), often times due to conflicting accounts (e.g. 1.27.2; 2.106; 3.45.1). This rhetorical strategy of citing different source accounts for the same event has the effect of securing the audience's sympathies since it gives an overall sense of objectivity to the record.

Sometimes Herodotus even reaffirms this self-proclaimed judicious use of his sources (e.g. 1.5<sup>19</sup>). He uses generic / explicit (e.g. 4.67, 90.1, 105.2, 180; 7.137.1; 8.55<sup>20</sup>; 9.120.1<sup>21</sup>) and anonymous (e.g. 1.159.3; 3.5.3, 4.40.2; 6.61.4; 8.84.2) citation to support reference to the miraculous, supernatural or cult activity. Extravagant stories about Greeks (e.g. 1.92; 2.8; 2.110; 5.105), Barbarians (e.g. 1.92; 1.153; 1.187; 2.8; 2.29–34) or

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Herodotus cites his (embellished) source in order to confirm what might otherwise be hard to believe. In a broad sweep survey of several passages from Herodotus where sources are cited, Fehling puts forward eight basic occasions that call for Herodotus to cite his source: (1) the supernatural, accounts which involve “details of local cults, cult-aitia, and myths, sometimes miraculous, also miracles and portents, together with an example of a natural but nevertheless astounding event (1.191.6).” “In all these examples,” according to Fehling, “the source-citation offers a Confirmation, often intended to save the author's own credit;” (2) citations for events that are geographically or chronologically remote; (3) citations for a few local accounts not involving the miraculous or cult activity; (4) citations supporting party bias; (5) cases where Herodotus cites two versions of a story to enhance credibility; (6) citations that split up a source into two to enhance credibility; (7) expressions of opinion; (8) five passages that don't fit into the other categories. While this analysis probably does not provide us with the best or most helpful set of categories, Fehling's accumulation of this data does indicate in general is a tendency in Herodotus to employ source-citation at places within the narrative where he expects that his audience might doubt its validity.

<sup>18</sup> “Also, there are in Ionia two figures of this man carved in rock, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea, and the other on that from Sardis to Smyrna. In both places, the figure is over twenty feet high, with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, and the rest of his equipment proportional; for it is both Egyptian and Ethiopian; and right across the breast from one shoulder to the other a text is cut in the Egyptian sacred characters, saying: ‘I myself won this land with the strength of my shoulders.’ There is nothing here to show who he is and whence he comes, but it is shown elsewhere. Some of those who have seen these figures guess they are Memnon, but they are far indeed from the truth” (Godley, LCL). Here Herodotus is discussing two Ionian statues that some have said to be Memnon, so that there is uncertainty about their identity. Herodotus, however, is certain that they are not Memnon and cites an inscription to prove his intimate acquaintance with it.

<sup>19</sup> In this passage, Herodotus concludes, after citing two conflicting source accounts: “These are the stories of the Persians and the Phoenicians. For my own part, I will not say that this or that story is true, but I will name him who I myself know to have done unprovoked wrong to the Greeks, and so go forward with my history, and speak of small and great cities alike” (Godley, LCL). He goes on to name Croesus and this account of conflicting sources gives the impression of honesty for the forthcoming, more important, details where he seeks to gain the sympathy of his audience.

<sup>20</sup> Here Herodotus cites the Athenians regarding a mythical story about spring and an olive tree.

<sup>21</sup> Herodotus cites the Chersonnesians in support of the miraculous proclamation of the end of Artayctes.



the generally fantastic or hard to believe (e.g. 3.105.1<sup>22</sup>; 4.25.1, 191.4) draw citation formulas. Statements that tend toward the extreme end of the event-category they occupy often receive direct citation as well (e.g. 9.71<sup>23</sup>). Significant narrative events or transitions, such as the birth of key narrative figures (e.g. 1.22.3, 95.1; 2.144, 146.2<sup>24</sup>), death of key narrative figures (2.73.1), narrative beginnings, origins or firsts (e.g. 1.1-5<sup>25</sup>, 65; 2.10.1, 44, 104, 145; 4.5–13, 45.3, 145-56; 5.57.1; 6.52–53; 7.171) also receive verifying citations. These broad categories, for which historical authentication seems necessary through source citation, will become the same ones that elicit source citation throughout the historians that follow in Herodotus's wake.

The distributional phenomena that we observe in Herodotus also seem significant at the narrative level. With only slightly skewed ratios in Books 1–3 and 7, anonymous citations are fairly evenly spread across his history, highlighting thematic material throughout.

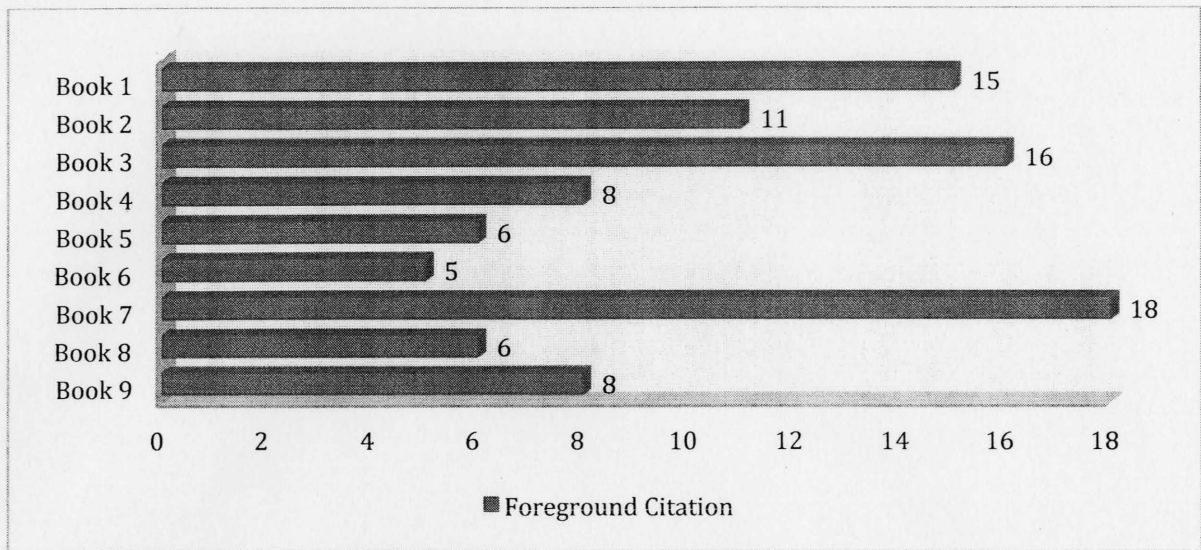
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<sup>22</sup> Ants end up collecting gold.

<sup>23</sup> “Among the barbarians, the best fighters were the Persian infantry and the cavalry of the Sacae, and of men, it is said, the bravest was Mardonius. Among the Greeks, the Tegeans and Athenians conducted themselves nobly, but the Lacedaemonians excelled all in valor” (Godely, LCL). Here we have a source citation in support of “the best fighters,” including Mardonius, as the bravest Persian in Plataea and the Lacedaemonians who “*excelled all* in valor.” So the citation seems to provide validation for multiple individuals who occupy the extreme end of an event category.

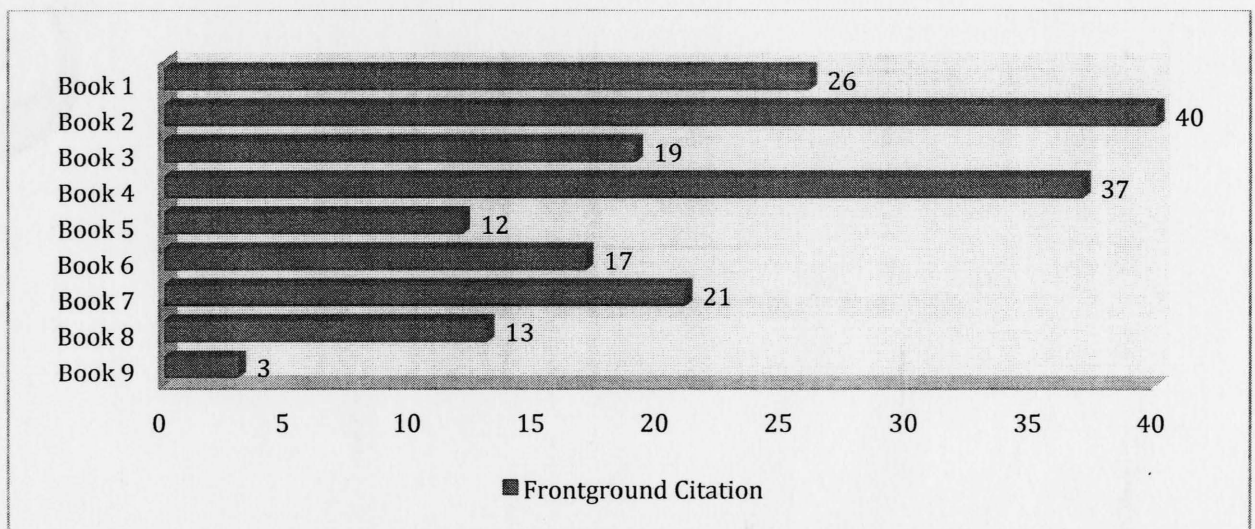
<sup>24</sup> Herodotus cites the Greeks in support of the birth of Dionysius, the last divine ruler of Egypt. But this event ends up not only being significant to the narrative development, but starting at 2.144 and going through 2.146, it has to do with supernatural activity as well. It is claimed by the Greeks that Zeus stitched into Dionysius' thigh and carried him over Nysa in Ethiopia. Herodotus implements the citation of the Greeks to introduce this narrative participant that takes center stage (Dionysius) and then other references to what the Greeks say about his supernatural character are used to support the miraculous activities associated with him. Herodotus cites the Greeks regarding Heracles and the temple associated with him. Heracles is introduced into the narrative by a detailed description of Herodotus's Greek sources. He says, “These researchers of mine indicate that quite clearly Heracles is an ancient god. I think that, among the Greeks, their procedure is most correct who have established and cultivated two cults of Heracles; to one they sacrifice as to a god and by title Olympian, and to the other they offer worship as a hero” (Godley, LCL [2.44–45]). Then he goes on to give the Greeks' account of this supernatural activity, involving Heracles going to Egypt.

<sup>25</sup> The legendary beginnings of the Persian war.



**Fig. 10:** *Foreground Citation Distribution in Herodotus's Histories*

Frontground citations (generic / explicit forms), however, have a massively disproportionate distribution. For varying reasons, this tendency toward clustering citations within a specific portion of the narrative will function as a feature of all the major Greek histories following Herodotus.



**Fig. 11:** *Frontground Citation Distribution in Herodotus' Histories*

Shrimpton and Gillis read these distributions against Herodotus's tendency to foreground citations in cases where the credibility of the account is weakened through cultural, temporal and / or geographical dislocation. They conclude:

This shift in the distribution of source references seems to be part of a response to a change in the nature of the material as perceived and shaped by Herodotus. For example, the earlier books deal primarily with events that are remote in time or are located in a mythical past, and there is extensive discussion of non-Greek cultures and accounts of the exploration of the frontiers of the known world.<sup>26</sup>

By Book 9 Herodotus has greatly decreased the cultural, temporal, and geographical distance between himself and the events he records. According to Shrimpton and Gillis, these three criteria of distantiation account for 76% of the instances of foreground citation. Many further citations can be accounted for by adding an additional criterion of dislocation—metaphysical dislocation—focusing on the accounts of the supernatural that Herodotus's anonymous readers might feel distanced from by virtue of their existence within the natural world. It is also interesting that in instances of supernatural activity, which would typically be endorsed by a Greek audience, Greeks are cited as the authority.

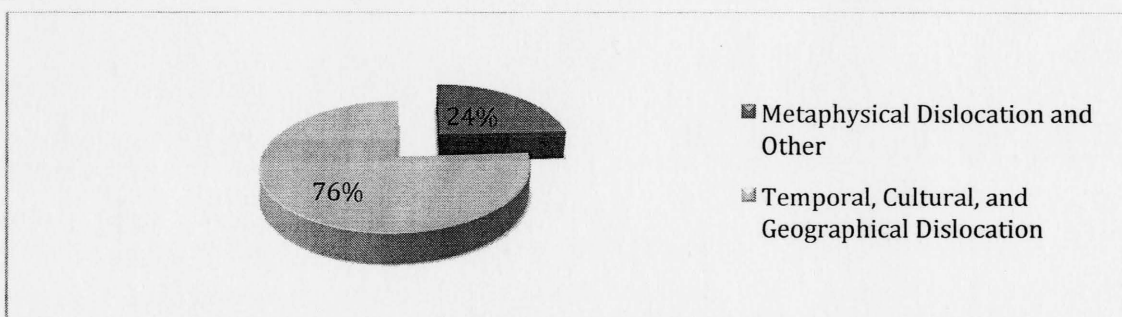


Fig. 12: *Frontground Citation Dislocation in Herodotus's Histories*

<sup>26</sup> Shrimpton and Gillis, "Herodotus' Source Citations," 240.

This feature of the narrative will certainly gain sympathies with Herodotus's Athenian audience. These explicit source-citations are semantically specific and, therefore, marked, projecting information onto the foreground of the discourse. This renders the data from Herodotus quite intelligible within a linguistic framework and illustrates how source-citation fits into his overall narrative strategy. He foregrounds sources to reinforce the credibility of his account at points where the audience may seem epistemically distant and in need of reassurance regarding its truthfulness. John Marincola's observations confirm these findings:

The source-citations [in Herodotus] appear in a variety of functions, sometimes cropping up at crucial points, just where the validation of an unusual or marvelous incident is needed; at other times they give variant versions of events, often at the end of a major narrative incident; they may introduce a story, which then continues the narrator's own voice; or they may control the narrative structure, as, for example, when long passages of text are in indirect discourse, underlining the fact that the story is being told by a particular source.<sup>27</sup>

Thus Marincola uncovers many of the same patterns of source-citation revealed through this study: strategic use to support narrative structuring or the generally extraordinary. We will observe a drastic reduction in citation densities in the later development of Greek history as we find a movement away from first-person intervention in general so that while the local level usage reflects wider patterns in historiography, the broader narrative function toward reduction of interventions—including citations—is not yet established.

## 2.2. *Thucydides*

Thucydides makes substantially less reference to his sources than Herodotus.<sup>28</sup> In an often debated passage, Thucydides discusses his methodology for his use of sources, at least as it concerns speech material:

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<sup>27</sup> Marincola, *Greek Historians*, 32.

<sup>28</sup> On Herodotus's influence on Thucydides, see Hornblower, *Commentary*, 2:122–37.

With reference to the speeches in this history, some were delivered before the war began, others while it was going on; some I heard myself, others I got from various quarters; it was in all cases difficult to carry them word for word in one's memory, so my habit has been to make the speakers say what was in my opinion demanded of them by the various occasions, of course adhering as closely as possible to the general sense of what they really said (Dent, LCL [1.22.1]).

This passage, however, does not reveal as much insight into the so-called “Thucydidean” method as might often be thought, since there are a number of lexical and grammatical ambiguities that make a precise interpretation of the account difficult.<sup>29</sup> Most of the ambiguities revolve around how Thucydides makes up for the material that he could not retain in his memory. But from this passage we notice two types of sources that Thucydides has access to, his own first-hand (eyewitness) experience and the testimony of others, whom he interviewed.

Thucydides also has something to say about the sources for his narrative material:

And with reference to the narrative of events, far from permitting myself to derive it from the first source that came to hand, I did not even trust my own impressions, but it rests partly on what I saw myself, partly on what others saw for me, the accuracy of the report being always tried by the most severe and detailed tests possible. My conclusions have cost me some labor from the want of coincidence between accounts of the same occurrences by different eye-witnesses, arising sometimes from imperfect memory, sometimes from undue partiality for one side or the other (Dent, LCL [1.22.2]).

Many have called into question whether Thucydides really conducted his research as rigorously as he claims, always seeking corroboration with other sources where only a single source was available.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, we can glean from this passage as well as the material on sources for speeches that Thucydides seems to derive the vast majority of his source material from oral sources that he does not cite.<sup>31</sup> Given Thucydides' comments

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<sup>29</sup> Porter, “Thucydides 1.22.1,” 121–42. Hedrick, “Meaning,” 17, agrees that Thucydides’ “methodological chapters seem hopelessly mired in contradiction and inconsistency. Most modern commentators have attempted to reconcile the paradoxes, to make Thucydides’ methodology consistent with itself and so with the ideals of empirical positivist historiography he is thought to exemplify.”

<sup>30</sup> Rood, *Thucydides*, 48.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Aune, “Prolegomena,” 78.

here, it is not surprising then that his narrative contains very few direction citations of its sources.

Some suggest that Thucydides's selectivity in citing his sources or his underdeveloped descriptions of specific events result from his lack of multiply attesting sources,<sup>32</sup> but at least with respect to his selectivity, Thucydides may simply follow the emerging literary pattern within historiography of reserving citation of his sources for dramatic or narratologically significant events.

### 2.2.1. *Form*

When we turn to consider the interpersonal dimensions of Thucydidean citations, we discover that Thucydides's *Peloponnesian War* contains 43 direct citations. Of these 43 instances, Thucydides names his source 17x through either explicit or generic citation. These citations range from the quotation of other historians to poets to more generalized references. So Thucydides has 26 anonymous source citations, most often using forms of λέγω with in the present (esp. λέγεται [with ὥς: 1.24.4, 32.5, 38.1, 118.3; 2.18.5, 93.4, 102.5; 3.24.5, 79.3, 94.5; 6.2.4; 7.2.4; without ὥς: 1.34.1, 138.6; 2.20.1, 98.3, 77.6; 4.24.5; 4.103.5]); λέγονται, 1.13.2) and imperfect (ἐλέγοντο, 5.74.3; ἐλέχθη, 2.57.1) tense forms—to draw attention to his anonymous oral sources.<sup>33</sup> Although Thucydides at times cites normative literary sources (such as Homer) directly, his primary source material appears to be comprised mainly of oral traditions, revealed by the citation form he

<sup>32</sup> Silhanek, "Pylos," 10–13.

<sup>33</sup> Westlake, "ΑΕΙΓΕΤΑΙ," 346, states that scholars have tended to agree that Thucydides uses the λέγεται-formula in places where doubt or uncertainty exists.

chooses. Westlake insists on the “undoubtedly oral” character of the tradition introduced by a citation formula grammaticalizing perfective aspect (aorist tense-form).<sup>34</sup>

### 2.2.2. *Projection / Expansion*

Thucydides cites Homer three times (1.3.2–3, 9.4, 10.3–4; cf. also 2.41.4; 3.104.4 for references to Homer), all in his Archeology (1.1–23). At 1.3.2–3, Thucydides cites Homer but does not include a selection of text, choosing instead to summarize Homer’s elements of his telling of the Trojan War. The expansion comes in the form of extension via variation (omission). But Thucydides does not omit material himself, but instead comments on Homer’s omissions of reference to the Greeks as unified under the common interests of the Hellas prior to the Trojan War. Thucydides interprets this in his expansions to indicate a lack of unity for the Greek government during this stage of their history—Barbarians likewise are not mentioned since there was no Hellas to set them in contrast to. While Thucydides uses the projection / expansion system to convey his understanding of the Homeric text, this certainly seems secondary to the more global narrative function that clearly motivates the citation (see below). In 1.9.4 Thucydides cites *Il.* 2.108 unaltered. Here we have an expansion relationship of extension by negation—Thucydides competes with Homer, showing himself as a more reliable source. After citing Homer, Thucydides contends that Homer could not be correct in assigning many islands to Agamemnon due to his insufficient marine resources, a point reinforced by the conditional clause attached to the citation formula: εἴ τῳ ἰκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι (1.9.4). In 1.10.3–4, Thucydides again interprets Homer as a less than completely reliable source (due to its poetic genre) but a still generally trustworthy historical source. He

<sup>34</sup> Westlake, “ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ,” 96.

summarizes Homer's numbers regarding fleets of ships in this passage, confirming a general allowance for paraphrase within ancient history.

### 2.2.3. *Narrative Function*

The distribution ratio of foreground to background citations is noticeably skewed in favor of anonymous citations (60%), creating an expectation for anonymous citations to form the source framework foreground in contrast to the lesser used foreground formulas. Of the foreground citations, in 10 cases (23%) Thucydides recruits explicit citation. In 7 (17%) other instances, he deploys generic citations where a (typically collective, e.g. the Corinthians, 1.13.2) source is named but not a specific individual. Specific and collective named citations then share the foreground.

Several of these in the Archeology (1.1–23) come from Homer, as already mentioned.<sup>35</sup> These citations can be examined not only at the clause complex level through the projection / expansion system, but also at the discourse level by assessing their literary-narrative function. Thucydides uses Homer as proof (τεκμηριοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος) for the gradual application of the name Hellenes (Ἕλληνας) to Hellen and his sons only after they grew mighty in Phthiotis and were invited to ally with other cities in 1.3.2–3. Thus, Greece was not yet recognized as a singular political entity by Homer's day, still being called by a number of different names. Given the increasing greatness of the Greek empire, it might be hard to imagine a time when the Greeks were only a marginal people. So Thucydides recruits Homer, the normative text for his contemporaries, as proof for a claim that might be met with skepticism by his current

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<sup>35</sup> Kallet, *Money*, 97–110, proposes that the entire Troy exhibition in Thucydides is mapped on the Homer account. See also Rutherford, "Structure," 13–38.



audience. He is also concerned to show that the Trojan War—notwithstanding its fame and renown—was nowhere nearly as brutal as the conflicts Thucydides faced within his own society. Precisely because of its fame, this was likely a hard sale. So the citation from Homer authenticates the historian’s credibility. This seems to be the primary motivation for deploying the citation and then Thucydides uses the projection / expansion system to convey his particular reading in order to help sustain its narrative level usage.

At 1.9.4, Thucydides cites Homer (*Il.* 2.576; 2.610–14; 2.108) to validate the exceedingly large size of Agamemnon’s fleet: φαίνεται γὰρ ναυσί τε πλείσταις αὐτὸς ἀφικόμενος.<sup>36</sup> Homer is a poet, however. So Thucydides has his doubts at times about this source, as iconic as it might be.<sup>37</sup> So he adds the conditional qualifier after this citation, “if he seems a sufficient testimony” (εἴ τῳ ἰκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι). Nevertheless, Thucydides remains quite removed from these events so as he works with the sources he has to validate the information he provides. This undoubtedly accounts for why citations of Homer remain limited to the Archeology, a period for which Thucydides clearly lacks adequate source material.

Thucydides introduces his next Homer quotation with a caveat as well. At 1.10.3–5, he cites Homer, following it with another conditional: “if we can believe again the testimony of Homer’s works” (τῆ Ὀμήρου ἀῖ ποιήσῃ εἴ τι χρὴ κἀνταῦθα πιστεύειν). He elaborates on why this poses a difficulty for him as a historian, since poetry tends toward

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<sup>36</sup> Some historians see Thucydides’ use of Homer as an implicit argument against Herodotus, who rarely cites Homer as a source. E.g. Hunter, “Thucydides,” 197; Crane, *Thucydides*, 127–34, view this passage as an attack on Homer and the citations only as a historical starting point for his criticism of Homer. The problem with the latter analysis is that Crane creates a non-falsifiable argument. He says that Thucydides wants to avoid devaluing his Homeric source and that accounts for why the rhetorical attack language is guised. But if any hint of dismissal really counts as an implicit approval of Homer, what method could we use to discover that Thucydides really did discount the validity of Homeric source materials?

<sup>37</sup> Luraghi, *Historian’s Craft*, 271, thinks that Thucydides used Homer’s epic poetry, in spite of its genre, because it was viewed as a political source for the ship catalogues.

embellishments (κοσμῆσαι). But again: the purpose for the citation helps support Thucydides' attempt to persuade his readers.<sup>38</sup> Clearly Thucydides believes that his audience has reason to doubt his assertions here and speaks into a context of skepticism about the facts he records (1.10.3). He focuses on bolstering the historical claim that the ships of Troy were by far inferior (few in number, size, and soldiers) to those in the fleets that went to war overseas within the fifth century. Kim may be picking up on this literary strategy when he observes that Thucydides uses Homer to authenticate exceedingly large or small numbers. He says that the citations serve to support “the largest and the fewest amounts.”<sup>39</sup> This methodology, in fact, very closely resembles the citation strategy used by Xenophon (see below).

Other citations are used to verify the extreme end of an event category (e.g. strongest; greatest, etc.) (1.9.2; 2.57.1-2; 2.77.4–6<sup>40</sup>; 3.94.5; 4.24.5; 6.2.1<sup>41</sup>; 7.87.6; 8.1.1), first events (1.13.2; 2.48.2; 6.2.1), narrative transitions (1.138.6; 2.48.2; 3.96.1; 4.103.5; 6.2.1; 7.86.4–8.1.1 4x), exceedingly large or small numbers (2.98.3; 5.74.3),

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<sup>38</sup> Homer's catalogues originally included 1,886 ships, which Thucydides rounds this number to 1,200, showing the legitimacy of rounding numbers in ancient historical practice, even when the credibility of the source itself may be in question.

<sup>39</sup> Kim, *Homer*, 42.

<sup>40</sup> 2.77.4–6 provides a good example of this type of usage: “The consequence was a fire greater than any one had ever yet seen produced by human agency, though it could not of course be compared to the spontaneous conflagrations sometimes known to occur through the wind rubbing the branches of a mountain forest together. And this fire was not only remarkable for its magnitude, but was also, at the end of so many perils, within an ace of proving fatal to the Plataeans; a great part of the town became entirely inaccessible, and had a wind blown upon it, in accordance with the hopes of the enemy, nothing could have saved them. As it was, there is also a story [τόδε λέγεται] of heavy rain and thunder having come on by which the fire was put out and the danger averted” (Dent, LCL). So here we have the claim that Thucydides knows of the greatest fire ever produced by humans. After describing the event (2.774–5), Thucydides then quickly reminds his readers that he has sources authenticating these grandiose claims (2.77.6).

<sup>41</sup> E.g. earliest inhabitants: “It was settled originally as follows, and the peoples that occupied it are these. The earliest inhabitants spoken of [λέγονται] in any part of the country are the Cyclopes and Laestrygones” (Dent, LCL; 6.2.1).

places of possible doubt (1.24.4<sup>42</sup>, 32.5, 34.1, 38.1<sup>43</sup>; 6.2.4<sup>44</sup>), and miraculous tales (1.118.3<sup>45</sup>; 2.102.5–6; 3.88.3; 3.96.1<sup>46</sup>). Several times in his history Thucydides sets up conflicting sources in the narrative (1.20.3–1.21.1; 2.5.5–6; 6.55.1; 7.86.4; 8.87.2–3) to illustrate his practice of the careful historical method he lays out in his preface (1.22.2). These typically have their own validating function as well. For example, the conflicting sources that Thucydides draws attention to at 7.86.4 factor into a larger cluster of citations supporting a significant narrative transition (see below). 2.5.5–6 also marks a transition, bringing to a close the narrative scene by drawing the readers' attention to the sources for the account. In 1.20.3–1.21.1, Thucydides cites inferior conflicting sources again to validate the authenticity of his own historical record. Debate (doubt) ensues regarding whether Hippias was in fact the eldest son and succeeded to government, so Thucydides highlights the veracity of the pool of source material he draws from and adds an additional circumstantial argument in support of his own view in order to gain the sympathies of his readers. Westlake contends that λέγεται-formulas in the Spartan

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<sup>42</sup> Westlake, "ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ," 357, argues that this formula refers to the whole clause and that "the function of the λέγεται phrase is partly to indicate that Thucydides is using a written source, though he may have felt some uncertainty about the vagueness or brevity of this source."

<sup>43</sup> Westlake, "Thucydides," 95–110, comments on these three passages (1.32.5; 1.34.1; 1.38.1) and says that, taken on their own, the events described within them would be suspect, but Thucydides' use of authoritative sources bring surety where there would otherwise be doubt. Cf. Westlake, "ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ," 357.

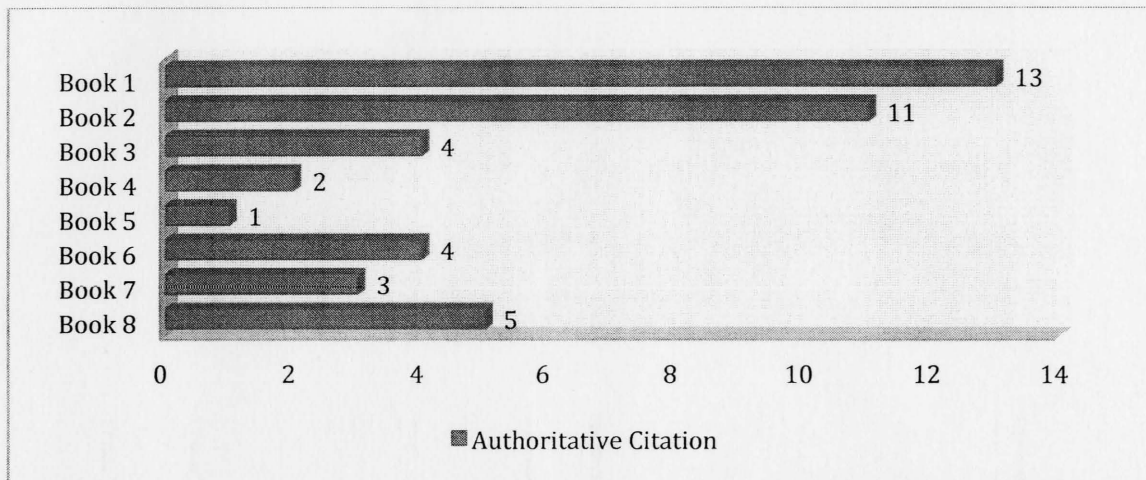
<sup>44</sup> Westlake, "ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ," 360, states: "the combination of εικός and λέγεται shows that the [citation] is intended to substantiate rather than to throw doubt upon the statement about the rafts [in 7.2.4]."

<sup>45</sup> Miracles were commonly brought into question among ancient historians. Although ancient historians tend to be open to the possibility of divine interventions, they record them with an eye toward the assumed skepticism of their audience and, therefore, view them as in need of verification. 1.118.3 provides an example of this: "And though the Lacedaemonians had made up their own minds on the fact of the breach of the treaty and the guilt of the Athenians, yet they sent to Delphi and inquired of the god whether it would be well with them if they went to war; and, as it is reported [ὡς λέγεται], received from him the answer that if they put their whole strength into the war, victory would be theirs, and the promise that he himself would be with them, whether invoked or uninvoked." Thucydides directly distances himself from the report that the god had actually answered this request through the rhetorical function of direct citation.

<sup>46</sup> Many times, narrative transitions will have a dual function of supporting historical information and transitioning the narrative into the next scene (3.96.1; cf. also 6.2.1). In the case of 3.96.1, an oracle is cited (activity of gods / invocation of muses) that helps establish the next narrative event. We also find at this location the use of a prophetic source to document a future happening. The predictive oracle is used as a source for the action of Demosthenes.

narrative, in particular, have a “justifying” function (2.18.5, 20.1, 93.4; 3.79.3; cf. also 4.103.5), implemented in “justification of behavior that might be criticized.”<sup>47</sup> Again: citations get recruited in places of narrative doubt.

Citation clustering represents another important phenomenon that emerges from the study of Thucydides’ citation of sources. The distribution breaks down as follows:



**Fig. 13:** *Authoritative Citation Distribution in Thucydides’ Peloponnesian War*

As with Herodotus, a high density of citations group around (in Thucydides’ case, temporally) distant events. The majority of citations found in Book 1 result from the cluster of citations found in the Archeology (1.1–23), his “account of ancient things.” By definition, this material remains dislocated from Thucydides’ temporal location. Doubt is introduced by virtue of the pastness of the event, which motivates Thucydides to employ source citation as a rhetorical tactic for strengthening his narrative in these early phases.<sup>48</sup> Crane recognizes a significant narratological role for the Archeology, in that it

<sup>47</sup> Westlake, “ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ,” 352.

<sup>48</sup> Westlake, “ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ,” 356–62.

“introduces several major themes that run throughout the *History*, themes that have been widely recognized.”<sup>49</sup>

As hinted at above, the two named conflicting sources mentioned in 2.5.5–6 help support a narrative transition. Thucydides makes an anaphoric reference to his source base by citing the Theban account and setting it in conflict with that of the Plataeans. After bringing this episode of his account of the war to a close, in 2.6.1, Thucydides moves into his next narrative segment with τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες at which time the narrative begins to focus on the Athenians. Several unnamed sources then corroborate various other details throughout Book 2. Citations then become exceedingly infrequent in Books 3–5, with only a few anonymous citations—again, mainly to authenticate historical details that may be in doubt.

Then another tightly packed cluster runs across the transition marked by 7.86.4–8.1.1, utilizing foreground (explicit and generic) citations to shift the narrative and support significant historical developments. The absolute and complete nature of the military destruction, an event described by Thucydides as the “greatest Hellenistic achievement of any in this war, or, in [his] opinion, in Hellenistic history” (LCL, 7.87.5), needs definitive credibility. And with this war, Thucydides ends his history of Sicily and so ends this segment of the narrative. So it is important to notice here that at one of the most significant turning points in the history and with the narration of the greatest achievement in Hellenistic history, Thucydides recruits the most tightly packed cluster of source citations found in his *Peloponnesian War*.

All of this reveals the Thucydidean strategy of reserving source citation for exceedingly special events that need authorizing at the narrative-historiographic level.

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<sup>49</sup> Cane, *Thucydides*, 127.

We also notice that foreground citations tend to populate around narrative transitions, in places where historical details may also need validation, whereas less marked forms tend toward supporting historical details independent of a transition.

### 2.3. *Xenophon*

Unlike Herodotus and Thucydides, Xenophon abstains from discussion of his sources. Picking up where Thucydides left off, Xenophon clearly functions as an eyewitness to many of the events he records. Various friends may also have been involved as sources in Xenophon's historical investigations. Some propose that perhaps he drew upon three of his friends, whom he thanks in the narrative, for information: Pasimelos of Corinth (*Hell.* 4.4.4–12), Prokles of Phleious (*Hell.* 7.3.2), and Euryptolemos (*Hell.* 1.3.33).<sup>50</sup> Xenophon might have drawn from the source material provided by these and others that he worked into the mimetic plane of his narrative, leaving the sources unnamed. Xenophon almost never names his sources in the flow of his narrative so that the vast majority of his source material remains lurking underneath the surface, likely never to be discovered by his modern admirers.

#### 2.3.1. *Form*

Several features reveal the interpersonal nature of Xenophon's citations. On the few occasions that he does cite his sources, Xenophon most frequently employs some variation of the anonymous citation. *Hellenica* contains a total of 29 of these citations.<sup>51</sup> These are built off of forms for φημί or λέγω. By far the most common usage in

<sup>50</sup> Thomas, "Introduction," lx.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Tuplin, *Failings of Empire*, 39–40, counts 33 of these citations but he does not provide a comprehensive list nor does he make his methodology for determining a citation clear.

*Hellenica* is ἔφασαν (e.g. with ὡς: *Hell.* 5.4.57; 6.4.30 and without ὡς: *Hell.* 2.3.56; 3.5.21 [καὶ πολλὴν ἔφασαν]; 6.2.6, 4.7, 4.12, 4.29; 6.5.26, 5.29, 5.49; 7.1.30, 32; 7.4.40), a formula fairly distinct to *Hellenica* (but cf. Xenophon, *Cyr.* 3.3.38; *Anab.* 5.4.27; 7.4.21). Xenophon also employs φασὶν when using anonymous citation at *Hell.* 7.1.31.

*Hellenica* marks anonymous sources through the use of λέγω-formulas as well (with ὡς: 5.4.57; 6.2.16; 6.4.30; and without: 3.1.14, 2.10, 27; 4.2.22, 4.10, 8.36; 5.3.2, 4.7; 6.4.7).

*Anabasis* exhibits the same kind of scenario. Here, however, Xenophon most frequently employs some form of λέγω-formula (rather than ἔφασαν, as in *Hellenica*) to mark his citations. Typically in these formulas, λέγω grammaticalizes the imperfective aspect: either the present passive λέγεται (*Anab.* 1.2.8, 2.9, 2.14, 8.6, 8.24; 2.6.29; 3.4.11; 3.5.15; 6.2.1, 2.2) or imperfect passive ἐλέγετο (*Anab.* 1.2.12, 2.21, 4.4, 4.17, 8.9, 8.20, 10.7; 2.2.6, 4.12, 6.8, 15; 7.2.5, 2.22, 4.13; only rarely with ὡς: *Anab.* 1.4.5; often with δέ, e.g. δ' ἐλέγετο [2.4.12]). Other forms of λέγω are found more sporadically: ἔλεγον (*Anab.* 1.4.17, 18; 7.4.13), λέγουσι (1.8.18), ἐλέγοντο (*Anab.* 1.7.11, 8.9, 10.1; 2.2.6; 4.3.4; with ὡς: 1.10.18), λέγονται (6.4.1), λεγομένην (1.10.2), λεγόμενοι (7.2.22) as well as the aorist ἐλέχθησαν (1.9.18). *Anabasis* has the φημί-formula as well, but only on occasion: ἔφασαν (1.8.20; 1.9.23; 2.1.14; 2.6.10; 3.5.16; 7.4.15; used with μέν...ἄλλος to present differing accounts, 1.2.25), φησι (1.8.26), φασι (οἱ μέν...οἱ δ' ἑαυτὸν to present differing accounts, 1.8.29). At *Anab.* 1.9.1, Xenophon uses ὡς παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται to report the universal testimony of his witnesses as well.

### 1.3.2. *Projection / Expansion*

Xenophon does not engage with normative texts at any significant level, but instead refers to oral tradition as the basis of his citations. These still operate within the projection / expansion system and allow Xenophon to interpret historical events in the expansions of his projections in light of his citation of oral tradition. For example, in *Anab.* 1.4.18, Xenophon cites the people of Thapsacus's testimony that a certain river had never been crossed by foot. In what ultimately becomes an expansion on this citation, Xenophon interprets Cyrus's crossing this river as a divine intervention. A similar example occurs in *Anab.* 1.8.26, where Xenophon cites a physician to help explain details leading up to Cyrus's death. However, since Xenophon does not use normative texts for citation, his citations operate mostly at the form / function levels of the discourse and thus do not carry a great deal of interpretive content / intention at the projection / expansion level. We find then in Xenophon more examples of citation recruited for exclusively narrative-literary reasons, apparently not driven mainly by ideological or interpretive concerns.

### 2.3.3. *Narrative Function*

Gray's important study shows that:

The major function of citation is to validate content that the reader might find too hard to believe. The writer engages with his reader to authorize: excessively large or small numbers [*Hell.* 3.2.27; 5.3.2; 6.2.16, 2.30, 4.12, 4.29, 5.29; *Anab.* 1.10.1, 10.18, 2.12], sensational deaths [*Hell.* 3.1.14; 4.4.10; 5.3.2, 4.7; 6.4.37; *Anab.* 1.6.11, 8.24, 8.26, 8.28, 8.29], significant reputations [*Hell.* 3.1.8, 3.8; 5.4.57; *Cry.* 1.2.1; 3.2.7; 4.6.11; 8.2.13-14, 5.28], great impiety or the activities of gods [*Hell.* 1.4.12; 5.4.17; 6.4.7-8; 6.4.30; 7.1.31; 7.5.12], significant sayings [*Hell.* 2.3.56; 4.4.10; 7.1.30], and that which is generally excessive.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Gray, "Interventions," 116–17. Her references in support are included in brackets.



She suggests that Xenophon “does not use citations where his own knowledge falls short, or because he disbelieves the report, or for any other straight research reason” but in order to anticipate a reader’s “shock” at the unlikeliness of an event and so that “the narrator reminds the reader of his engagement with witnesses.”<sup>53</sup> Xenophon implements citations at significant narrative turning points as well (e.g. a turning point in the battle with the Spartans, *Hell.* 4.2.22; Ischolaus’s narrative shaping decision, *Hell.* 6.5.26). Gray notices: “Neither the citations nor the interventions are found very frequently. That would exhaust and destroy their power... their power is proven by their clustering in accounts of remarkable events.”<sup>54</sup>

When we turn to Xenophon’s writings, Gray’s conclusions are corroborated. Xenophon recruits direct source citation in several passages in an apparent effort to strengthen his narrative developments. The distribution of these citations appear quite significant. The same clustering phenomenon that we find in Herodotus and Thucydides resurfaces here. Out of the 29 citations that appear in *Hellenica*, 15 of them occur in the final two books (*Hell.* 6–7). We find a small cluster in Book 3, but the largest cluster by far occurs in Book 6.

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<sup>53</sup> Gray, “Interventions,” 117.

<sup>54</sup> Gray, “Interventions,” 119.

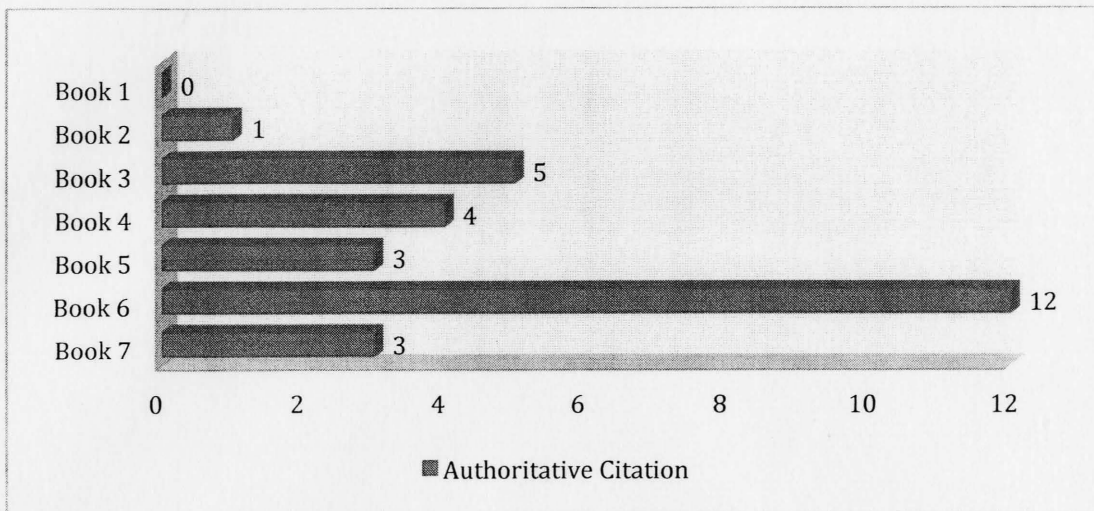


Fig. 14: Authoritative Citation Distribution in Xenophon's *Hellenica*

Tuplin chalks up this drastic increase in citation density within the final volumes to “a stylistic quirk of which Xenophon has become increasingly fond....”<sup>55</sup> However, this kind of observation fails to take into consideration the narrative tendency of Xenophon to employ source citation—usually unnamed sources—strategically in order to strengthen the credibility of his history. The same clustering phenomenon is also found in *Anabasis* at the beginning of the narrative so that this device can hardly be dismissed as something that Xenophon gradually grew accustomed to as he composed *Hellenica*, especially since it drops out in Book 7. Narrative-historiographic strategy seems to explain this feature in *Hellenica* quite well. The devastating defeat of the Spartans at the battle of Leuctra (*Hell.* 6.4.4–34; cf. 7.1.10, 1.35, 2.2) accounts for a decent portion of the citations that we find toward the end of Xenophon’s multi-volume work. For example, Xenophon marks the omens in *Hell.* 6.4.5 with a citation (ὡςπερ λέγεται) because they are “one of the unusual

<sup>55</sup> Tuplin, *Failings*, 40 n19.

areas that strain belief.”<sup>56</sup> The excessive drunkenness of the Spartans as well as the unusually small number of Spartan soldiers at the battle receive a citation (*Hell.* 6.4.12).<sup>57</sup> The Tearless Battle recorded at *Hell.* 7.1.30-32 has four citations used to support extraordinary events: (1) Archidamus’s call for his men to vindicate ancestral honor; (2) thunder and lightning at the speech; (3) leaders having to restrain the men because of their excessive energy; and (4) great cries and tears of joy was shed at sound of the herald when Archidamus and the other leaders heard the news of victory.<sup>58</sup> Xenophon also uses direct citations to confirm or deny reports in order to “produce further conviction” (see *Hell.* 3.2.27; 5.4.1; 6.2.6; 6.2.16; 6.4.7-8).<sup>59</sup> So far from being incidental or a stylistic quirk, the implementation of anonymous citation appears to function quite strategically.

We find the same clustering phenomenon in *Anabasis* that we do in *Hellenica*. *Anabasis* has a total of 45 citations, 43 of which are anonymous. Notice how this breaks down book by book in *Anabasis*.

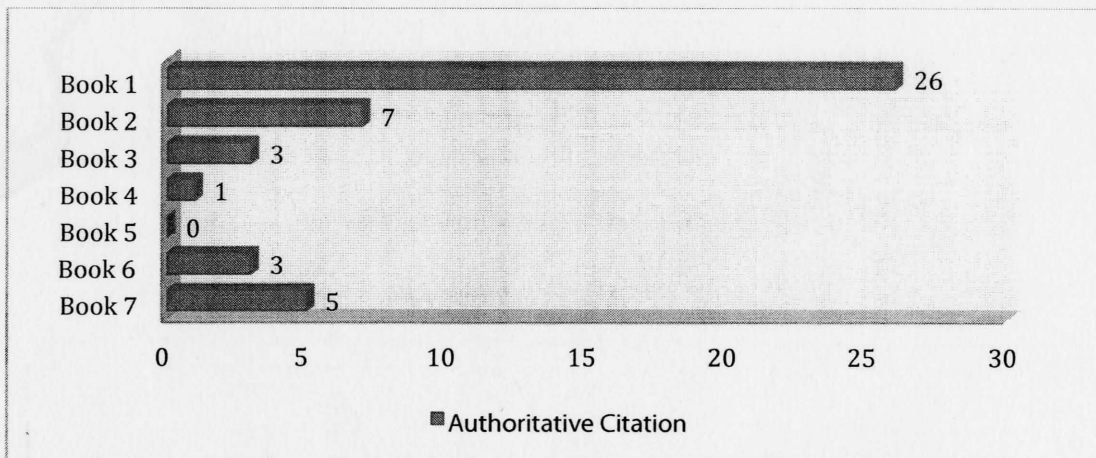


Fig. 15: Authoritative Citation Distribution in Xenophon’s *Anabasis*

<sup>56</sup> Gray, “Interventions,” 119.

<sup>57</sup> Gray, “Interventions,” 119–20.

<sup>58</sup> Gray, “Interventions,” 120.

<sup>59</sup> Gray, “Interventions,” 118.

This analysis reveals a tightly packed citation cluster in Book 1 that mildly carries over into Book 2. This cluster of citations largely centers around the extraordinary details associated with the Cyrus story and especially his encounters on the battle field. After Cyrus's death in *Anab.* 1.9.1 and the following closing remarks in 1.10, the frequency of direct citations drop off dramatically. An assessment of these citations quickly reveals that Xenophon does in fact draw attention to his sources when the credibility of the narrative may be in question.

These citations have several functions. Three of them are used to validate supernatural activity (Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.2.8–9, 4.18; 6.2.2). For example, *Anab.* 1.2.8, the opening citation of *Anabasis*, involves a description of Cyrus's palace by the Marsyas river where "according to the story ... Apollo flayed Marsyas, after having defeated him in a contest of musical skill; he hung up his skin in the cave from which the sources issue" (Brownson, LCL). Activity of the gods requires special authentication. Xenophon also frequently uses citations to endorse unusually large numbers in *Anabasis* (*Anab.* 1.2.12, 4.5, 7.11, 10.18; 2.2.6, 4.12; 3.4.11). Notice, for instance, *Anab.* 1.4.5, where at the beginning of the passage Xenophon says that Abrocomas had a very large army and toward the end validates this with a citation as he specifies the exact number: "he turned about in his journey from Phoenicia and marched off to join the King, with an army, so the report ran [ὡς ἐλέγεται], of three hundred thousand men" (Brownson, LCL).

As with Herodotus, sometimes we find conflicting sources in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, which tends to provide a helpful strategy for gaining the sympathies of the audience since it reassures the readers of the historian's judicious use of his sources (*Anab.* 1.2.25, 8.29). In *Anab.* 1.8.29, we find an extremely significant passage within the

narrative since it documents Cyrus's death. A single citation may not have the gravitas that Xenophon desires so he pits his sources against one another, painting a picture that leaves open the question as to whether Cyrus was murdered or killed himself with a golden dagger: "And one report is that the King ordered someone to slay him upon the body of Cyrus, while others say that he drew his dagger and slew himself with his own hand" (Brownson, LCL). This device then creates a great deal of credibility for this significant event within Xenophon's *Anabasis* narrative. Many of Xenophon's citations in *Anabasis* mark off an item toward the top end of the event-category that it occupies (*Anab.* 1.9.18, 9.23, 10.2, 10.7; 2.6.8; 6.4.1; 7.2.22). In *Anab.* 7.2.22 Xenophon informs us: "they were the Thynians, and were said to be the most warlike of all men, especially by night" (Brownson, LCL).

Various items in doubt or highly unlikely or the generally excessive also receive a citation (*Anab.* 1.2.4, 8.6, 8.18, 8.20; 2.6.10; 3.5.16; 4.3.4; 7.2.22, 4.13). It was unusual, to say the least, for a woman to function in the role typically suited for a man in Xenophon's culture and so citations are associated with the interactions between the Cilician queen and Cyrus at *Anab.* 1.2.4. Similarly, the extremely unlikely scenario in which the Greek army undergoes battle and not a single Greek is injured, besides one arrow wound at *Anab.* 1.8.20, receives an anonymous citation. Xenophon uses two citations, both in 1.8.20, to ensure readers of the reliability of this story. Significant narrative turning points warrant citations as well (*Anab.* 1.8.24, 10.1; 2.1.14, 6.15; 7.2.5). Both *Anab.* 1.8.24 and 2.6.15 record the slaying of a commander, resulting in significant shifts within the plot. Gray notices a further category worth mentioning: "the narrator ...

vouches for two actions, but leaves the climactic third to a source”<sup>60</sup> (she includes *Anab.* 1.8.24, 8.26, 8.28; *Hell.* 5.3.2 in this category, but see also *Anab.* 1.2.21, 4.17, 8.9; 7.4.15).

The use of generic and explicit source-citations is virtually non-existent in Xenophon. We find no frontground citations in *Hellenica* and only two in *Anabasis*, both in support of supernatural activity.<sup>61</sup> The opening anonymous citation (*Anab.* 1.2.8-9) bolsters a claim about divine activity, followed by a frontground citation shortly after at *Anab.* 1.4.18 in support of the gods parting the waters for Cyrus.<sup>62</sup> The second frontground citation occurs in the story of Cunaxa (*Anab.* 1.8). Whereas Book 1 of *Anabasis* employs the most citations in the work, chapter 8 employs the most citations in Book 1.

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<sup>60</sup> Gray, “Interventions,” 119.

<sup>61</sup> Although Gray, “Interventions,” 118, only recognizes one citation between *Hellenica* and *Anabasis* (*Anab.* 1.8.26), *Anab.* 1.4.18 clearly stands out as another: οἱ δὲ Θαψακινοὶ ἔλεγον. Xenophon uses this citation from “the people of Thapsacus” to endorse the “supernatural intervention” (ἐδόκει δὴ θεῖον εἶναι) in parting the waters for Cyrus which had never been crossed on foot—only in boats, which Abrocomas had burned. The gods did this, according to Xenophon, because Cyrus was destined to be king (Κύρω ὡς βασιλεύσοντι). Herodotus uses national citations quite frequently (e.g. Herodotus 2.146.2), but only here does Xenophon cite a people as a source.

<sup>62</sup> The only other time Xenophon cites a source with activities of the gods is found in *Anab.* 6.2.2 where Hercules descends into Hades. Xenophon corroborates the citation further by pointing to physical markings as evidence of this event’s occurrence. Thus in all three cases where *Anabasis* verifies divine interventions through citation, further support is recruited.

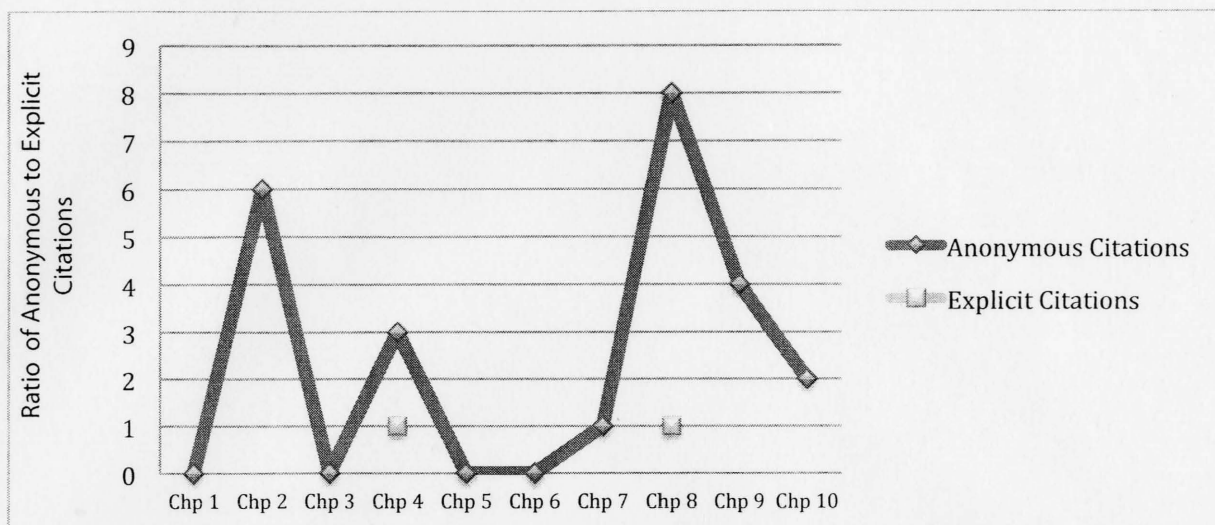


Fig. 16: Distribution of Anonymous and Explicit Citations in Xenophon, *Anabasis*, Book 1

As Gray observes, in *Anab.* 1.8, “Citations mark the great moments in the two main phases of the narration: how the Greeks survived the charge of the scythed chariots of King Artaxerxes, and how Cyrus fought in personal combat with his brother.”<sup>63</sup> This passage stands out within the larger narrative—even more significantly, in my view—by detailing the affairs that lead up to the climatic narrative event we find in *Anab.* 1.8.29-1.9.1, with the epic death of Cyrus. The location of the explicit citation fits this analysis as well. It occurs at *Anab.* 1.8.26 and functions as part of a larger cluster of citations toward the end of 1.8. The tightest cluster of citations begins in *Anab.* 1.8.18 (1.8.18, 8.20 2x, 8.24, 8.26, 8.29), all associated with various details of the battle—the explicit citation nested right in the middle of the cluster. The reference to Ctesias (ὡς φησι Κτησίας ὁ ἰατρός) comes in at the end as a validation for a sizable portion of the war narrative, vouching for the numbers of people Cyrus slew and the wound he took to the chest. The citation marks a massive narrative turning point as it builds up to the climax in *Anab.*

<sup>63</sup> Gray, “Intervention,” 118.

1.8.29 where Cyrus dies. And the explicit citation is not the only source highlighting citation technique used here. The highly marked conflicting sources strategy used by Xenophon draws further attention to the death of Cyrus as a major narrative hinge. Xenophon thus continues the strategy of citing sources when the narrative introduces unusual or supernatural activity that need validation in the minds of the implied readers.

## 2.4. *Polybius*

Only part of Polybius's history survives in full (Books 1–5). The portions that do remain, however, are significant, weighing in at over 300,000 words—the most substantial work preserved from ancient history, even in its fragmentary state.<sup>64</sup> Dionysius accused Polybius—along with Phylarcus, Durius, Psaon, Demetrius of Callatis, Hieronymus, Antigonus, Heracleides, Hegesianax, and “countless others” (ἄλλους μυρίους)—of being so long and inornate that it was unreadable (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Comp.* 4.110). Polybius also stands out among the historians as one distinctively focused on method—more so than any other historian from his era, even if stylistically deficient.<sup>65</sup> As a result, we discover much discussion of sources, especially in the portions of Polybius devoted to methodological concerns.

### 2.4.1. *Form*

Polybius's citation formulas exhibit much less formal stability than those used by the other historians considered thus far. The most formalized element used at the form

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<sup>64</sup> Due to its incomplete condition, we will have to state our narrative analysis and results cautiously since we do not possess the entire discourse, but it seems that we have enough data still to come to some important conclusions. Cf. Champion, *Cultural Politics*, 9–10.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Walbank, *Polybius*, 34; Marincola, *Greek Historians*, 36–37; Walbank, *Polybius, Rome, and the Hellenistic World*, 54; McGing, *Polybius' Histories*, 14–15.



level of Polybius's citation framework revolves around the φημί-group, especially for anonymous citations. These take singular (φησιν, 1.58.5; 2.59.1, 59.2, 59.5, 59.7, 60.1; 3.8.1; 4.20.5; 7.13.8; 16.16.2; 34.3.9<sup>66</sup>) and plural (φασιν, 3.48.2; 4.59.5; 9.16.5; 12.3.8; 27.9.6; 27.9.7) forms. Although not as common, Polybius uses λέγει as well (e.g. 2.63.1). An additional form of anonymous citation involves words of cognition, especially from the δοκ-group (e.g. 1.35.4: δοκοῦν; 10.10.11: δοκεῖ; see also 1.68; 3.98; 4.50; 5.45; 5.107; 7.2; 7.15; 16.12). Another quite frequent feature of many of Polybius's generic citations includes reference to the other "historians" with forms from the γράφ- or ἱστορ- groups, typically through substantive participles like γεγραφότων (3.47.6) or συγγεγραφότων (1.64.3), and often οἱ συγγραφεῖς (3.57.3; 6.43.1) or ἱστορεῖται (as in 6.54.6: πολλῶν ἱστορεῖται παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις; and 34.1.1: τῆς ἱστορίας γραφῆ) (see also 2.56, 61; 3.32, 48; 6.46; 9.1, 2, 8, 21, 23; 10.9, 26; 15.34; 22.8; 29.12; 34.2).

Polybius employs several explicit citations. As a (perhaps *the*) major use of his source materials, Polybius engages in criticizing his sources' methodology which results in a platform for developing his own approach. At times, he cites other historians favorably, but for the most part he remains critical. He engages the most with Timaeus (8.12; esp. Book 12), but also Philinus (1.15), Fabius (1.58; 3.8, 9), Aratus (2.56), Phylarchus (2.59, 60, 61, 63), Ephorus (4.20; 5.33; 9.1; 12.27), Theopompus (8.11, 12; 12.27), Antisthenes (16.14), Zeno (16.14), Thucydides (8.13), Aeneas (10.44), Callisthenes (12.17, 18, 21), and Demosthenes (18.4, 15). Naming historical predecessors

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<sup>66</sup> This form is actually φησι, dropping the v. The same thing occurs with the singular φασιν using the form φασι (12.3; 27.9.6; 27.9.7). Notice that this occurs later in his history which means that it occurs more frequently at portions of the history written later, likely, with the gradual development of the language, Polybius tends more toward forms with the apocopated v.

in this way was rare.<sup>67</sup> Literary works and tradition occupy another major category in Polybius's source framework, especially for explicit citation but may involve generic citation as well (e.g. Polybius sometimes cites Homer as "the poet," 15.16). Polybius cites Homer (5.38; 9.16), Plato (6.45; 7.13; 12.28), Aristotle (12.5), Samus (5.9), and Cato (35.1). He also refers to various contemporary aphorisms (e.g. 5.35.1; 12.12; 29.16). At another point, Polybius refers to myth-tradition as one of his sources (4.59.5: ὁ φασιν οἱ μῦθοι).<sup>68</sup> So we can see that not only Polybius's sources but also his method of citation seems to vary more than other historians.

#### 2.4.2. *Projection / Expansion*

Polybius competes with Homer (9.16) when he criticizes Homer's Ulysses, who could direct both land and sea voyages by the stars. However, he still interprets Homer as an essentially reliable account.<sup>69</sup> At 34.2, Polybius contends that Homer did not indulge in the merely mythological but based his mythical portraits around a core of truth. Homer, in fact, agrees with what the "other historians" (τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγραφεῦσιν) (34.2.10) of Italy and Sicily have written—even if, undoubtedly, mythical elements have crept in. Later in this paragraph, he then cites Homer, *Od.* 12.95//Polybius 34.2.12-14, without modification as an indication of this reliability. The expansion—connected to the citation by γάρ (34.2.14)—that directly follows reveals the Polybian hermeneutic. γάρ helps support a relationship of extension through addition in the expansion. Here,

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Walbank, "Polemic in Polybius," 262.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Marincola, *Greek Historians*, 135, on Polybius's criticism of myth in history.

<sup>69</sup> He also elevates Homer as an example to be followed, above even the best historians—noting Homer's portrayal of Odysseus (12.27; cf. also 18.29). This really serves as part of an expansion (an example) on his citations of other historians, however, and thus does not have a major interpretive function—other than to interpret Homer as a solid specimen of excellent style. In his criticisms of Timaeus, he criticizes the misuse of Homer (12.25).

Polybius adds further details that bolster the historical accuracy of the Homeric account of marine patterns in Odysseus's wanderings against the claims of figures such as Eratosthenes (34.2), who would deny it (for this interpretive strategy, see also Polybius 34.3, 4, 11). Thus, as with Thucydides, we find two levels of hermeneutic at work in the projection / expansion system of Polybian discourse, when citing Homer. At one level, the historian desires to supplant the prior epic genre (with Homer as its chief representative) with a more reliable account of historical events. In this way, the historian competes with the poet through a hermeneutic of interrogation, at times calling into question Homer's narrative. Yet at another level, Polybius does not seem anxious to dismiss Homer entirely—instead he is intent on defending the essential reliability of the narrative. Polybius seeks to resolve this interpretive tension through proposing a core of truthful tradition as the foundation of Homeric epic, fused with mythic exaggerations of the facts.

Perhaps more significant at this level of Polybius's citation strategy, we should notice his interactions with Timaeus. This may appear to provide one example among the ancient historians of a principally hermeneutic motivation for citations. Polybius constantly projects portions of Timaeus's history into his own narrative and issues his critiques in the expansions through extension (variation), contradicting the reliability of Timaeus's account. However, this still seems to be driven by broader narrative concerns to underscore Polybius's own veracity. Thus again, while the projection / expansion system operates to provide a negative reading of Timaeus, the citations still seem motivated for mainly narrative purposes first rather than local level interpretive concerns (see below).

### 2.4.3. *Narrative Function*

Before examining the narrative significance of citation distribution and density in Polybius, we must address an important issue in Polybian studies. Since many of Polybius's source citations occur as a result of Polybius's interactions with other historians and criticisms of their historical method, we must configure the role of this phenomenon within Polybius's broader literary aims. Debate continues over why polemic against Polybius's historical predecessors occupies such a central role in his history.<sup>70</sup> Many accredit it to jealousy, especially of Timaeus.<sup>71</sup> Others attribute it to rhetorical flourish and pedagogy.<sup>72</sup> And still others to a confluence of social, political, literary, and historical motivations.<sup>73</sup> Polybian scholars tend to agree, however, that one of Polybius's primary narrative goals in writing his history was to supplant prior histories by modeling a *truly* universal history (see 5.33).<sup>74</sup>

It should come as no surprise then that Book 12 has an unusually dense cluster of citations since Polybius issues his greatest criticisms of his predecessors here (we also should note that only Books 1-5 are fully intact so some conclusions drawn below on narrative structure will have to remain tentative).

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<sup>70</sup> On polemic in Greek historiography, see Marincola, *Authority*, 218–24.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. Pédech, *Histoires*, xxxi–xxxiii, and *La Méthode*, 496–514, argues that, when Polybius visited Alexandria, he discovered that, even though he had visited the Alps, Timaeus was still hailed as the best historian by the scholars there.

<sup>72</sup> Marincola, *Greek Historians*, 134.

<sup>73</sup> Walbank, "Polemic," 262–79 (278) states: "Nearly always, Polybius's motives are mixed; and his attitude towards earlier historians can usually be seen to reflect personal or political considerations no less those of literary or historical merit." Cf. also Bollansée, "Historians," 253; Luce, *Greek Historians*, 92–94.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Marincola, *Greek Historians*, 134.

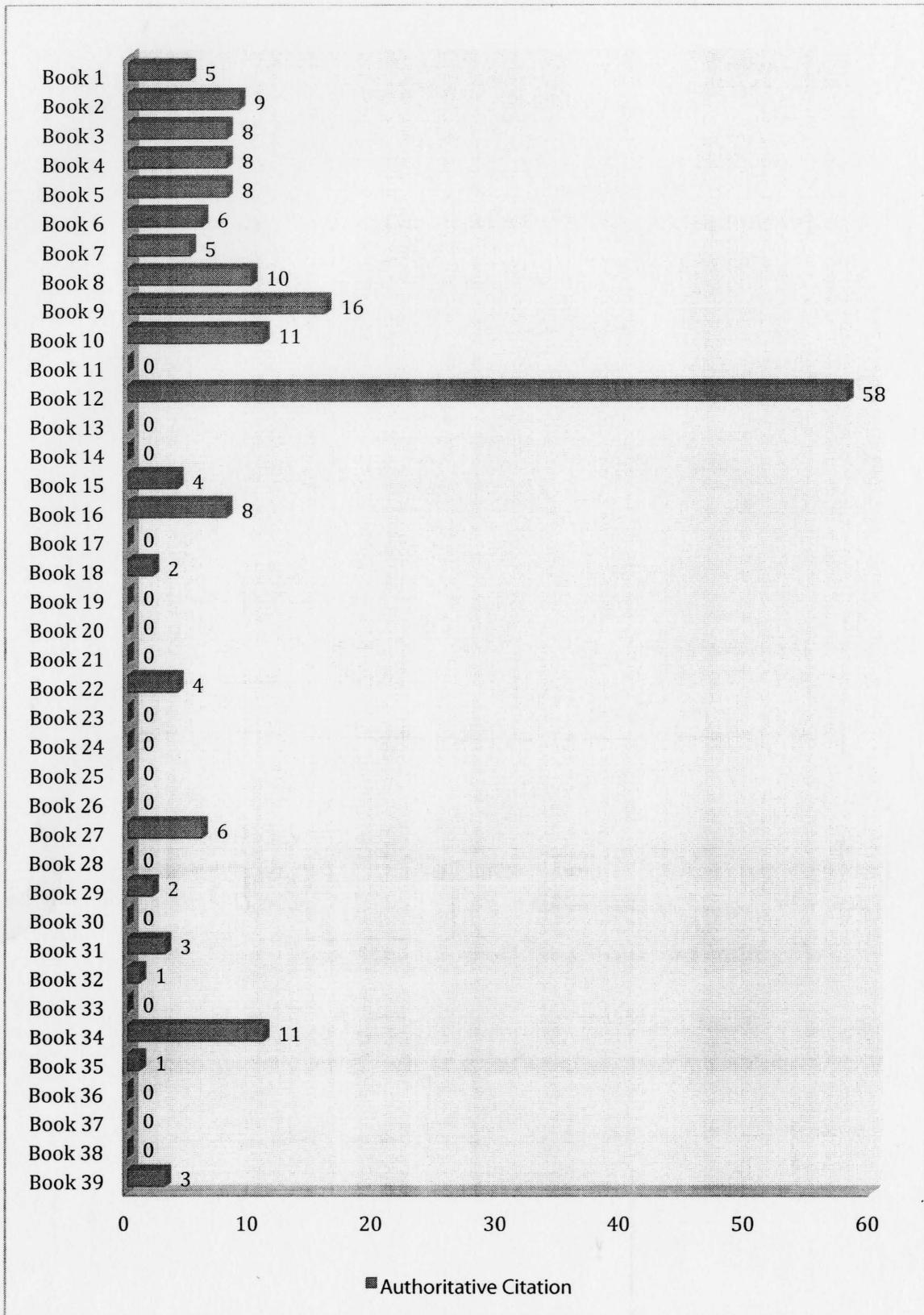


Fig. 17: Authoritative Citation Distribution in Polybius' Histories

Of course, critical engagement with other historians will naturally lend itself to citation of their works, but this sustained interaction with historical works functions as a Polybian innovation on any analysis. The noticeably higher density of citations prior to Book 12, combined with the distinct drop off of source citation after Book 12, also seems to suggest Book 12 as a kind of narrative climax, highlighted through Polybius's citation techniques. On this interpretation, Polybius structures his narrative around the development of his own historical methodology. And in light of the citation grouping phenomenon we find in other historians, the tightly packed cluster in Book 12 in arguably the most significant narrative development of his history suggests that while Polybius clearly innovates in his source citation strategy, he still seems to follow the clustering techniques of his contemporaries. Since Greek historians often cited sources at significant narrative locations, it is not surprising that the largest grouping of citations would occur at such a strategic position in the narrative.

Examination of the remaining smaller clusters confirms this proposal since in these cases, as well, the citation techniques of Polybius appear to fit functionally with those of the historians before and after him. The group of 16 citations that occurs in Book 9 surfaces primarily towards the end of the narrative (9.1, 2, 8, 14, 16 2x, 21 2x, 22, 23, 24, 25 3x, 26, 39) to validate the incredibly "extraordinary circumstances" (περιστάσεις παραδόξοις) of Hannibal's life (9.24.2). The smaller cluster of 11 citations in Book 10 occurs for similar reasons. In this Book, one of the subclusters emerges as Polybius narrates events that reveal the character of Publius Scipio, some of which needs validating due to interventions of the gods or the miraculous (10.9 2x; 10.10 2x; cf. also

8.30; 26.16<sup>75</sup>; 31.11, 24).<sup>76</sup> Other citations in Book 10 connect to major narrative transitions (10.26<sup>77</sup>, 32<sup>78</sup>, 43; cf. also 1.35; 4.34, 40, 43, 52, 59; 6.43, 54, 55; 9.16; 9.24; 12.3, 6; 15.34; 16.16, 18, 19; 22.8 2x; 29.12; 31.21; 39.13),<sup>79</sup> or unlikely / unbelievable accounts (10.28<sup>80</sup>; 48<sup>81</sup> 3x; cf. also 1.35<sup>82</sup>; 8.16; 9.23; 27.9<sup>83</sup>; 39.13<sup>84</sup>). In Book 34, we find the only significant cluster (13) after Book 12. Some of these occur in Polybius's defense of Homer's historical value by citing other historians (34.1 2x<sup>85</sup>, 3)—an assessment needing validation, given the mythical character of Homer's work.<sup>86</sup> He also

<sup>75</sup> Here an eclipse of the sun ends up functioning as an omen for the eclipse of the king's reign.

<sup>76</sup> Polybius acknowledges his skepticism toward supernatural activity in his criticism of Timaeus: "Many remarks depreciatory of divination and dream interpretation may be found in [Timaeus's] writings. But writers who have introduced into their books a good deal of such foolish talk, so far from running down others, should think themselves fortunate if they escape attack themselves" (Paton, LCL [12.12]). He expresses similar reservations later in his history, stating: "I am quite aware of the miraculous occurrences and embellishments which the chroniclers of this event have added to their narrative" (Paton, LCL [15.34]).

<sup>77</sup> Polybius may have multiple narrative uses for this passage. He mentions Phillip's qualifications being matched by "none" of his predecessors. He then signals that he is bringing his narrative to a close by noting that his narrative in the section he has just written called for recording of events typically consigned to prefaces in other histories (the citation): "*None of his predecessors had better qualifications for sovereignty, or more important defects, than this same Philip. And it appears to me that the good qualities were innate, while the defects grew upon him as he advanced in years, as happens to some horses as they grow old. Such remarks I do not, following some other historians, confine to prefaces; but when the course of my narrative suggests it, I state my opinion of kings and eminent men, thinking that most convenient for writer and reader alike*" (Paton, LCL [10.26]). Then Polybius moves into a very clear narrative transition at 10.27, switching away from his exposition of Philipp to his treatment of the territory of Media: "In regard to [Ἔστι τοίνυν] extent of territory Media is the most considerable of the kingdoms in Asia, as also in respect of the number and excellent qualities of its men, and not less so of its horses" (Paton, LCL [10.27]), where Polybius uses Ἔστι τοίνυν as a narrative transitional device.

<sup>78</sup> This citation occurs not only at the transition from 10.32–33 but also appears to cataphorically validate the excessive description of Hannibal as a great general in 10.33.

<sup>79</sup> Narrative transitions appear as one of the primary functions of source citation in Polybius. A large amount of Polybius' citations occur at narrative hinges, either at the beginning or ending of a chapter, as indicated by the numerous references cited above.

<sup>80</sup> Here Polybius documents secret subterranean water channels in a waterless part of the district, only known to the natives. He cites a true account from them in support of this difficult to believe story.

<sup>81</sup> Before citing two sources—a marked conflicting sources strategy—Polybius confesses that the events he records seem "surprising" (θαυμαστόν, 10.48.2). Thus he increases his authority by appeal to his sources.

<sup>82</sup> Here Polybius cites Euripides in support of an incredible and unlikely victory: "For it was one man, one brain, that defeated the numbers which were believed to be invincible and able to accomplish anything."

<sup>83</sup> The character of an "invincible athlete."

<sup>84</sup> People playing dice on fine art.

<sup>85</sup> Two citations occur in the preface to book 34, seemingly validating the entire book cataphorically, especially its validation of Homer's largely mythological account.

<sup>86</sup> Polybius expresses great dissatisfaction with historians who implement mythology in their histories: "In attacking others he shows great acuteness and boldness; when he comes to independent narrative he is full

uses a few citations to engage in criticism of Pytheas, citing several historians to disconfirm Pytheas's British travels (34.5 5x). Some of the context remains fragmentary, but Polybius's purpose in engaging with Pytheas probably has a lot to do with an attempt to raise the confidence of his readers in his own geographical sources. Polybius uses other citations in this portion of his narrative to validate excessive or incorrect numbers (34.6, 7 2x)<sup>87</sup> and extreme ends of an event category (34.10<sup>88</sup>; cf. also 7.12; 9.24, 26; 32.8<sup>89</sup>; 39.11<sup>90</sup>).

Citation functions most often in Polybius, as evidenced by its role in Book 12 and several other places (esp. leading up to Book 12, e.g. 1.15, 58, 64; 2.16, 56, 59, 60, 61, 63; 3.8, 9, 12, 32, 47, 48, 57; 4.20; 6.46), to discredit other historians. In this way, Polybius's disagreement with a source tends to provide a kind of reverse validation, showing a greater deal of accuracy, research, and knowledge that underlies his history when compared to others. Take, for example, Polybius's reference in his *Histories* to prior historians in Book 1:

For the subject is calculated to afford pleasure in the contemplation, and is up to this time so to speak absolutely unknown, thanks to historians, some of whom have been ignorant, while others have given so confused an account of it as to be practically useless. For the present it suffices to say that, as far as the late war was concerned, the two nations were closely matched in the character of the designs they entertained, as well as in the lofty courage they showed in prosecuting them: and this is especially

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of dreams, miracles, incredible myths,—in a word, of miserable superstition and old wives' tales" (Paton, LCL [12.24]). So this would be a place where validation from other historians functions with great significance.

<sup>87</sup> Polybius cites Dicaearchus who said it was 10,000 stades from the Peloponnese to the head of the Adriatic and then claims that his own calculation of this distance which comes out to almost double at 18,765 stades.

<sup>88</sup> Here, he cites Pytheas on Massalia or Narbo being the most important cities.

<sup>89</sup> Extreme honor is attributed in this passage to Lucius Aemilius Paulus "The strongest and most honourable proof of the integrity of Lucius Aemilius Paulus... as is said to have happened in the case of the Athenian Aristeides and the Theban Epaminondas,—how much more admirable is it for a man to have been master of a whole kingdom, with absolute authority to do with it as he chose, and yet to have coveted nothing in it!" (Paton, LCL). The text, however, is fragmentary at this point so judgments in terms of narrative function must be stated somewhat cautiously.

<sup>90</sup> Referring to extreme cases of cruelty.



true of the eager ambition displayed on either side to secure the supremacy (Paton, LCL [1.64]).

Polybius here uses citation of other historians (highlighting their ignorance) as a platform to bolster his own reliability. Polybius has access here to previously unknown information and thus needs to validate his possession of tradition that other historians do not record. So instead of searching for an external source to validate his knowledge, he uses a reversal strategy that not only advances the superiority of his own methodology (a primary narrative aim for his history) but also serves the literary demands of ancient historiography to validate difficult to believe claims through source citation. Polybius will also pit two historians against one another (conflicting sources) to increase the sense of accuracy for his own account (3.57) or will cite his sources at beginnings or firsts in the life of a narrative character (4.39; 7.13<sup>91</sup>), as we find in the other Greek historians.

## 2.5. Appian

Appian's *Civil Wars* offers a final history worth considering and provides a chronological anchor extending just beyond the first century, creating a chronological range leading up to the time of and just beyond the composition of Luke's Gospel. Although not as advanced or original a work as Thucydides', Appian's *Civil Wars* nevertheless offers us an excellent specimen of an early second-century C.E. Greek history. Much of his larger *Roman History*, which he organized geographically rather than chronologically, is unfortunately fragmentary. However, by restricting analysis to his *Civil Wars*—complete with its own preface and narrative design—we can track

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<sup>91</sup> Philipp's first step in his career of crime.

Appian's citation strategies fairly closely. Appian organizes the *Civil Wars* around the several generals involved in the wars that he documents.

Appian gives us an excellent sample for examining source usage since most Appian scholars think that he has implemented his source material into the narrative often very abruptly,<sup>92</sup> a view especially perpetuated in the influential work of Emilio Gabba.<sup>93</sup> This intrusive use of source material has a dramatic impact on Appian's style.<sup>94</sup> Often Appian uses overly simplistic or repetitive vocabulary, to the point where many classicists view him as not much more than an editor or compiler of tradition. While this feature may not attain to the caliber of history we find in some of Appian's predecessors (but then again, neither would Luke), it does make Appian ideal for the study of citation technique and strategy.

### 1.5.1. *Form*

Appian employs all three types of citation in his history of the civil wars. His most frequent formula is based around φημί (φασίν, *Bell. Civ.* 1.33, 46, 61 2x, 80, 104; 2.8, 15, 16, 20, 25, 39, 41, 60, 77, 102; 3.94; 4.80, 105; 5.49). Appian also uses λέγω based formulas, including the perfective εἶπον, in the infinitive (εἰπεῖν, *Bell. Civ.* 1.22, 94) and the participle (εἰπών, *Bell. Civ.* 1.116) as well as the imperfective aspect in the indicative (λέγεται, *Bell. Civ.* 1.65, 94; 2.64, 95, 102, 109, 112 2x, 153; 4.95) and the participle (λεγόμενος, *Bell. Civ.* 5.8; λεγομένου, *Bell. Civ.* 5.54; λεγόμενον, *Bell. Civ.* 1.46; 4.12; λέγουσιν, *Bell. Civ.* 2.116, 122; 4.105) grammaticalizing imperfective aspect. Terms for cognition, such as δοκέω, provide the basis for several formulas, with ὡς

<sup>92</sup> Cf. McGing, "Appian's 'Mithridatios,'" 498–99.

<sup>93</sup> Gabba, *Appiano*.

<sup>94</sup> Espelosín, "'Appian's Iberiké,'" 406–13.

(imperfective aspect: ὡς ἐδόκει, *Bell. Civ.* 1.36) and without (perfective aspect: δόξαν, *Bell. Civ.* 1.82; δόξαας, *Bell. Civ.* 2.2; δοκεῖ, *Bell. Civ.* 2.7, 48). Appian introduces some citations through combining formulaic saying verbs (e.g. φασὶν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν “he was reported to say,” *Bell. Civ.* 2.8). He also develops a somewhat distinct citation technique, employing substitution / omission of some form in the slot of the saying-verb for several of his citation formulas.<sup>95</sup> These range from article-conjunction (e.g. οἱ δὲ καί, *Bell. Civ.* 1.10) to article-particle combinations (e.g. τῶν μὲν ὅτι, *Bell. Civ.* 1.15). So we see in Appian more flexibility beginning to emerge in the types of citation formulas employed.

Much less frequently, Appian employs generic and explicit citation. He cites, for example, the best Roman authorities (ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πολλῶν ἀμφίλογα εἰπόντων ἐπομένῳ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων, *Bell. Civ.* 2.70) or the most reliable writers (ὅδε μὲν τοῖς τὰ πιθανώτατα λέγουσι δοκεῖ, *Bell. Civ.* 2.70). In this latter case, Appian refers to the opinion of “others” differing through the use of an article-preposition construction, only alternating the saying verb (οἱ δ’ ... φασὶν // οἱ δ’ ... λέγουσι). He also raises questions about specific events by acknowledging that not all writers believe what has been reported by some (οὐ μὴν ἅπανι τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι πιστὸν οὐδ’ ἐμοὶ πιθανόν, *Bell. Civ.* 3.84). Appian only uses explicit citation on three occasions. He refers to a collection of Caesar’s letters (ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς καταμέμφεται, *Bell. Civ.* 2.79). He also cites his own Asiatic history (ὡς μοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσιανὴν συγγραφὴν δεδήλωται, *Bell. Civ.* 2.92) and, on another occasion, he cites Libo as a source (ὅδε μὲν τισι περὶ τοῦ Βάσσου δοκεῖ, Λίβωνι δ’, ὅτι, *Bell. Civ.* 3.77).

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<sup>95</sup> Cf. Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §6.

### 2.5.2. *Projection / Expansion*

Appian does not cite Homer in his *Civil Wars* (but see Appian, *Mith.* 1). However, a quotation from Caesar does enter the narrative through the projection / expansion system. In *Bell. Civ.* 2.79, Appian states that while many praised Pompey's military tactic, Caesar criticized it in his letters (ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς καταμέμφεται):

Thereupon Caesar's men, who had just now been afraid of being surrounded, fell upon the flank of Pompey's infantry which was denuded of its cavalry supports. When Pompey learned this he ordered his infantry not to advance farther, not to break the line of formation, and not to hurl the javelin, but to bring their spears to a rest and ward off the onset of the enemy... [Caesar] says that the blows are delivered with more force, and that the spirits of the men are raised, by running, while those who stand still lose courage by reason of their immobility and become excellent targets for those charging against them. So, he says, it proved in this case, for the tenth legion, with Caesar himself, surrounded Pompey's left wing, now deprived of cavalry, and assailed it with javelins in flank, where it stood immovable; until, finally, the assailants threw it into disorder, routed it, and this was the beginning of the victory (White, LCL [2.78-29]).

Appian's paraphrase of Caesar's reflections differs somewhat from the account we find in Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* 3.93. Contrary to Appian's summary, Caesar places Pompey's order to his troops at the beginning of the battle not, as Appian says, in response to Caesar. Beyond this chronological detail, however, there is broad agreement between the two accounts, probably indicating the allowance for adjusting issues of chronology to fit Appian's interpretive goals in the expansion—thus we have expansion through elaboration. In another citation, Appian seems to compete with the common account of Bassus by having access to an unknown historian named Libo (*Bell. Civ.* 3.77). In the expansion directly following the reference, Appian entertains both options as possible (ὁποτέρως δ' ἐγένετο), and asserts what appears to be certain from all accounts. As a more subtle form of competition, Appian portrays himself as at least more informed than the common account of this event. We see then a continued use of projection / expansion in the historians to prove their own reliability, often evidenced in their expansions, but no

unifying hermeneutic beyond this seems to emerge in any one author as we examine their source citations.

### 2.5.3. *Narrative Function*

The vast majority of citations in Appian come in the form of anonymous citation, creating a narrative foreground through the source framework for the few but strategically placed generic and explicit citations. Through the process of grammaticalization, we now find in Appian a distributional ratio, with semantically less dense forms creating the narrative foreground and occurring more frequently and the more semantically rich formulas being reserved for rare and narratively significant occasions. Two of the three generic citations in Appian's *Civil War* come in 2.70. This is significant for at least two reasons. First, Book 2 functions as the narrative climax for this history (see below). Second, the citations deal specifically with the size of Caesar's army, where there was some doubt in the traditions Appian had. Calling attention to the source for the potentially smaller size estimates for the army would certainly be necessary for validating this information and makes Caesar's victories appear all the more exceptional.

Two of the four explicit citations occur in Book 2 as well. The first, in *Bell. Civ.* 2.79, cites Caesar's letters, where he criticizes Pompey's military decision. The citation functions to support a major narrative transition because Caesar's attack on Pompey's flank begins to give him considerable leverage in the battle. Due to this strategic move on Caesar's part, Caesar and his army would eventually prevail and eat their victory dinner in Pompey's camp (*Bell. Civ.* 2.80). So this, the first of a limited few explicit citations, comes at one of the most strategic narrative turning points in the story told in what seems

to be the most narratively marked Book of Appian's *Civil Wars* (see below). The very next citation (of any type) occurs subsequently in *Bell. Civ. 2.92*, where Appian cites his prior Asiatic history in support of Caesar's swift transition after defeating the mighty Pharnaces with only 1,000 men in his army (*Bell. Civ. 2.91*) then journeying through Asia and eventually back to Rome—again, a major narrative transition. So we have here a clustering of direct citations with no intervening unmarked citations.

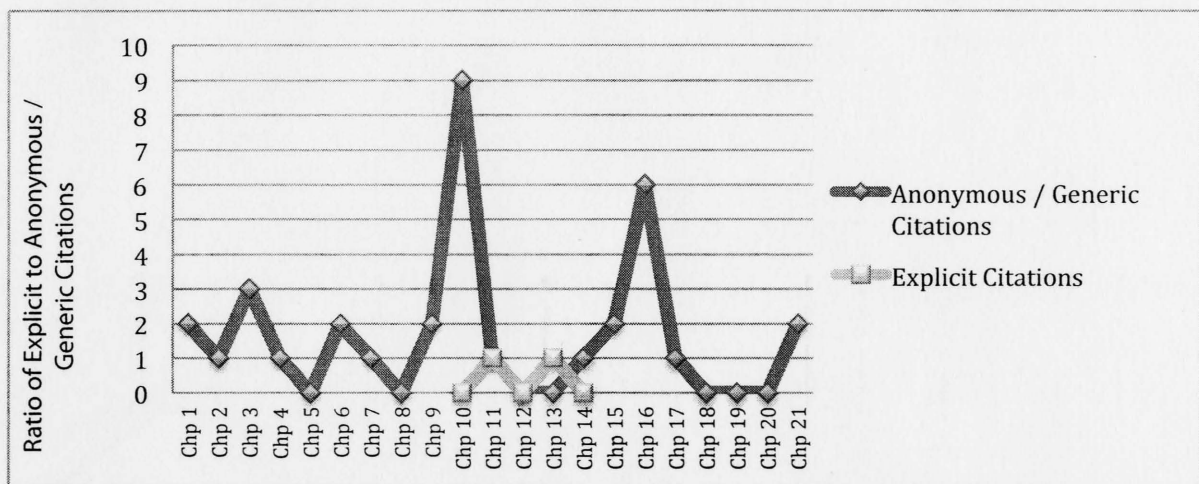


Fig. 18: Distribution of Explicit and Anonymous / Generic Citations in Appian, *Civil Wars*, Book 2

Paragraphs 63-71 account for citation density in chapter 10, where we have the most substantial spike, dealing with some of Caesar's most significant military victories. This is not only where the highest density of citations occur, but also the highest density of foreground citations. Of the 9 anonymous / generic citations, two of Appian's four generic citations occur here. As with his predecessors, Appian seems to isolate and cluster citations (especially highly marked forms) in places of narrative significance. The next citation also occurs in the context of a narratively rich and substantial portion of Appian's history at 3.77, all revolving around Gaius Caesar's time in Syria and the

actions taken by Caecilius Bassus. This passage functions not only as a significant transition in the narrative, but details a mutiny and the stabbing of Sextus Julius (a relative of Caesar's). This citation also helps transition into the details of the narrative focusing on Caecilius Bassus. The final explicit citation, a citation of an inscription, occurs at the very end of the history, attributing honorifics to Octavius.

Appian follows the same narrative functional citation strategies as his historical predecessors, citing his sources in the case of narrative transitions / landmarks, unusual events, the extraordinary, or generally unbelievable—places where his historical narrative tends to need support. Citations are used to validate the death of an important narrative figure (*Bell. Civ.* 1.20 2x<sup>96</sup>, 36 2x<sup>97</sup>; 3.77; 5.59), generally unlikely or unusual activity (*Bell. Civ.* 1.10 3x, 15 2x, 36<sup>98</sup>, 65, 80<sup>99</sup>, 94; 2.2, 15, 16; 3.84<sup>100</sup>; 5.144 2x), the extreme end of an event category (*Bell. Civ.* 1.104; 2.77, 112; 2.25, 48; 3.3<sup>101</sup>, 84; 5.8<sup>102</sup>), major narrative events or transitions (*Bell. Civ.* 1.33; 2.79, 92, 95; 3.95<sup>103</sup>; 5.54, 73, 123, 130), excessively large numbers (*Bell. Civ.* 1.33<sup>104</sup>, 82<sup>105</sup>; 2.8, 70 2x, 102 ), beginnings or firsts

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<sup>96</sup> Appian uses two conflicting source citations here, as we find in other historians, to support the description of Scipio's death.

<sup>97</sup> Conflicting sources help support the death of Drusus.

<sup>98</sup> No one else had ever won against a particular army in battle: "it is said that no triumph was ever awarded for a victory over them except for this single disaster. There had been up to this time a saying, 'No triumph over Marsians or without Marsians'" (White, LCL).

<sup>99</sup> Extreme honor and respect given to a youth.

<sup>100</sup> Lepidus pleads with Anthony while he is naked. Just prior to the citation, Appian says that he "leaped out of bed among them undressed, just as he was, promised to do what they asked, embraced Antony, and pleaded necessity as his excuse" (White, LCL).

<sup>101</sup> This passage provides an excellent example of this category: "It was said that Amatius was only waiting an opportunity to entrap Brutus and Cassius. On the rumor of this plot, Antony, using his consular authority, arrested Amatius and boldly put him to death without a trial. The senators were astonished at this deed as an act of violence and contrary to law, but they enjoyed it exceedingly because they thought that the situation of Brutus and Cassius would never be safe without such boldness" (White, LCL).

<sup>102</sup> A citation supports Cleopatra's extraordinary beauty, which captivated Anthony and made him susceptible to her.

<sup>103</sup> The exile of Octavius's attempted murder.

<sup>104</sup> Appian tells us here that that "it is said" that a whole day was not sufficient for the number of people that desired to greet Metellus Pius.

(*Bell. Civ.* 2.7<sup>106</sup>, 20, 69, 109, 110, 114<sup>107</sup>, 122; 5.49, 132), incredible feats in battle (*Bell. Civ.* 1.118<sup>108</sup>; 2.60, 64, 71, 77, 102; 3.56; 4.80, 95), the miraculous or activities of the gods (*Bell. Civ.* 1.61 2x, 104; 2.39, 41, 153 2x; 3.94<sup>109</sup>; 4.105<sup>110</sup> 2x; 5.100, 116), and those things generally in doubt (*Bell. Civ.* 2.70 2x; 3.57<sup>111</sup>; 4.12).

We also discover the same clustering phenomenon that we discovered in prior historians in Appian that we find in the historians before him.

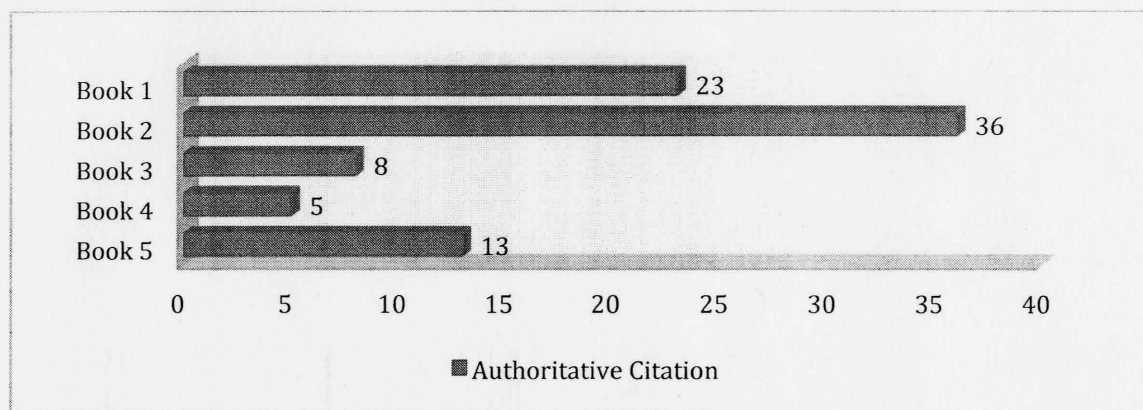


Fig. 19: Authoritative Citation Distribution in Appian's Civil Wars

The density of citations in Books 1-2 should come as no surprise. Appian himself marks off these two Books in his preface. He divides the *Civil Wars* into three parts: (1) the time of Sempronius Gracchus to Cornelius Sulla (Book 1); (2) those that followed up to the

<sup>105</sup> “200 cohorts of 500 men each at first,” Appian says, “and their forces were considerably augmented afterward” (White, LCL).

<sup>106</sup> An appellation, now bestowed upon those emperors which began with Cicero.

<sup>107</sup> The moment Romulus changed from a king to a tyrant.

<sup>108</sup> Destroying about 4,000 men and overcoming 10,000 of the Spartacans.

<sup>109</sup> Apparently as some kind of omen, twelve vultures appear to Octavius here after he offers sacrifices to the gods, something that also happened to Romulus, according to Appian.

<sup>110</sup> A citation is used in support of a tradition in which a god's chariot was broken, inspiring the name of a river.

<sup>111</sup> Clearly, in this passage, Anthony's character is in question and so Appian recruits anonymous citation to defend the leader: “If he were a villain what better opportunity could he have had? But it is said that he was not in a condition to do otherwise” (White, LCL). He goes on in the passage to articulate the numerous opportunities Anthony had to do treacherous things but apparently did not take advantage of the situations he was in for evil.



death of Caesar (Book 2); and (3) the civil wars waged by the triumvirs against each other and the Roman people, until the battle of Actium (Books 3-5) (*Bell. Civ.* 1.6). So we end up with a high density in Book 1, the density of citations peak in Book 2, and then drop off in Books 3-5.

Bucher insists that the first Book of the *Civil Wars* functions as the most significant portion for setting Appian's narrative program.<sup>112</sup> The group of citations in Book 1 results from several smaller clusters. The first three come in 1.10. These support the radical law passed by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus that only allowed citizens to own no more than 500 jugera of the public domain (*Bell. Civ.* 1.9) and this was "extremely (μάλιστα) disturbing for the rich," which is how the paragraph opens. The wealthy now had to undergo the grievous process of unloading a great many of their assets. Three citation formulas introduce the deeply sentimental reasons as to why these landowners were grieved.<sup>113</sup> Another cluster of citations occurs at 1.15. This set of citations highlights the grief not of the rich but of the poor, also in response to Gracchus's legislations. The picture that unfolds through Appian's narrative paints Gracchus as a politician whose policies benefited neither the wealthy nor the poor. But Gracchus's action in the story has an even more unlikely consequence. The poor begin to lead a revolt to overthrow the rich. This then warrants Appian's brief series of citations, introducing tradition about Gracchus's response.<sup>114</sup> Another set of conflicting sources

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<sup>112</sup> Bucher, "Toward a Literary Evaluation of Appian's *Civil Wars*," 457.

<sup>113</sup> Appian states: "*Some said* that they had paid the price of the land to their neighbors. Were they to lose the money with the land? *Others said* that the graves of their ancestors were in the ground, which had been allotted to them in the division of their fathers' estates. *Others said* that their wives' dowries had been expended on the estates, or that the land had been given to their own daughters as dowry" (White, LCL [*Bell. Civ.* 1.10]). The three contrasting citations seems to highlight the drastic description for the grief, with Appian likely sympathizing with the elite audience to which he writes. Cf. Ash, "Appian," 67).

<sup>114</sup> Here Appian follows a similar strategy, this time focusing on the despicable ways of Gracchus: "*Some said* that Gracchus had deposed all the other tribunes, and this was believed because none of them could be

confirm Scipio's death (*Bell. Civ.* 1.20). Two more support Drusus's death (*Bell. Civ.* 1.36), also introducing conflicting traditions. A pair in *Bell. Civ.* 1.61 verifies miraculous activity. Two more endorse Sulla's incredible good fortune, to the point of even being able to predict the future (*Bell. Civ.* 1.04).

If Book 1 sets up the narrative program, Book 2 functions as the pivotal narrative climax and turning point in Appian's story of the civil wars. Along with Books 1–2 are also apparently the only Books for which Appian had a pretty good idea of its contents prior to its composition.<sup>115</sup> Inspired by an admiration of the monarchy, most scholars of Appian believe that, in composing his history, Appian hoped to “depict the Roman rise to world dominance and the concomitant extension of the benefits of the Roman monarchy to entire world.”<sup>116</sup> Book 2 is crucial for accomplishing this narrative agenda since it documents the conquests of Gaius Caesar<sup>117</sup> who, according to Appian, established the Roman empire while preserving the forms of the Republic (*Appian, Hist. rom. Pr.* 6) and that, beginning with Caesar, the first Roman emperor, to the present time, “the city has been greatly embellished, its revenue much increased, and in the long reign of peace and security everything has moved toward a lasting prosperity” and that this benefit extended to several nations (*Appian, Hist. rom. Pr.* 7). Book 2 thus constitutes the longest Book in the *Civil Wars*, due to its central narrative importance for executing Appian's composition strategy. Based on its narrative location, then, we will expect Appian to feel

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seen. *Others said that he had declared himself tribune for the ensuing year without an election.*” (White, LCL). Interestingly here, in contrast to the empathy expressed with the rightful sorrow of the poor (as he did for the wealthy), Appian focuses the character of Gracchus.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Bucher, “Origins,” 412–20.

<sup>116</sup> Bucher, “Origins,” 429.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Pitcher, “War Stories,” 199–201.

most constrained in this section to highlight and support events connected with this highly strategic portion of his history.

### 3. *Conclusions*

Assessing these five historians' citation strategies at the level of form, projection/expansion, and narrative function reveals several commonalities. We discover a very standardized set of formulas used by the historians in source citations. These, however, appear to become more flexible as we approach later developments in the historical tradition in Polybius and Appian. At the level of form, in addition to using the Greek reference system as the primary mechanism for introducing citations, the historians cite iconic Greek literary and oral sources that will function authoritatively for their implied readers. The projection / expansion system for citation among the historians enables them to engage the texts they cite in interpretation at the clause complex level of the discourse. A frequent strategy at this level involves literary competition with predecessors, often not completely discounting the work of those who went before them, but reading them as at least less reliable than their own narrative. These interpretive strategies tend to underscore wider narrative desires for credibility. So at the narrative or discourse level, historians consistently use citations to strengthen their narrative in cases of doubt, major transitions, or the generally extraordinary. Most citations seem to be used primarily, if not exclusively, for narrative purposes so that interpretation through the projection / expansion systems only apparently weigh in after a citation has been located for specific narrative purposes. This seems apparent by the exclusively narrative (i.e. non-interpreted)

function of many citations. Only Polybius seems at first to have mainly interpretive goals for citing sources like Timaeus, but these too tend to serve broader narrative goals rather than strictly hermeneutic ones when examined more closely in light of broader Polybian discourse.

## Chapter 6: Authoritative Citation in Hellenistic Jewish Historiography

It was argued in chapters 2–3 that Luke’s Gospel has the closest literary affinities with Greco-Roman history. The previous chapter sought to examine authoritative citation in several Greek histories with the ultimate goal of finally comparing these results with Luke’s use of authoritative citations to see what impact literary genre might have upon the Gospel’s citation strategies. As a piece of literature emerging out of a first-century messianic Jewish movement, we will also want to consider the use of authoritative citation in Hellenistic Jewish expressions of history.

The traditional paradigm has typically preferred using histories of the Jews from the Hellenistic period *as* sources rather than assessing their use of sources as part of a monolithic literary paradigm at work within the historian.<sup>1</sup> Although Mason’s observation of a recent movement in Josephan studies toward “reading Josephus *through*, and not merely reading *through* Josephus to external realities”<sup>2</sup> has some merit, questions concerning the relationship of sources to the literary strategies of the historians, including Josephus, has still received little to no attention. I grant that, at some level, scholars have made the literary relationships of these historians to prior source material the object of serious study. Those familiar with the rapidly growing corpus of secondary literature will immediately think of the use of the so-called rewritten Bible by the historians (and other second temple writers), which has been subjected to extensive investigation in recent

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<sup>1</sup> Many recent treatments, however, show that the use of Josephus as a source remains very much a concern in contemporary Josephan scholarship. See, for example, Goud, “Sources,” 472–82; Steiner, “Incomplete Circumcision,” 497–505; Begg, *Josephus’ Story*; Grabbe, “Jewish Historiography,” 130–55; Rajak, *Josephus*. Even some of Mason’s own work exemplifies these efforts, e.g. Mason, *Flavius Josephus*, though Mason does desire to carefully separate his compositional method from older source-critical frameworks.

<sup>2</sup> Mason, “Contradiction,” 46.

years.<sup>3</sup> When interpreters take up the direct use of scriptural sources in these contexts, however, they typically focus upon how the historian has altered or adapted their biblical resources for local narrative purposes (e.g. an alteration in the biblical sequence), but do not give sustained attention to the structural significance of this material within the global narrative agenda.<sup>4</sup>

Of course, as long as the discussion has existed there has been talk of the sources themselves, yet these (sometimes quite extended) treatments often remain circumscribed to the identity, nature, and authenticity (esp. whether rhetorical invention was involved) of the relevant traditions used by the Hellenistic Jewish historians.<sup>5</sup> Even the more recent investigations of sources in Hellenistic Jewish histories have been dominated almost exclusively by these interests,<sup>6</sup> not to mention the older German source-critical studies (*Quellenkritik*) and their predecessors.<sup>7</sup> The role of source citation as a narrative strategy rarely receives consideration. Even when it does, with very few exceptions, only local

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<sup>3</sup> See esp. Bauckham, "Liber Antiquitatum," 33–67; Nickelsburg, "Bible Rewritten," 33–156; Alexander, "Retelling," 99–121; Harrington, "Palestinian Adaptations," 239–46; Evans, "Luke," 170–201; Borgen, *Philo*, 46–79; Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible*, 14–73; Feldman, *Studies*; Crawford, *Rewriting*.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to the material cited above, see specifically, e.g. Cohen, "Josephus," 311–32; Feldman, "Hellenizations," 143–170; Murphy, "Retelling," 275–87; Swart, "Rahab," 50–65.

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting that Sterling, *Historiography*, 291–97, configures his narrative analysis strictly in terms of Josephus's omissions, alterations, and additions to source material. The closest we come to arriving at a sustained treatment of how the citation of source material may relate to a historian's narrative program is the various treatments of an author's alleged apologetic concerns in the citation of some sources over others—a concern also present throughout Sterling's analysis. But these interpretations typically amount to a *historical* explanation of a *literary* phenomenon rather than providing genuine insight into how sources contribute to the narrative fabric of a text. See, for example, Feldman, "Restoration," 251–52 (I shall interact more with this essay below in light of these considerations). As another example, Kasher, "Polemic," 158–59, argues in a typical fashion that Josephus cites his sources and other literature in order to bolster his reliability by appearing, for example, well educated. Other authors often discuss how sources are adapted to suit the historian's literary aims, e.g. Borgen, *Philo*, 46–79; Alexandre, "Rhetorical Hermeneutics," 29–41.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Attridge, "Historiography," 157–83; Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, esp. 31–38, 176–82, but also *passim*; Rajak, *Josephus*, *passim*; Cohen, *Josephus*, 24–66; Scolnic, *Alcimus*, 12–49.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Bloch, *Die Quellen*; Destinon, *Die Quellen*; Schürer, *History*, 3:6–15; Hölscher, "Josephus," cols. 1966, 1981–1983, 1992–1993; Weber, *Josephus*, *passim*; Laqueur, *Jewish Historian*, *passim*; Thackeray, *Josephus*, vxiii, 3, 36–39, 48, 59–70, 109, 120.

level phenomena are discussed with little consideration of broader narrative structure,<sup>8</sup> or narrative analysis merely functions as a tool for detecting underlying sources.<sup>9</sup> Such evaluations are not intended to minimize the importance of any of these foundational works. It is a healthy sign that the literary function of sources, mostly under the umbrella of *kompositionskritische* study, is getting the attention that it is. Nevertheless, the need remains for further investigation of the relationship between the Hellenistic Jewish historians' paradigm for systematic source integration, especially global narrative considerations, and narrative structuring techniques.

The authoritative citation strategies found within the tradition of Greek historiography seem to provide substantial insight here. While this practice took some time to solidify in Jewish historiography, we do discover a gradual development in this direction along the chronological trajectory as influences from Hellenism increase, reaching its climax with the historical writings of Josephus. For many of these historians, among other types of sources, the prophetic writings from the Hebrew Bible functioned as an important body of material sourced for direct citation.<sup>10</sup> By the time of Josephus, Hellenism is at its heyday and the Scriptures of Israel are integrated along side a wide array of Greek historians and authors. We detect this in patterns both of mimesis and direct citation in the Jewish tradition of Greek historical composition.

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<sup>8</sup> E.g. Cohen, *Josephus*, 44–45 (esp. n78), following Niese, discusses the local level usage of the Josephan formula πρότερον ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν when citing the Maccabean history as an instance of meaningless narrative punctuation. His later discussions of “literary technique” in Josephus (90–91, 110–114) are mostly concerned with how source material is brought into the narrative (i.e. whether it is integrated smoothly), whether it is consistent with other material, whether the data in Josephus provides a complete account, various characterizations, and narrative interest. See also Sterling, *Historiography*, 236.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Mason, “Contradiction,” 158–88.

<sup>10</sup> This position contrasts with that of Begg, “Classical Prophets,” 341–57; 547–62, for example, who sees the historian as mainly interested in adopting narrative portions of prophetic writings.

### 1. *Mimesis (Unmarked)*

While treatments of “rewritten Bible” abound, rarely do these assessments consider how such rewriting and other forms of historiographic imitation might fit into a larger source framework and specifically how these forms of source implementation relate to more explicit citation strategies (i.e. those integrated into the narrative through citation formulas of varying kinds).<sup>11</sup> And such studies naturally exclude reference to the literature of the classical prophets since this literature was seldom subjected to “rewriting” in the way that this term is typically applied.<sup>12</sup>

This phenomenon thus better seems described, at least in Hellenistic Jewish history, as an instance of literary mimesis. Several lines of evidence support this assessment. To begin with, the literary designation of “rewritten Bible” (Vermes), “texte continué” (Perrot and Bogaert),<sup>13</sup> “rewritten scriptural texts” (Brooke followed by Crawford),<sup>14</sup> or “parabiblical literature” (Ginsberg followed by Tov and others)<sup>15</sup> has been problematic since its introduction. Vermes, originally in 1961 (and later in 1989),

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<sup>11</sup> The tendency to label such phenomena as a unique genre in itself probably has to do with its perceived oddity in Greco-Roman literary contexts. But perhaps this literary form seems so foreign within at least the broader Hellenistic historiographic tradition for two reasons: (1) in the case of Jewish history, the available sources were more restricted in most cases (esp. the earliest periods documented) (being limited for the most part to material within the Hebrew Bible) than in the cases of the kinds of historical events the Greeks were often concerned to write on, making Jewish histories simpler in terms of their source framework; and (2) for the most part, the primary body of material that the Jewish histories used as their mimetic model has been preserved so that, in contrast to the Greek histories (although there are certainly other differences), comparative material is readily available. A large number of sources have clearly not been preserved, but in the case of those histories that document the earliest phases of Israel’s history, it seems that we possess in the LXX the most significant source that they drew from.

<sup>12</sup> The chapter titles for Crawford, *Rewriting*, are telling: 1. Introduction; 2. The Text of the Pentateuch at Qumran; 3. Reworked Pentateuch; 4. The Book of Jubilees; 5. The Temple Scroll; 6. The Genesis Apocryphon; 7. 4Q Commentary on Genesis A; 8. Conclusions. Rewritten Bible tends to mainly focus upon the Pentateuch with some attention given to Deuteronomistic history.

<sup>13</sup> Perrot and Bogaert, *Les antiquités bibliques*, 2–8. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo*, 5, adopts this terminology as well.

<sup>14</sup> Brooke, “Rewritten Bible,” 2:777–81; Brooke, “Rewritten Law,” 31–40; Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 12–15.

<sup>15</sup> Ginsberg, “Review,” 574–77. See also Tov, “Forward,” ix; Falk, *Parabiblical Texts Strategies*.



was the first to attempt to configure it as a genre.<sup>16</sup> He originally identified four books that represent the rewritten Bible form: (1) Josephus, *Antiquities*; (2) *Jubilees*; (3) Pseudo-Philo, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*; and (4) the *Genesis Apocryphon*.

Alexander formulates the same list, but on other grounds.<sup>17</sup> An obvious question raised initially by this list is whether a group of texts so vastly different from one another should constitute a genre and whether the notion of genre is being used rather imprecisely in this context. These four books represent three languages—Greek, Latin, and Aramaic—and four vastly different literary purposes. Even if we grant the appropriateness of a genre here, we must ask whether this literary form functions more like a sub-genre within a larger literary framework and, if so, how the broader narrative framing might constrain literary choices within the text, such as the reworking of biblical text.<sup>18</sup> Josephus, for example, seems to be working from a much different literary model than, say, the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Also of concern is the diversity of additional lists generated by Vermes' original discussion. These range from the *testimonia*, commentaries, and the Temple Scroll at Qumran<sup>19</sup> to *1 Enoch*, Philo the Epic Poet, 1 Baruch, *Apocalypse of*

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<sup>16</sup> Vermes, *Scripture*; Vermes, "Biblical Exegesis," 184–91; 41–55.

<sup>17</sup> Alexander, "Retelling," 116–17. Charlesworth, "Documents," 5, speaks of "expansions of the Old Testament" and includes an even wider range of writings in his edition of Pseudepigrapha translations. Under expansions of the Old Testament, he includes *Letter of Aristeas*, *Jubilees*, *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, *Joseph and Aseneth*, *Life of Adam and Eve*, Pseudo-Philo, *L.A.B.*, *The Lives of the Prophets*, *Ladder of Jacob*, *4 Baruch*, *Jannes and Jambres*, *History of the Rechabites*, *Eldad and Modad*, and *History of Joseph*.

<sup>18</sup> So also Fisk, *Do You Not Remember?*, 14–15, "these allegedly similar works prove to be remarkably diverse; they all share a narrative framework and depend heavily upon antecedent Scripture, but they differ widely in apparent purpose, modes of embellishment, and in the demands they place on their readers. As a generic category, 'rewritten bible' implies neither a particular method of borrowing nor the extent of literary dependence. Pseudo-Philo's composition is particularly noted for its imaginative weaving of subsidiary Scriptures into the primary narrative sequence. The author routinely deploys Scripture from other, sometimes distant, contexts into the biblical (or traditional) story, in the form of explicit citations (perhaps with fulfillment formulae), unmarked allusions, narrative flashbacks and biblical echoes."

<sup>19</sup> E.g. Crawford, *Rewriting*, 60–145.

*Moses*, and 1 Esdras 3-4<sup>20</sup> to *Fourth Ezra* and *Second Baruch*.<sup>21</sup> Again, there appears to be an effort to ascribe to these works a literary designation with little consideration for how the wider literary model employed by these texts might constrain such literary phenomena.<sup>22</sup> There are other problems involved,<sup>23</sup> but I think the issues I raise here at least highlight the need for treating the reshaping of biblical texts within their native literary environments first before comparing how they function in relation to uses in other literary contexts.

In comparing the secondary literature on mimesis in classical historiography and rewritten Bible in second temple Jewish history, one striking similarity that surfaces involves the respective criteria used by both sets scholars to identify these literary phenomena. Brooke, for example, understands rewritten Bible “in terms of its dependence upon an authoritative scriptural source in being implicit representation, in having similar order, content, genre and language.” This and other descriptions exhibit almost precisely the same set of features involved in classical descriptions of mimesis.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> E.g. Nickelsburg, “Rewritten Bible,” 89–156.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. Fröhlich, *Time*, 185–96.

<sup>22</sup> However, in some cases, interpreters have used rewritten Bible as a macro-genre classification, which confuses the issues further: is it a micro-genre classification (e.g. a parable) or macro-genre classification (e.g. a letter)? See, for example, the treatment of the literary genre of *Jubilees* in Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 4–5.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. some have noted problems with the whole notion of “Bible” within the second temple period and whether such a classification is even appropriate given the fluidity of the canon during this era. So Brooke, “Rewritten Bible,” 777; Brooke, “Rewritten Law,” 136, followed by Crawford, *Rewriting*, 3–5. For further reservations about the “re-written Bible genre,” see also Dimant, “Use,” 379–19.

<sup>24</sup> Brooke, “Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms,” 33. These mimetic features are also remarkably similar to those noted by Alexander for rewritten Bible: (1) they follow a chronological order, (2) they integrate the words of Scripture into the retelling of the biblical text; (3) they are not intended to replace the Bible; (4) they cover a substantial portion of the Bible; (5) they follow the biblical order, but are selective in what they represent; (6) they seek to produce an interpretive rendering of the biblical text; (7) they impose a single interpretation on the Bible; (8) they do not provide rationale for exegesis; and (9) they integrate non-biblical sources and traditions into their narratives. Cf. Alexander, “Retelling the Old Testament,” 116–18. For the classical description, cf. Marincola, *Authority*, 16–18: (1) imitation of style; (2) imitation of phrases; (3) imitation of content; (4) echoes of a predecessor; (5) exact reproduction of phrases; (6) imitation of dialect; (7) imitation of historical type (genre); (8) imitation of arrangement; and (9) imitation of attitude/disposition (δύθεσις, *dispositio*). Fisk, “Rewritten Bible,” 947–48, provides a similar set of

The central differences, at least as far as the secondary literature is concerned, are the nature of the sources imitated—one sacred history, the other (typically) secular history—and the emphasis on interpretation in the case of rewritten Scripture.

Lucian's evaluation of the scene during his day confirms this analysis. We find some historians borrowing their predecessors' work almost entirely, with only subtle omissions and changes, treating their source material in much the same way as the more primitive reshapers of Jewish history. The imitators Lucian refers to as second Thucydides and second Herodotus (§15–18) we could almost call “rewritten histories.” And as with rewritten Jewish history, the point of these new compositions was to bring in other traditions in order to create an original composition (see Dionysius, *Thuc.* 41), as Alexander's taxonomy shows was important for rewritten Bible.<sup>25</sup> While Lucian does not commend all of these scholars for their work—better historians were not so slavish (cf. Horace, *Ars* 132; *Ep.* 1.19.19), but were subtle and creative in their imitations—his treatment does show the pervasiveness of the practice and the level of detail that some historians replicated from their models. Thus mimesis—a category of literary dependence actually used by the ancients<sup>26</sup>—functions as a better description of the so-called rewritten Bible.<sup>27</sup>

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features as well: (1) Literary Framework: An Extended Biblical Narrative; (2) Composition: An Integration of Biblical Episodes and Extra Biblical Traditions; (3) Relation to Scripture: Implicit rather than Explicit Exegesis; (4) Companion to Rather than Replacement of Scripture. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 8, follows Fisk's list fairly closely.

<sup>25</sup> Alexander, “Retelling,” 116–17.

<sup>26</sup> Among scholars of early Judaism and Christianity, van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 1, comes the closest to recognizing this when he opens his discussion on rewritten Bible by acknowledging, “Ever since classical antiquity there has been an awareness of the literal and thematic resemblances between texts. Classical rhetoricians felt it important to imitate authoritative texts to the best of their ability, with as little personal contribution as possible. Originality was esteemed less highly than copying, repeating, and discovering how others thought. Ultimately, this provided the incentive for one's own thinking. In classical philology the imitation of earlier texts was a form of self-enrichment through the ideas and formulations of one's predecessors. The literature of the early Jewish and Christian traditions pre-eminently offers an image of an ongoing repetition of texts. The phenomenon of the inclusion of older texts within newer ones can be seen

So we already have a great deal of evidence for mimesis in Hellenistic Jewish historiography both in their imitation of source material and under what scholars commonly refer to as rewritten Bible. When they did imitate Scripture they tended to prefer the historical portions of Israel's Scripture. They show a marked preference, by contrast, in direct citation for the prophets and the Torah—though some second temple authors imitate the Torah as well.<sup>28</sup> This mimetic material then forms the historical background for these Jewish Greek histories against which the foreground and frontground citations from the Torah (citations usually attributed to Moses) and the prophets can be projected.

## *2. Authoritative Citation (Marked)*

Citation in the Hellenistic Jewish historians seems to follow a chronological trajectory that evidences more and more influence from the surrounding Greco-Roman literary culture the closer we get to the first century. By the time we arrive at Josephus, the patterns that had already solidified centuries before in classical historiography now begin to become evident in Hellenistic Jewish historiography. We discover divergences as well, especially in the types of tradition used for citation (the LXX), and these remain

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in the Hebrew Bible, as well as in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha." Unfortunately, then, however, Ruiten goes on to adopt the same traditional terminology and description of this phenomenon as Bible rewriting.

<sup>27</sup> We may want to nuance this with reference to particular, especially less Hellenized, writings, involving imitation of prior biblical texts. These less Hellenistic works may embody a fusion of Greek imitation and Jewish synthesis of their history as we find in the Chronicler of the Hebrew Bible.

<sup>28</sup> See Pitts, "Use," 229–52.

just as significant as the immense similarities, especially for our purposes in examining Luke's Gospel.

## 2.1. *Precedents to Josephus*

Before turning to the use of citation in Josephus, several precedents to Josephus will be worth considering in order to observe the gradual Hellenization of Jewish history in their citation of sources.

### 2.1.1. *Jubilees*

Most assert that the pseudepigraphal book of *Jubilees* provides the first example of reworked Jewish history during the Hellenistic period (150 B.C.),<sup>29</sup> a text originally composed in Hebrew (as evidence from Qumran reveals), then translated into Greek (and possibly Syriac), and then Latin. Though we possess an Ethiopian version of *Jubilees*, only fragments remain from these more primitive versions. The Hebrew text appears to have been composed in order to help Jews under foreign control to resist assimilation into Hellenistic culture.<sup>30</sup> Due to these linguistic, social, and literary considerations, this text might not be as relevant as some of the others for our purposes. It appears that the text attempts to be a further development in, rather than a Hellenization of, biblical historiography. Nevertheless, we may begin to detect here some early movements toward the mimetic practices that would dominate historical works written shortly after its composition. While this earliest history-like Jewish text from the Hellenistic period does not directly cite prophetic literature, it cites Moses, who was clearly considered a prophet.

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<sup>29</sup> E.g. Alexander, "Retelling," 100; Fröhlich, *Time*, 92.

<sup>30</sup> VanderKam, "Origins," 22.

As with the Greek historians, when the author cites his Mosaic source, he does so at significant developments within the narrative. The author only cites Moses explicitly within the programmatic introductory material, highlighting his source as special and prominent at this juncture before turning to imitate it throughout the remainder of his work.<sup>31</sup> We may see, then, in this work the first reflections of Greek models of source integration working themselves into the literature of the Jewish historians. Even if adapting the Greek model is not intentional at this stage, it appears to have provided precedent for later practice.

### 2.1.2. *1 Esdras*

Continuing chronologically, 1 Esdras is worth mentioning as an instance of biblical historiography (mid second century to early first century B.C.E., see below).<sup>32</sup> In addition to subtle revisions / additions / omissions to the Chronicles narrative at the mimetic level, the author employs a direct citation of Jeremiah that amounts to a conflation of a prophecy from Jeremiah's writings (Jer 25:12; 29:10) with material from the Chronicles narrative (2 Chr 36:21) and / or Leviticus (26:34): "and they were servants to him and to his sons until the Persians began to reign, in fulfillment of the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, saying, 'Until the land has enjoyed its sabbaths, it shall keep sabbath all the time of its desolation until the completion of seventy years'" (1 Esd

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<sup>31</sup> In 50 chapters the author only mentions him by name 13 times, 7 of which occur in the first chapter, once in the second chapter with the remaining five scattered throughout the rest of the narrative, starting in chapter 23. But these figures are more revealing still. The author only cites Moses as source in the opening verses of chapter 1 and 2 and here only indirectly as it is really God / an angel who is communicating to Moses who then in turn communicates through his writings. In the remaining instances, Moses gets mention only as a narrative figure. Generic citation occurs as well, referring to the law in a very generic sense. For example, Jub 3.8–12 refers to the "commandment" which turns out to be a reference to Lev 12:8.

<sup>32</sup> On 1 Esdras as a translation of a *Vorlage* similar, but not identical to the MT, see Talshir, *1 Esdras*, *passim*. See also Batten, *Ezra*, 6–13.

1:57-58). When the time comes to cite a source directly, he does not cite his narrative material about Jeremiah from Chronicles, but the prophetic text itself. The location of this passage is highly programmatic, functioning as a transition between the Chronicles and the Ezra tradition and as the trajectory-setting conclusion to the extended historical prologue.<sup>33</sup>

The author then carries this momentum directly into his narrative by recapitulating the emphasis upon his story as a fulfillment of the words of Jeremiah at the beginning of the second chapter (1 Esd 2:1//Ezra 1:1) and then Jeremiah as both a source and a narrative figure disappears from the story, never to return. The author seems to intentionally avoid citation of sources beyond this. His main sources—the Chronicler, Ezra, Nehemiah (see below)—certainly do not get mentioned. Even when prophets issue prophecies within the narrative, the author does not transmit a record of what they said, through direct citation or any other means (e.g. Aggaeus and Zacharias the son of Addo, 1 Esd 6:1; cf. 1 Esd 7:3). In 1 Esd 8:83, the author attributes a citation concerning intermarriage to “the prophets,” but this seems to be some kind of adaptation of Ezra’s pronouncement (Ezra 10:10-11)—no extant prophetic text contains exactly these words (but cf. Lev 18).

Although not as Hellenized as some of the later texts from the Hellenistic period, notably Josephus, 1 Esdras fits the pattern employed by the Greek historians, who only used direct citation at highly strategic points in the narrative. And the author appears particularly concerned to reserve prophetic literature (in this case Jeremiah), a special source, for these purposes. Indeed the Jeremiah text seems to provide forward-looking

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<sup>33</sup> Although a number of interpreters comment on this text, to my knowledge, no one has yet observed this narrative strategy: e.g. Torrey, *Ezra*, 286; Charles, *Apocrypha*, 1:25; Myers, *I and II Esdras*, 34; Klein, “I Esdras,” 699.

prophetic validation for the entire narrative with its scarcity making it highly marked within the literary structure of the work. Although this text appears more slavish and less literary, it still seems to align with Greek mimetic and citation practice.

1 Esdras, then, appears to function as a kind of transitional text, with some initial signs of Hellenization surfacing in its citation strategies. Of course, one may naturally object to positioning 1 Esdras at this point in the chronological development, or its dependence upon prior canonical literature due to the complex web of issues that form around the date, composition, and relationship of this work to its sources. Beginning especially with the seminal work of Pohlmann,<sup>34</sup> some have argued for the so-called *Fragmenthypothese*: that 1 Esdras constitutes a Greek translation of a fragment of a larger work that included 1-2 Chronicles.<sup>35</sup> This view and other (canonical) literary independence theories propose that 1 Esdras goes back to a primitive tradition independent of Ezra-Nehemiah, the latter providing a reworking of the same or very similar material. Nevertheless, in defence of the traditional literary dependence thesis, several scholars have undermined these conclusions. Talshir, for example, shows that the typical evidence marshalled by Pohlmann and his followers remains entirely circumstantial.<sup>36</sup> Bird mentions a number of further problems with the theory.<sup>37</sup> Several others have substantiated points of correlation that strongly suggest literary dependence

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<sup>34</sup> But before Pohlmann, note the similar views and foundational work of Howorth, "Some Unconventional Views I," 147–59; Howorth, "Some Unconventional Views II," 147–72; Torrey, "Nature," 116–141; Pfeiffer, *History*, 243; cf. also Gardner, "Purpose," 18. Although these authors differ in various respects (Pfeiffer criticizes Howorth, for example, for understanding 1 Esdras as the original form of the canonical books), they view 1 Esdras independently of the present form of the canonical tradition, whether drawing upon the same body of tradition that the canonical writings did or from a prior form of the canonical literature.

<sup>35</sup> Pohlmann, *Studien*; Oesterley, *Introduction*, 136–37; Cross, "Reconstruction," 6–15; Coggins and Knibb, *First and Second Books of Esdras*, 5.

<sup>36</sup> Talshir, *1 Esdras*, 21–34. See also Williamson, *Israel*, 14–23;

<sup>37</sup> Bird, *First Esdras*, 9–16.



upon the parallel canonical accounts.<sup>38</sup> We continue to have, then, solid precedent for recognizing the priority of Ezra-Nehemiah + the Chronicler as significant sources for 1 Esdras so that a date in the mid second to early first century B.C. and its dependence upon biblical sources as a transitional piece of Hellenistic Jewish historiography seems likely.

### 2.1.3. *The Maccabean History*

The first two books of the Maccabean history provide a different kind of history than those reviewed so far since both volumes focus specifically upon contemporary history. A scarcity of scriptural materials results from this reality in terms of the source framework, but—at least in the case of 2 Maccabees—we find in the second letter appended to the beginning of the work a discussion of scriptural sources, including “the records of the prophet Jeremiah” (2:1), a citation of Moses (2:11-12), “the archives or memoirs of Nehemiah,” and a library including books about the kings and prophets and the writings of David (2:13). However, the relationship of such introductory epistolary material to the history itself, apparently beginning in 2:19, remains unclear so that the value of this material for understanding the nature of the entire document is inconclusive. In 1 Maccabees there appears to be an intentional strategy to avoid—in many cases—even echoing prophetic language. While the author freely imitates Old Testament narrative material in his hero characterizations, as Goldstein notices, on most occasions, he “seems deliberately to have departed from or to have avoided the wording of biblical prophecies.” Although in telling the conquests of the Hasmonaean brothers reference to

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<sup>38</sup> Eissfeld, *Old Testament*, 574; Eskenazi, *In an Age of Prose*, 155–74; Eskenazi, “Chronicler,” 39–61; Williamson, *Israel*, 21–36; Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, xxii–xxiii.

prophetic material would have greatly supported the narrative development, “not once does he echo the prophecies of conquests there.”<sup>39</sup> It seems that 1 Maccabees, which prefers imitation as a general model over citation, adopts scriptural sources almost entirely restricted to historical narrative material.<sup>40</sup> I interpret this phenomenon as the continuation of a tendency within second temple historiography to avoid using biblical prophetic materials for mimesis.

## 2.2. *Josephus*

It is not until Josephus that we witness the greatest impact upon Hellenism within Jewish historiography. Josephus adopts his historiographic framework explicitly from the Greek historians, including his method for source utilization and citation. Josephus knew and used 1 Esdras as well as 1 Maccabees and both provided literary models for him at some level. Josephus uses a vast array of Greek historical writings. It appears that when Josephus does not have a Greek source to verify Israel’s history when doubt may potentially be introduced, he cites their sacred Scriptures instead as a source. Although Josephus does quote Moses directly—especially in the preface and in his creation account (both highly programmatic locations)—when he chooses to cite his scriptural source directly (besides this exception) he apparently prefers prophetic writings. We observe this phenomenon as we examine Josephus’s handling of prophetic sources throughout his *Antiquities*.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Goldstein, “How the Authors of 1 and 2 Maccabees Treated the ‘Messianic Prophecies,’” 77.

<sup>40</sup> Goldstein, “How the Authors of 1 and 2 Maccabees Treated the ‘Messianic Prophecies,’” 76–77, acknowledges “echoes” of a few prophetic texts within 1 Maccabees, but these for the most part amount to slight parallels in language (restricted to his “Ode to Judas”) and certainly no direct citations. He reinforces that “Indeed, relatively infrequent are the Hasmonaean propagandist’s allusions, in telling of his heroes, to the books of the Writing Prophets” (76).

<sup>41</sup> For further on this, see Pitts, “Use,” 229–52.

### 2.2.1. *Form*

Josephus employs a much wider diversity of citation formulas than any of his Greek predecessors. Although he uses a wide range of formulas based on λέγω, λέγεται is relatively rare in comparison to other historians who frequently employ λέγω (but cf. 9.9; a source he cites uses it as well, 1.93). A few of these λέγω-formulas grammaticalize perfective aspect, both with finite (εἶπε, *Ant.* 1.29) and nonfinite (εἰπών, *Ant.* 10.218) mode. The majority of these formulas grammaticalize imperfective aspect, including present (λέγει, *Ant.* 1.159; λέγονται, *Ant.* 8.42, 157) and imperfect tense forms in the indicative (ἔλεγον, *Ant.* 7.106; ἔλεγεν, *Ant.* 10.18; ἐλέγετο, *Ant.* 16.182). Present active participles account for most of these, however (λέγων, *Ant.* 1.34, 119, 158, 240; 7.101, 102; 8.144, 146, 324; 10.219; λέγουσα, *Ant.* 1.118; λέγουσι *Ant.* 7.14; 20.224). Josephus also employs present (λεγόμενος, *Ant.* 12.126), and perfect (εἰρημμένα, *Ant.* 18.11; 19.60) passive forms of λέγω in the slot for the saying verb in his citation formulas as well. Another several develop around aspectually vague forms of φημί in the present (φησίν, *Ant.* 1.33, 37; 7.67, 102; 8.260; 10.227, 269; 12.38; 14.9; 15.367; 18.45; 19.106) and imperfect (ἔφη, *Ant.* 10.34; ἔφασαν, *Ant.* 13.334) tense forms. But Josephus also uses the stative of ἀναγράφω (finite: ἀναγράφεται, *Ant.* 3.81, 105; 9.28; nonfinite: ἀναγεγραφότες, *Ant.* 1.93; ἀναγεγραμμένα, *Ant.* 11.99), διέξεισι (*Ant.* 1.93), συγγραψάμενος (*Ant.* 1.94, 107; 2.348), εὔρον (*Ant.* 2.347), ἐπεγνώκαμεν (*Ant.* 9.46), μαρτυρεῖ (*Ant.* 9.83), ἐφοίτα δὲ λόγος (*Ant.* 17.51), γράφειν (*Ant.* 20.154), and παραλαβουσῶν (*Ant.* 17.310). Josephus also uses περὶ οὗ λανηθεῖς Ἡρόδοτος τὰς πράξεις to correct Herodotus (*Ant.* 8.253) and often combines saying verbs to create citation formulas on a number of occasions: λέγων ... φησι (*Ant.* 10.18-19), συγγραψάμενος ...

λέγων (*Ant.* 10.20; 12.5), εἶπε ταῦτα λέγειν (*Ant.* 11.5), and μαρτυροῦσι... ἀναγράψαντες (*Ant.* 14.68)

Josephus's distribution of citation types does not match other Greek historians. He uses an unusually high number of explicit citations, employing a total of 85 of these throughout his *Antiquities*. He uses generic and anonymous citation at an almost equal ratio of 17 (generic) to 18 (anonymous).

Citation Type	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i>																			
	Book #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
<i>Explicit</i>	25	1	0	0	0	0	2	6	2	11	5	8	9	11	2	1	1	1	0	1
<i>Generic</i>	2	2	2	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	3
<i>Anonymous</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	1	3	4	2

Tab. 6: Ratio of Citation Formulas in Josephus' *Antiquities*

We do not find a single instance of anonymous citation until Book 7 (2x) and then not again until Book 13 (2x), and from that point in the narrative at least one anonymous citation surfaces in each book thereafter (Books 14–20), with a spike in Books 18–20, to the degree that, in Books 18 (3x) and 19 (4x), anonymous citation clearly becomes the preferred formula for identifying source material. These numbers become less surprising, however, when these ratios are measured by book across the entire history. Plotting these along a 3D trajectory displays this point very clearly.

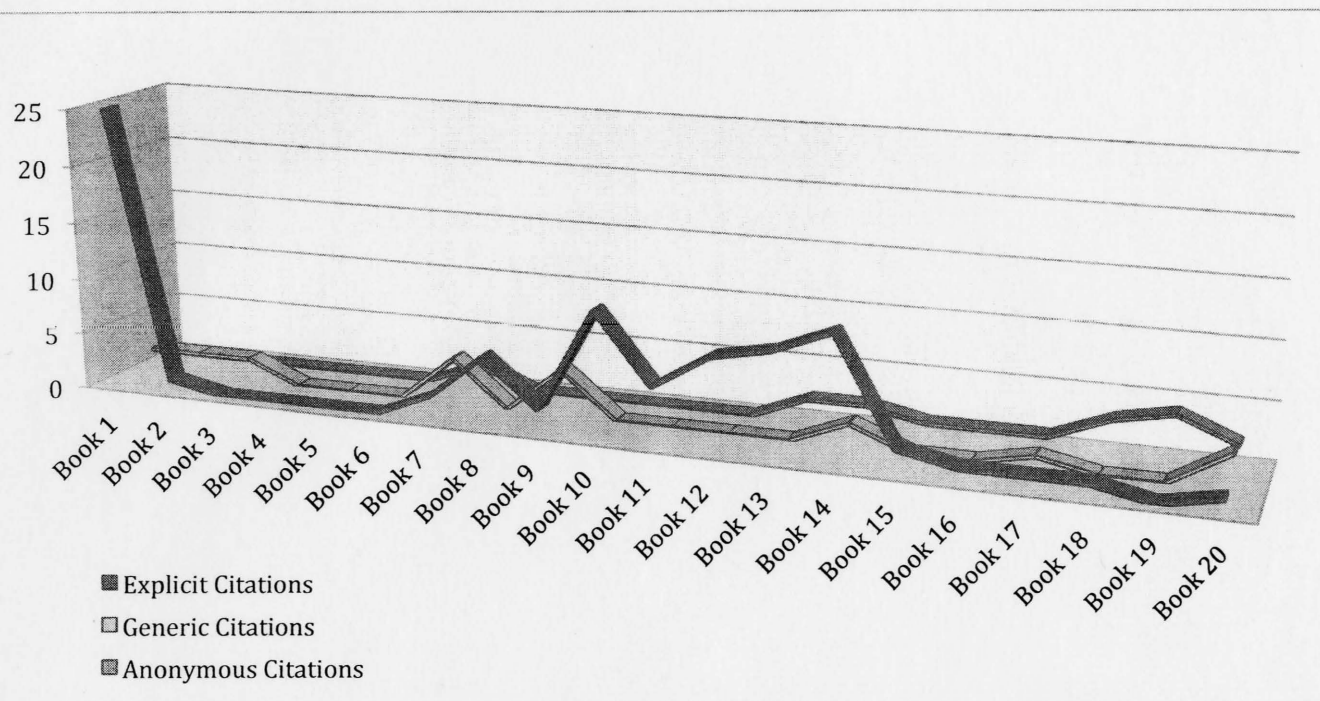


Fig. 20: 3D Plot Trajectory for Authoritative Citation Form Distribution in Josephus' *Antiquities*

We may interpret the increase in anonymous formulas toward the end of Josephus's *Antiquities* in at least two ways. If we follow our model strictly, it could be that Josephus desires to highlight certain material up front and then shifts to anonymous formulas toward the later, less emphatic narrative material. I highly doubt that this situation represents Josephus's motivation due to the highly skewed ratios toward explicit formulas throughout the *Antiquities* (see below on narrative function). On this scenario, we would likely still have a fairly substantial body of anonymous citation against which to project marked explicit formulas. A second option, which I find far more likely, reflects increased Hellenistic influence in the later portions of the *Antiquities*. While they come close in many ways, Books 1–14 do not fully reflect Greek historiographic practice. The density of explicit to generic / anonymous formulas does not completely align with

Josephus's Greek predecessors. Books 15–20 do. Anonymous citations dominate, even if relatively rare against material employed for mimesis, and generic and explicit citations spike only toward the end of Josephus's history with the narratively significant conclusion of the entire work in Book 20. This accords with prior Greek historiographic standards and is likely the result of increasing Hellenism and greater degrees of exposure to Hellenistic historiography as Josephus writes.

Josephus cites a notable range of materials throughout his work. His preferred sources for explicit citation are the Scriptures of Israel (esp. Moses and the prophets) and a large group of Hellenistic authors (esp. historians like Nicolaus [8x], Herodotus [4x], but also the geographer, Strabo [13x] and the poet Menander [2x]) so that he may interpersonally engage with Jewish and Greek readers.

### 2.2.2. *Projection / Expansion*

As a Jew, while Josephus values Greek literature, his primary normative source—replacing Homer—is the LXX. It operates within the projection / expansion system in similar but distinct ways. Often Greek historians recruit interpretive resources to engage in competition with the predecessors that they cite, advancing interpretive resources locally to underscore more global narrative citation strategies or merely as an opportunity to provide interpretive comment on a citation motivated by wider narrative aims.

Josephus accomplishes a similar effect but does not compete with his normative source since it also functions in his community as highly sacred literature. For example, in *Ant.* 9.239 he cites an extended passage from the prophet Nahum (2:8–13), preserving the exact wording of the standard LXX editions. His expansion on this projection is revealing

(9.242). He emphasizes the prophetic character of Nahum and instead of competing with his normative text, he uses it to increase his own credibility by its prophetic interpretation / prediction of history—thus an enhancement expansion. So at the level of interpretation, this has a similar effect as the Greek historians’ use of Homer to elevate the writer’s historical credibility. Other citations seem to serve a mainly or exclusively narrative function (see below), including the use of Jonah (*Ant.* 9.205–208), Isaiah (*Ant.* 9.276), Jeremiah (*Ant.* 10.104, 106, 112, 114–20, 124, 141; cf. *Ant.* 10.176–80; so also *J.W.* 5.391–92), and Daniel (*Ant.* 10.264–68; cf. *Ant.* 10.272–80; 11.337; 12.332).

### 2.2.3. Narrative Function

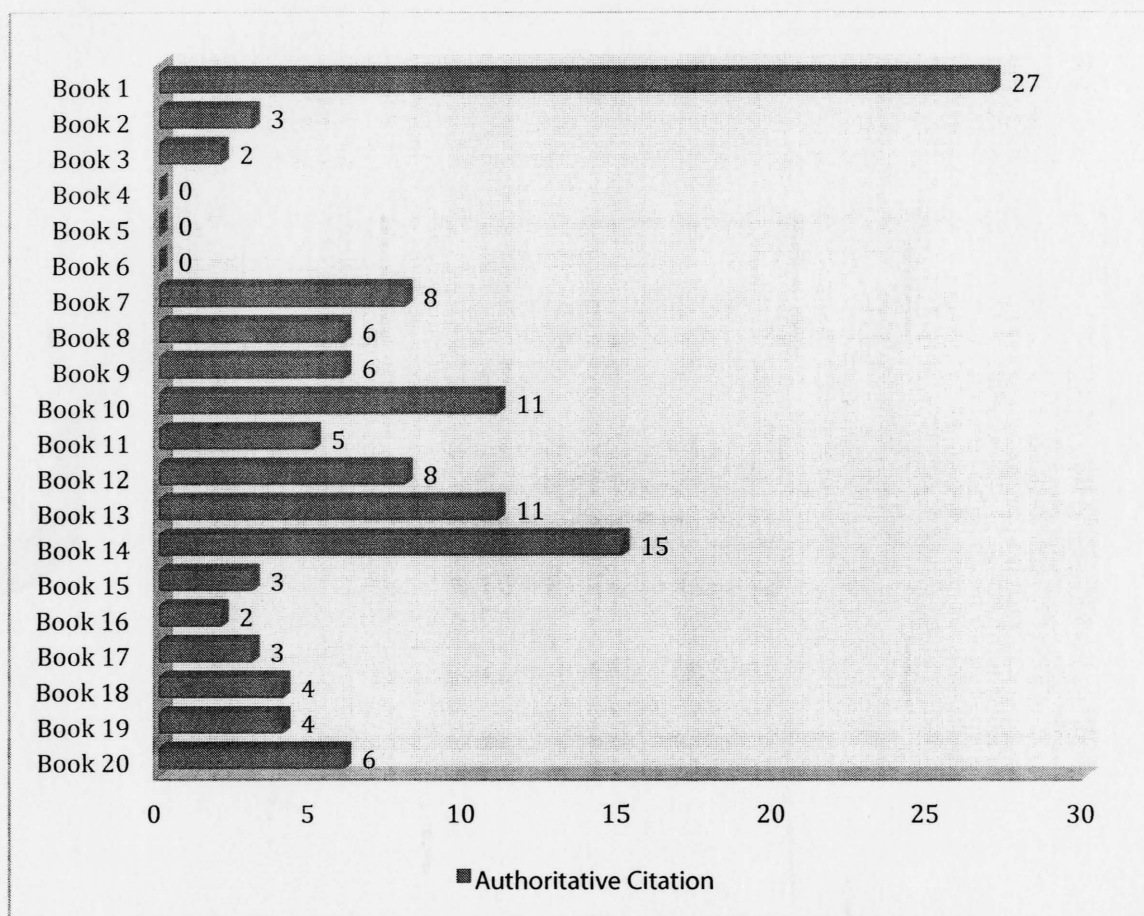
In order no doubt to connect with his Hellenistic readers,<sup>42</sup> Josephus seems to prefer secular Greek sources for his history when they are available and these typically take the form of explicit citation, as we saw above in examining the form of Josephus’s authoritative citations. When narrating biblical events, Josephus exhibits a tendency toward citing his secular sources, especially in support of biblical miracle tradition. The most substantial cluster of citations occurs, for example, in support of the flood story. In *Ant.* 1.107-108, Josephus concludes the narrative and transitions into his fourth chapter with a massive cluster of 12 references to various historians, in support of this divine miracle as well as the account of Noah living almost 1,000 years.<sup>43</sup> And these citations

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<sup>42</sup> Eve, *Jewish Context*, 26, notices that, “The recurrent formula to the effect that readers are welcome to their own opinion on purported miracles (e.g. *Ant.* 1.108; 2.348; 3.81; 4.158; 10.281; 17.354) is not an indication of Josephus’s own doubt, but rather a stereotyped nod in the direction of his (possibly sceptical) Hellenistic readers.” So he understands, at least, doubt formulas to have more of an apologetic function.

<sup>43</sup> He lists the historians that support the flood and the long lives of the ancients as follows: “Now I have for witnesses to what I have said, all those that have written Antiquities, both among the Greeks and barbarians; for even Manetho, who wrote the Egyptian History, and Berosus, who collected the Chaldean Monuments, and Mochus and Hestiaeus, and besides these, Hieronymus the Egyptian, and those who composed the Phoenician History, agree to what I here say: Hesiod also, and Hecataeus, Hellanicus, and

had already been preceded by four others in the context of the narrative itself, also supporting the flood story (*Ant.* 1.93–94). Josephus enlists two further explicit citations in support of the Babel story (*Ant.* 1.118–119). He also endorses historical events that remain deep within and significant for Israel’s history, such as the Abraham story, which draws three explicit anaphoric citations at the conclusion of the episode (*Ant.* 1.158). Early on, these kinds of citations—connected with the supernatural or difficult to believe—account for the vast majority of Josephus’s explicit citations and result in a drastic spike in explicit citation density within the first portions of his *Antiquities*:



**Fig. 21:** *Authoritative Citation Distribution in Josephus’s Antiquities*

Acusilaus; and besides these, Ephorus and Nicolaus relate that the ancients lived a thousand years; but as to these matters let everyone look upon them as he thinks fit” (*Ant.* 1.108–107).



Whatever the cause here, Josephus certainly follows in the wake of his historical predecessors in clustering a high density of citations within a concentrated portion of his narrative; in his case, Book 1. The focus of this portion of his work on the supernatural origins of Israel's history must account for at least part of this picture. But we find citations in support of significant narrative events as well and the heritage laid out in Book 1 of Josephus's history which functions as the foundation for the entirety of the remaining work so that a case could certainly be made for the significance of Book 1 for the entire history at the narrative level.

Josephus also explicitly cites several passages from the Hebrew Bible, primarily from the prophets. But he puts these writings to use in ways that virtually parallel the use of his Greek sources. Of these prophets, it is Jonah—a somewhat unlikely candidate, perhaps—who makes the first appearance in Josephus's *Antiquities* and not until book 9. In citing and reworking his Jonah material, Josephus conflates material from 2 Kings 14 and Jonah. Josephus presents Jonah as a “prophet” who “foretold” Jeroboam's victory over Syria and whose writings are contained in Josephus's “Hebrew books” (*Ant.* 9.205–208). This seems significant since the biblical book does not describe itself as prophetic.<sup>44</sup> As Begg notices, Josephus shows a concern to portray Jonah as an accurate predictor of the future.<sup>45</sup> Due to the function of the quotations to provide credibility to the history, this focus would need to play an important part in his portrayal—especially if some had questioned Jonah in this way. The direct citations come in the midst of the reworking of 2 Kgs 15:23–27. While Jonah only receives passing mention in 2 Kings,

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<sup>44</sup> Feldman, “Josephus' Interpretation of Jonah,” 6–7.

<sup>45</sup> Begg, “Classical Prophets,” 346.

Josephus makes him into a significant focus, recruiting his prophetic utterances as a validation for the military success of Jeroboam. Josephus shows his reluctance to employ material affirming the miraculous in Jonah, however, through his use of qualifying language (e.g. “the story has it”) (see *Ant.* 9.208, 213).<sup>46</sup> Miracles were often viewed with suspicion in ancient history. In addition to reasons mentioned below, this may have provided incentive for Josephus’s deployment of the Nahum quotation in support of the same event in the subsequent context.

Josephus cites Nahum at a highly strategic point in Chapter 11 of Book 9, but here the citation quotes much of Nah 2:8–13 verbatim rather than citing the prophet’s name and summarizing his material. However, Josephus refrains from citing more of Nahum’s oracles since he does not want to “appear troublesome to [his] readers” (*Ant.* 9.242). Feldman and Begg both interpret this statement to mean that prophecy in general would be overbearing to Josephus’s ancient readers,<sup>47</sup> but when interpreted in the context of ancient (Greek) historiography where the citation of sources was reserved for special narrative movements and events, we see that Josephus is concerned here to handle his sources according to the appropriate standards, including his prophetic sources. In the text he cites, Nahum predicts the fall of Nineveh. The citation functions in the narrative as a conclusion to the eleventh chapter of Book 9, giving literary closure to Josephus’s recounting of Assyria’s conquest over Israel in the preceding paragraphs (*Ant.* 9.228–35). He uses the citation to resolve the narrative tension of Israel being God’s chosen people while God providentially allows his people to be taken as Tiglath-Pileser’s prisoners (*Ant.* 9.235). The quotation also functions in a supporting role, as Begg notes, “to confirm

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. Thackeray, *Josephus*, 90; Begg, “Classical Prophets,” 346; Feldman, “Josephus’ Interpretation of Jonah,” 3, 14–15; Bolin, *Freedom*, 15.

<sup>47</sup> Feldman, “Prophets,” 216; Begg, “Classical Prophets,” 347–48.

and reinforce the announcement about Nineveh's overthrow made by Jonah earlier."<sup>48</sup>

The Jonah material may have needed further endorsement due to perceptions in some circles that he may have been a false prophet (Tob 14:4).<sup>49</sup> Josephus's own remarks further substantiate this function of the citation by emphasizing that everything Nahum predicted regarding Nineveh "happened about ... a hundred and fifteen years afterward" (*Ant.* 9.242). And with this, the chapter concludes.

Isaiah surfaces for the first time toward the end of Book 9 of the *Antiquities*, where Josephus refers to him as the prophet who knew all future events and upon whom King Hezekiah depended (*Ant.* 9.276). Again, Josephus combines material from 2 Kgs 18-20 and Isa 36-39 in the composition of his account. Isaiah figures as a significant character within Book 10, acting as a prophetic consultant to the king, especially with respect to the fate of Israel in relation to Assyria. Josephus relates that Isaiah "wrote down all his prophecies, and left them behind him in books" (*Ant.* 10.35), apparently acknowledging his access to these prophetic texts. Although he seems to employ a different *Vorlage* than the one behind the MT, Josephus cites Isa 44:28 directly from "the book which Isaiah left behind of his prophecies" (*Ant.* 11.5-6) as the text that gave Cyrus the incentive to send the Jews back to their native land (cf. Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.1).<sup>50</sup> And as

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<sup>48</sup> Begg, "Classical Prophets," 348. In a later study, Begg, *Josephus' Story*, 302, states, "by positioning his quotation of Nahum's word of doom for Assyria where he does, i.e. not long after his citation of Jonah's similar message, Josephus underscores the certainty of Assyria's demise as something announced by two different prophets. Such a 'confirmation' of Jonah's announcement would be all the more in order...." This kind of function for the quotation indicates a direct parallel with practices of source citation found among the Greek historians.

<sup>49</sup> So Ego, "Repentance," 157-58.

<sup>50</sup> Feldman, *Studies*, 379, remains puzzled as to why Josephus uses Isaiah so infrequently and suggests that this may have been due to a priestly preference to Jeremiah over Isaiah. While such considerations certainly may have factored into the selections Josephus made in the end, we must remember that according to the canons of historiography citation is kept to a minimum so that taking over large portions of Isaiah 7 in support of Ahaz's alliance with Assyria, for example (as Feldman thinks we might expect), may not have been as much of an option as one would think. Such an event likely did not need the heavy endorsement of prophetic citation in Josephus' mind. Some of the other events, notably those prophesied in Jonah, Nahum,

with the quotation given from Nahum, the biblical text here functions in two ways. First, it substantiates a significant narrative turn in Josephus's portrayal of Israel's history related specifically to the theme of exile and return. Second, it provides further validation for the prophecies of Jeremiah in the preceding descriptions (*Ant.* 11.1–2). Haggai and Zachariah help further substantiate these realities. They assure the Jews that the Persians will not interfere with their efforts to rebuild the temple (*Ant.* 11.96). And being inspired by these prophecies, among other things, helped bring the structure of the temple to conclusion (*Ant.* 11.106; see also *J.W.* 6.270). The familiar pattern resurfaces: the citation confirms other prophecy / history and relates to themes of exile / restoration.<sup>51</sup>

If the rabbis favor Isaiah, the Hellenistic Jewish historians prefer Jeremiah, who makes an appearance not only in 1 Esdras and 2 Maccabees but receives extensive treatment in Josephus as well. Scholarship in this domain of Josephan studies has tended to focus on Josephus's typology of Jeremiah in relation to his own life and ministry.<sup>52</sup> That Josephus draws significantly upon Jeremiah to show that the Jews' war against Rome was the result of divine judgment also remains a consistent emphasis.<sup>53</sup> Besides the analysis of Begg,<sup>54</sup> little attention has been given to the function of the citations themselves. Josephus first refers to the prophet's "lament, which is extant to this time also" (*Ant.* 10.78). He goes on to insist that Jeremiah predicted the destruction of

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and Jeremiah, clearly did. These seem more integral to his narrative strategy and, therefore, require substantiation.

<sup>51</sup> Josephus cites Isa 19:18–23 toward the end of his account of the Jewish war, again on this theme of the history of the rebuilding of the temple (*J.W.* 7.432). This citation illustrates Feldman's point, "Restoration," 254, that these restoration themes in Josephus take on a clear orientation toward the temple.

<sup>52</sup> See esp. Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy," 239–62, esp. 244–46; Duabe, "Typology," 18–36, esp. 26–27; Cohen, "Josephus," 367–69; Begg, "Classical Prophets," 354; Gray, *Prophetic Figures*, 72–74; Feldman, "Josephus's Portrait of Isaiah," 586. In each of these studies and others we often find an attempt to compare various historical details between Josephus' account and Jeremiah's. Beyond these, see, e.g. Steiner, "Incomplete Circumcision," 497–505.

<sup>53</sup> Kelly, "Cosmopolitan Expression," 260.

<sup>54</sup> Begg, "Classical Prophets," 352–55.

Jerusalem by Rome (10.79). Much of the account focuses on Jeremiah's story in the context of the reigns of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah rather than his writings (*Ant.* 10.84-154). Josephus summarizes his ministry, apparently including the prophecies recorded in the book that bears his name, when he says that Jeremiah "foretold every day" (*Ant.* 10.89) how the king of Babylon would overthrow Jehoiakim. Josephus continues to reiterate these predications and their accuracy throughout his narrative (*Ant.* 10.104, 106, 112, 114-20, 124, 141; cf. *Ant.* 10.176-80; so also *J.W.* 5.391-92). He recruits Ezekiel within the Jeremiah narratives as well, but—as Begg observes—these typically amount to "a confirmatory echo" of the prophecies of Jeremiah.<sup>55</sup> He introduces Ezekiel for the first time as a contemporary of Jeremiah, who wrote two books (*Ant.* 10.79). Each citation of Ezekiel seems to strengthen Jeremiah's prediction regarding the fate of Israel in relation to Babylon (*Ant.* 10.98, 104-106; cf. *Ant.* 10.141). This set of summarizing citations from Jeremiah-Ezekiel shows again the dual function of Josephus's use of prophetic literature, serving to confirm the development of the important narrative themes revolving around the issue of Israel's exile and return.<sup>56</sup> As with Isaiah, Jeremiah's restoration focus remains oriented toward the temple. As Gray notices, he even sometimes adds temple references to Jeremiah where none exist in the source text (e.g. *Ant.* 10.128//Jer 38:20-23).<sup>57</sup>

Although not considered among the "classical prophets" in the Jewish tradition, Daniel stands among Josephus's most beloved prophets, receiving more attention than any of the others. Most of his account of Daniel consists of reworked narrative material.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Begg, "Classical Prophets," 355.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Kelly, "Cosmopolitan Expression," 260.

<sup>57</sup> Gray, *Prophetic Figures*, 74.

<sup>58</sup> On Josephus's numerous allusions to Daniel, see Bruce, "Josephus," 19-31, 148-62.

Daube, Gray and especially Gnuse connect his portrayal of Daniel in the *Antiquities* with Josephus's own life, particularly as it is represented in the autobiographical material in his *Life* (77–79, 80–82, 84–85).<sup>59</sup> Besides the narration of Daniel's interpretation of the king's dream, Josephus first emphasizes the genuinely prophetic character of Daniel's writings when he says if one "cannot curb his inclination for understanding the uncertainties of the future, and whether they will happen or not, let him be diligent in reading the Book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings" (*Ant.* 10.210). Again, with Daniel, we see Josephus highlight prophecies concerning the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple (*Ant.* 10.264–68; cf. *Ant.* 10.272–80; 11.337; 12.332), themes connected again with exile and restoration.

With Josephus's use of Daniel we begin to get a sense of the purposes for which Josephus employed prophetic texts within his narrative. He says in *Ant.* 10.277: "All these things did this man leave in writing, as God had showed them to him, insomuch, that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, would wonder at the honor wherewith God honored Daniel; and may there discover how the Epicureans are in an error," referring to the Epicurean denial of divine providence (*Ant.* 10.278–79). Following right upon the heels of this programmatic statement about the narrative function of at least Daniel's prophecy, we have the direct citation of the prophet Isaiah about Cyrus at the beginning of Book 11 (recall, one of only a handful of direct citations

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<sup>59</sup> Duabe, "Typology," 28; Gray, *Prophetic Figures*, 74–75; Gnuse, *Dreams*, 29–30. See also Betz, *Offenbarung*, 341–43; Franxman, *Genesis*, 215; Johnson, "Josephus," 337–46.

from prophetic literature) roughly four verses later. Josephus then appears to deploy prophetic literature in direct support of the providential activity of Israel's God.<sup>60</sup>

It seems that, for Josephus, the theme of judgment / exile and return / restoration was most well suited for demonstrating divine providential intervention—specifically the Assyrian / Babylonian judgments and the restoration of Jerusalem / the temple.<sup>61</sup> Although the use of Jonah may not appear at first to fit this pattern as neatly as the others, perhaps Josephus cites him first in support of a conquest theme before pronouncing God's providential judgment and restoration of the nation. Then Josephus cites Nahum's extended prophecy of judgment, a highly marked (foreground) citation due to its verbatim reproduction in the text, along with Isaiah's in Book 11 on restoration, due to its exact reproduction of the text. Therefore, Josephus weaves prophetic writings and direct citations from the prophets into these narratives to support his illustration of divine providence through them.

This strategy fits well with the function of direct citation within the Greek historians. In the case of Josephus, he cites his prophetic sources in support of the "the activities of gods" so as to refute the Epicurean doctrine to the contrary. This basic literary strategy can be generalized and applied to Josephus's source framework more broadly. Josephus only cites Moses, for example, as a source (rather than a narrative figure) in the preface and then extensively in the first chapter on the creation of the world. Moses, as a source, then begins to drop quickly into the background mimetic level

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<sup>60</sup> Attridge, *Interpretation of Biblical History*, 103–104, suggests that Josephus's primary motivation in using prophecy was to substantiate Yahweh's providential relationship with his people. Cf. Bruce, "Josephus," 22; Gray, *Prophetic Figures*, 39.

<sup>61</sup> This emphasis may have helped Josephus sort through his material from Daniel, neglecting much of the apocalyptic tradition contained in Chapters 7–12. On Josephus's nonapocalyptic reading of Daniel, see Momigliano, "What Josephus Did Not See," 67–78; Mason, "Josephus," 161–91.

of Josephus's source framework, only resurfacing to validate hard to believe points in his narrative. For example, after the creation story, he cites Moses again in *Ant.* 1.93, accumulating his pentateuchal source with several other secular sources, in order to support the flood. As Franxman notes, "Jos. has not much interest in employing source citation in his Genesis narrative after Abraham." He notes that "his purpose in invoking outside authority seems to be the historical substantiation of the slightly fabulous."<sup>62</sup> Josephus has clearly imitated his Greek predecessors in this and his use of prophetic literature constitutes a more specific function of this broader literary-historiographic strategy.

My conclusion here runs contrary to that of Begg who argues that Josephus chooses the prophetic literature that he does (and neglects other prophetic texts) due to their distinct narrative material, accurate predictions, and contribution in terms of historical content.<sup>63</sup> Understanding Josephus's use of prophetic literature against the background of Greek historiography in this way helps provide answers to the anomalies created by Begg's proposal. It explains why Josephus cited some of the prophets he did and also why he excluded some (but not all) of the minor prophets—his concern was with divine providence (the activity of Israel's God in the world) through exile / restoration (and he needed to validate activities of the gods with his prophetic source material). It explains another of Begg's and Feldman's proposed difficulties as well: why so few prophets are cited since Josephus clearly knew other texts<sup>64</sup> and cuts against the conclusions of scholars like Schwartz who postulate that Josephus likely used the

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<sup>62</sup> Franxman, *Genesis*, 23.

<sup>63</sup> Begg, "Classical Prophets," 341–57.

<sup>64</sup> Feldman, "Restoration," 252, thinks Josephus failed to cite the prophets more frequently for nationalistic and political reasons. However, the prophets Josephus does cite remain as politically charged as any.



prophets so infrequently due to partial ignorance.<sup>65</sup> Within Greek historiography, source citation was highly selective, being carefully reserved for those places in the narrative where special validation was needed. Therefore, as a historian, Josephus could only cite a small range of material and he did so only at the most crucial junctures within his narrative so that a neglect of large amounts of prophetic material can hardly count as proof of ignorance.

### 2.3 *Conclusions to Chapter 6*

Recent research has neglected the narrative function of source integration in the Hellenistic Jewish historians. I have argued that configuring their source framework in the context of Greek historiography seems to provide more adequate descriptive resources for understanding their use of authoritative citation of sources. *Jubilees* merely adopts mimetic practices, probably inspired by Chronicles. 1 Esdras, slightly further along the continuum of more or less Hellenistically influenced, evidences a model of source integration much closer to Greek historiography, but still primitive in its applications. 1-2 Maccabees represents contemporary history and so, with respect to the use of scriptural materials, their composition remains difficult to assess at this level. Finally, with Josephus, biblical law and narrative are reworked through mimesis on the background of the narrative and prophetic literature is highlighted through authoritative citation at particularly strategic or literarily significant points in the composition—in Josephus's case, marking divine providence in God's interactions with his people through conquest, exile, and restoration.

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<sup>65</sup> Schwartz, *Josephus*, 45–46. That Josephus himself acknowledges that he was aware of other prophecies but intentionally did not include them (*Ant.* 9.242) reinforces my assessment here, cf. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Isaiah," 584.

### 3. *Conclusions and Contextual Analysis for Chapters 5-6: Genre and Authoritative Citation in Hellenistic History*

Having examined authoritative citation co-textually in both Greek (chapter 5) and Hellenistic Jewish (chapter 6) historians at the levels of form, projection / expansion, and narrative function, it will now be helpful to make several contextual observations.

If, as Martin argues, genres represent particular realizations of field, mode, and tenor constrained by the context of culture, then by a comparative analysis of citation strategies across several Greek histories we can observe ostensibly the constraints of the historiographic genre upon authoritative citation. In other words, now that several individual writings have been examined *co-textually*, we can now assess the historiographic genre *contextually* by grouping the historians together for comparison in order to extrapolate how the context of culture might be influencing several writings of the same genre with respect to source integration. Before considering authoritative citation, however, a brief word regarding the basic function of mimesis within the Greek historiographic genre will help round out the picture as we move forward.

#### 3.1. *Mimesis (Unmarked)*

In the Greek historians, we can detect a deep body of traditions that the historians draw upon to construct their narratives. Only rarely, however, do they draw attention to these traditions through marked citation strategies. The vast majority of the pool of information that makes its way into the narrative gets integrated via mimesis. This allows the historian to create a background narrative plane of source material onto which he can project foreground (anonymous) and foreground (generic / explicit) citations. This

background plane of the source framework creates an unmarked, seamless stream of tradition integrated within the narrator's own linguistic reservoir. This mimetic dimension of the discourse then enables an unmarked foundation against which more prominent events that require citation can be placed and stand out as prominent.

### 3.2. *Authoritative Citation (Marked)*

Citation functions as the marked source integration strategy in the historians. Through authoritative citation, historians can draw attention to the significant events, transitions, or the generally extraordinary within the narrative. This can be observed by an assessment of the form, projection / expansion, and narrative function of authoritative citation within the historians, at a more big picture, contextual level.

#### 3.2.1. *Form*

Although issues of textual tradition factors in at this level of analysis, the textual tradition for the Greek historians is generally not complicated by these issues as it is in the case of Luke's Gospel. So this will be a level of depth in the analysis of Luke that was necessarily lacking in the case of the Greek historians. Also relevant at the level of form, however, are citation formulas. The historians use a fairly limited range of citation formulas (though these formulas certainly are not limited to Greek historiography) early on, usually based around words for speech (typically λέγω or φημί), especially in the initial periods. The formulas become more flexible in later developments, as we find in Polybius, Appian, and Josephus. Citations also vary depending on whether written documents are used. Appian, for example, employs not only speaking verbs but also

cognitive terminology to introduce several of his citations. The earliest historians tend to rely mainly on oral sources for their authoritative citations but do occasionally cite documents, inscriptions, or literary sources. Although oral source citations continue to dominate in later histories—especially apparently at the mimesis level of source integration—in Polybius, Appian, and Josephus, we begin to see a more consistent use of written sources and literary formulas beginning to emerge as well. Recall, for example, that Josephus uses the stative of ἀναγράφω (*Ant.* 3.81, 105; 9.28; 11.99) as well as the combined form μαρτυροῦσι... ἀναγράψαντες (*Ant.* 14.68) to introduce written sources that he cites.

When the historians do cite written sources, they tend to be either normative literary texts that have an authoritative status among their anonymous readers and / or prior compositions that they wish to compete with. For the Greek historians, who write for other Greek academics and elites, this body of writings includes especially Homer (and the poets) and other contemporary historians. For Josephus, who writes with a Greek and Jewish audience in mind, the Scriptures along with the significant Greco-Roman authors and especially other historians, become a significant body of literature used for authoritative citation. Josephus also intends to illustrate the prophetic character of Jewish sacred history so that his Scripture citations not only relate his narrative to a Jewish audience, but also serve an apologetic function for his Greek readers. Both Greek and Hellenistic Jewish historians compete with predecessors via citation, typically other historians.

### 3.2.2. *Projection / Expansion*

The most dominant feature that emerges from citation through the projection / expansion system within the historians is diversity. While the historians often used sources as a way of competing with their predecessors, this function tends to play into the larger authenticating narrative strategy. A historian will sometimes cite a normative text and use the projection as an opportunity for interpretation in the expansion. But the narrative constraint on citation seems to surface as a dominant feature that works in tandem with the projection / expansion system. Unlike Jewish exegetical texts, in the historians, no single interpretive framework seems to unite their citations. Instead, the historians recruit citation when their narrative needs validation in some form (see below). This narrative-historiographic concern seems to motivate citation. Then the author, after the citation has been projected into the narrative, often—though not always—uses interpretive expansion to execute interpretive concerns. (Competition with prior literary works often factors in at this level.) Citations then become primarily a function of the historiographic genre that the writer may then exploit to offer interpretive reflections as well. This is evidenced by the fact that many citations seem to serve a purely narrative function, where the citation itself does not appear to be used to advance a view of the cited text at the clause complex level as much as to undergird the authority of their own text at the discourse level.

### 3.2.3. *Narrative Function*

The narrative function of citations serves as one of the most distinctive features of ancient historiography. Historians exhibit a very low density of citation in contrast to

Greco-Roman βίος. In the preceding analysis, these infrequently used citations appear to be localized at very strategic positions in the narrative or in support of events that the anonymous readers might find difficult to believe, especially the miraculous. This also tends to result in highly packed citation clusters around significant narrative events and activities.

### 3.2.3.1. *Citation Density*

Drawing from one of the criteria put forward in chapter 3, citation density functions as a diagnostic in determining whether a narrative functions as βίος or history. Authoritative citation—whether anonymous, generic, or explicit—is marked in contrast to mimesis. At least in the case of ancient history, this results in highly restricted citation densities. With the exception of Herodotus, who does not yet embody the full formal expression of Greek historiography, citations do not occur frequently (and not even that frequently in Herodotus) and when they do occur, their uses seem highly strategic and limited to a specific range of contexts (see below). These distributional patterns confirm the markedness of citation in relation to the much more common mimetic mechanism for source integration. We place this feature at the narrative function level since the low density patterns allow for more marked citation strategies to stand out in contrast to the mimetic background of the narrative.

### 3.2.3.2. *Narrative Structure and Clustering*

Citation clustering represents another phenomenon we observe at the discourse level that we do not discover within the ancient βίος. Each of the historians examined

shows a strong tendency toward citation clustering around significant transitions or events in their narratives. In both Herodotus and (esp.) Thucydides and Josephus, citations cluster around their first two books, where they document the most distant events and that thus call for greater levels of validation. Xenophon exhibits a distinct tendency toward citation clustering as well, in both *Hellenica* and *Anabasis*. In *Hellenica*, citations gather around the defeat of the Spartans at the battle of Leuctra in Book 6—a key turning point in Xenophon’s history. In *Anabasis*, we find a steep spike in citation in Book 1 that carries into Book 2, verifying the incredible battle stories of Cyrus. The only foreground citations in Xenophon occur in *Anab. 1*. Polybius’s narrative arguably centers around expressing the superiority of his own historical method in contrast to his competitors. His most tightly packed cluster of citations thus populates in Book 12, with Polybius’s harsh censoring of his fellow historian Timaeus. An extremely dense grouping of citations occurs in Books 1–2 of Appian’s *Civil Wars*, the very two books that he seems to deem as most significant to his narrative in the preface (*Bell. Civ.* 1.6). These clusters come in stark contrast to other Books in these histories, which often exhibit very low densities of citation, in many cases zeroing out completely. This literary feature distinguishes history from biographical patterns of citation, which tend to be spread across the biographical narrative somewhat evenly.

### 3.2.3.3. *Narrative Structure and Verification*

Citations tend to occur in the historians at very distinct places within the narrative. Whereas mimesis and autopsy remained the most common ways of maintaining historical authority, Marincola insists that explicit reference to sources in the Greek historians more

generally was reserved “for emphasizing special sources and as a validation for exceptional events.”<sup>66</sup> We see especially two kinds of “exceptional events” surface in our analysis of the citation strategies of the Greek historians: (1) narrative events and (2) extraordinary events. We observe that key narrative moments tend to draw citation support: especially (a) birth of a main character, (b) death of a main character, (c) important sayings / actions of a main character, and (d) key narrative transitions. Historians also feel the need to validate the unusual or the extraordinary with citations. These include especially the miraculous or supernatural activities, but also unusually high or low numbers, incredible feats in battle, the extreme end of an event category (e.g. the greatest battle ever), the extreme end of a class (e.g. the biggest ship ever built), etc. Due to the highly restricted use of citation, this limited range of activities that citation tends to support becomes all the more significant in isolating the citation strategies of the ancient historians.

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<sup>66</sup> Marincola, *Authority*, 86.



Chapter 7:  
 Authoritative Citation in Luke 1–4:  
 Validating Jesus' Birth, Prophetic Forerunner, Temptation, and Healing Ministry

The authoritative citation of Scripture in Luke 1–4 centers around the major narrative movements that these chapters document: Jesus' birth, prophetic forerunner (and baptism), temptation, and healing ministry. We observe a variety of anonymous, generic, and explicit formulas. In some cases Luke adapts the shape of the tradition to fit his theological goals while at other times syntactic concerns in the new narrative environment seem to motivate divergences. No single interpretive framework seems to unite Luke's citation scheme when we examine the projection / expansion system. However, narrative-historiographic concerns do appear to tie together Luke's several authoritative citations in chapters 1–4 at the level of narrative function.

1. *Authoritative Citation of Moses in Support of the Infancy Narrative (Luke 2:22–24)*

Several authoritative citations in Luke's Gospel surface within the infancy narrative. The evangelist draws the vast majority of this material (Luke 1–2) from L or Luke's special material (however that is defined). Interpreters tend to take this tradition as either a Lukan invention<sup>1</sup> or as an adaptation from a prior Semitic (the translation theory)<sup>2</sup> or Septuagentalized (the imitation theory)<sup>3</sup> source. As with Hellenistic Jewish

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<sup>1</sup> Minear, "Luke's Use of the Birth Stories," 111–30; Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 309; Hendrickx, *Infancy*, 53–62; Farris, *Hymns*, 86–98; Paffenroth, *Story of Jesus*, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Torrey, *Translated Gospels*, 85–86; Sahlin, *Der Messias*, 9; Zimmermann, *Aramaic Origin*; Martin, *Syntax Criticism* (for his method, cf. Martin, *Syntactical Evidence*, 6–68). Farris, *Hymns*, 62–98, combines

historians (*Jub.* 1–2; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.27–51; cf. also Appian, *Bel. Civ.* 1), Luke opens his own history with reference to Moses in the programmatic introductory material (Luke 1–2) but then cites mainly prophetic texts in the subsequent narrative.

### 1.1. *Form*

The citations do not surface until later in the infancy narrative, cropping up in Luke 2 with the codes for purification. Luke cites “the Law of Moses” and “the Law of the Lord” (Exod 13:2, 12; Lev 5:11; 12:8) (Luke 2:23–24), both referring to Scripture connected with Jesus’ birth. The first citation formula (κατὰ τὸν νόμον Μωϋσέως) uses the highly marked explicit citation form, referencing Moses’ name in support of the purification laws, a common expression for Pentateuchal source material in early Judaism—it is used in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha only rarely (e.g. *T.Zeb.* 3.4) but finds a great deal of currency among the Apocrypha (1 Esd 8:3; 9:39; Tob 7:13; Bar 2:2; Sus 3) and especially the literature at Qumran (תּוֹרַת מוֹשֶׁה; 1QS 5.8; 8.22; 4Q256 9.7; CD 15.2; 16.2; 4Q266 11.6; 4Q270 frag.7 1.20; 4Q271 frag.4 2.4). The evangelist uses generic citation (καθὼς γέγραπται) to introduce a specific quote in support of the tradition. This exact expression of the formula occurs only here in Luke’s Gospel (but cf. Acts 7:42; 15:15—it is common way of citing the Old Testament in primitive Christianity, occurring 22x outside of Luke-Acts in the NT). Although this formula occurs frequently primarily in Jewish literature (2 Kgs 14:6; Jub 6:21; 3 *En.* 2.4; 5.8;

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this theory with a Lukan creativity proposal in which Luke adapts and expands upon original Hebrew sources.

<sup>3</sup> Harnack, *Lukas*, 150; Goulder, *Luke*, 115–16; Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 245–50.

12.5; 40.3; 42.21; 1QS 8.14; 1Q33 15.35; 1Q4163 frag. 21.6; 4Q117 1.2),<sup>4</sup> a number of Greco-Roman historians including Polybius, Josephus, and Appian, and construct citation formulas using γράφω (see chapters 5–6).<sup>5</sup> This time Luke refers to the text he cites as the “Law of the Lord” (νόμῳ κυρίου). Some see a translated Semitic original here ( תּוֹרַת הַיְיָ),<sup>6</sup> but this seems doubtful.<sup>7</sup> Hellenistic Jews often used the phrase to refer to Pentateuchal material (e.g. *Vis. Ezra* 46; *LAB* 22.5; 38.2; 39.6; *Liv. Pro.* 17.1; cf. also *y.Meg.* 1.9, II.9Y). The two formulas in tandem with the additional citation in 2:24 have a marked compiling effect (see below).

Debate continues over what passage Luke cites here. Some see it as a free citation of Exodus 13 (13:2 or 12–15 or a combination of these).<sup>8</sup> Others deny that the *Vorlage* can be located, if there even exists a direct source Luke borrows from.<sup>9</sup> Bock posits a general non-Hellenistic source no longer available to us, against Luke’s normal pattern of using the LXX.<sup>10</sup> The passage seems to reflect Luke’s tendency to conflate multiple LXX passages under a single citation formula, as we find in another significant L passage that includes Scripture citation (esp. Luke 4:17–18). Luke seems to combine language from Exodus 13:2 and 12.

<sup>4</sup> Though the formula clearly has significant currency among the Qumran scrolls, Nolland, *Luke 1–9:20*, 118, overpresses the evidence in calling it a distinctively Qumran formula.

<sup>5</sup> Jung, *Original Language*, 69–72, dismisses the formula as a remnant from a non-Lukan source integrated into the infancy narrative since the phrase ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου is used only here and in 2:39, but this methodology seems severely flawed since the sample size for Luke’s citation formulas (the smallest of all the Gospels) does not appear large enough to make definitive judgments about which formula structures are non-Lukan (even when Acts is considered as well).

<sup>6</sup> Gutbrod, “νόμος,” 4:1059.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Jung, *Original Language*, 74.

<sup>8</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 426; Marshall, *Luke*, 117; Nolland, *Luke*, 118; Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 447; Bovon, *Luke*, 99; Jung, *Original Language*, 80.

<sup>9</sup> Pao and Schnabel, “Luke,” 269.

<sup>10</sup> Bock, *Luke 1:1–9:50*, 237.

Rahlfs LXX – Exodus 13:2, 12	BHS – Exodus 13:2, 12	NA <sup>28</sup> – Luke 2:23
<p>Ἁγίασόν μοι πᾶν πρωτότοκον...</p> <p>καὶ ἀφελεῖς πᾶν διανοῖγον μήτραν, τὰ ἀρσενικά, τῷ κυρίῳ</p>	<p>... קָדַשׁ-לִּי כָּל-בְּכוֹר וְהַעֲבַרְתָּ כָּל-פְּטוּרֵי-רֵגְלָהֶם לַיהוָה</p>	<p>πᾶν ἄρσεν διανοῖγον μήτραν ἅγιον τῷ κυρίῳ κληθήσεται</p>

Fig. 21: Exodus 13:2, 12, and Luke 2:23

When we compare the Rahlfs LXX and the NA<sup>28</sup>, we see adaptation of language from both Ex 13:2 and 12 so that a Semiticizing of the Hebrew is not necessary. Assuming Luke used some version of the Greek OT significantly similar to the eclectic critical editions, we can quickly observe his adaptations in moving the LXX text into his narrative. He preserves πᾶν and nominalizes the opening verb from Exod 13:2 (ἁγίασόν → ἅγιον [Luke 2:23]). Instead of πρωτότοκον in 13:2, Luke adapts a synonym from 13:12 (μήτραν). He repeats διανοῖγον and τῷ κυρίῳ exactly and replicates ἀρσενικά in a different case form. Of course, the Lukan reworking of the passage impacts the syntax and so the morphology (accusative to nominative) shifts accordingly.

A second citation appears in 2:24 and conflates Lev 12:8 with Lev 5:11, introduced by a formula similar to the one used in 2:23: κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίου.

Rahlfs LXX – Leviticus 5:11, 12:8	Göttingen LXX – Leviticus 5:11, 12:8	BHS – Leviticus 5:11, 12:8	NA <sup>28</sup> – Luke 2:24
ζεῦγος τρυγόνων ἢ δύο νεοσσούς περιστερῶν	ζεῦγος τρυγόνων ἢ δύο νοσσοῦς περιστερῶν	לְשֵׁנֵי אִוֹתָיִם לְשֵׁנֵי בְּנֵי־יִנְנֵהָ	ζεῦγος τρυγόνων ἢ δύο νοσσοῦς
λήμψεται δύο τρυγόνας ἢ δύο νεοσσούς περιστερῶν	λήμψεται δύο τρυγόνας ἢ δύο νοσσοῦς περιστερῶν	אִוֹתָיִם לְשֵׁנֵי וְלִקְחָהּ יִוְדָה בְּנֵי שְׁנֵי	περιστερῶν

Fig. 22: Leviticus 5:11, 12:8, and Luke 2:24

Luke uses νοσσοῦς rather than νεοσσούς, dropping a vowel in a double vowel construction (syncope),<sup>11</sup> following the older Greek tradition (B G 118-314\* 127 30-130-321-344 55\* 319 Or IX frag. 65; the νεοσσούς reading is found only in 52 134) as represented by the Göttingen LXX.<sup>12</sup> Most commentators argue that the text is a straight citation of Lev 12:8.<sup>13</sup> But given the exact verbal parallel between Luke 2:24 and Lev 5:11 (note esp. parallel use of ζεῦγος and δύο), it seems likely that Luke at least had this passage in mind. However, the context for Luke's application only fits with the purification of women in Lev 12:8. The best solution then seems to be that this citation

<sup>11</sup> All of our oldest MSS of Luke's Gospel have this spelling (α B W). LSJ (1169) draws attention to Phrynichus' *Atticista*, which dismisses uses of νοσσοῦς as failing to meet Attic standards, being prevalent only in later Greek: "The disyll. form νοσσοῦς is cited in AB109 from A.Fr.113 and occurs in S.Oxy.2081(b) Fr.3: this and cogn. forms (commonly found in later Gr.) are condemned as ἀδόκιμα by Phryn.182." Rahlfs's edition likely reflects this belief, preferring mainly on internal-linguistic grounds to adopt νεοσσούς, even though it is the later reading.

<sup>12</sup> Jung, *Original Language*, 87, incorrectly emphasizes that Luke altered the "LXX" since "syncope is not found at all in the LXX." It may not be found in Rahlfs's edition of the Greek OT, but that is a far cry from claiming that this reading was not present in Greek translations available to Luke. This represents a fundamental flaw in the way that the Greek OT should be conceived. Several old MSS have the reading νοσσοῦς, not least B. We see here unclear notions of what scholars mean by LXX impacting basic decisions of exegesis.

<sup>13</sup> Danker, *Jesus*, 62; Stein, *Luke*, 114; Martin, *Birth of the Messiah*, 437; Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 141; Bovon, *Luke 1*, 99; Pao and Schnabel, "Luke," 269; Jung, *Original Language*, 85–88; but cf. Bock, *Proclamation*, 83; Bock, *Luke 1–9:50*, 237.

represents another of Luke's conflated texts, where Luke adopts the language of Lev 5:11 to refer to the ritual of Lev 12:8.

## 1.2. Projection / Expansion

The first explicit citation introduces a general tradition followed by generic citation to mark a specific tradition, marking the events Luke introduces through citation clustering, as we often see in the historians (see chapter 6). In terms of citation markedness, Luke recruits a foreground formula and then backs it with two instances of generic citation, using less marked but still foreground formulas to create emphasis.<sup>14</sup> Most interpreters render the citation as part of Luke's narrative characterization of Jesus as observant Jew and messiah.<sup>15</sup> This seems to bear out in the expansions upon the citation, but nonetheless, a function not immediately obvious to proof-from-prophecy advocates.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Coleridge, *Birth of the Lukan Narrative*, 158–59, understands the narrative intention of alteration on an imperial background, indicating that the law of Moses is the law of the Lord (God / the true Caesar-Lord).

<sup>15</sup> Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 116, sees the citation as underlying “the thought of pious obedience which is present throughout the narrative (2:23, 24, 27; cf. 2:1–5).” Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 447, views the citation strictly in terms of Luke's intent to set up the next narrative scene in the temple. Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 142, states the narrative purpose of the citation in connection with Jesus' consecration: “Luke's narrative seems to have been guided by continued reverberations from the story of Samuel, who ‘... is given to the Lord’ (esp. 1 Sam 1:11, 21–28).” Bovon, *Luke 1*, 99, understands Luke's citation as part of the ancient Christological motif that “Jesus is something holy” as the narrative begins to move toward the temple scene. Cf. also Coleridge, *Birth of the Lukan Narrative*, 158–59.

<sup>16</sup> As one example, Bock's thorough treatment (*Proclamation*, 55–90) of this pattern in Luke's Gospel gives virtually no attention to explaining how this cluster of authoritative citations (Luke 2:22–24) fits into Luke's overall proclamation-from-prophecy (Bock prefers “proclamation” rather than “proof”) narrative agenda. Instead, he glosses over the only authoritative citations in the entire infancy narrative (limiting his treatment to strictly formal issues) and spends 35 pages talking about allusions to Davidic kingship, motifs not formally detectable with any high degree of probability. For the same problem, see Ravens, *Luke*, 42–48. Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 117, another proof-from-prophecy proponent, notices this problem, acknowledging that within this first set of citations “there is no mention of David in the story of Jesus' presentation at the temple.” But he seeks to evade this issue by insisting that “the repetition of various themes introduced earlier suggests that Luke is here staying close to the Davidic messianic theme that permeates the nativity. In 25–26, the aged Simeon is said to be awaiting the Lord's Christ' (ὁ χριστὸς κυρίου) [*sic.*]...” (I say “*sic.*” because τὸν χριστὸν is actually accusative [τὸν χριστὸν κυρίου], not nominative [ὁ χριστὸς], with no major textual variation that I know of). The problem is that to make this

Luke limits himself primarily to *elaboration* and *enhancement* in the modifications he makes to his source material in conflating the passages as he converges the various texts, foregrounding his scriptural source material through explicit citation. While he foregrounds the projection, drawing attention to his sources, many other features of the paragraph are backgrounded. Both the verbs for the time coming (*ἐπλήσθησαν*) for purification and Mary and Joseph's bringing (*ἀνήγαγον*) Jesus up to Jerusalem take the unmarked perfective aspects (aorist tense forms). Luke draws attention to his authoritative sources for the passage rather than the processes he uses to narrative it.<sup>17</sup> Rather than exposing Luke's interpretive strategy, the reworking we find here reflects broader historiographic concerns away from direct duplication and thus seems more oriented toward Luke's desire to weave traditions into a singular narrative than to advance his own reading of the passages.

The location of the citation is significant for understanding its role in terms of projection / expansion. It occurs on the programmatic *stage* of the paragraph (a clause complex marked by 2:22–24) (see chapter 4), so that the remainder of the narrative functions as the *development* (2:25–38). Citation, as a linguistically marked source integration strategy, helps support this narrative transition. Luke thus uses the citation to create the scene for the first major narrative movement in Jesus' life—his birth and

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citation fit the broader narrative framework (for Strauss: Jesus as Davidic Messiah), Strauss must go outside of the cited text itself. Miura, *David*, 210, another advocate of the proof-from-prophecy motif, must likewise bypass any direct analysis of Luke 2:22–24 in his treatment of the nativity scene. He only comments that the role of this citation emphasizes the “piety of the character...Joseph and Mary (2:21–24, 41–43).” If Luke's narrative strategy was proof-from-prophecy for all of his Scripture citations, we would certainly expect it to localize within the first explicit citation of the entire narrative, not to merely be generic to narrative “allusion” and typology.

<sup>17</sup> So we see that Luke can mark linguistic structures relative to his source system (these citations function as marked relative to Luke's use of sources elsewhere in his narrative) while using unmarked structures relative to the aspect system (see chapter 4).

consecration in the temple.<sup>18</sup> The obedience of Jesus' parents to the law moves them to Jerusalem where Luke's narrative will unfold, beginning in 2:25. Thus, Luke employs extension to expand upon his projections in 2:22–24, where the citation functions to move the narrative into a particular spatio-temporal setting.

In examining the nature of Luke's expansions, several features of his interpretive strategy come to the surface. It reveals in Luke's thinking a tight correlation between the Spirit, the temple, and cultic practice. And when set in the context of the prophecies made of Jesus by the angel to Mary in 1:35, we see Luke's effort through this paragraph to draw attention to Mary's prediction: διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον κληθήσεται υἱὸς θεοῦ.<sup>19</sup> We not only notice the parallel description of Jesus as ἅγιος in both the prediction and Luke's description here of the newly born Jesus, but both paragraphs contain a strong pneumatological emphasis, highlighting the role of the Spirit in giving (in the case of the prediction) and especially in association with Simon's role in assisting in the purification (2:25–28).<sup>20</sup>

The projection also reveals Luke's theology of messianic sonship. Luke likely intends to connect the prophecy of Gabriel to Mary regarding Jesus' messianic sonship in 1:32–33 to Simeon's proclamation in the expansion (2:28–32). In resuming Mary's prophecy, Luke draws from his interpretive framework in the telling of Jesus' pious observance of the law (or at least, that of his parents') not only to situate Jesus as a reverent Jew but as the messiah prophesied by the angel and reaffirmed by Mary,

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<sup>18</sup> So Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 450–51; Coleridge, *Birth of the Lukan Narrative*, 158; Bovon, *Luke 1*, 96.

<sup>19</sup> So we do see here a type of proof from prophecy usage. However, Scripture is not used to show that Jesus fulfilled biblical prophecy but merely highlights that in Jesus' birth and his parents' obedience, a prophecy of Mary was fulfilled.

<sup>20</sup> The Holy Spirit was upon Simeon (2:25), the Spirit revealed that he would see the Christ (2:26), and he came in the Spirit into the temple.



ultimately surfacing through the projection / expansion system of his narrative syntax.<sup>21</sup>

We derive this not from projection employing Πᾶν ἄρσεν διανοῖγον μήτραν but from Luke's expansion upon the projection where Simeon recognizes Jesus as τὸν Χριστὸν κυρίου “when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him according to the custom of the Law” (κατὰ τὸ εἰθισμένον τοῦ νόμου περὶ αὐτοῦ) resuming language from the projection and situating it messianically. This then becomes even more explicit in Simeon's eulogy in the verses that follow (Luke 2:29–32) where he declares that Jesus shall be “a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and for glory to your people Israel.”

### 1.3. Narrative Function

At the narrative level, Luke associates his first cluster of authoritative citations with the birth of his central narrative figure—Jesus—well into chapter 2. By way of synoptic comparison, Mark cites Isaiah in the second verse of his Gospel and in Matthew's Gospel we already have a citation from Isaiah in 1:22–23 in confirmation of Joseph's dream, immediately following the genealogy. Luke appears, then, in contrast to the other Synoptics, to reserve his first authoritative citation for the introduction of this central narrative character. The infancy narrative plays a critical literary role in the Gospel,<sup>22</sup> making it a strategic location for Luke to economize his marked cited material

<sup>21</sup> The prophecy itself indicates that Mary will be filled by the Spirit (πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοί). And as Menzies, *Empowered*, 109, notices, “After a description of Simeon's piety we read: ‘and the Holy Spirit was upon him’ (καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπ’ αὐτόν, 2:25). The following verses define more precisely how the Spirit functioned in the life of Simeon. In v. 26 the Spirit is cited as the source of special revelation: ‘it had been revealed to him by the Holy Spirit’ (ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου) that he would live to see the Messiah. The phrase ‘he went in the Spirit into the temple’ (ἦλθεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, v. 27) refers to the state of inspiration which not only led Simeon into the temple, but which also led to his spontaneous outburst of praise. Thus in 2:25–27 the Spirit functions as the Spirit of prophecy, granting special revelation, guidance, and inspiring speech.”

<sup>22</sup> Several scholars highlight the significance of the birth narratives in the development of the Lukan narrative strategy. It is typically viewed as an index of themes to be addressed within the narrative, serving

while at the same time accomplishing his literary aims. And this particular place within the infancy narrative (the birth and temple presentation) seems to provide a pivotal location, with Luke introducing at least two very significant narrative themes within (the theme of God: νόμος κυρίου, 2x in 2:23–24) or within the direct vicinity of the quotation (the theme of Jerusalem: Ἱερουσαλήμ, 2x in 2:22, 25).<sup>23</sup>

Luke's use of Scripture here is similar in narrative function to the use of authoritative citation we observe among the Hellenistic historians. We often find authoritative citation in support of the birth of a key narrative figure. The somewhat fantastic birth story of Cyrus (Herodotus 1.107–30) (involving many parallels to Jesus' birth) is preceded by citing a group of Persians who for Herodotus “desire not to magnify the story of Cyrus but to tell the truth, though there are no less than three other accounts of Cyrus which I could give” (1.95.1). Herodotus cites the Greeks in support of the birth of Dionysius and Pan (2.144.2; 2.146.2). Herodotus tells us: “but as it is, the Greek story

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a critical introductory role, e.g. Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, 16; Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 242; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 76–77. The argument of the important narrative-critical study of Luke's Gospel by Coleridge, *Birth of the Lukan Narrative*, esp. 22–26 (22–23), goes as far as to state that the infancy narrative sets “the Lukan narrative in motion and lay[s] the ground for all that follows by articulating in narrative form a vision of both the divine visitation and human recognition of it, and this as a way of preparing for the birth of a distinctively Lukan christology.” Similarly, Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 49, a narrative critically oriented commentary, affirms: “Of course, Luke 1:5–2:52 is intimately related in terms of narrative structure with what follows and must be read as such. This is especially true for the section of Luke's Gospel from 3:1–4:13, The Preparation for the Ministry of Jesus, for whereas 1:5–2:52 establishes the possibility of Jesus' mission as Son of God, 3:1–4:13 establishes its probability before that ministry actually commences with Luke 4:14. Luke 3:1–4:13 functions in this way by narrating the mission of John (as predicted—cf. 1:16–17, 76–77, 80; 3:3–6) and preparing for Jesus' mission through his baptism and the narratological exploration of the significance of the title ‘Son of God’ (cf. 3:21–22, 38; 4:3, 9). But it is also true for the connection between this opening section of the Gospel and Luke-Acts as a whole. In fact, it is not too much to say that Luke 1–2 is incomplete in itself and utterly dependent on the narrative that follows.” Hans Conzelmann, in his famous Lukan theology, *Die Mitte*, denied the central purpose of the infancy narratives in Luke's Gospel. He views the Third Gospel in terms of three phases of salvation history: (1) Israel (3:1–4:13); (2) Satan-Free time of Jesus (4:13–22:3); (3) the Church, and the Spirit (Luke 22:3; Acts). So clearly, Luke 1–2 does not even factor into the major theological scaffolding for the Gospel, on Conzelmann's delineation. But many remain unimpressed with Conzelmann's treatment. See, e.g., Oliver, “Lukan Birth Stories,” 202–26; Tatum, “Epoch of Israel,” 184–95; Songer, “Luke's Portrayal,” 453–63; Tyson, “Birth Narratives,” 103–20; Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 241–42; Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 47 n4; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 76–77.

<sup>23</sup> On the narratological significance of the introduction of these figures, see Coleridge, *Birth of the Lukan Narrative*, 160–61.

has it that no sooner was Dionysus born than Zeus sewed him up in his thigh and carried him away to Nysa in Ethiopia beyond Egypt and as for Pan, the Greeks do not know what became of him after his birth” (Herodotus 2.146.2). And with this citation, Herodotus begins the narrative biographies within his history of Dionysius and Pan, authoritatively citing the Egyptians in support of his narrative. Similarly, Appian, in a fragment now attached to the end of his *Civil Wars*, details the birth of Romulus (*Bell. civ.* 5.145.1–4) and cites an alternative account that he possesses in association with the birth narrative (an anonymous formula; *Bell. civ.* 5.145.1; cf. 5.145.3). *Jub.* 3.8–12 refers to the very text mentioned by Luke here in support of Jesus’ birth (Lev 12:8) to authenticate the birth(?) / creation of Adam and Eve. Likewise, Josephus cites his “sacred books” (ἱεραῖς βίβλοις) in support of the births and deaths of Adam and other illustrious men (*Ant.* 1.3.82). An important pattern we discover here as well involves the placement of these citations. They do not tend to occur directly after or before the birth itself, but prior to (cataphoric support, e.g., Herodotus 1.07–30) or after (anaphoric support, e.g., Josephus, *Ant.* 1.3.82) the birth narratives. This becomes important for considering Jesus’ birth in Luke’s Gospel since the citation occurs at the purification of Jesus after his circumcision, coming in at the tale end of the birth narrative proper (anaphoric citation support), as we find in many of the ancient historians’ biographical accounts.

This cluster of citations likely has a secondary validating function as well due to the passage’s connection to the earlier prophecy made by an angel and then by Mary (1:32–35) in a cultic context. The historians often recruited citations in support of cultic activity (e.g. Herodotus 4.103, 180; Thucydides 3.96.1; Xenophon, *Hell.* 6.5.49; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 1.65). And prophecies, as an instance of the supernatural, often required

authoritative citation as well. For example, Appian discusses a prophecy made about Alexander's death, uses a citation to validate the prophecy itself, and then, when he narrates the fulfillment of the prophecy, he employs a second citation (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 2.153 ). This first set of citations in Luke's Gospel appears to take on a similar validating function. On their own, this may appear incidental. But the next authoritative citation supports the fulfillment of the other prophecy made in the birth narratives—the prophecy concerning John the Baptist (see below). Luke narrates two prophecies early on in his narrative and then the first two citations he deploys both in connection with these prophecies later in the narrative.

## 2. Authoritative Citation of Isaiah in Support of John the Baptist (Luke 3:4–5)

The second citation confirms the validity of Jesus' prophetic forerunner, John the Baptist, who was in the wilderness,<sup>24</sup> by employing a foreground citation from the prophet Isaiah (40:3–5//Luke 3:4–5). This passage, contained in all four Gospels, supports the fulfillment of the prophecy given to Zechariah by the angel Gabriel that Elizabeth would give birth to a prophetic forerunner (Luke 1:12–20). Matthew and Luke share a parallel interpretive expansion upon the passage, commonly accredited to their borrowing from Q or another common tradition.<sup>25</sup> However, one of the Baptizer's teaching units in the Third Gospel (3:10–14) is distinctly Lukan.

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<sup>24</sup> Mauser, *Christ*, has shown that eschatological renewal began in the wilderness according to contemporary Jewish sources.

<sup>25</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 464; Bock, *Luke 1:1–9:50*, 299–300; Bovon, *Luke 1*, 121.

## 2.1. Form

Luke again prefers an explicit citation formula for the next major movement in his Gospel. While all three other canonical Gospels include this citation, they use differing formulas to introduce it:

<b>Mark 1:2</b>	Καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ
<b>Matt 3:3</b>	οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ῥηθεὶς διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος
<b>Luke 3:4</b>	ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ λόγων Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου
<b>John 1:23</b>	καθὼς εἶπεν Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης

Fig. 23: Citation Formulas in Luke 3:4 and the Gospel Tradition

Some propose a Semitic background for the Lukan formula in אשר כתוב בספר ישעיה הנביא (4QFlor 1:15; cf. 2 Chron 35:12; Tob 1:1; 4QCatenaa 7:3; 4QCatenab 1:4).<sup>26</sup> However, Luke's and Matthew's formulas are at least as reminiscent of the λέγω formulas used by the Greek historians (and other Greco-Roman writers), often with ὡς (e.g. Thucydides 1.24.4, 32.5, 118.3; Xenophon, *Hell.* 6.2.16). Only Luke emphasizes the written nature of his source through ἐν βίβλῳ (cf. Herodotus 5.58.3) (a distinctly Lukan phrase within the Gospel tradition)<sup>27</sup> and in distinction from the Semitic form includes λόγων.

While the Gospels all employ Isa 40:3 in their narratives, each evangelist adapts the text in distinct ways. Mark brings it in directly after his prologue as the initial citation of his composition and introduces the passage with a citation from LXX Mal 3:1. Matthew inserts the passage at a similar narrative location to Luke's use of the text. But he cites only Isaiah 40:3, exhibiting the most similarity with John's Gospel, which merely contextualizes the citation with the addition of ἐγὼ, and does not include the final portion

<sup>26</sup> E.g. Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 460; Nolland, *Luke 1:1–9:20*, 143; Bock, *Luke 1:1–9:50*, 290.

<sup>27</sup> Plummer, *Luke*, 86. It only occurs in here and in Luke 20:42 in the Gospels. See also Acts 1:20; 7:42; Phil 4:3.

of the passage that the other authors include: εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ. Luke includes the same material cited by the other evangelists but extends his quotation to include Isa 40:4-5 as well. All four Gospels, however, agree in their citation of Isa 40:3, without even minor differences between the four. This may be a passage then embedded in the earliest Christian teaching in the way proposed by Dodd and Lindars.<sup>28</sup> This would certainly account for its fixed form and its association with the Baptizer traditions.

Mark 1:2-3	Matthew 3:3	Luke 3:4-6	John 1:23
ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν σου			ἐγὼ
φωνὴ βοᾶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ	φωνὴ βοᾶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ	φωνὴ βοᾶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ·  πᾶσα φάραγξ πληρωθήσεται καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ ἔσται τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθείαν καὶ αἱ τραχεῖαι εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας· καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ	φωνὴ βοᾶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· εὐθύνατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου

Fig. 24: *The Use of Isaiah 40 in the Gospel Tradition*

Luke and the other Gospels seem here to follow the Greek Old Testament (or an earlier Hebrew tradition, since 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> agrees with the Greek). However, Luke's extension of the citation beyond the other Synopsists allows him generalize the application to incorporate

<sup>28</sup> Dodd, *According to the Scriptures; Apostolic Preaching*; Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*.

the Gentile mission especially through ending the quotation with καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.

## 2.2. Projection / Expansion

This citation from Isaiah emphasizes the call to repentance that John had been prophetically charged with. The use of οὖν connects the following remarks directly to the projection,<sup>29</sup> in a relation of expansion through extension: adding new meanings to the cited sentences through prophetic fulfillment.<sup>30</sup> Although the Baptizer's discourse runs through 3:14, 3:7-9 marks the primary interpretive expansion. Early Judaism had already put Isa 40:3 to use for eschatological purposes (1QS 8.11–15<sup>31</sup>; 9.19-21; 10.21; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9.36; CD 8.12–15; *T. Mos.* 10:1; *1 En.* 1:6–7).<sup>32</sup> The early Christian reading of the text as distinctly related to the messianic forerunner continues this eschatological thrust.<sup>33</sup> The themes of repentance and forgiveness both before and after the projection render interpretation to the phrase τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ which concludes the citation (cf. also τὸ σωτήριόν σου in 2:30). In the projection, Luke evokes exilic language of wilderness (ἐρήμω) from a passage flooded with significance for Israel as it functioned in Isaiah to begin an outline of God's promises for restoration,<sup>34</sup> signaling Luke's intent to map Israel's story onto his history of the Jesus movement. But in the expansion, Luke clarifies his meaning (elaboration) in relation to a new configuration of Israel that would include

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Rindoš, *He of Whom It Is Written*, 117.

<sup>30</sup> Godet, *Luke*, 1:172; Stendahl, *School*, 48; Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 136; Craddock, *Luke*, 47–48; Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 460. Contra Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 171, who thinks “Luke is not so concerned with presenting John as the ‘fulfillment’ of this passage as he is in locating John and the sequence of events of which John is a part within this redemptive-historical context.”

<sup>31</sup> On this text's use of Isa 40:3, see Brooke, “Isaiah 40:3,” 117–32.

<sup>32</sup> See Davis, *Name*, 61–102; Taylor, *Immerser*, 26–29; and Mallen, *Reading*, 39–47, for analysis of these and other Jewish interpretive contexts.

<sup>33</sup> Bovon, *Luke I*, 121.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Pao, *Acts*, 54–69; Fuller, *Restoration*, 211.

the nations as well—a theme narrowed exclusively to the Gentiles in Acts.<sup>35</sup> Luke had already mentioned the universal nature of Jesus’ mission, extending even to the Gentiles (πᾶσα σὰρξ in 2:32). The citations authenticating John’s ministry now further emphasize this dimension,<sup>36</sup> with the expansion highlighting God’s ability to produce Abraham’s children from stones (or Gentiles) and an affirmation of the initiation of this process already (3:9). The expansion exposes a strong soteriological-missional dimension of Luke’s theology<sup>37</sup> that he will later much more thoroughly exemplify in Acts, apparently a feature shared by primitive Christian interpretation of this text.

### 2.3. Narrative Function

Several features of John’s ministry likely motivate Luke’s citation of Isaiah in connection with the Baptizer. The introduction of John as a narrative figure factors in at a significant level, with Jesus likewise being introduced as a divine messenger with a citation from Isaiah (Luke 4:17–18).<sup>38</sup> This text also functions as an authentication for the miraculous preparations that paved the way for Jesus’ coming through John and it validates John’s ministry, including his testimony to Jesus (3:16–17) and Jesus’ baptism

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<sup>35</sup> Powery, *Jesus*, 197.

<sup>36</sup> Ward, *Holy Gospel*, 40; Farrar, *Gospel according to St. Luke*, 129; Morris, *Luke*, 112; Tiede, *Luke*, 87; Craddock, *Luke*, 48; Nolland, *Luke 1:1–9:20*, 144.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Rese, *Alttestamentliche*, 170–71; Webb, *John*, 63; Koet, *Dreams*, 56–57. Danker, *Jesus*, 87, thinks Luke is attempting here to remove apocalyptic elements from Jesus’ ministry since Mark includes an apocalyptically driven citation from Matthew. However, this text surfaces later in Luke 7 with an application to John the Baptist so as Bock, *Luke 1:1–9:50*, 290, asserts, this point seems fairly overstated. Cf. also Craddock, *Luke*, 47–48.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Nolland, *Luke 1:1–9:20*, 143. Following Tannehill, *Gospel*, 52, Mallen, *Reading*, 69, notices that “The presentation of John’s ministry shares certain features with Luke’s introduction to the ministry of the other main characters in the plot: Jesus, Peter and Paul. One common feature is the preaching of a sermon that introduces the main message of the character as well as recording the typical response of the hearers. A second common feature is the quotation of a scriptural text that reveals something of God’s purpose in the character’s mission. For three of these four main characters, the Scripture quoted is from Isaiah....”



(3:21–22) mentioned in the subsequent narrative,<sup>39</sup> which occupies the second major narrative movement in Luke’s Jesus story. The citation thus seems to function cataphorically at the paragraph level to authenticate the unfolding narrative that lies ahead.<sup>40</sup> It also seems to have a more local anaphoric function, not only in that John fulfills the Isaiah passage but also the angel’s prophecy to Zechariah regarding Jesus’ messianic forerunner.<sup>41</sup> Fulfillments of oracles, the major functions of a narrative figure and / or movement, often receive validation in the ancient historians through direct citation. For example, Thucydides (3.96.1) cites a report about Hesiodus’s death, foretold by an oracle (cf. also Xenophon, *Hell.* 6.4.5). He also recruits a tightly packed cluster of three citations (7.86.4; 87.6; 8.1.1) to move the narrative from Book 7 into Book 8. And as Gray observes, in Xenophon (*Anab.* 1.8), “Citations mark the great moments in the two main phases of the narration.”<sup>42</sup> So also apparently in Luke: a second citation validates a second prophecy and supports the second major movement in Luke’s story of Jesus: (1) Jesus is born and presented in the temple and (2) Jesus’ prophetic forerunner comes onto the scene.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> See Craddock, *Luke*, 48.

<sup>40</sup> This aligns with the source-critical reading affirmed by Bovon, *Luke 1*, 121: “The citation, however, does not refer only to the preaching of repentance and water baptism, but also to active anticipation of the Lord. The Essenes had already adopted Isa 40:3\* for their purposes, and now so do the Christians (Q, Mark), probably following the historical Baptist. Of course, for them, and especially for Luke, ὁ κύριος (‘the Lord’) indicates Jesus (for Isaiah, Qumran, and the Baptist, it still meant God); for this reason, τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν (‘of our God’) is corrected to αὐτοῦ (‘his [paths]’) in Q and Mark.” Sadler, *Gospel according to St. Luke*, 74, draws connections with Mary’s prophecy in the Magnificat as well.

<sup>41</sup> Support for this is found in the language of 3:2, where the “word” comes to John the son of Zechariah (cf. Luke 1:76). And as Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive*, 169, observes, the “voice” in 3:4 likely resumes the “word” in 3:2.

<sup>42</sup> Gray, “Interventions,” 118.

<sup>43</sup> As Powery, *Jesus*, 195–96, recognizes: “Luke shapes his two-part work so that scripture highlights many important scenes. The speeches in the first two chapters resonate with scripture, signaling to the reader the continuation of the actions of God with the coming of John the Baptist and Jesus.... In these early chapters, Luke also provides his only three explicit quotations in the editorial framework (2:23, 24; 3:4–6). From the introductory formulae for these citations, we see that Luke understands scripture as law providing instructions to be obeyed (e.g., 2:23, 24) and as prophetic literature receiving fulfillment (e.g., 3:4). Luke’s placement of these citations at the beginning of his narrative is important in itself. Each

### 3. *Authoritative Citation of Deuteronomy in Support of the Temptation (Luke 4:1–13)*

After the Baptizer narrative, Luke inserts a piece of family tradition (the genealogy, 3:23–38)<sup>44</sup> before moving on to the third major narrative development.<sup>45</sup> An extended version appearing in both Matthew and Luke’s account (cf. also Mark 1:12–13), the Third Gospel’s temptation narrative (Luke 4:1–13) is supported by a set of three authoritative citations from Scripture—a tradition typically attributed to the influence of Q.<sup>46</sup> The entire episode is mapped on a series of temptations issued from Satan in the form of conditional sentences and responses from Jesus, each introduced by anonymous citation and a passage from Deuteronomy.

#### 3.1. *Form*

In both Luke and Matthew, the temptations each follow a very specific structure:

(1) notice of locale; (2) a challenge predicated on a εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ clause<sup>47</sup> and constructed upon imperatives (εἰπέ, βάλε); and (3) a response introduced by an

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editorial citation serves as an initial marker to passages/themes that occur at the end of the gospel narrative (see 23:56) or at the end of the second volume, Acts (28:28).” That the Scripture citations here likely affirm the major narrative segments of Luke 1–4 is put forward by Roth, *The Blind*, 92–93.

<sup>44</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 506–07, claims Luke follows the Markan order of baptism to temptation with the genealogy as an insertion into the Markan order, that Luke now resumes here.

<sup>45</sup> Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 190–91, clearly understands the temptation narrative as the next major step in Luke’s story: “Luke’s account of the testing of Jesus is a discrete unit within the narrative as a whole. Following the narrative pause represented by 3:23–38, with 4:1 the narrative action commences once again. And 4:1–13 is set off from 4:14 by its geography (the undesignated wilderness versus Galilee); by parallel actions of ‘returning’; and especially by the active presence of the devil, who appears unannounced in 4:2 and withdraws from the narrative stage in 4:13.”

<sup>46</sup> E.g. Creed, *Gospel according to St. Luke*, 61; Argyle, “Accounts,” 382; Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 254; Schultz, *Q*, 177; Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 507; Evans, *Saint Luke*, 256; Gibson, *Temptations*, 83–118. These typically doubt the historicity of the event, esp. as reflected in the Matthean and Lukan versions adapted from Q. See Dupont, *Les tentations*, 97–108, for speculation on how the tradition was invented by the early church. For criticisms of a common written source—Q or otherwise—between Matthew and Luke, see Bock, *Luke 1:1–9:50*, 365; cf. also Craddock, *Luke*, 55.

<sup>47</sup> Evans, *Luke*, 69, argues that the Satan challenges Jesus’ mission rather than his sonship.

anonymous citation formula (ὅτι + γέγραπται/ εἴρηται) followed by a quotation from Deuteronomy.<sup>48</sup> But whereas Matthew uses γέγραπται in all three cases, Luke employs an oral formula more akin to his historical predecessors in his record of the last of the three temptations of Jesus (ὅτι εἴρηται; cf. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 1. 16, 22, 94 for the use of εἶπον). The forms of the citations do not vary from the Greek tradition represented in LXX<sup>A</sup>. The verbatim quotations allow the cited Scriptures to stand on their own. Not all of the passages are from Deuteronomy. The devil cites Psalms in support of his contention, but Jesus contends with Satan's reading of the passage and returns again to his Mosaic source.

### 3.2. *Projection / Expansion*

The foreground γέγραπται-formula supports thematic material of the narrative but the Deuteronomy source is not frontgrounded. Note, however, that the process is frontgrounded through the use of the stative aspect. So Luke wishes to draw attention to the state of Scripture as written but not his specific sources. Luke's use and interpretation of the temptation narrative plays a central role in understanding Luke's unfolding interpretive strategy, a function difficult for strictly proof-from prophecy assessments to account for.<sup>49</sup> Luke's expansion here continues to reveal his theology and interpretation of Israel's sacred tradition. Dupont, Thompson, Schürmann, Gerhardsson, Gibson, Fuller, and Stegner,<sup>50</sup> among others,<sup>51</sup> propose that the citation supports Jesus' success where

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<sup>48</sup> Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 253–57, and Gerhardsson, *Testing, passim*, think that this structure mimics Rabbinic Scripture debates.

<sup>49</sup> Bock, *Proclamation*, curiously omits any interaction with the text. Similarly, Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, restricts his analysis to the birth narratives.

<sup>50</sup> Dupont, "L'arrière-fond biblique," 287–88; Thompson, "Called—Proved—Obedient," 1–12; Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, 205–07; Gerhardsson, *Testing*; Gibson, *Temptations*, 85–87; Fuller, *Restoration*, 233–36. Stegner, *Narrative Theology*, 36, puts the point forcibly: "Since the writer so

Israel had failed in a similar wilderness experience. He was tempted with hunger as Israel was tempted with the monotony of eating manna each day, but did not depend solely upon food and cited Deuteronomy 8:3 to this effect. He was tempted with idolatry and did not waver, as Israel did (Deut 6:13), nor did he test God as Israel had done at Massah (Deut 6:16). Luke thus depicts Jesus as reconfiguring Israel around himself in a way that incorporates Gentiles. And Jesus' success at the highest points of Israel's failure proves him to be a greater Israel. Luke thus employs enhancement in his expansions upon Israel's Scriptures by creating a narrative frame that would invoke by his use of Deuteronomy a paragraph level comparison in the minds of his audience that would ultimately show forth Jesus not as the Davidic messiah necessarily, but as the originator of a new Israel composed of both Jews and Gentiles. This corresponds to Luke's theology of the Jesus movement as the new Israel, revealed in Luke's earlier expansions.

### 3.3. *Narrative Function*

On an initial historiographic reading, we might want to maintain that the extraordinary nature of the event requires validation, but the citations are not deployed in support of the event itself, but in dialogue with its main protagonist, the next important narrative figure to be brought onto the scene (or shown to be working behind the scenes; cf. Luke 4:13)—the devil.<sup>52</sup> Each citation justifies an action of Jesus (three from Jesus, one from Satan), one of the functions noted in the historians (see Chapter 5; see also

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extensively used the context of Deuteronomy 8:3b, perhaps he also thought that the purpose of God's testing Israel applied equally to the test put before Jesus.... The forty days of Jesus' temptations indisputably recall the forty-year testing of Israel."

<sup>51</sup> E.g. Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 192–93; Bock, *Luke 9:1–9:50*, 363; Talbert, *Reading*, 49.

<sup>52</sup> Some suggest a parabolic reading of the temptation, illustrating real life encounters in Jesus' ministry through figurative language. See Dupont, *Les tentations*, 113–115; Marshall, *Luke*, 168. Cf. also Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 510, who argues for a historical core laced significantly with metaphorical meaning.

Chapter 8 on Jesus' temple action). The citations seem to correspond very closely to the major narrative movements in Jesus' life as well, starting in the wilderness and then ending in Jerusalem, at the temple. In the middle stage—corresponding to the second temptation—we have the devil offering his rule over all the kingdoms to Jesus. And in the next major portion of Luke's story, Jesus begins to show that he can have this quite apart from Satan's request through his gradual triumph over the Satanic domain in the natural world through a ministry of exorcism and healing.

Location	Temptations		Luke's Jesus Story	
Wilderness	4:4:	Accept Satan's Bread	4:1–13:	Jesus Establishes Success in Dependence on God's Word
Multiple Locations	4:5–7:	Accept Satan's Kingdom	4:16–18:43:	Jesus Establishes God's Kingdom
Jerusalem	4:8–12:	Accept Satan's Plan for Death/Resurrection	19:45–24:53:	Jesus Establishes God's Plan for Death/Resurrection

**Tab. 6:** *The Temptation Narrative and Luke's Narrative Structure*

The first temptation locates Jesus in the wilderness and corresponds to his present situation. The second two temptations have both parallel content and location to the remainder of Luke's Jesus story.<sup>53</sup> Lukan kingdom language throughout the healing ministry of Jesus draws strong references to the second temptation and typically

<sup>53</sup> See Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 507–08. Cf. also Wilkens, “Die Versuchungsgeschichte Luk. 4, 1–13,” 267–72, hesitantly followed by Bovon, *Luke 1*, 139.

emphasizes the multiple locales at which Jesus established his kingdom. Satan tempts Jesus to embrace the many domains of his kingdom. Jesus resists. He then goes on to establish God's kingdom in the many domains offered to him by Satan.<sup>54</sup> In Luke 4:5–7, Satan offers Jesus all of the kingdoms of the world (πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τῆς οἰκουμένης), for, he claims, he has this authority (τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην) to give (Luke 4:6; δώσω, δίδωμι). Subsequently, Jesus describes his purpose as preaching God's kingdom to various towns (Luke 4:43; ταῖς ἐτέραις πόλεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαί με δεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀπεστάλην) so that as Satan showed Jesus many kingdoms, so Jesus establishes God's kingdom in many locales. Similarly, in Luke 8:1, Jesus establishes the kingdom in various cities and villages (πόλιν καὶ κώμην). Rather than accepting Satan's kingdom, he expels Satan's influence and establishes God's reign, casting out demons and evil spirits (Luke 8:2). Then in a twist of irony, Jesus gives (ἔδωκεν) the disciples the authority (ἐξουσίαν) over “all demons and to cure diseases” as they proclaim the kingdom (Luke 9:1–2). Again in Luke 10, the disciples are to go from town to town healing and pronouncing that the kingdom of God has come near to them when their sick are restored (10:9–12). This reading also accounts for why Luke may have inverted the events in his narrative—assuming (with most scholars—see above) this was not its shape in Luke's tradition for the account. If Luke's source (whether Q or some other common tradition shared by Matthew) had taken up these specific passages as a core of its content, Luke may have felt the need to preserve the specific references

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<sup>54</sup> Following Conzelmann, Tiede, *Prophecy*, 20, notes, “after his temptation, Jesus' ministry was a ‘Satan-free’ period, an almost idyllic ‘middle of time’ during which salvation was unambiguously manifested.” However, in many ways, Jesus' healing ministry represents the triumph over Satan and so we may call this label into question.

while historicizing the paragraph so that each citation supported in order a major narrative movement, yet to be told by Luke.

Finally, Satan tempts Jesus to cast himself off of the temple in messianic hopes that God will not let him die.<sup>55</sup> He cites David to this effect. Again, Jesus resists. After his healing ministry, the next set of authoritative citations from Jesus occur in the temple cleansing, where a citation from David is now for the first time on Jesus' lips (20:17 citing LXX Psalm 117:22)—it is doubtful that the parallel location at the temple for Satan's reference to David and Jesus' first reference to David is merely incidental.<sup>56</sup> Jesus cites David a second time as well. On this occasion, it comes in the context of Jesus' prophecy of his own exaltation (LXX Psalm 109:1); the ultimate fulfillment of God bearing Jesus up to heaven after his defeat of death in the resurrection. Thus, given the identification of the temptations with the major narrative moments in Luke's history, authoritative citations in support of each temptation fit nicely not only with the tradition Luke had but through a subtle inversion that may potentially highlight how Luke shaped his materials to fit his wider historiographic concerns.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Jesus' passing through Jericho in Luke 19:1–45 seems to function as a transitional narrative unit in this broad outline of Jesus' ministry provided by Luke.

<sup>56</sup> *Contra* Powery, *Jesus*, 202, who insists that the devil's use of Scripture is meant to show Jesus' superiority as a pneumatic agent (whose use of Scripture thus proves victorious) in contrast to the devil, who lacks the spirit.

<sup>57</sup> Many attempt to account for the inversion on theological grounds. See, e.g., Swanston, "Lukan Temptation Narrative," 71; Rengstorf, *Evangelium*, 63; Schultz, *Q*, 177; Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 507–08; Stein, *Luke*, 145. This assumes that Matthew's order reflects the original (although Stein remains agnostic, stating that both orders reveal the respective order of each evangelist). Plummer, *Luke*, 110, by contrast, claims that Luke has the "chronological" order but does not provide definitive arguments for this. So also Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, 218.

#### 4. *Authoritative Citation of Isaiah in Support of Jesus' Healing Ministry (Luke 4:16–30)*

The next set of authoritative citations, in Luke 4:16–30, is of special significance. Most importantly, Luke employs a different arrangement of the material than Mark and Matthew. In Luke's narrative, it comes directly after the temptation whereas Mark (6:1–6) and Matthew (13:53–58) place it much later. For Luke, it is the inaugural event of Jesus' public ministry. The third evangelist also adds substantially to the account, especially in 4:17–21—which Paffenroth observes has several stylistic features in correlation with other L material<sup>58</sup> (again, speaking generically)—with the citation from Isaiah 61 and 58. We find this authoritative citation of Isaiah in Jesus' reading in the Nazarene synagogue only in Luke's Gospel. Various speculations emerge regarding the history of this tradition.<sup>59</sup> Whatever its origin, Luke clearly had a distinctive function for it in mind to help support the construction of his narrative.

##### 4.1. *Form*

Here we find the foreground explicit formula, referring to Isaiah, followed by a participial form to introduce the quotation (βιβλίον εὔρεν τὸν τόπον οὗ ἦν γεγραμμένον). The text that follows represents a somewhat complex melding of two Isaianic traditions (61:1–2 and Isa 58:6), another instance of the Lukan (and Markan) tendency to conflate scriptural traditions into a single reading. However, it may result from the form of the

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<sup>58</sup> Paffenroth, *Story*, 34.

<sup>59</sup> Paffenroth, *Story*, 34, for example, attributes the use of Isaiah to Luke rather than a pre-Lukan source, motivated by the Lukan theology of Jubilee.



text Jesus was given—perhaps it was a *testimonia* of some sort. Or Jesus may have turned backward in the Scroll after reading the portion from Isaiah he had been given.<sup>60</sup>

Rahlfs's LXX – Isa 61:1–2	BHS – Isa 61:1–2	NA28 – Luke 4:18–19
<p>Πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἶνεκεν ἔχρισέν με, εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἀπέσταλκέν με,  ιάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τῆ καρδία,  κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν,  [ἀπόστειλε τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει (Isa 58:6)]  καλέσαι ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτὸν</p>	<p>רוחַ אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה עָלַי לְעֹן מְשִׁיחַ יְהוִה אֵלַי לְבִשָׁר עֲנִיִּים שְׂלֵחַנִי לְקַדֵּשׁ לְנַשְׂבְּרֵי לֵב לְקַרְא לְשִׁבּוּיִם דְּרוּר וְלְאַסְוִירִים : קַקְוִי-קוּם לְקַרְא שְׂנַת-רְצוֹן לִיהוָה וְנוֹם נְקָם לְאַלְהֵינוּ לְנַחֵם כָּל- אַבְלִים:  [ פְּתִיחַ קְרָצְבוֹת רְשַׁע הַתָּר ] אֲגַדְוֹת מוֹטָה וְשִׁלְחַ רְצוּצִים (Isa 58:6): הַפְּשִׁים ]  קְרָצְבוֹת רְשַׁע הַתָּר אֲגַדְוֹת מוֹטָה וְשִׁלְחַ רְצוּצִים הַפְּשִׁים וְכָל-מוֹטָה תִּנְתְּקוּ</p>	<p>πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ οὗ εἶνεκεν ἔχρισέν με εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς, ἀπέσταλκέν με,  κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν  [ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει, (Isa 58:6)]  κηρύξαι ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτὸν.</p>

Fig. 25: Isaiah 61:1-2 and 58:6 in the LXX, BHS, and Luke 4:18-19

The citation in Luke aligns closely with the Greek text as represented by Rahlfs's edition, endorsed not only by the numerous exact formal parallels between the two but by Luke's departure, along with the Greek tradition, from the MT in his preference toward omitting two occurrences of יהוה and the rendering of the infinitive clause קוּם-קַקְוִי with τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν. We do find subtle differences in the tradition, nonetheless—notably, the use of κηρύξαι rather than καλέσαι in the final line of the citation, a term that could have

<sup>60</sup> Many other speculations might be given. Reicke, "Jesus," 48–49, for example, thinks that the alterations in the text emerge as a result of an attempt to demonstrate prophetic authority on the part of Jesus. Bock, *Proclamation*, 107, believes Luke places this summary in the mouth of Jesus as a description of his mission.

emerged through tradition transmission as much as from Lukan usage.<sup>61</sup> However, with the insertion of Isa 58:6, Luke prefers ἀποστεῖλαι (as in the Göttingen LXX) rather than ἀπόστειλλε. Bock seems to think Luke must have altered the tradition here (apparently since it does not appear in Rahlfs's edition, which he often equates with the "LXX"), but α' shares Luke's reading so Luke likely had access to a different *Vorlage* and there is no reason to insist on a grammatical or midrashic motivation for the alternation, as Bock does.<sup>62</sup>

#### 4.2. *Projection / Expansion*

The perfect tense form used in the foreground citation formula (γεγραμμένον) to introduce the passage, combined with foreground aspect, amplifies the prominence that Luke accords to this event. From the formal analysis we note some potential expansion within the projection of Isaiah 61//58 into Luke's narrative but these subtle differences may just as well result from Luke's access to a particular textual (or oral) tradition as from interpretive alterations.<sup>63</sup> But the projection itself provides significant insight into Luke's interpretive strategy. The last citations located John and Jesus in the wilderness, with a citation from Isaiah's wilderness declaration supporting John's introduction. The coupling here of Isaiah 61 and 58—central restoration passages<sup>64</sup>—against the

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<sup>61</sup> Bock, *Proclamation*, 106.

<sup>62</sup> Bock, *Proclamation*, 106. In n58, he says that "Luke has ἀποστεῖλαι for the LXX's ἀπόστειλλε so that it agrees in form with the other subordinate infinitives." Such an assertion demonstrates the problem with equating the LXX with a critical eclectic text, such as Rahlfs.

<sup>63</sup> As Roth, *Blind*, 156, notes: "There are no textual clues that any of the three departures from the LXX should be unsettling to Luke's authorial audience. In fact, action in the narrative points in the opposite direction. The positive response by onlooking characters in the narrative to the LXX reading and Jesus' remark following it implies that they sensed nothing unusual about the reading." I would go further and question whether there even are "alterations" to the Greek tradition.

<sup>64</sup> On the Lukan theology of Jubilee indicated by the use of Isa 61 here, see Willoughby, "Concept of Jubilee," 41–55.

background of the preceding wilderness citations reveals Luke's restorative vision of Jesus' ministry. Jesus, as the messianic leader of the new Israel, will usher in the restoration that Israel, on its own, could never experience. Luke defines the nature of this restoration in the expansions through the feature of enhancement up through the end of the paragraph (running from 4:20–30)—giving new meaning to this sacred tradition—as (to his Jewish audience's dismay) specifically Gentile oriented.<sup>65</sup> And that the projection—which the expansion clarifies as a reference to the Gentiles—excludes the portion on judgment only added to the sting as most Jews in the first century felt fairly certain that the nations would experience God's final judgment (e.g. 11Q13 2.9–13).

Jesus fulfills the prophecy that very day (4:21), but his fulfillment shall be as in the days of Elijah and Elisha when God withheld his blessings from Israel and dispersed them upon Gentile widows.<sup>66</sup> This was a shock and a scandal. Luke's portrayal of Israel's initial delight at Jesus' teaching followed by scorn upon realizing his appropriation of the prophecy for the nations begins to spell out Luke's intention to highlight Israel's resistance to this mission.<sup>67</sup> Luke's interpreters often account for the contrast between the crowd's initial positive response to Jesus' claim to fulfill the prophecy followed by their immediate indictment via redactional analysis: in the use of his Markan source "Luke

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<sup>65</sup> Fuller, *Restoration*, 236–39, seems to miss this point in his analysis, focusing only on the projection itself rather than considering the expansion as a central device for understanding Luke's interpretation of the passage.

<sup>66</sup> Stenschke, *Luke's Portrait of Gentiles*, 55–56, views this as a preparatory text, accentuating the helpless and hopeless state of the Gentiles with only a few widows receiving God's providential care. This might be so at some level, but only in the sense that it contributes to Luke's unfolding theology of mission to the Gentiles and God's expansion of Israel to the nations, now reoriented around the person of Jesus.

<sup>67</sup> *Contra* Roth, *Blind*, 162, who claims "the subsequent verses do not provide good reason for the synagogue goers' hostility toward Jesus, and their hostile rejection of Jesus on insufficient grounds further distances Luke's audience from them."

was clumsy in prefacing a story of Jesus' rejection with a glorious prophetic text."<sup>68</sup>

However, this remains perfectly consistent with Luke's tendency in his expansions on Israel's prophecy to shift the fulfillment focus quickly and subversively to the Gentile mission. For Luke, this appears as a broader inclusive interpretation, where the Gospel applies to the outcast as much as to Israel<sup>69</sup> without reference to gender (widows) or ethnicity (Gentiles) rather than having a strictly missional focus.<sup>70</sup>

#### 4.3. *Narrative Function*

Located strategically at the beginning of Jesus' ministry, scholars widely recognize Luke's programmatic placement of Luke 4:16-30 in general, and the Isaiah citation specifically.<sup>71</sup> It is often acknowledged that Luke uses the quote not only to outline the essential layout of his Gospel, but to foreshadow several themes in Acts as well. An explicit foreground citation formula, invoking the authority of the prophet Isaiah, along with foreground aspect, thus becomes entirely appropriate due to the citation's literary location. What has not been observed is the relationship of this use of

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<sup>68</sup> Tiede, *Prophecy*, 20. But cf. Spencer, *Rhetorical Texture*, 68–69, and Kolasny, "Example," 67–77, who attempt to resolve the tension by means of rhetorical analysis. For literary-narratological attempts to solve the tension, see Evans, *Saint Luke*, 267; Talbert, *Reading Luke*, 59–60; and Powery, *Jesus*, 206–208.

<sup>69</sup> Jesus' remarks emphasize the inclusion of the marginalized not so much the exclusion of Israel. On this point, see Brawley, *Luke-Acts*, 9; Koet, *Dreams*, 368–94.

<sup>70</sup> Such an approach was consistent with Jewish exegesis in some sects. As Mallen, *Reading*, 76, remarks: "The implication for the narrative is that the good news brought by Jesus will extend to those at the margins of society, whether through gender, race or uncleanness. This is an *inclusive* interpretation observed in late STJ. In Luke's programmatic passage at Nazareth, Jesus suggests that insiders are not the sole beneficiaries of blessing, much to the disgust and annoyance of the parochial congregation (4.28–29). Gentile readers would probably also pick up the precedent of God's salvation being extended to outsiders."

<sup>71</sup> The remarks of Tiede, *Prophecy*, 19, are typical: "Luke's account of Jesus' 'sermon' in Nazareth is widely acknowledged as programmatic of the whole two-volume work. The length and detail of the episode, its strategic placement in the narrative, which probably reflects a rearrangement of Mark's sequence, and the heavily freighted theological content of the passage are all commonly cited in support of this judgment." Cf. also France, *Jesus*, 134; Porter, "Scripture," 104–26. See more recently, Mallen, *Reading*, 73. The secondary literature on Luke 4:16–30 is immense. See the surveys in Anderson, "Broadening Horizons," 259–75; Schreck, "Nazareth Pericope," 399–471; Shin, *Ausrufung, passim*; Prior, *Jesus, passim*; Willoughby, "Concept," 41–55; Nolland, *Luke 1:1–9:20*, 188–203.

cataphoric citation to validate Jesus' entire (highly miraculous) ministry career and parallel usage of citation among Greco-Roman historians. A more precise configuration of the role of this crucial text in the narrative development will thus not only note that it mainly focuses on Jesus' ministry as preacher-healer-deliverer but also that the citation itself functions as a literary dimension of Luke's historiographic genre.

The miracle traditions attached to the Jesus story potentially present Luke with a unique challenge as a historian that the other evangelists do not face since biographical literature allowed for more frequent use of citation. The historians tend to draw upon authoritative citations in order to validate miraculous material (e.g. Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.2.8; 4.18; 6.2.2; Polybius 8.30; 10.9; 26.16; 31.1; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 1.61; 2.39; 3.94; 4.105; 5.100). And, setting aside redaction-critical concerns for now, the various streams of Jesus tradition to which Luke had access apparently contained quite a bit of it. But verifying each miracle individually would bloat Luke's citation inventory beyond the bounds of what was appropriate for the literary context in which he composed his Gospel. Thus, Luke turns to a technique, not uncommon among the historians—cataphoric citation, where a single forward-pointing authoritative citation may span a larger narrative unit, sometimes including multiple narrative events. Appian, for example, uses a single citation cataphorically to cover two miraculous deaths: “It is said that he yielded to this suggestion and started to go around, but being bothered by a lake and marshy ground, he disregarded this second prophecy also, and entered the city looking toward the west” (*Bell. Civ.* 2.153). The narrative goes on to explain that both Alexander and Caesar died because they had not heeded such prophecies uttered regarding their defeat. Similarly, 1 Esdras seems to cite Jeremiah early on in his narrative as a forward looking

validation for later material (1 Esd 1:57–58). Josephus uses a parallel strategy, citing Jonah to cataphorically lend credibility to Jeroboam’s military victories (*Ant.* 9.205–208). As with Luke, Josephus positions this citation strategically at the beginning of Chapter 10 in Book 9 and with his first authoritative citation of a Hebrew prophet to validate the subsequent narrative events he records—many of them, quite remarkable military feats (cf. also Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.2.22; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 1.118; 2.60, 64, 71, 77, 102; 3.56; 4.80, 95 for similar citation strategies).

Others use cataphoric citation to cover a single event. For example, Thucydides uses cataphoric citation to foreshadow miraculous deaths: “After camping with the army in the precinct of Nemean Zeus, in which the poet Hesiod is said to have been killed by the people of the country, according to an oracle which had foretold that he should die in Nemea, Demosthenes set out at daybreak to invade Aetolia” (3.96.1). Similarly, Polybius cites an apparently well-known proverb<sup>72</sup> to the effect that a general should not risk his life (10.32) and uses this to validate Hannibal’s uncanny ability to escape harm’s way in battle after battle (10.33). These cataphoric citations then allow the historian the ability to authorize a difficult to believe event or may help in an effort to avoid an inflated inventory of citation formulas in their narrative. This seems to shed light upon Luke’s strategy.<sup>73</sup> Perhaps this begins to account for why we find this passage, at this position in the narrative, only in Luke’s Gospel.

This point is strengthened by the fact that after this citation of Isaiah in Luke 4:17–19, virtually no authoritative citations appear in Luke’s Gospel until after the last miracle story (18:35–43), where the narrative shifts away from Jesus’ healing ministry

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<sup>72</sup> See Plato, *Lac.* 187 B; Euthydemus, 285 B; Euripides, *Cyc.* 654.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Mallen, *Reading*, 74, who argues that the citation of Isaiah provides a retrospective explanation of Jesus’ baptism and claim to messiah as well.

into the final weeks of Jesus' life.<sup>74</sup> We find a potential exception in Luke 7:27, where the ministry of John the Baptist is supported with prophetic citation for the second time in Luke's Gospel, but on this occasion it is on the lips of Jesus instead of the narrator (cf. Luke 3:4–5) and it is from the prophet Malachi (3:1) instead of Isaiah. Yet this passage does not appear to stand on its own. Instead, it seems to serve somewhat of a summary function within the Gospel,<sup>75</sup> re-evoking the citation from Isaiah 61/58 in 7:22 (where Jesus' ministry is summarized in terms of Luke 4:18–19),<sup>76</sup> as a proof for Jesus' messiahship, and further supporting—this time, from another prophet—the validity of Jesus' prophetic forerunner. This may have been part of the shape of early Christian preaching about John since we find the Mal 3:1 passage woven into the citation of Isaiah in Mark's account (1:3; cf. also Matt 11:10). These events group together naturally in the mind of Luke and his implied readers since they are the only two events that he has authenticated by specific reference to the prophet Isaiah. But while important, these are not major movements in the narrative, but serve instead to remind the audience of the credibility that has already been established for them earlier in the account and to further

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<sup>74</sup> The citations at 8:10, 10:27, 13:35, and 18:20, while important, do not employ a citation formula (or seem less than obvious if they do) and are, therefore, relevant at the mimetic level of the discourse. In Luke 5:14, we find a reference to a Mosaic command, where Jesus encourages a leper he healed to follow the legal proceedings. However, a typical citation formula is not employed nor is any scriptural content included. Instead, we find προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς, likely a more generic reference to appropriate cleansing ritual. The instances in 8:10 and 13:35 do not contain citation formulas. The citation in 8:10 is woven seamlessly into the syntax with ἵνα and in 13:35 the Scripture is on the mouth of the audience with no formal marking as a citation. In Luke 10:25, Jesus asks a lawyer “What is written in the law?” (ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται). Although γέγραπται is present, Jesus probably asks a question regarding worship liturgy: “How do you recite the law?” See Grundmann, *Evangelium*, 222; Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, 187; Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 443. Bock, *Luke 9:51–24:53*, 1024, refers to the passage as a “potential allusion.” And the question in 18:20 probably represents an early liturgical form rather than a direct Scripture citation, due to its varied shape. See Thomas, “Liturgical Citations,” 205–14; Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 686. This last potential citation is probably the only real candidate for an instance of direct citation but it appears to function as a more wide ranging reference to tradition, liturgical or otherwise. Even if we consider this as a citation, our point here is not lost. We would still discover a deep scarcity of citations in 4:31–18:43 with nothing comparable to the clusters we find in Luke 1–4 and 19–24.

<sup>75</sup> Contra Marshall, *Luke*, 295.

<sup>76</sup> Koet, *Dreams*, 60; Wenk, *Community-Forming Power*, 214; Mallen, *Reading*, 75.

establish John's ministry. Therefore, Luke recruits generic citation (although with marked aspect)—*γέγραπται*—to validate continued miraculous displays by Jesus as his healing ministry unfolds.

### 5. Conclusions

Luke 1-4 models for us the distinctive qualities of ancient historiographic authoritative citation technique in terms of form, projection / expansion, and narrative function. Luke adopts a set of anonymous, generic, and explicit citation formulas and recruits them for varied purposes. Although these differ somewhat from the heavy emphasis on oral formulas in the earliest Greek historians, by the times of Polybius, Josephus, and Appian, more versatility had been introduced into the expressions these forms can take, especially as literary sources were more available, evidenced by the variety of citation formulas used by these later historians. We cannot extract from each citation a proof from prophecy motivation, but we can see Lukan interpretation at work in the projection / expansion system, which sometimes involves something like proof from prophecy as one potential aspect of his interpretation but which incorporates a wide range of other motifs as well. As with the ancient historians, each of the three sets of citations in Luke 1-4 serves a clear narrative purpose. They mark the first major narrative events of Jesus' life: his birth, prophetic forerunner (and baptism), temptation, and public ministry. The citations also tend to occur in the presence of the miraculous, another consistent feature of ancient historiography. Luke's selective use of citation combined



with his strategic location of his limited selection of citations at crucial points in his narrative where additional validation is needed strongly suggests a historically informed model for his authoritative citations of Scripture in Luke 1–4.

Chapter 8:  
 Authoritative Citation in Luke 19–24:  
 Validating Jesus' Temple Action, Resurrection, Exaltation, and Death

Besides the recapitulatory citation of Scripture by John the Baptist, Luke does not resume his use of authoritative citations until Luke 19, after Jesus' arrival in Jerusalem. At the levels of form, projection / expansion, and narrative function Luke bears close resemblances to the Greek historians. He continues to deploy citation formulas that remain very similar on most occasions to those we find in the Greek historians. As with the Greek historians, Luke's projections are not motivated primarily by interpretive concerns but he does use these opportunities to offer interpretive expansions on the texts he cites, revealing a very wide range of theological beliefs. And Luke continues to recruit anonymous, generic, and / or explicit citations in the event of the miraculous and / or at key narrative moments within what appears to be a history of the early Jesus movement.

*1. Authoritative Citation of Scripture in Support of Jesus' Temple Action  
 (Luke 19:45–48//20:17)*

The temple provides the setting for Jesus' first authoritative citation in the Jerusalem narrative. We find him here contending with the money changers and driving out those who had apparently defiled the Holy Place. Luke organizes his material differently than Matthew and Mark. Mark's Gospel frames the temple incident with the cursing of the fig tree (before the event, Mark 11:12–14) and the fulfillment of the curse (after the event, Mark 11:20–25). Matthew moves from the triumphal entry right into Jerusalem (Matt 21:11–12). Luke, by contrast, embeds Jesus' weeping over Jerusalem

between these two events. This uniquely Lukan insertion enables the evangelist's more positive portrayal of the temple, relative to the other Synoptics. Luke's Jesus enters Jerusalem, weeps over it, and then authoritatively demands a worship reform within the temple. Luke's account of Jesus' temple action is also more concise than the other evangelists, which may result from an effort to focus on the two anaphoric citations.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1. Form

For the temple incident, Luke prefers anonymous citations in both instances to support Jesus' actions (γέγραπται in 19:46; γεγραμμένον in 20:17). The text of Isa 56:7//Jer 7:11 in 19:46 undergoes fairly substantial adjustments.

Biblical Text	Rahlfs's LXX –	BHS –	NA28 – Luke 19:46
<i>Isa</i> 56:7	ὁ γὰρ οἶκος μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται	בֵּיתִי בֵּית־תְּפִלָּה יִקְרָא לְכָל־הָעַמִּים	καὶ ἔσται ὁ οἶκος μου οἶκος προσευχῆς,
<i>Jer</i> 7:11	μὴ σπήλαιον ληστῶν ὁ οἶκος μου	הַבַּיִתְהֶמְעַרְתָּ פְּרָצִים הֵיחָא	ὕμεις δὲ αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατε σπήλαιον ληστῶν

Fig. 26: Isaiah 56:7//Jeremiah 7:11 in Luke 19:46

We find some obvious changes in ordering here, where Luke demotes the subject (ὁ οἶκος) from its fronted position in the Greek Bible, bringing the clause around to unmarked Predicate-Complement structure, with προσευχῆς now ending the clause. Luke substitutes the conjunction γὰρ with καί to draw out an explanatory relation. He also

<sup>1</sup> Nolland, *Luke 18:35–24:53*, 937.

switches verbs, κληθήσεται for ἔσται. A few later MSS of Luke have κληθήσεται (C<sup>2</sup> 1241 1424 e r<sup>1</sup> Epiph), but this almost certainly results from harmonization. We have no MS evidence for ἔσται in the Greek biblical tradition of Isaiah and the other Synopsists follow the Greek tradition in using κληθήσεται so this likely represents an interpretive Lukan expansion within the projection itself.

Luke recasts the passage from Jeremiah with an even greater level of alteration. He seems to pick up on Jeremiah's οἶκός μου through αὐτόν since this clause was already utilized in Isa 56:7. He repeats the word group σπήλαιον ληστῶν exactly, which along with αὐτόν, provides the primary link to Jer 7:11. Other additions aid Luke in bringing Jesus' indictment directly to bear upon his audience with the authority of Scripture behind him—notably the addition of ὑμεῖς δὲ ... ἐποιήσατε. Again, we find no evidence for a *Vorlage* reflecting this tradition, but the other Synopsists follow the same usage and so the alterations likely emerged within the primitive tradition used by Luke.

In Luke 20:17, Jesus cites LXX Psalm 117:22, laced with language resembling Isa 8:14-15 in the expansion upon the citation that follows. The text of the citation matches exactly with our Greek editions of the LXX. In contrast to Matthew (21:42) and Mark (12:10), which both quote verses 22–23, Luke only retains verse 22 in his narrative, an omission likely motivated by Luke's desire to emphasize the stone imagery of the Psalm in connection with the previous Isaiah quotation.<sup>2</sup> Luke also differs from the Synoptics in downgrading their generic (Mark 12:10: οὐδὲ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἀνέγνωτε//Matt 21:42: ἀνέγνωτε ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς) to anonymous (γεγραμμένον τοῦτο) citation.

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<sup>2</sup> Subramanian, *Synoptic Gospels*, 80. But cf. Barrett, "Luke/Acts," 233, and Doble, "Psalms," 86, who suggest that Luke later alludes to Psalm 117:23 in Acts, thus motivating a more concise statement here.

## 1.2. *Projection / Expansion*

Based upon the foreground formulas used here, the event does not appear at the same level of narrative prominence as the birth and inauguration of Jesus' public ministry relative to Luke's source framework, but it is quite significant warranting two citations in its support. In both cases a marked aspect is employed, emphasizing the state of Scripture as written. However, at the level of Luke's source framework, he chooses to not draw attention to his sources by using a foreground citation formula. The state of the source is marked but its identity is not (at least relative to other foreground citations in his discourse).

The standard proof-from-prophecy studies in Conzelmann, Bock, and Strauss do not consider Luke's use of Isaiah 56:7//Jer 7:11<sup>3</sup> in their treatments—not least because it does not seem to easily fit the framework. Barrett, highlighting local dimensions of the text reflected by the immediate context of Jesus' temple action, views the citation as an indication that the temple would now never become the religious center for the nations that it was intended to be.<sup>4</sup> Thus Jesus' exposition of the text functions as a crucial part of his message.<sup>5</sup> Luke's anaphoric projection of Isaiah, joined together with Jer 7:11, reveals his interpretation by virtue of its placement in the narrative. Luke, in contrast to the other Synoptics, locates the text between Jesus' temple action and temple teaching ministry. Jesus took initiative against the temple, but Luke's distinctly positive attitude toward the temple<sup>6</sup> surfaces in the way he appropriates / alters the original in what we may label extension through variation, setting Jesus' clarion call for reform alongside an implicit

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Conzelmann, *Theology*, 76–77; Bock, *Proclamation*, 125–26; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 315–16.

<sup>4</sup> Barrett, "Luke / Acts," 233.

<sup>5</sup> Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation*, 190.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Perrin, *Jesus*, 61.

endorsement of the temple by locating his teaching there immediately following the incident. The modifications Luke makes to his scriptural source have been debated (see above on Form).<sup>7</sup> Luke substitutes κληθήσεται for ἔσται so that it is not what the temple is called to but what it is to be. The adjusted clause structure takes the emphasis off of the grammatical subject by implementing unmarked rather than marked clause structure,<sup>8</sup> as in Luke's scriptural source.<sup>9</sup> This set of interpretive expansions likely enables Luke to bring another level of prominence (semantically and grammatically) to his already authoritative citation while conveying his positive attitudes toward the temple, even in light of its failure to become all that God had originally intended.

Scholars understand Luke's use of Psalm 117:22 in Luke 20:17 in various ways. In order to fit a proof-from-prophecy framework, Bock, Buckwalter, and Subramanian argue that it represents a Lukan prediction of Jesus' resurrection-exaltation.<sup>10</sup> Chance, by contrast, insists that Luke avoided "christologizing" the temple in this and other ways.<sup>11</sup> Rather than forcing a Lukan apologetic upon the citation, France, Kimble, Brawley, Powery, Bovon, Kloppenborg, and Doble correlate the usage to the parable of the wicked tenants,<sup>12</sup> typically rendering Jesus' expansion on the citation as an indication of the

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<sup>7</sup> See Marshall, *Luke*, 721.

<sup>8</sup> See Pitts, "Greek Word Order," 311–46.

<sup>9</sup> Powery, *Jesus*, 231, mistakes the "initial" position as the "stress" position here, leading him to interpret this as a deemphasizing of Jesus' temple action by Luke. However, this wrongly isolates one semantic feature meant to shift emphasis away from one constituent not the entire event.

<sup>10</sup> Bock, *Proclamation*, 127; Buckwalter, *Character*, 103; Subramanian, *Synoptic Gospels*, 82–83.

<sup>11</sup> Chance, *Jerusalem*, 41–45, argues that such claims prove to be only implicit since "In the first place, it would be tenuous at best to conclude that use of stony imagery to refer to Jesus thereby equates Jesus with the temple when no other Lukan passages explicitly equate Jesus or the church with the temple.... In the second place, stone imagery was not used in the early church exclusively in connection with the temple.... Luke 20:17–18 does use stone imagery with reference to Jesus, imagery which could, given the proper context, point to temple imagery. Yet in speaking of Jesus as the stone in Lk. 20:17–20 is not portraying Jesus as a 'temple stone.' For Luke this stone metaphor is used to proclaim the rejected yet exalted Lord as the one in whom one can find either salvation or damnation."

<sup>12</sup> France, *Jesus*, 58–59; Tiede, *Prophecy*, 80; Kimball, *Jesus' Exposition*, 159–61; Brawley, *Text*, 40–41; Powery, *Jesus*, 222–23; Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 118–19; Kloppenborg, *Tenants*, 214–15; Doble,

Psalm's perceived eschatological significance. This latter reading seems to fit most closely with a sustained analysis of Luke's projection / expansion system. While Jesus' use of Psalm 117 in Mark's Gospel may allow for a prophecy of the resurrection, Luke's omission of 117:23 mitigates against this reading.<sup>13</sup>

A proof-from-prophecy understanding also seems to render Luke's otherwise principled citation strategy somewhat redundant since his next two Scripture citations prophetically support his resurrection and exaltation, respectively. Although some argue that the original context of Psalm 117 entails a destruction / exaltation pattern, this feature seems at best implicit in Luke's usage.<sup>14</sup> The distinctly Lukan expansion by Jesus confirms this. The citation occurs in direct connection with the Parable of the Wicked Tenants. Luke's Jesus here focuses on the destruction motif, not exaltation—a theme he will draw attention to at the discourse level, later in his narrative—through his interpretation of the passage. Analyzed at the clause complex and paragraph level, Luke's strategy is not to offer a promise-fulfillment apologetic, as Strauss's failure to treat this passage within his proof from prophecy framework reveals,<sup>15</sup> but to place a strong polemic against the religious leaders in Jesus' mouth in the form of coming judgment. If we assume a Markan source for the passage, taken up by Matthew as well, then Luke

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"Psalms," 86–87. See also the commentary literature for this interpretation, e.g.: Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 732; Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1286; Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 709.

<sup>13</sup> Powery, *Jesus*, 223.

<sup>14</sup> As Kloppenborg, *Tenants*, 214–15, notes, "In Luke 20:17–18, Jesus' warning begins with Ps 117,22, which Luke uses elsewhere in Acts 4,11. In Acts, Luke's interest in Ps 117,22 lies with christological apologetics: the resurrection of Jesus had confirmed that he is a prophet (Acts 2,30)... In the parable, however, while Luke 20,17 takes for granted the identification of Jesus with the rejected stone via the resurrection, Luke focuses on the consequences of rejection. It is for this reason that Luke abbreviated the citation, for Ps 117,23, both shifted the emphasis from rejection to choral acclamation of the vindication of the rejected one, and separates the 'stone' staying in 20,17 from Luke's stone-maxim in 20,18."

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 315–16.

seems to have downgraded the markedness of the formula, from generic to anonymous citation in order to bring less prominence to the event than his sources.

### 1.3. *Narrative Function*

Having significantly limited authoritative citation in Jesus' public ministry up to the last healing, Luke resumes citation at the first incident after Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem, the geographical location where the remainder of the Gospel will unfold.<sup>16</sup> The Lukan travel narrative has been building up over several chapters (starting in Chapter 9) until it now reaches its termination in a crucial narrative shift, where we find Luke's Jesus in the Holy City.<sup>17</sup> The temple action properly initiates the Jerusalem scene in that it will ultimately lead to Jewish charges against Jesus, setting up the Passion Narrative.<sup>18</sup> Citation at major narrative transitions emerges as a consistent feature of Greek history (e.g. Thucydides 2.5.5–6; 7.86.4; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 1.33; 3.95; 5.130), as frequently observed already. In line with the aims of the historians, Luke recruits citation to help support this critical narrative transition.

Jesus deploys the first citation in the process of his temple action (19:46, citing Isa 56:7//Jer 7:11). Of course, Luke's tradition for the event, shared by the other

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<sup>16</sup> Green, *Luke*, 691–92, notes several elements of this event, crucial to the narrative development of Luke's Gospel: "(1) In the Lukan narration, this is the first time Jesus has been in the temple since he was 12 years old. Then, he asserted the divine necessity of his being in his Father's house—claiming the temple as the abode of God and prefiguring his own teaching ministry in it (see above on 2:41–51). (2) Since 9:51, the Third Gospel has been preoccupied with the motif of the journey, one of the primary emphases of which has been the journey's end in Jerusalem. In Jerusalem, Jesus was to meet his death as he served and fulfilled the divine purpose. (3) The city of Jerusalem and the Jerusalem temple are virtually equated in Lukan thought, so that Luke can record Jesus' arrival in the city as Jesus' entry into the temple. Not surprisingly, then, Luke can move directly from a prophetic threat oracle against the city (vv 41–44) to his dramatic, symbolic act of censure and recovery in vv 45–46."

<sup>17</sup> Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation*, 190, refers to this moment as "the climatic destination of [Jesus'] journey as a prophet (Luke 13:23–33)."

<sup>18</sup> Historical Jesus scholarship has, on the whole, emphasized the substantial narrative significance of the temple incident in initiating the series of events that led to the Passion. See, for example, Sanders, *Jesus*, 61–90; Wright, *Jesus*, 547.



evangelists, contains these citations but this does not diminish the narrative role of the citations in the context of Luke's wider compositional aims. It was not uncommon for historians to implement citations in cases where behavior must be justified,<sup>19</sup> a crucial function of citations in Thucydides' Spartan narrative (2.18.5, 20.1, 93.4; 3.79.3; cf. also 4.103.5). If any one of Jesus' behaviors requires justification within Luke's narrative, it was this one. As Powery notes, Luke "*accommodates* this citation in order to *defend* [Jesus'] actions" (emphasis his).<sup>20</sup>

The second citation occurs in Jesus' defense of his authority to call for a reform of worship and take the action he did within the temple (20:17, citing LXX Psalm 117:22). On this occasion, we find Jesus teaching in the temple and the leaders come to him and ask the basis of his authority to do "these things" (ταῦτα)—presumably a reference to his prior temple action (Luke 20:1–2). After answering the leaders' question with his own injunction, Luke's Jesus moves into the Parable of the Wicked Tenants that ultimately accounts for his temple authority as the rejected servant, analogous to the cornerstone rejected by the builders signifying eventual eschatological doom. If the first citation justified Jesus' radical behavior in his temple action, this second citation justifies his authority to take this action.

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<sup>19</sup> Cf. Westlake, "ΑΕΓΕΤΑΙ," 352.

<sup>20</sup> Powery, *Jesus*, 229.

## 2. *Authoritative Citation of Moses in Support of Jesus' Resurrection (Luke 20:28, 37)*

Luke's next citation and elements of its surrounding co-text occur in the triple tradition. Luke's wording more closely resembles Mark than Matthew's vocabulary and style,<sup>21</sup> potentially mapped on the Markan sequence.<sup>22</sup> One of the primary divergences between the three accounts revolves around the varied shapes of the scriptural citation used by Jesus, in response to the Sadducees (20:28). Different citation formulas introduce the text in all three Gospels. The contexts for the citation differ as well within the Synoptic tradition. Matthew and Mark have God speaking and cite the passage in the first person whereas Luke narrates the passage in the third person. Commentators account for these differences through stylistic means,<sup>23</sup> but narrative-historiographic considerations may also yield insight into Luke's distinctive characteristics.

### 2.1. *Form*

In Luke 20:37 Jesus employs explicit citation, with ἐμήνυσεν grounding the formula—the only instance of this verb in a citation formula in Luke (the lexeme itself only occurs here and in Acts 23:30). Although Powery refers to the citation here as a

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<sup>21</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1299; Bock, *Luke 9:51–24:53*, 1617.

<sup>22</sup> Nolland, *Luke 18:35–24:53*, 966.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. Bock, *Luke 9:51–24:53*, 1625.

paraphrase,<sup>24</sup> the text resembles our Greek editions of both Ex 3:6 and 3:15<sup>25</sup> too closely to confirm this conclusion.<sup>26</sup>

Rahlfs's LXX – Exodus 3:6//3:15	NA28 – Luke 20:37
θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ	τὸν θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸν Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸν Ἰακώβ

Fig. 27: *Exodus 3:6//3:15 in Luke 20:37*

The adjustments come in the form of reworked syntax. We observe a shift from the nominative to the accusative and the insertion of the article, modifying θεὸν, differences not reflected in our manuscript tradition of the Greek Bible. Neither do these alterations seem hermeneutically motivated. Instead, the Lukan argument constrains the syntax leading to the adaptations since in its new residence the citation functions as the complement for the verb λέγει<sup>27</sup> rather than as the subject for the clause, as in the LXX.

## 2.2. Projection / Expansion

Although neglected by several studies of Scripture in the Third Gospel (most notably Schiffner's treatment of Luke's reading of Exodus and various proof-from-

<sup>24</sup> Powery, *Jesus*, 234, rejects this usage as an explicit citation and refers to it instead as an "implied" use of Scripture.

<sup>25</sup> Some studies only connect it with one of the two. E.g. Kimball, *Jesus' Exposition*, 167, only relates it to Exod 3:6.

<sup>26</sup> The source-critical reading is reflected, for example, in Taylor, *Behind the Third Gospel*, 99–100 and Barrett, "Luke/Acts," 233–34, who think that Luke reworks his Markan source rather than the LXX directly.

<sup>27</sup> Marshal, *Gospel of Luke*, 742, over reads the significance of the different aspects in the citations formulas used in the Synoptic tradition: "For the use of λέγει, diff. Mk. εἶπεν, cf. 20:42; the present tense implies that Moses still speaks. The point of the quotation is that, after their deaths, God could still speak of himself as the God of the patriarchs (cf. the εἰμί in Mt. 22:32; Ex. 3:6 LXX)." Luke's usage may be more marked than Mark's but this in no way entails a point about temporality and Moses' voice continuing to speak up to the present time.

prophecy assessments),<sup>28</sup> those who engage with this citation understand it as a cataphoric proof of Jesus' resurrection<sup>29</sup> or as an anaphoric (strictly local usage)<sup>30</sup> (typically pre-Easter) tradition reflecting Jesus' belief in the resurrection.<sup>31</sup> Conzelmann represents one of the few who attempt to demonstrate the proof-from-prophecy function of the citation. He suggests this reading on the basis of Luke's departure from Mark's tendency to retell Israel's history through Scripture citations and the greater prominence given to Abraham by the Third Gospel.<sup>32</sup> Conzelmann's suggestion does not hold up, however, since the fact that Luke does not portray a uniform historical typology does not provide any positive evidence for a promise-fulfillment motif. We may account for the other two prevailing interpretations in terms of Luke's leveled citation strategy. Within the projection / expansion system Luke has Jesus cite the text as biblical support for Jesus' beliefs about a general resurrection for the people of God in response to the Sadducees' reference to Moses (20:28). Jesus' expansion through elaboration yields this anaphoric reading very clearly. However, we observe a cataphoric citation usage when

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<sup>28</sup> Schiffner, *Lukas*. Although he focuses on Luke's citations of Exodus (rather than Jesus'), this central text should certainly play a part in any serious Exodus typology in Luke. Other studies of Luke's (or Jesus') use of Scripture that neglect this text include, for example, France, *Jesus*; Tiede, *Prophecy*; Brawley, *Text*; Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 90–121; Litwak, *Echoes*; Wendell, *Scriptural Interpretations*. It is ignored in the proof-from-prophecy treatments in Bock, *Proclamation*, 127–28 and Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 315–16.

<sup>29</sup> E.g. Bayer, *Jesus' Predictions*, 226–27; Buckwalter, *Character*, 190.

<sup>30</sup> Ellis, *Old Testament*, 85 n23, makes this point in his Rabbinic reading of Luke's citation strategy. On a Rabbinic reading of this usage, see also Lightfoot, *Commentary*, 197; Chilton, *Galilean Rabbi*, 169. But see Cohn-Sherbok, "Jesus' Defense," 166, who shows that "a number of passages in rabbinic literature various rabbis attempt to prove that the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is derived from Scripture... their arguments follow the hermeneutical rules laid down by Tannaitic exegetes. In contrast, Jesus' answer to the Sadducees in Mt. 22:31–32, Mk 12:26–27, and Lk. 20:37–38 is not based on any of these rules, and is thus defective from a rabbinic point of view. Though some scholars have mistakenly regarded Jesus' response as typically rabbinic, it is not remarkable that Jesus could use such a defence since the Gospel tradition suggests that he was not skilled in the argumentative style of the Pharisees and Sadducees."

<sup>31</sup> The pre-Easter origin along with the occurrence of the citation in the triple tradition typically leads scholars to argue for the authenticity of the passage, e.g. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, 184 n3; Marshall, *Luke*, 738; Chilton, *Galilean Rabbi*, 169; Schwankl, *Die Sadduzäerfrage*, 466–587; Ellis, *Gospel of Luke*, 234–37; Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1300; Kimball, *Jesus' Exposition*, 173–75; Powery, *Jesus*, 234–35.

<sup>32</sup> Conzelmann, *Theology*, 166.

examined at the discourse level within the narrative function domain of Luke's source framework.

### 2.3. *Narrative Function*

The marked citation formula should not go unnoticed. Moses' name is specifically mentioned—a strategy that has not been employed since Jesus' citation of Isaiah in Luke 4. Surprisingly, few interpreters deal with this passage in the context of the larger Lukan narrative agenda. Rusam is an exception, arguing that the pre-resurrection function of the passage as a proof motivates the citation.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, Powery asserts that, “As far as the citation's narrative role, Jesus uses it—as he does the previous two citations—to *defend* his position on resurrection. Hermeneutically, Jesus *accommodates* this text, as he does all explicit scriptural passages in Jerusalem (in Luke)” (emphasis his).<sup>34</sup> This only assesses one dimension of the passage's narrative function, however. Powery in no way helps us see how this citation functions within Luke's larger literary citation strategy and restricts his analysis primarily to the clause complex level of the discourse. It is an odd form of narrative criticism that does not take into consideration the larger narrative framework. From a historical standpoint, this citation not only provides information about Jesus' beliefs at the clause complex level of the discourse, but also—at the narrative level—pre-figures and validates the resurrection of Jesus, which Luke will later record.

Bayer's insightful study on Jesus' vindication and resurrection predictions corroborates this narrative-historiographic reading of Jesus' citation. According to Bayer,

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<sup>33</sup> Rusam, *Alte Testament*, 107.

<sup>34</sup> Powery, *Jesus*, 234.

the citation and its context functions as one of several implicit predictions of Jesus' vindication from death. Due to the ambivalence of somatic resurrection in first-century Judaism, the more "explicit" resurrection predictions would have been just as perplexing to the disciples as these seemingly implicit predictions of vindication. He proposes that these two levels of Jesus *logoi* operate in the Synoptic tradition as a single motif, both equally perplexing: "we are probably dealing with one single, enigmatic cluster of images, one element of which is the reference to the resurrection of Jesus."<sup>35</sup>

So Luke likely positions Jesus' use of Ex 3:6//3:15 at this crucial point in his story in order to lend credibility to future narrative developments involving Jesus' resurrection. Luke's unique framing of the citation reflects this intention:

Mark 12:25	Luke 20:37	Matthew 22:31
ὅταν γὰρ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῶσιν	ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί	περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν

Fig. 28: Luke 20:37 in Synoptic Comparison

<sup>35</sup> Bayer, *Jesus' Predictions*, 228. He argues (225–28): "the vindication of Jesus implies more than the removal of judgment and a sign of God: While the citation of Psalm 118:22 as an authentic appendix to the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (Chapter IV) identifies Jesus as the rejected stone, it adds that he is established as the foundational stone. The theme of judgment which we traced in the sayings of the cup and baptism of Jesus finds here its natural, yet still enigmatic complementation. The rejection of Jesus is followed by the inaugural establishment of Jesus in a new order of righteousness.... From these observations emerges a closely connected, coherently fitting cluster of images, all of which converge on one single event which Jesus anticipates in the near future: his speedy vindication from divine abandonment, judgment, rejection, and implied death.... The close similarity between this group of enigmatic sayings and the *expressis verbis vaticinia* of Jesus' rejection, death and resurrection is apparent. Mk 14:25 and implicit references to death in Mk 10:38f, Mk 14:36 (cf Mk 12:10) already hint at the death-resurrection formula. Such a formula is further anticipated in the dynamic antithesis displayed by the group of rejection-vindication sayings.... Even if traditions may exist, in which a somatic resurrection from death of a prophet prior to the apocalyptic judgment was believed in, the apocalyptic expectation of a somatic resurrection at the end of this age was at least as widely held (cf Mk 12:23, Jn 11:24, 1 Cor 15:23f). Jesus' reference to 'resurrection from death' could have thus implied various meanings. Due to this ambivalence, it is indeed possible that his resurrection would be equally enigmatic to his disciples as would the enigmatic references from resurrection and death.... The predictions of the resurrection of Jesus thus appear as explicit statements only in light of the resurrection events. Our proposal would help explain why the disciples are portrayed as responding with little understanding to Jesus' predictions regarding his resurrection (cf Mk 9:32)." Thus Bayer—for reasons other than narrative and literary structure—finds the same cataphoric function for this citation and is (to my knowledge) the only other person that catches this use of the citations. See also Bayer, *Jesus' Predictions*, 90–109.

Mark uses the subjunctive, projecting a possible world for the consideration of the audience.<sup>36</sup> Matthew employs a noun phrase, probably indicating a more limited literary application, focusing upon the individual doctrinal debate itself. Luke's phraseology, however, seems concerned to indicate the truthfulness of the reality: "that the dead rise" (ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί) is the proposition he supports from Moses. It is not stated as a possibility or as a doctrinal issue, but as a proposition that, for Moses, Jesus, and Luke, corresponds to reality. This is key for Luke's specifically historical agenda, since such a significant miracle would need substantial credibility to be accepted within the broader historical framework of his narrative. Luke turns to his most marked form of source integration—explicit citation—to execute these purposes.

In addition to the miraculous nature of this activity, a frequent motivation for authoritative citation (see above and chapter 7), the historians tended to use citation to support resurrection or resurrection like events in particular, as Luke does here. For example, Herodotus 2.122 wields anonymous citation to support the death, journey to Hades, and reappearance of the Egyptian king Rhampsinitus. Several explicit cataphoric and anaphoric citations support the supposed resurrection of Aristeas after seven years in Herodotus 4.13–15. Similarly, in 4.95–96, Herodotus cites the Greeks regarding a tradition he records about the resurrection (or at least what looked a lot like one to the Thracians) of Salmoxis after four years. And at 9.120, he cites the Chersonese in support of a tale of resurrected fish. Likewise, Xenophon cites a story that potentially implies resurrection (the disappearance of Orantos's corpse) and recruits what appears to be one of his few anonymous citations to support it in *Anab.* 1.6.10–11 (see also *Hell.* 3.1.14;

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<sup>36</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 56.

*Anab.* 1.8.24).<sup>37</sup> Diodorus uses several anonymous and explicit citations in his telling of the resuscitation of the corpse of Osiris (*Libr. of Hist.* 1.21). Similarly, Livy, in his *History of Rome* (1.16.4-5), records the death and reappearance of Romulus and supports it by citing accounts of conflicting traditions (see also Plutarch, *Rom.* 29.5).<sup>38</sup> Although these tales bear little resemblance to the Lukan Easter narrative, at least at the level of narrative motivation for citation, they show a tendency in the ancient historians to implement (often cataphoric) citation in support of resurrection-like activity, as we find in Luke 20:37.

### 3. *Authoritative Citation of David in Support of Jesus' Exaltation (Luke 20:42)*

While Jesus' last explicit citation in public occurs in the context of his responses to questioning from the religious authorities in Jerusalem, the citation is given on Jesus' own initiative this time, not prompted by a question—likely motivated by the audience's trepidation to question him again after his reply to the resurrection question.<sup>39</sup> Luke names David as the source for the citation (LXX Psalm 109:1), which appears to prefigure Jesus' post-resurrection ascension in Acts. The Synoptics employ differing formulas to introduce the Psalm. Mark has αὐτὸς Δαυὶδ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ whereas Matthew employs οὖν Δαυὶδ ἐν πνεύματι καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον λέγων. Thus Luke

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<sup>37</sup> He cites a tradition of various conjectures regarding the disappearance.

<sup>38</sup> Plutarch, *Thes.* 36.3, also uses citation in support of post-mortem supernatural activity regarding Theseus's body. And widely within βίος we find a parallel citation strategy. Although in these cases, the results get skewed (and thus become less significant) due to issues of citation density (see Chapter 3).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Powery, *Jesus*, 235.



and Matthew agree against Mark in their use of οὐν, καλεῖ, and πῶς.<sup>40</sup> Other differences surface within the Synoptic tradition, typically accounted for through source-critical analysis. Nolland thinks, for example, that “Luke conforms Mark’s ὑποκάτω, ‘under,’ to the ὑποπόδιον, ‘a stool [for],’ that was to be found in his Greek OT.”<sup>41</sup> But these divergences could equally be rendered according to fluctuating and fixed elements in the shape of the oral tradition available to the evangelists.

### 3.1. Form

Luke adopts the highly marked explicit oral formula to introduce Jesus’ citation: γὰρ Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν. His use of λέγει here (along with Mark and Matthew) aligns with the formulas used by the Greek historians and other first-century writers. The formal shape of the tradition resembles almost exactly our editions of the Greek Bible.<sup>42</sup>

Rahlfs’s LXX – Psalm 109:1	NA <sup>28</sup> – Luke 20:42-43
Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου, Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.	εἶπεν κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

**Fig. 29:** *Isaiah 56:7//Jeremiah 7:11 in Luke 20:42–43*

<sup>40</sup> Bock, *Luke 9:51–24:53*, 1635, views the variation in style as a conforming to each author’s citation formula tendencies.

<sup>41</sup> Nolland, *Luke 18:35–24:53*, 973.

<sup>42</sup> Thus Powery’s suggestion, *Jesus*, 234, that Jesus accommodates every explicit citation in Luke in Jerusalem seems severely overstated. Powery, *Jesus*, 24, defines accommodation as altering the Old Testament text.

Only the article prior to κύριος is missing. The majority of our best MSS include the article here (ⲛ A L R W Θ Ψ 0117 f1.13 33). Only B and D have the reading reflected in the NA<sup>28</sup>. The editors of the NA<sup>28</sup> no doubt go with the least well attested reading on the internal grounds that harmonization has likely occurred. So we need not place much interpretive significance on this minor divergence, since the article may have been present in Luke's original composition.

### 3.2. Projection / Expansion

Although debate continues regarding whether or not pre-Christian Judaism interpreted LXX Psalm 109:1 messianically,<sup>43</sup> most understand the use of the Psalm in early Christianity<sup>44</sup> and in Luke 20:42<sup>45</sup> in relation to Jesus' exaltation and messiahship.<sup>46</sup> The marked formula draws attention to Jesus' messiahship, an important emphasis in Luke's theology. The expansion comes in the form of a question, in an attempt to cast new meaning on an old text through linguistic elaboration. Jesus denies here the common assumption that the messiah would be David's son, showing that the messiah cannot

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<sup>43</sup> Scholars often cite Dan 7:9–14; 1 Mac 14:41; *Parables of Enoch* 51.3; 55.4; 61.8; 62.2; *T. Job* 33.3; *T. Levi* 8.3; 18:1–3, 8, 12 as examples of messianic usage of LXX Psalm 109. See, e.g., Theisohn, *Auserwählte Richter*, 98; Hengel, *Studies*, 178–79; Mays, *Lord Reigns*, 94–98; Lee, *Preexistent Messiah*, 206–10. For the Psalm's ANE background, see Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1314. Several studies minimize this evidence and insist that if a messianic reading was present, it certainly was not prevalent. These studies typically emphasize the regal as opposed to messianic understanding of the Psalm in these texts. See Hay, *Glory*, 205; Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1311; Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 137–39; Nolland, *Luke 18:35–24:53*, 973; Bock, *Luke 9:51–24:53*, 1638. Later Rabbinic discussion certainly did not view the Psalm as a messianic text (see *b. Sanhedrin* 32b; *Midrash Tehillim on Psalm* 110) but most believe this stream of interpretation to be influenced by an anti-Christian polemic.

<sup>44</sup> On this, see esp. the extensive studies in Hay, *Glory*, 52–162; Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 135–50; Hengel, *Studies*, 119–225; Lee, *Preexistent Son*, 210–239. Cf. also Chester, *Messiah*, 37–38; Talbert, *Development*, 15–16.

<sup>45</sup> France, *Jesus*, 101–102.

<sup>46</sup> E.g. Bock, *Proclamation*, 129; Barrett, "Luke / Acts," 234; Eskola, *Messiah*, 180; Hurtado, *Lord Jesus*, 179–80; Subramanian, *Synoptic Gospels*, 85. This interpretation typically leads many to attribute the tradition to a post-Easter invention of the church. See Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 47–48; Perrin, *Rediscovering*, 23–24; Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 136–37.

function strictly as a (earthly) political ruler.<sup>47</sup> Even if—as some argue—Jesus does not make a self-conscious claim,<sup>48</sup> the citation must at least be interpreted against Luke’s theology of exaltation since in Luke 22:69, Jesus, in the process of the authorities questioning him, prophecies with language that recalls his citation here, now integrating it with apocalyptic Son of Man language: “But from now on the Son of Man shall be seated at the right hand of the power of God.” Luke clearly reads and situates Jesus’ citation of LXX Psalm 109 as a direct expression of exalted messianic Christology.<sup>49</sup>

### 3.3. *Narrative Function*

At the discourse level, Jesus’ citation serves the important function of validating Jesus’ exaltation / ascension later in Acts and works in tandem with Jesus’ prophecy in Luke 22:69, confirming our analysis of Jesus’ citation within the projection / expansion system. As with the other miraculous claims in Luke’s Gospel, the evangelist deploys cataphoric explicit citation to authenticate later miraculous activity, as did the historians before him. And Luke again quotes from the Psalm in Acts 2:34–35 as a direct interpretation of Jesus’ accession and exaltation. As Subramanian concludes, LXX Psalm 109:1 refers prophetically to “the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus when God made him both κύριος (Lord) and χριστός (messiah) (Acts 2.36).”<sup>50</sup> Luke thus begins to

<sup>47</sup> Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 748; Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1315; Kimball, *Jesus’ Exposition*, 181; Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 723–24; Eskola, *Messiah*, 180; Powery, *Jesus*, 236.

<sup>48</sup> E.g. Hay, *Glory*, 104–21; Powery, *Jesus*, 236.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Bock, *Proclamation*, 128; Bovon, *Luke*, 208–09.

<sup>50</sup> Subramanian, *Synoptic Gospels*, 85. He states further: “The quotation of Ps. 109(110).1 found in Lk. 20.42–43 is seen as a prophetic utterance about the exaltation of the messiah as David’s Lord—a prophecy whose fulfillment is explicitly stated in Acts 2.33–36. For Luke, the question of the Davidic sonship of the Messiah can be answered only in relation to Jesus’ resurrection and exaltation (cf. Acts 2.33–36). Jesus’ use of Ps. 109(110).1 in Lk. 20.42–43 only hints at or foreshadows what is to become so vivid in Acts.” Cf. also M. Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive*, 174. Miura, *David*, 229, states that Acts 2:36 answers the question

underline his narrative with credibility for the supernatural events that he will soon unfold within the later stages of his history, making explicit the implicit verification strategy that Luke begins to yield here. The citation also functions as part of a cluster lending support to the final major events in Jesus' life: his temple action, death (see below), resurrection, and exaltation. Bayer has already shown that, starting with the temple scene, Luke begins to disclose the story of Jesus' rejection and vindication through resurrection as the narrative substructure of Luke 19-24.<sup>51</sup> Insight from Greek historiography endorses this analysis by drawing attention to Luke's strategic use of marked citations at each stage of this narrative trajectory.

In addition to citation in support of major narrative movements and the broadly miraculous or activities of the gods, exaltation type events seem particularly well suited for support through citation in the historians.<sup>52</sup> Herodotus has something like an exaltation narrative for Heracles. He is a man with a physical birth who dies and is then immortalized, leading to the worship of the dead and exalted Heracles. Herodotus cites the Greeks in support of this claim (2.44.5). When he documents the disappearance of Moses, in which he ascends into a "cloud" (cf. Acts 1:9 where Jesus likewise ascends in a cloud), Josephus cites an alternate scriptural tradition with a generic literary formula: γέγραφε δ' αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις τεθνεῶτα (*Ant.* 4.326; cf. also *Ant.* 3.96). Dionysius of Halicarnassus employs anonymous citation to support the exaltation / ascension of several gods / demigods: "Proserpina, Lucina, the Nymphs, the Muses, the Seasons, the Graces, Liber, and the demigods whose souls after they had left their mortal

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raised in Luke 20 regarding the nature of Jesus' messiahship / exaltation. See also Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 315–17; Doble, "Psalms," 87.

<sup>51</sup> Bayer, *Jesus' Predictions*.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Talbert, *Development*, 71–82, who sees these and related traditions as part of a social matrix for the mythological origins of the Jesus story.

bodies are said to [λέγονται] have ascended to Heaven” (*Rom. Ant.* 7.72.13). Diodorus (*Libr. of Hist.* 6.1) supports exaltation ideas with anonymous citation: “the other gods, we are told, were terrestrial beings who attained to immortal honor and fame because of their benefactions to mankind” (see also *Libr. of Hist.* 1.13 for a citation in support of the immortalization of men as gods). The immortalizations of Osiris and Isis receive citations as well (*Libr. of Hist.* 1.20-23). Diodorus’s narrative of Heracles, beginning as a human, and later exalted to the position of a god, is laced with anonymous, generic, and explicit citations (*Libr. of Hist.* 1.24). Arrian, in his narration of Alexander, employs generic citation (*Anab.* 7.27: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οἶδα ἀναγεγραμμένα) to describe his birth and exaltation to deity. Similarly, Dio Cassius’s *Roman History* recruits generic citation (56.46) to support the deification of Augustus after his death (see 56.29-30.1).

#### 4. *Authoritative Citation of Scripture in Support of Jesus’ Death (Luke 22:37)*

This unique Lukan paragraph (22:35-38) has warranted attention not only regarding its authenticity due to single attestation,<sup>53</sup> but the form of the citation differs from our LXX traditions of Isa 53:12 and the varied use of Isa 53:12 in 4Q541, 4Q491, and *Tg. Isa.* 53. Luke’s interpreters tend to locate the origins of the tradition among Luke’s L material as a pre-Lukan passion unit.<sup>54</sup> The citation plays an important role in Luke’s narrative as the last citation introduced by a formula within the Gospel and it occurs in connection with Jesus’ prophetic announcement of his death.

<sup>53</sup> E.g. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, 809–17. But see France, *Jesus*, 114–16; Nolland, *Luke 18:35–24:53*, 1075, and Bock, *Luke 9:51–24:53*, 1731, who defend the authenticity of the text.

<sup>54</sup> Taylor, *Passion Narrative of St. Luke*, 67–68; Nolland, *Luke 18:35–24:53*, 1075.

4.1. *Form*

Luke uses generic citation for the first time here in the Jerusalem narrative by documenting Jesus' use of "this Scripture" or "this that is written" (ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἐμοί), prophesying of his impending fate at the hands of the Roman government. Scholars remain perplexed by the form of the Lukan citation.

Rahlfs's LXX – Isaiah 53:12	BHS – Isaiah 53:12	Λ Θ Σ 083, et al. – Mark 15:28	NA <sup>28</sup> – Luke 22:37
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη	וְעַל־תְּשׁוּבָתִי הִלָּמְדוּ	καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη	καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη

Fig. 30: Isaiah 53:12 in Λ Θ Σ 083, et al. of Mark 15:28 and in Luke 22:37

Our LXX MSS do not align with Luke's tradition of Isa 53:12. Some MSS of Mark add a similar verse, adjusting the citation formula, but reflecting the Lukan *Vorlage* of Isa 53:12 (Λ Θ Σ 083 f 1.13 33 892 1006 1506 Majority Text). But these tend to be late and the best external evidence for Mark does not include this addition (A B C D Ψ 2427 pc sys sa bo). This variant MS tradition may be accounted for as later attempts toward harmonization with Luke's Gospel<sup>55</sup> or scribal interpretations of Mark 15:27 as alluding to the Servant Song.<sup>56</sup> Some attempt to locate the tradition in a late Semitic tradition Luke had access to,<sup>57</sup> while others argue on linguistic grounds that Luke bears closest similarity to the Greek tradition.<sup>58</sup> Bock summarizes the basic argument for a Semitic *Vorlage*, suggesting that μετὰ and the absence of the article align the citation with the MT.

<sup>55</sup> E.g. Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 497.

<sup>56</sup> E.g. Collins, *Mark*, 748.

<sup>57</sup> E.g. Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive*, 154; Stendhal, *School*, 97; Bock, *Proclamation*, 137.

<sup>58</sup> Holtz, *Untersuchungen*, 42–43.

However, μετά does not seem to be an obviously direct rendering of ׀ַעֲזֹב־הָאָרֶץ and we have already noted a potential Lukan tendency to omit the article when citing the Greek Bible (Luke 20:42 above). This would also represent the only exception to Luke’s tendency to prefer the Greek tradition for his citations. Luke often adjusts the syntax (in this case prepositional structure) in his citation of the Greek Bible and that likely represents the most plausible situation here. The changes do not have enough bearing on meaning to read major interpretive significance into them.

#### 4.2. *Projection / Expansion*

The generic citation form used by Luke projects foreground source material but not on the same narrative plane as the prior two citations, which are projected onto the foreground of the narrative through explicit citation.<sup>59</sup> Several proof-from-prophecy models attempt to incorporate this citation into their framework due to its clearly prophetic (thus cataphoric) function.<sup>60</sup> However, Mallen notes that we have no strong fulfillment motif present in the passage so this reading becomes difficult to maintain at this stage in Luke’s narrative—the passage instead focuses on the inevitable rejection and death of the messiah.<sup>61</sup> The interpretive expansion through elaboration confirms this analysis in the words of Luke and then Jesus, in a description of the dialogue that follows with the disciples. Jesus’ followers do not understand him to be emphasizing—at this

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<sup>59</sup> Cf. Bock, *Proclamation*, 137, who recognizes the highly emphatic function of the citation form.

<sup>60</sup> Rese, *Alttestamentliche*, 155, refers to this as one example of proof-from-prophecy while not advocating this motif as a comprehensive grid for understanding Luke’s citation strategy. Several other interpreters acknowledge Jesus’ prophetic interpretation of this text, foreshadowing the Passion narrative. See, e.g., Bock, *Proclamation*, 138–39; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 315–16.

<sup>61</sup> Mallen, *Reading*, 177–78.

point—the fulfillment of a promise, but the inevitable fate that awaits him.<sup>62</sup> They respond with a call to war.

#### 4.3. *Narrative Function*

Several features of the narrative warrant citation at this point in Luke's story. As prophetic material, this event provides a good candidate for support through citation. It also represents a final narrative development not yet supported by a citation—Jesus' death with criminals. At the narrative level, we may also draw attention to the markedness relations between this generic citation and the previous two explicit (and before that, anonymous) citations in the Jerusalem narrative. The nature of the events that the citations are recruited to support make sense of this variation. The first two anonymous citations seem appropriate as they merely justify Jesus' actions. The miracle material in Luke 20:17 and 20:42 requires the highest degree of validation, incorporating not only divine activity but marking off key narrative events. Jesus' death falls somewhere in between on this scale. Beyond the prophetic character of this Lukan Jesus-saying, a prophet's death will not require nearly the amount of narrative-historical credibility as ascensions and resurrections. Nevertheless, it represents a substantial moment in Luke's history. Generic citation thus seems appropriate within Luke's broader citation strategy.

In addition to prophecies and key narrative transitions more broadly, the Greek historians frequently employed citations in connection with the death of a main character. Approaching the narrative transition into Book 2, Herodotus (1.214.5) deploys a citation formula to introduce tradition regarding the death of Cyrus (cf. Herodotus 2.1.1).

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<sup>62</sup> Cf. Stein, *Luke*, 586.



Xenophon utilizes citation to undergird his death narratives of Orantos (*Anab.* 1.6.11) and Cyrus (*Anab.* 1.8.27-28) (see also *Hell.* 3.1.14; *Anab.* 1.8.24). Appian discusses a prophecy made about Alexander's death, using a citation to validate the prophecy itself and then, when he narrates the fulfillment of the prophecy, he employs a second citation (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 2.153). And Dio Cassius's *Roman History* employs citation (56.29.6-30.1) in support of the death of Augustus—a citation that also serves the narrative transition and supports a potential divine purpose behind the death.<sup>63</sup>

#### 4. Conclusions

The analysis in this chapter reveals several commonalities between citation in Luke and the Greek historians. In this stretch of text we find Luke employing several oral formulas in common with ancient historians, when he introduces Scripture citations. The narrative-literary constraints of the genre seem to drive citation locations. We observe this ostensibly in the limited but strategic placement of Luke's citations, especially his relatively lower citation density when compared to the other canonical Gospels. They occur in validation of Jesus' temple action, resurrection, exaltation, and death. As with the Greek historians, once Luke senses the narrative need for the validating function of citation at the discourse level, he draws upon the projection / expansion system to frame and interpret the citations. No single interpretive framework emerges at this level—

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<sup>63</sup> We find this tendency in Greco-Roman βίαι as well. The death of Romulus, for example, is supported by citation in Plutarch: "Romulus is said to have been fifty-four years of age, and in the thirty-eighth year of his reign when he disappeared from among men" (*Rom.* 29.7; see also Plutarch, *Thes.* 35.4–5; *Cae.* 69.8). But again, due to the bloated inventory of citation formulas in Greco-Roman βίαι, these are not as clearly strategic in the narrative development, as in history, where citation is much less frequent.

instead, analysis reveals multiple dimensions of Lukan theology and interpretation that surface as he engages with the text. And this is what we would expect if Luke's citations are organized at the literary narrative level of his discourse rather than at the local level, where interpretation is often realized through the projection / expansion system.

Chapter 9:  
The Genre of the Third Gospel and Authoritative Citation: Contextual Analysis

This dissertation seeks to explore how Luke's socio-literary context may have impacted his use of authoritative citation. However, we have first sought to discern what that context is and specifically what generic conventions Luke most closely followed in composing the Third Gospel. Most biblical scholars place Luke, along with the other canonical Gospels, among the Greco-Roman βίοι of the ancient world. While biographical and historical literature have many overlapping formal features as instances of historically oriented Greek narrative discourse (isolated esp. through Burridge's detection criteria), chapters 2–3 of this dissertation sought to show that Luke's Gospel aligns more closely with ancient history than with βίος on the basis of seven disambiguation criteria: (1) preface length ratio, (2) βίος language in the preface, (3) attestation to event / participant orientation, (4) transition into the narrative body, (5) the placement of family tradition, (6) citation density, and (7) citation strategy. Having argued that Luke resembles ancient history more closely than βίος, chapter 4 developed a method for interpreting authoritative citation in Greco-Roman history.

The previous two chapters (7-8) provided a co-textual analysis of citation in Luke's Gospel based upon this method in terms of form, projection / expansion, and narrative function. In this final chapter, the aim is to take a step back and summarize a number of contextual trends we discovered in Luke use of authoritative citation and compare them to those that unify the Greek historiographic genre. We turn now to the evidence, beginning with Lukan mimesis.

### 1. *Mimesis (Unmarked)*

This dissertation only seeks to contribute to the ongoing discussion about the relationship of mimesis to the Synoptic tradition in a very minor way. Specifically, it shows that mimesis provides a superior heuristic to the confused and often unclear intertextual and literary classifications of Scripture (including “rewritten Bible”) not introduced by a formula and the role of mimesis in the composition of Lukan narrative as the background against which Luke projects his citations of Scripture. Within the source integration framework used by the historians, mimesis is by far the more common approach to using sources and accounts for Luke’s numerous echoes, allusions, and quotations not introduced by a formula.<sup>1</sup> Luke’s use and alterations of the oral tradition and other sources were also standard practice in ancient literary imitation. For Luke, this includes alterations of dialect (improvement of Mark?), arrangement, style, vocabulary, and genre (at least, if we view Luke as history and the other Gospels as biography) when we compare his material to the other Synoptics. These alterations or adaptations of the oral tradition—depending upon one’s theory of Gospel relationships (i.e. whether Luke’s sources involve L, Q, Mt, Mk, and / or oral tradition)—has been well canvassed in the literature and there is no need to rehearse it here, other than to say that we account for it at the mimesis level of Luke’s source-integrative framework. This level of integration of source material is incorporated—resulting in its relative frequency—to form the background of the narrative. Brodie, therefore, rightly suggests that imitation models in Greco-Roman literature provide an important tool for assessing the Lukan use of

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<sup>1</sup> For an analysis of this material, see Litwak, *Echoes*, 66–208.

sources.<sup>2</sup> More significant, for the present purposes of this chapter, is how Luke integrated Israel's sacred history more directly, through authoritative citation in terms of form, projection / expansion, and narrative function.

## *2. Authoritative Citation (Marked)*

In the preceding two chapters (7-8), we have examined each of Luke's authoritative citations according to form, projection / expansion, and narrative function, in order to understand Luke's citation realizations in these categories co-textually. We now turn to examine how these patterns might function within a wider historical context of situation.

### *2.1. Form*

Although Luke shares many of the same citation formulas used in ancient biographical material as well as a number of first-century Jewish texts, the form dimension of Luke's source integration framework shares many features with Greco-Roman historiography as well. Both Luke and the historians employ anonymous, generic, and explicit citation formulas.

All of Luke's authoritative citations come from the Greek Bible. As with LXX citations in Josephus, this allows Luke to engage his implied readers with the normative texts of a Jewish messianic movement. The apostolic Gospel proclamation undoubtedly had many Scripture citations attached to it so that employing Scripture as his primary

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<sup>2</sup> Brodie, "Imitation," 17-46.

authenticating tool allowed him to conveniently adapt traditions into his narrative while still accomplishing his narrative-historiographic goals. Scholars commonly argue for an essentially Gentile—potentially unbelieving—audience for Luke’s Gospel. On this view, Scripture functions much like it does in Josephus—to engage the audience by demonstrating the prophetic character of the Old Testament and, therefore, the supernatural history of the Jesus movement (as it does for the history of Israel in Josephus).

### 2.1.1. *Citation Formulas*

When we compare the authoritative citations in Luke with the other Synoptic writers, we discover that Mark and Matthew cite the names of their sources more frequently, which was typical in ancient biographical literature. While Luke employs the “it is written” formula more frequently than many of the historians (but cf. Josephus who makes use of the formula, usually in the stative aspect, and Polybius and Appian who use literary formulas as well), Luke employs oral formulas (e.g. “it is said” instead of “it is written”) almost as frequently in the Third Gospel (e.g. 2:24: *κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίου*; 20:37: *ὡς λέγει*; 20:42: *γὰρ Δαυὶδ λέγει*), even when his Synoptic parallel does not (4:12: *ὅτι εἴρηται*//Matt 4:7: *Πάλιν γέγραπται*) and in Acts, the oral formula is the dominant formula, even for scriptural quotations (e.g. Acts 2:25: *Δαυὶδ γὰρ λέγει*; 2:34: *λέγει δὲ αὐτός*, etc.). The more consistent use of the written formula is accounted for not only due to the written nature of the primary material sourced for authoritative citation but must also be partially due to the traditions Luke was working with.

### 2.1.2. Sources

Some may potentially argue that the “sources” cited by the historians in the reconstruction of history differ from the religious texts cited in the Synoptic tradition. And they do. However, the study of citation in Greek historiography in chapters 5-6 considered all citations introduced by a formula of some kind. The citation formula tends to introduce material that has an authenticating or authoritative function. Even when historians cite their historical predecessors or various literary texts negatively, these still have a reverse validating function for the historian’s own narrative as they enter into competition (usually over issues of reliability) with these prior texts. Whereas Homer and prior historians functioned as the normative body of tradition sourced for citation by the Greek historians, as in Josephus, the LXX takes on the status as normative sacred history in Luke.<sup>3</sup> Hanson, Potter, Porter, Stanley, and Brodie thus all rightly recognize the citation of Scripture in the New Testament functioning much like authoritative citation of normative texts elsewhere in Greco-Roman literature.<sup>4</sup> As Potter notes, when the evangelists quote Scripture, they cite sources prophetically.<sup>5</sup> Religious documents themselves provide one type of text often sourced by historians for direct citation (see chapter 4). Religious communities also serve these purposes at a fairly global level, as with the Egyptian priests frequently quoted *via* generic citation in Herodotus. Josephus’s constant coupling of ancient historians and other normative Greco-Roman texts along with his Scripture quotations confirms that for Josephus the Old Testament served a

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<sup>3</sup> Sterling, *Historiography*, *passim*; cf. also Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive*, *passim*; Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 116.

<sup>4</sup> Hanson, *Prophetic Gospels*, *passim*; Potter, *Literary Texts*, 145–46; Stanley, “Paul and Homer,” 48–78; Stanley, *Paul*, esp. 267–91; Porter, “Authoritative Citation,” 79–96. Brodie, “Towards Unraveling Luke’s Use of the Old Testament,” 247–67; Brodie, “Luke 9.57–62,” 237–45; Brodie, “Luke-Acts,” 78–85; Brodie, *Crucial Bridge*.

<sup>5</sup> Potter, *Literary Texts*, 145–46.

similar literary function to these other Greek sources he cites. This tendency among the Greek historians seems to have carried over into Luke's composition as well.

## *2.2. Projection / Expansion*

In Greek historiography, narrative function constrains and drives citation. Authors cite sources in response to narrative needs first, not—apparently—as part of a broader interpretive agenda. Once a citation enters the narrative, however, historians employ the projection / expansion system to offer interpretive comment on the texts they cite. In ancient βίολι, patterns of citation seem driven by content. Similarly, various midrash and other Jewish genres seem exclusively driven by interpretative needs. Thus, citation is not a response to literary constraints but a function of authorial interpretation. Most contemporary studies of Luke assume that Luke's citations are driven by proof-from-prophecy or other theological concerns and attempt to group them together under a single interpretive model. However, based upon the analysis of chapters 7–8, Luke's citations all seem strategically placed on the basis of historiographic narrative function (see also below on narrative function). He then takes these opportunities to offer expansions on these projections which reveal a variety of elements within his interpretive-theological framework that cannot easily be classified under a single typology.

The fact that the available proof-from-prophecy schemes take into consideration only an (potentially) arbitrary set of citations in Luke's narrative reveals this quite clearly. Bock's influential study, for example, gives a great deal of attention to various Old Testament allusions in Luke to support his thesis but neglects key explicit and anonymous citations at Luke 2:22 (Exod 13:2, 12), 4:1–13 (Deut 8:3; 6:13, 16), and



19:46–48 (Isa 56:7//Jer 7:11).<sup>6</sup> Strauss, similarly, does not address Luke 4:1–13 (Deut 8:3; 6:13, 16),<sup>7</sup> 19:46–48 (Isa 56:7//Jer 7:11), or 20:17 (Psalm 117:22).<sup>8</sup> Studies that treat each quotation introduced by a formula tend to conclude that Luke’s Scripture citations reflect varied usage rather than a single interpretive framework. As C.K. Barrett observes,

There are fundamental themes but they do not cover the whole of Luke’s use of the OT, which is co-extensive with most of the aims and interests that he has incorporated in his books.... All of this is not exactly either proof from prophecy or apologetic.... It is the interpretation of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, and of the life of the church, in terms drawn from and based upon what constitutes Luke’s only interpretive instrument.<sup>9</sup>

After a consideration of each of Luke’s formula citations, Powery notes the vast diversity reflected in Luke’s use of the Old Testament: in Luke “Jesus appropriates a variety of passages for diverse issues. There are almost as many issues as there are explicit scriptural passages.”<sup>10</sup>

The historiographically driven analysis in chapters 7–8 upholds these conclusions. While some of Luke’s citations may reflect what scholars commonly call proof from prophecy, this certainly does not account for most of them or every element of one of them. The expansions connected with Luke’s projections reveal everything from the theological association of Spirit, the temple, and cultic practice coupled with Jesus as observant Jew (2:22–25), his theology of the Gentile mission (3:7–9), Jesus’ superior

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Bock, *Proclamation*, 82–139.

<sup>7</sup> As Litwak, *Echoes*, 111, notes regarding the temptation narrative, “This text is important for this study because it is the first time Jesus cites the Scriptures of Israel. Bock and others who argue for an overarching promise-fulfillment use of the Scriptures of Israel in Luke-Acts omit this pericope from their treatment. Most studies go to Jesus’ words in the synagogue in Capernaum first, and, without apparent regard for how Luke has used the Scriptures of Israel up to this point, claim that Lk. 4:18–19 is an example of promise-fulfillment, which is how Scripture is used throughout Luke-Acts. Such a view, however, must ignore the previous use by Jesus of the Scriptures.” However, his own approach overlooks significant texts widely regarded as strategic for understanding Luke’s use of Scripture—not least, Luke 4:16–30—since his approach centers only on the beginning, middle, and end parts of Luke-Acts.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 194–333.

<sup>9</sup> C.K. Barrett, “Luke / Acts,” 243.

<sup>10</sup> Powery, *Jesus*, 243.

devotion to Yahweh (4:1–13), Luke’s restoration vision for Jesus’ ministry (4:16–30), Luke’s positive view of the temple (19:45–47), Lukan eschatology (20:17–18), Jesus’ view of the resurrection (20:35–37), messianic Christology (20:42–43), and the Lukan rejection motif (19:45–47; 22:37–38). No single theological motif holds these together, as Pao and Schnabel also observe.<sup>11</sup>

We may speak then at the level of projection / expansion of what Rese calls a hermeneutical use of Scripture in Luke’s Gospel.<sup>12</sup> Since the narrative and literary goals seem to motivate implicit, generic, and explicit citations, we should not expect a theological or interpretive framework to incorporate all of Luke’s usages since interpretation occurs at more local levels of Luke’s discourse. We may find other theological uses in quotations not introduced by a formula, but these weigh in at the level of mimesis and operate on the background plane of the narrative, according to the theory articulated in chapter 4. Even apart from this methodological commitment, it seems intuitive that if Luke has a single unifying citation strategy, it would at least account for all of the citations introduced by a formula. And that is exactly what we find. But not at the local projection / expansion level of Luke’s Gospel, but at the wider discourse level. This feature of using the projection / expansion system for local level interpretive practice when wider discourse concerns motivate a citation further identifies Luke with the citation strategies of the Greek historians.

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<sup>11</sup> Pao and Schnabel, “Luke,” 252, suggest that no theme whatsoever accounts for Luke’s citations introduced by a formula. I think this only extends to theological themes, as I argue below on Luke’s narrative function for citations.

<sup>12</sup> Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive*, 326.

### 2.3. *Narrative Function*

The pattern of authoritative citation that emerges in Luke's Gospel is quite consistent with the citation strategies employed by the ancient historians. As with the historians—and unlike the other Synoptic Gospel writers—Luke uses authoritative citation very sparingly. The analysis in chapters 7–8 shows that when Luke does employ citation, it is for specific narrative-historiographic reasons.

#### 2.3.1. *Citation Density*

Chapter 3 demonstrated that unlike the more biographically oriented Gospels, Luke exhibits a relatively low density of authoritative citations. Several scholars speculate why this is so. Bovon thinks that we have so few citations in the first chapters of Luke in order to bring the initial events of Jesus' life into focus.<sup>13</sup> Pao and Schnabel recognize this as well and insist that it does not reflect a lack of concern for Scripture in Luke. Rather, Luke prefers allusion to citation.<sup>14</sup> However, this just restates the question: why so few authoritative citations in Luke? Analysis of Luke's Gospel in the context of Greek historiography answers this question. Luke reserves his authoritative citations for special narrative movements and the generally extraordinary happenings of his history, especially instances of the supernatural. This demonstrates the light that a historiographic context for examining Luke's citation formulas sheds on a current enigma in Lukan scholarship.

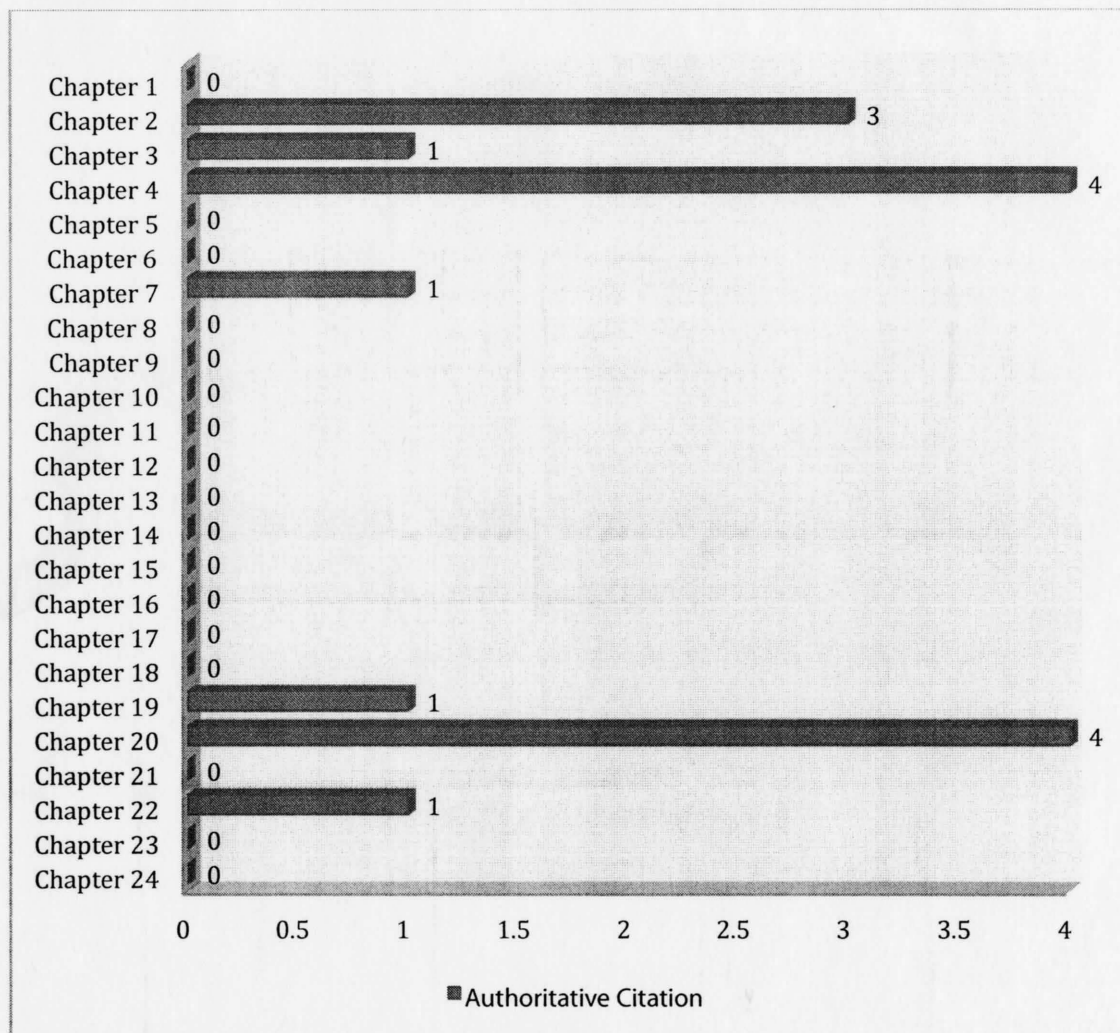
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<sup>13</sup> Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 118.

<sup>14</sup> Pao and Schnabel, "Luke," 251.

### 2.3.2. Narrative Structure and Clustering

One of the ostensible features noted throughout each history examined in chapters 5-6 was the clustering of citations around key narrative events. Luke exhibits this feature strongly as well. In the biographically oriented Gospels and their Greco-Roman literary counterparts, citations are more frequent and more broadly distributed. We can observe below Luke's clustering tendency for his authoritative citations.



**Fig. 31:** *Authoritative Citation Distribution in Luke's Gospel*

We have two primary clusters populating around the places in the narrative that carry the major events of the story line—Luke 1–4 and 19–24 (see below). Luke 4:31–19:44 does include significant narrative developments, but the citations seem to mark off this section as a single block consisting of Jesus’ healing ministry, cataphorically supported by the citation in Luke 4:18–19. Within Luke 1–4, we observe the highest density of citations clustering around Jesus’ birth (Luke 2) and the inauguration of his public ministry (Luke 4). Scholars have already recognized both of these chapters as highly programmatic in the Lukan narrative (see analysis in chapter 7) and so these locations for Luke’s citation clusters seem to accord nicely with the literary expectations for reading Luke as history created by our analysis of the Greek historians. The citations in Luke 19–24 also cluster around programmatic narrative moments in Jesus’ life—Jesus’ temple action (19:46; 20:17) and predictions of his resurrection (20:28, 37), exaltation (20:42), and death (22:37). The tightest cluster punctuates the miracle material toward the end of Chapter 20 (20:28, 37, 42), a strategy not uncommon in the historians (see chapters 5–6).

### 2.3.3. *Source Integration and Narrative Planes*

Pao and Schnabel claim that, in the Third Gospel, “The introductory formulas do not follow a uniform scheme. It is evident, however, that Luke often is interested in marking the location of the quotation in a manner that is as precise as possible.”<sup>15</sup> While a historiographic reading of authoritative citations in Luke’s Gospel confirms the last of these two statements, it exposes the first assertion as overlooking genre conventions that unify Luke’s “introductory formulas” under a narrative scheme that can be articulated at

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<sup>15</sup> Pao and Schnabel, “Luke,” 252.

a number of levels through linguistic-historical analysis. We notice several planes of the Lukan narrative, demarcated by (among other things) source integration.

On the background of his source framework, Luke constructs the essential content of his narrative through mimesis. As with the Hellenistic Jewish historians, Luke does not cite historical Old Testament literature on the foreground or frontground of the narrative through authoritative citation but prefers instead that this tradition occupy the background of his discourse and so only sources this material, along with his Jesus traditions, for mimesis. Scholars typically comment on Luke's weaving together material from the Deuteronomistic history in his birth accounts.<sup>16</sup> He does not, however, cite this material directly. We may contrast this to Matthew's probable citation of 1 Sam 5:2 in the birth narrative at Matt 2:6b. Luke may however imitate (some may say "allude") to this passage through his shepherd terminology.<sup>17</sup> And Brodie rests his thesis on Luke's reconstructing his account of the initial stages of Jesus' life and ministry based on imitation of the Elijah-Elisha narrative in 1–2 Kings.<sup>18</sup> Brodie's analysis, if he has located real instances of imitation—regardless of whether or not invention is involved—confirms this basic tendency of Luke to use historical writings for mimesis, not authoritative citation, as we discover in the Hellenistic Jewish historians. Luke instead prefers the Hebrew prophets along with Moses and David as the sources for his citations introduced

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<sup>16</sup> E.g. Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 396, for example, claims: "The shepherds are almost certainly introduced by Luke into the story because of the association of Jesus' birth with Bethlehem, the town of David. We first learn of David as a shepherd tending the flocks of Jesse, his father, in 1 Sam 16:11; see further references to this activity of his in 1 Sam 17:14–15, 20, 28, 34—especially his boast of having killed lions and bears in defense of the flock (and hence his ability to slay the Philistine Goliath)." Similarly, Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 142, contends that "Luke's narrative seems to have been guided by continued reverberations from the story of Samuel, who '... is given to the Lord' (esp. 1 Sam 1:11, 21–28)." Litwak, *Echoes*, 64, states the point explicitly: "Luke never quotes Genesis, Judges or 1 Kingdoms [in the annunciation stories], but few would deny that these texts play some kind of role in the shape of Luke 1–2. This expanded notion of volume would also satisfy Charlesworth's contention that a criterion should arise from the text. Volume under this understanding arises because of a need to understand the echoed traditions in Luke 1–2, for instance."

<sup>17</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 396.

<sup>18</sup> Brodie, *Crucial Bridge*.

by a formula as did Josephus and (for the most part) his Jewish predecessors in the historical tradition (see chapter 6).

Luke also foregrounds sources through his use of anonymous Scripture citations. On this thematic level of the discourse, Luke supports Jesus' temptation and temple action through anonymous citation formulas. Both actions receive multiple citations (temptations, 4x; temple action, 2x). In these cases, Luke prefers anaphoric citation to support these events. These two episodes have in common the use of anaphoric citation to justify an action just taken by Jesus—whether refusing a temptation or taking initiative toward temple reform. The supernatural nature of Jesus' temptation may motivate the citation, but the syntax does not seem to rule strongly in favor of this assessment. The Lukan narrative seems more concerned—perhaps due to the shape of the tradition he adopts, also shared by Matthew—with highlighting Jesus' success where Israel had failed in similar circumstances. Scripture thus functions in the temptation to validate Jesus' victorious behavior. The citations operate in a similar capacity as biblical warrant for Jesus' radical temple behavior.

Luke's source framework exhibits a two-tiered foreground plane. He creates the first tier through three generic citations. The first two occur in support of Jesus' birth (2:22, 23); the last in support of his death (22:37). Within this strategy, an additional shift in markedness occurs with the change of anaphoric to (now) cataphoric citation in two of the three generic citations in Luke's Gospel. Luke 2:22 cataphorically validates Jesus' birth (then 2:23 offers further anaphoric support) and 22:37 cataphorically authenticates his death. We might say then that Luke prefers to mark off the *natural* history of Jesus' life through generic citation. The second foreground tier, by contrast, cataphorically

validates Jesus' *supernatural* career. Of the six explicit citations, four clearly support supernatural events in Jesus' life: (1) the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy regarding the Messiah's prophetic forerunner (3:4-6); (2) Jesus' healing ministry (4:18-19); (3) Jesus' resurrection (20:28, 37); and (4) Jesus' ascension / exaltation (20:42). This only leaves the explicit citation from Moses, supporting Jesus' birth. While not obviously supernatural on the surface, that this—as noted previously—event fulfills prophecy narrated earlier in the Third Gospel (1:35-38). Luke supports the prophecy of John the Baptist through anaphoric generic citation—the only instance of this reference type used with explicit citation—as a supernatural act that John ultimately fulfills. All other cases involve Jesus and the supernatural and receive cataphoric explicit citation.

Citation Form	Text	Reference Type	Narrative Event
<i>Anonymous</i>			
γέγραπται ὅτι	4:4	anaphoric	Jesus' Temptation
γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι	4:10	anaphoric	Jesus' Temptation
ὅτι εἴρηται	4:12	anaphoric	Jesus' Temptation
γέγραπται	7:27	anaphoric	John's Preaching
γέγραπται	19:46	anaphoric	Jesus' Temple Action
τί οὖν ἔστιν τὸ γεγραμμένον τοῦτο·	20:17	anaphoric	Jesus' Temple Action
<i>Generic</i>			
καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου ὅτι	2:23	cataphoric	Jesus' Birth
κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίου	2:24	anaphoric	Jesus' Birth
ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἐμοί	22:37	cataphoric	Jesus' Death
<i>Explicit</i>			
κατὰ τὸν νόμον Μωϋσέως	2:22	cataphoric	Jesus' Birth



ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ λόγων Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου	3:4	cataphoric	Jesus' Prophetic Forerunner
βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαΐου καὶ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βιβλίον εὗρεν τὸν τόπον οὗ ἦν γεγραμμένον	4:17	cataphoric	Jesus' Healing Ministry
Μωϋσῆς ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν,	20:28	cataphoric	Jesus' Resurrection
καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἐμήνυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου, ὡς λέγει	20:37	cataphoric	Jesus' Resurrection
αὐτὸς γὰρ Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν	20:42	cataphoric	Jesus' Exaltation

Fig. 32: *Anonymous, Generic, and Explicit Citation in Luke's Gospel*

#### 2.3.4. Citation, Narrative Validation, and Literary Characterization

So far we have seen that Luke, emerging as he does from the literary context of Greco-Roman historiography, seems to reserve his citations (especially naming the specific source) for key narrative developments and portions of his story that may seem more “excessive” or “unbelievable” to his audience and, therefore, require additional verification. Luke cites his sources directly by mentioning the specific source only at the most crucial developments in the narrative: at the birth of Jesus, in support of his prophetic forerunner, at the inauguration of his public healing and teaching ministry, and in reference to his resurrection, exaltation, and death. Specific names, however, are only employed at places where miraculous validation is needed. The more natural events of birth and death employ a mid-grade generic form, citing a specific source, but not mentioning the author. Luke also employs anonymous citation when he needs to justify Jesus' activities.

There also seems to be a correlation between authoritative citation and Luke's rejection motif during Jesus' public ministry. Three times we have Luke citing Scripture

in an event that causes the people to reject Jesus. The ultimate response to his sermon in Nazareth is rejection and attempted murder. In 7:28, after Luke cites the Scripture in support of John's ministry, he records that "the Pharisees and the lawyers rejected the purpose of God for themselves, not having been baptized by him." Finally, in Luke 19-20, in Jesus' dialogues with the Sadducees, Luke perpetually accentuates his narrative by their rejection—the location of the citations in 19:46//20:17 seems to provide direct support of this connection. In light of Luke's historical interests, this is not surprising. Luke employs additional support through authoritative citation at points in the narrative where Jesus was rejected. Instances of rejection by religious authorities would seemingly require further validation to help vindicate Jesus as the main character of the story.

Finally, scholars increasingly recognize Luke's portrait of Jesus as a charismatic Galilean prophet, a phenomenon narrative critics refer to as literary characterization—a topic of interest in Gospel studies.<sup>19</sup> Luke's historiographic motives for cataphoric authoritative citation may be able to further contribute to our understanding here. Luke's Gospel features an unusual density of cataphoric (prophetic) citations in the mouth of Jesus. Jesus uses Scripture to cataphorically validate his healing ministry, his rejection, his resurrection, his exaltation, and his death. His prophetic use of highly marked Scripture citations in this way sanctions this basic Lukan portrait. Luke makes this connection directly when he has Cleopas describe Jesus as a "prophet, mighty in word, and in deed" (20:19) just prior to Jesus' exposition of Moses and the prophets concerning the messiah's suffering and exaltation.

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<sup>19</sup> George, *Etudes*, 273; Hengel, *Charismatic Leader*; Boring, *Continuing Voice*, 145; Borg, *Jesus*, 15–71; Turner, *Power*, 206–66; Darr, *Herod*, 129–35.

### 2.3.5. Citation, History, and the Composition of the Third Gospel

Much of the so-called L material in the Third Gospel emerges around Luke's use of Scripture, a tendency that many treatments of Lukan tradition overlook.<sup>20</sup> In the highly distinct Lukan nativity account, for example, Luke departs from the Synoptic tradition represented in Mark and Matthew. Mark's Gospel does not include an infancy narrative (nor does John's Gospel) while Matthew's Gospel employs different citations altogether in his description of Jesus' birth and the citations in Luke's Gospel come much later in the narrative than the passages Matthew employs. And we already noted different generic motivations for the placement of this tradition in chapter 3. The more biographically oriented Gospels do not model early Christian history proper. So due to his distinct historical aims, Luke—lacking a direct literary model (if he was aware of Mark and / or Matthew)—creates a new shape for his infancy narrative, choosing the Old Testament material most suited for his narrative-historiographic intentions. Luke's historiographic framework may then have constrained him in his composition of Jesus' nativity since he apparently hoped to restrict citation to the birth of Jesus and his prophetic forerunner.

The variations between the Lukan and Matthean temptation narratives may also potentially be accounted for *via* Luke's historiographical interests. Two differences are noteworthy. First, whereas Matthew uses *γέγραπται* in all three cases, Luke employs an oral formula more akin to his historical predecessors in his record of the last of the three temptations of Jesus (*ὅτι εἶρηται*; cf. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 1. 16, 22, 94 for the use of *εἶπον*). This change in citation formula may merely represent a stylistic alteration but it works powerfully with a second potentially historically motivated feature: Luke inverts the order of the last two temptations in Matthew. This may have simply been the shape of the

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<sup>20</sup> E.g. Paffenroth, *Story*.

tradition Luke had or Luke may have altered Matthew for stylistic imitative purposes, as historians sometimes did when they used literary predecessors (if we remove Q from the equation). However, if the temptations reflect broader trends in Luke's developing narrative so that each citation supports a major present or future narrative location, as I argued in chapter 7, this may also account for the (genre motivated) Lukan inversion.

Luke's account of Jesus' Scripture reading in the Nazarene Synagogue (4:16–30) explains another large chunk of L material, where the strategic citation from Isaiah occurs. This passage and its strategic location sets Luke apart from the narrative biographies found in Mark, Matthew, and John. Instead of littering citations throughout the healing ministry of Jesus, bloating Luke's citation inventory, he chooses a large passage that would cataphorically validate this entire phase of Jesus' career. The biographically oriented Gospels do not provide a model for this kind of strategy due to differing literary contexts and so Luke finds himself, again, pushed in the direction of innovation. What emerges is a narrative built around a lengthy explicit foreground citation not found elsewhere in the Synoptic tradition. With the reference to Isaiah in 4:18–19, authoritative citation quickly drops out of the following narrative. Not until after the healing of the blind beggar in 18:35–43 does Luke return again to drawing direct attention to his scriptural sources. This miracle story serves as a fitting ending to the healing narrative since the man Jesus restores suffers at the hand of both blindness and poverty, encapsulating precisely the prophetic points of Jesus' ministry that are emphasized by the Isaiah reading in the Nazarene synagogue (4:16–30). Although the liberation motif is not explicit, demon possession and sickness were often correlated in the minds of the ancients so that various sicknesses (cf. Luke 9:1–2), such as blindness,

can incorporate both. It is not until the cleansing of the temple episode (Luke 19:45–48) that Scripture is directly cited again in Luke’s Gospel, after Jesus’ last miracle had been performed (see chapter 7 for further analysis).

Luke 22:37 provides a final Lukan citation not represented outside of the Third Gospel and, again, occurs in a distinctly Lukan paragraph (22:35–38). As with Jesus’ birth, Luke apparently builds the beginnings of Jesus’ passion narrative—or at least the portion where he intended to cite Scripture—in service of his historiographic aims. It seems almost as if Luke introduces the unique tradition as a vehicle for this strategic citation.

So we discover three blocks of Lukan tradition constructed around scriptural material introduced by a citation formula—the birth narrative, the prologue to Jesus’ healing ministry, and Jesus’ prediction of his death. These each serve as major components of the Lukan narrative, often transitioning Luke’s Jesus story in some monumental way. We will never recover the pre-literary shape of these traditions or know fully their origin but they play an undoubtedly key role in the composition of Luke’s history.

### *3. Conclusions*

**This contextual analysis outlined in the present chapter**—combined with data gathered from prior chapters—demonstrates several things.

First, this contextual analysis helps situate the Third Gospel, along with where scholars have long placed Luke’s second volume, comfortably among the Greek

historians. Luke's (1) preface length ratio, (2) lack of βίος language in the preface, (3) attestation to event orientation, (4) event-oriented transition from the preface into his narrative body, (5) placement of family tradition, (6) citation density, and (7) citation strategy seem to warrant assigning a close literary proximity between Luke and the Greek historians, as chapters 2-3 sought to demonstrate. These two chapters focused on the genre of Luke's Gospel as a preliminary issue to treating how Luke's literary context might have shaped his use of authoritative citation. Chapters 5–8 have deepened the seventh criterion and sought to expose a remarkable amount of similarity between the authoritative citation strategies of Luke and the Greek historians. In addition to providing insight into Luke's use of formula citations, this puts forward additional evidence—or, at least, a strengthening of the evidence already provided in this dissertation—for configuring Luke as more closely related to Greek history than βίος.

Second, this dissertation clarifies the continuing discussion of the Gospels genre by exposing the need not only for detecting but also for disambiguating literary criteria in genre analysis. The application of the disambiguation criteria developed especially in chapters 2–3 to the non-Lukan Gospels confirmed much of Burrige's analysis of Mark, Matthew, and John—at least, it showed, that these documents *more closely resemble* the βίος than history. This runs contrary to the position of Adela Collins, for example, who argues that Mark constitutes a historical monograph rather than a βίος.<sup>21</sup> Though the boundaries marked by some features remain soft and flexible with respect to at least John and Mark (e.g. citation density in both Gospels; placement of a genealogical statement at the opening of the work, if υἱοῦ θεοῦ is not original in Mark), these documents still show a remarkable amount of similarity to Greco-Roman biographical literature relative to its

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<sup>21</sup> Collins, *Is Mark's Gospel a Life of Jesus?*

distinction from ancient history. Matthew's Gospel, by contrast, exhibits the most divergence from ancient history toward biographical literature, clearly aligning with βίος over against history according to all seven disambiguation criteria introduced in chapters 2–3. These results can be coupled with the best of Burridge's detection criteria so that the contemporary tendency to assign a biographical label to especially Matthew, and to a slightly lesser degree Mark and John, is strengthened. Further investigation could make this assignment even more solid by the development of disambiguation criteria related to βίος and other possible candidates for the Gospels genre (e.g. novel).

Third, **the argument(s) of this dissertation** shifts the discussion of Luke's (and other New Testament literature's) use of Scripture citations away from a strictly or mainly theological / interpretation based framework and encourages more detailed attention to literary genre when investigating authoritative citation strategies. It specifically suggests the significance of further consideration of Greco-Roman (rather than Jewish) literary forms and the impact that these might have upon a document's authoritative citations.

Fourth, it applies a narrative-linguistic methodology derived from studies in systemic functional grammar and discourse analysis to provide illumination on issues of citation form, projection / expansion, and narrative function within both the co-text and context of Lukan discourse as it relates to authoritative citation in Greek historiography. This method yielded several interesting insights. First, we notice that citations seem to work on three different levels in both the historians and the Third Gospel: clause (form), clause complex / paragraph (projection / expansion), and episode / discourse (narrative function). This alleviates current confusion over what it means for citations to "function"

or have a “use” in Luke, where function is a feature of episode-discourse phenomena and, at least in Luke, theology and interpretation appears to factor in at the clause complex and paragraph levels. Issues of narrative markedness, gaged through the semantic determinateness of citation formulas, seem to correspond nicely to the data in Luke, with all of the most marked citation formulas functioning to validate supernatural events. The major narrative movements of Jesus’ life and death use the less marked generic formula. And two sets of activities that seem to warrant justification attract the least marked foreground anonymous citation. While a great deal of attention was not given to mimesis, our linguistic model accounts for the remaining material in Luke’s source framework as the less defined, background material of his source framework.

Fifth, it disables the reigning proof-from-prophecy consensus on Luke’s use of the Old Testament, showing a wide variety of interpretive issues involved within the projection / expansion system of Lukan discourse, and drawing attention to the fact that none of the available proof-from-prophecy models even attempts to account for each formula citation. Intuitively, if Luke did unify his Scripture citations through a single theological metanarrative, we would expect this to at least be explicit in the formula citations—not confined to allusion and echo.

Sixth, it provides new insight into Luke’s narrative structure and compositional strategy as a whole, especially as it relates to the Synoptic tradition, organizing major narrative events around strategically located authoritative citations.

Seventh, the dissertation as a whole has sought to clarify the often confusing and perplexing set of terminology associated with source integration in the ancient world and the New Testament. Instead of the misapplied language of intertextuality, borrowed from



modern literary theory, I have insisted that ancient categories of mimesis and authoritative citation seem to provide superior heuristics for the analysis of source usage. While this dissertation restricted its primary focus to authoritative citation, Lukan mimesis, especially as it relates to the Synoptic problem, represents a promising avenue of future research. The power of adopting a mimesis-authoritative citation framework for Luke's source integration is that it allows us to consider both Luke's use of the Jesus tradition and his use of Scripture under a single unified framework, operative within Greek historiography.

Eighth, it also exposes some differences between Luke and the Greek historians. While Luke's use of authoritative citation seems to reflect the patterns we observed in the Greek historians, his use of Scripture is different in content than at least the texts most frequently cited among the classical historians, who tended to cite Homer, other historians, and oral tradition most frequently. However, the Hellenistic Jewish historians' (particularly Josephus) use the Hebrew Bible for their authoritative citations along with, especially in the case of Josephus, prior Greek historians. Neither Josephus nor Luke compete with their scriptural sources as do the Greek historians. Scripture thus seems to function much like the normative texts of Homer and the Greek historians but takes on a more revered sacred status as the reading community's religious text and thus resists competition. This, nevertheless, constitutes an important difference.

Ninth, apart from its contribution to New Testament studies, this dissertation has also sought to make a secondary contribution to classical and Hellenistic Jewish historiography through a theoretical, linguistic, and literary study of authoritative citation.

These combined observations lead me to conclude that the Third Gospel likely represents a piece of early Christian history, significantly structured by the authoritative citation of the Old Testament at strategic narrative locations.

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