

REVISITING THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF LUKE:

**2 MACCABEES, LUKE AND THE
JEWISH-HELLENISTIC HISTORICAL FICTION MONOGRAPH**

Gary Alan Hine

BA (University of Queensland)
Dip.Ed. (Sec. Ed.) (University of Sydney)
MLitt (Central Queensland University)
BTh (Hons) (Murdoch University)

This thesis is presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of Murdoch University

2015

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own account and contains as its main content work which has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary institution

Signed

Gary Alan Hine
21/12/15

Abstract

The present dissertation contends that the *Gospel of Luke* and *2 Maccabees* stand at the junction of Biblical historical narratives and Greco-Roman historiography. A literary product of this generic intersection was the emergence of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph which may be defined as:

A short historiographic narrative that exists in a separate volume, covers a limited chronological period and restricted geographical area, and has a consistent focus on one theme and person. It professes to be historiography and is often received as such. It centers on real historical subjects and endeavours to recount the reality of the past even if this includes historical errors, chronological manipulations, and supernatural causality.

It proposes that *Luke* qualifies as an ancient historiographic narrative and exhibits generic aspects and methodologies characteristic of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph, particularly as might also be observed in *2 Maccabees*. The thesis does not seek to argue that *Luke* depends on *Second Maccabees*, nor that it derives its generic structure and historiographical nature from the Maccabean narrative. What it suggests is that when viewed from the perspective that literary genres are fluid rather than fixed and often proceed from a prototype towards similar although divergent types, together with the recognition that ancient historiography was in practice flexible with regards to historic veracity, both *Luke* and *Second Maccabees* share generic and historiographic similarities and may be treated as historiography.

The authors of *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* imagined they were writing history. This is evident through their prologues and in their use of ancient historiographic methodology. Both authors sought to position their narratives in a recent historic context with a focus on a specific individual. However, in the shaping of their narratives to conform to a particular ideology they made errors in historic details, manipulated earlier sources, and relied on supernatural causality to explain events. This shaping blurred the boundaries between 'fact' and 'fiction'. It is proposed that such historiographic methodology and shaping conforms to the characteristics of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph and that *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* stand side-by-side in this tradition.

Acknowledgements

The completion of this dissertation owes much to the efforts of three groups of people, who I wish to thank ...

To my principle supervisors, Dr. John Dunnill, Emeritus Professor William Loader, and Dr. Jeremy Hultin, I owe a debt of thanks for their encouragement, patience, understanding, and guidance through the ups and downs of the past years. From the moment I first commenced looking at Lukan historiography (with numerous digressions along the way) to finally focus on the fascinating task of comparing *Luke* and *2 Maccabees*, their attention to detail and critical evaluation of my endeavours enabled this work to move from a general idea to a specific thought. Of course, they are not to be blamed if I ignored or overlooked their advice.

To the extremely capable, tolerant, and efficient librarians at Murdoch University Library, especially those in the Document Delivery service, I owe a debt of thanks for the hundreds of books and articles that they have 'pulled' from the shelves, located from around the world, scanned, and sent to me across Australia. Historian Barbara Tuchman wrote: *'Nothing sickens me more than the closed door of a library.'* She must not have known about Murdoch University librarians who it seems, never close their doors. Without this wonderful collection of people this body of work would not have been possible.

Finally, to my family and specifically my life-partner and wife, Bette-Anne who has sat alone so many times while I tapped at the keyboard of my computer, who has foregone holidays or travelled alone, who has allowed me to purchase a wonderful library, and who has endured (and so graciously feigned interest in) my inane ramblings on ideas and concepts about which she was blissfully unacquainted, I can only say, 'I love you and thank-you very much for understanding.'

Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1 On Writing History	1
1.2 The Jewish-Hellenistic Historical Fiction Monograph	3
1.3 Dissertation Structure	4
1.4 Significance of this Study	8
Chapter 2. The Nature of Ancient Historiography	10
2.1 A Tale of Two Histories	10
2.1.1 On the Philosophy of History	12
2.1.2 Chapter Structure	15
2.2 Towards an Understanding of Ancient Historiography	16
2.2.1 Greco-Roman Perceptions of Historiography	17
2.2.2 Israelite Historiography	46
2.2.2.1 The Evolving Nature of Israelite Historiography	48
2.2.2.2 An Analysis of the Deuteronomist and the Chronicler	55
2.2.2.3 An Analysis of <i>1</i> and <i>2 Maccabees</i>	60
2.2.3 Josephus	64
2.3 Chapter Conclusions	72
Chapter 3. The Question of Genres	75
3.1 Genre Bending	75
3.1.1 Generic Questions	76
3.1.2 Chapter Structure	80
3.2 Ancient Genre Theory	82
3.3 Modern Genre Theory	88
3.4 Genre and Biblical Studies	98
3.4.1 Author-centered theories	99

3.3.2 Text-centered theories	100
3.3.3 Reader-Response Theories	102
3.4.4 Prototype Theory	104
3.5 Chapter Conclusions	106
Chapter 4. The Genres of the Gospel of <i>Luke</i>	109
4.1 Titles and Expectations	109
4.1.1 Chapter Structure	111
4.2 The Unity of <i>Luke</i> and <i>Acts</i>	112
4.3 The Genres of the <i>Gospel of Luke</i>	124
4.3.1 <i>Gospel of Luke</i> as <i>Sui Generis</i>	126
4.4.2 <i>Gospel of Luke</i> as Greco-Roman Biography	128
4.3.3 <i>Gospel of Luke</i> as Historiography	137
4.3.4 <i>Gospel of Luke</i> as a ‘Stand-Alone’ Historical Monograph	155
4.4 Chapter Conclusions	168
Chapter 5. The Genres of <i>Second Maccabees</i>	172
5.1 ‘Never let the truth get in the way of a good story’	172
5.1.1 The Historical Context	173
5.1.2 Chapter Structure	174
5.2 The Narrative Genres of <i>Second Maccabees</i>	175
5.2.1 <i>Second Maccabees</i> as Propaganda Literature	176
5.2.2 <i>Second Maccabees</i> as an ‘Epiphanies of God’ Narrative	190
5.2.2.1 Greek Epiphanic Echoes in <i>Second Maccabees</i>	193
5.2.3 <i>Second Maccabees</i> as Festal Letter	198
5.3 The Historiographic Genres of <i>Second Maccabees</i>	205
5.3.1 <i>Second Maccabees</i> as ‘Tragic History’	205
5.3.2 <i>Second Maccabees</i> as Didactic History	219
5.3.3 <i>Second Maccabees</i> as Liberation History	223

5.3.4	<i>Second Maccabees</i> as Dynastic History	225
5.3.5	<i>Second Maccabees</i> as Jewish-Hellenistic Historical Monograph	230
5.4	Chapter Conclusions	235
	Chapter 6. <i>Luke</i> and the Jewish-Hellenistic Historical Fiction Monograph	238
6.1	Parallel Evolution	238
6.1.1	Lukan and Maccabean Parallels	239
6.1.2	Chapter Structure	241
6.2	Characteristics of the Jewish-Hellenistic Historical Fiction Monograph	243
6.3	The Structural Features of the <i>Gospel of Luke</i> and <i>Second Maccabees</i>	245
6.3.1	The Structural Features of <i>Second Maccabees</i>	245
6.3.2	The Structural Features of the <i>Gospel of Luke</i>	246
6.4	Stylistic Features of the Jewish-Hellenistic Historical Fiction Monograph	248
6.4.1	Historiographic Pretensions and Reception	248
6.4.1.1	Prologues in Ancient Literature	248
6.4.1.2	Disambiguating Criteria – Biography or Historiography	254
6.4.1.3	The Second Maccabean Prologue	261
6.4.1.4	The Lukan Prologue	267
6.4.2	Reception of Narratives as Historiography	277
6.4.2.1	Reception of <i>Second Maccabees</i>	278
6.4.2.2	Reception of <i>The Gospel of Luke</i>	283
6.5	Methodological Features – The Blurring of Fact and Fiction	292
6.5.1	<i>Judith</i> and <i>Tobit</i>	295
6.5.2	Historical Errors in <i>2 Maccabees</i> and <i>Luke</i>	300
6.5.2.1	Second Maccabean Errors	300
6.5.2.2	Lukan Errors	310
6.5.3	Chronological Manipulations in <i>2 Maccabees</i> and <i>Luke</i>	326
6.5.3.1	Chronological Manipulation in Ancient Historiography	327

6.5.3.2 Chronological Manipulations in <i>Second Maccabees</i>	330
6.5.3.3 Chronological Manipulations in the <i>Gospel of Luke</i>	333
6.5.4 Supernatural Causality in <i>2 Maccabees</i> and <i>Luke</i>	348
6.5.4.1 Supernatural Causality in <i>Second Maccabees</i>	350
6.5.4.2 Supernatural Causality in the <i>Gospel of Luke</i>	355
6.6 Chapter Conclusions	367
Chapter 7. Conclusions	370
7.1 <i>The Gospel of Luke</i> and Fiction	370
7.2 Conclusions	371
Index of Sources	376
Bibliography	380

List of Tables

Table 1. Synoptic Parallel – <i>2 Samuel</i> 24:1-10 and <i>1 Chronicles</i> 21:1-7	57
Table 2. Parallel – <i>Genesis</i> 10:1-5 and <i>Jewish Antiquities</i> 1:122-129	70
Table 3. Preface Length Ratios in Historiography and βίος	257
Table 4. Density of Source Citations in Historiography and βίος	260
Table 5. Density of Source Citations in the Gospels	276
Table 6. Major points of Connection between Anointing Accounts	285
Table 7. Significant Supposed Historical Errors in <i>Judith</i>	296
Table 8. Significant Supposed Historical Errors in <i>Tobit</i>	298
Table 9. Significant Supposed Historical Errors in <i>2 Maccabees</i>	301
Table 10. Significant Supposed Historical Errors in <i>Luke</i>	310
Table 11. Comparison of Density of Errors	325
Table 12. Major points of Connection between <i>Luke</i> and <i>Mark</i>	344
Table 13. Miracles in the <i>Gospel of Luke</i>	356
Table 14. Prayers in the <i>Gospel of Luke</i>	359

Chapter 1. Introduction

Knowledge is a good thing, and that knowledge does not become bad when the skeptical knowledge we now have as a culture, shows us the limits of the certainist knowledge we once, as a culture, thought we had.

Keith Jenkins, 1991

1.1 On Writing History

One may imagine that sometime in 58 B.C.E., perhaps overlooking *Lacus Lemannus* and the *Alpes Montes*, the Roman Consul Gaius Julius Caesar sat down in the cool of the evening to transcribe the first notes that would form the basis of his *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*. When he later dictated the first lines of his commentary, *Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres*, the consul either by design or accident, bequeathed to posterity a historical record of the Gallic Wars. In the opinion of Anthony Trollope, ‘the commentaries of Caesar are the beginning of modern history ... he wrote, not of times then long past, but of things which were done under his own eyes, and of his own deeds.’¹ So it is by his own hand that Julius Caesar is remembered. The memory may be biased and it may include exaggeration and fictitious inventions, but despite this, a historiographic narrative recounting the deeds and life of Julius Caesar remains.

Regrettably, Jesus of Nazareth did not author a book, and it remained the task of those who heard and observed him to recount the words he uttered and the deeds he accomplished. In the natural course of transmission, these memories and stories were ‘delivered’ by the original eyewitnesses and ‘received’ by others as an outline of historical events, interpreted and distilled to express the early Jesus movement’s confession of faith.² Inevitably, the oral memories needed to be committed to writing if they were not to be lost. The time period that elapsed between the death of Jesus and the written gospel accounts is often grouped into three stages. The first stage corresponds to an oral period in which stories, sayings and parables circulated amongst members of the early Jesus movement. A second stage involves the gathering of these oral ‘traditions’ into

¹ A. Trollope, *The Commentaries of Caesar*, Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1870, p.1.

² F. F. Bruce, *The Canon of Scripture*, Downer’s Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1988, p.119.

early written collections; and a third stage represents the placement of the early written collections into *Mark* and the subsequent gospels.³ It is this third stage, and specifically the third gospel with its pretensions to being historiography that is the present concern. (In the context of the present discussion, *history* is taken as referring to the past itself, and *historiography* is the recounting of that past.)

These written accounts were the end product of a process of early church interpretation and distillation. They underwent a shaping, controlling, and establishing of traditions at the hands of their authors. The gospel narratives are therefore, ‘*stories*, filled with diachronic dimensions’ so that which comes down to the reader is an intermingling of faith-story and history. In the words of Samuel Byrskog: “The gospel narratives ... are ... the syntheses of history and story, of the oral history of an eyewitness and the interpretative and narrativising procedures of an author.”⁴

In the gospels we have stories, but can these stories be understood as historiography? This question inevitably invites other pertinent questions such as, what is the nature of historiography, and in particular ancient historiography? Is the gospel genre historiography? If so, is there a sub-genre of ancient historiography to which *Luke* may be aligned?⁵ Is the *Gospel of Luke* a biography, or a historical monograph, or a perhaps an example of Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction? Byrskog proposes that the gospels are a synthesis of history and story and the evangelists should be understood as emulating the culture-specific patterns of ancient historians. This proposal raises the main question of the present dissertation – how might an emulation of culture-specific historiographic patterns be applied to the *Gospel of Luke*?

³ D. Duling, (2003) *The New Testament, History, Literature and Social Context (4th ed)* Belmont: Wadsworth/ Thomas Learning. The present work accepts a Four-Source Hypothesis for the Synoptic that included Mark, Q and two other written sources M and L as the documentary sources for the Synoptic Gospels.

⁴ S. Byrskog, *Story as History – History as Story: The Gospel Tradition in the Context of Ancient Oral History*, WUNT 123, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000, pp. 304-5.

⁵ In the present dissertation *Luke* (italics) indicates the Gospel. Luke (without italics) indicates the author, although the identity of this person is not presumed.

The dissertation will propose that *Luke* qualifies as a work of historiography, but the criteria that might be applied to the gospel are not the rules that are applied to a modern piece of writing. It must be judged as a work of history in the time period in which it appeared – the first-century Jewish-Hellenistic world. *Luke* stands at an intersection between ancient historiographic and generic traditions – the junction of Biblical historical narratives and Greco-Roman historiography and may be seen to embody the characteristics of an emerging Jewish-Hellenistic historiographic tradition.

One genre of this emerging tradition was that of the historical fiction monograph, examples of which might be found in the books of *Daniel*, (including *Susanna* and *Bel and the Dragon*), *Tobit*, *Greek Esther*, *Judith*, *Joseph and Aseneth*, *The Tobiad Romance*, *The Royal Family of Adiabene*, *2 and 3 Maccabees*. This body of literature is generically muddled and at times defies categorisation. The authors of the corpus also freely flitted between ‘fact’ and ‘fiction’ while maintaining historiographic pretensions.

The dissertation will seek to compare similarities between the *Gospel of Luke* and the historical monograph – *Second Maccabees*. It does not seek to argue that *Luke* depends on *Second Maccabees*, nor even that it derives its generic structure or historiographical nature from the Maccabean narrative. What it does suggest though, is that when viewed from a perspective that literary genres are fluid rather than fixed, together with a perspective that ancient historiography was in practice flexible with regards to historical veracity, both *Luke* and *Second Maccabees* share generic and historiographic similarities that may be seen as representative of the Jewish-Hellenistic period and in particular the historical fiction monograph.

1.2 The Jewish-Hellenistic Historical Fiction Monograph

Ultimately, the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph was not a category employed by the ancients but derives from modern terminology. It is a term that is used to distinguish a particular form of historiography that emerged in the Hellenistic period.

The present dissertation proposes that the genre of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph is a blend of two ancient literary types. The first type is that of the ancient historical monograph, examples of which may be found in the Greco-Roman works of Sallust (*The War with Catiline* and *The Jugurthine War*). The second type is the Israelite and Jewish historical fictional novel. A crossover is recognised between the ancient novel and the historical monograph and this leads to the present proposal that the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph may be construed as a literary category.⁶ The Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph is defined as:

A short historiographic narrative that exists in a separate volume, covers a limited chronological period and restricted geographical area, and has a consistent focus on one theme and person. It professes to be historiography and is often received as such. It centers on real historical subjects and endeavours to recount the reality of the past even if this includes historical errors, chronological manipulations, and supernatural causality.

The authors of *Luke* and *Second Maccabees* anticipated that they were writing history. This is evident in their prologues where they declare to be giving a historical account focusing on a short period of time and on a particular course of events or person. Their respective audiences subsequently received the narratives as historiography, despite the presence of historical errors, the reshaping of historical sources, and the overt inclusion of supernatural causality. It will be proposed that such historiographic features conformed to the ancient standards of Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monographs and that *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* stand side-by-side in this tradition.

1.3 Dissertation Structure

The dissertation will be assembled as follows. Owing to the interdisciplinary character of the study, there is no particular chapter devoted to a literature review. Past and current scholarly opinion will be incorporated into the respective chapters as necessary. Chapter 2 (*The Nature of Ancient Historiography*) will commence with a survey of ancient perceptions of the nature of historiography. It will propose a variety of opinion

⁶ A. Bale, *Genre and Narrative Coherence in the Acts of the Apostles*, London: Bloomsbury, 2015, p. 59.

existed as to what may or may not constitute legitimate historiography in the time period when *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* were composed. It will suggest that a relativist outlook of historiography where fact and fiction are blurred, best explains the historiographic methods that were followed in that time period. It will be argued that whilst ancient Greco-Roman historians often set down guidelines for what they considered to be ‘good’ historiography, adherence to these guidelines was often lax and varied from historian to historian. In practice, ancient Greco-Roman historiography often blurred the boundaries between fact and fiction.

Consideration will then be given to the manner in which Israelite and Jewish-Hellenistic historians approached historiography by considering the methodology of ‘later’ historians in reshaping ‘previous’ accounts. Two case studies illustrating the relative nature of historiography, one from the Israelite-Jewish tradition (*Samuel-Kings* and *Chronicles*) and one from the Jewish-Hellenistic tradition (*1 Maccabees* and *2 Maccabees*) will be advanced to illustrate Israelite and Jewish-Hellenistic historians also felt at liberty to manipulate previous or contemporaneous historical accounts. Finally, particular attention will be given to Josephus’ more critical approach to Jewish historiography in the first-century C.E. and underscore the manner in which he manipulated his sources. It is proposed that when viewed from the perspective of historical relativism, the narratives of *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* may be better comprehended and accepted as legitimate ancient historiography.

Chapter 3 (*The Question of Genres*) will discuss the role of literary genre in determining narrative purpose and is central to understanding historiographic pretensions. The chapter serves both as a survey of the state of present research into genre theory as well as setting the stage for an informed discussion on the appraisal of the literary nature of *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*. The thesis will advance the proposal that literary genres may be better understood from within the model of prototypes encompassing blurred

boundaries, as opposed to an understanding of literary genres as distinct categories. In order to appreciate the contention that literary genres are fluid rather than fixed, the chapter will discuss understanding of genre in the ancient Greco-Roman and modern eras. The discussion will seek to illustrate the ambiguity surrounding the understanding of literary types by citing examples of the equivocal perception of genre. The ancient opinions of the Greeks and Romans will be examined and will serve to demonstrate the nebulous understanding of historiographical genre that existed in antiquity and at the time when Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monographs emerged.

The discussion will move forward to the modern era and consider the positions of the Romantics and Chicagoans, the Russian Formalists, Structuralism and Post-Structuralism, and Prototype theorists. It will be proposed that genres have indeterminate boundaries and can be extended to include marginal or atypical types. The final focus of this chapter will consider the intersection of genre and biblical studies and will survey the literature and research of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries concerned with the Bible and genre. It will suggest that form criticism, new criticism, and structuralist approaches proceed from a premise that genres are fixed. Reader-response and prototype approaches allow for the possibility that genres are fluid and texts may be understood as aligning to the 'club' of historiography despite a diversity of methodology. In the context of *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*, indeterminate genre boundaries allow for the possibility that the narratives may be construed to bend 'traditional' genre distinctions, and might be considered to belong to a variety of historiographical types.

Chapter 4 (*The Genres of the Gospel of Luke*) will survey current research into the genres of *Luke* and seek to determine to which genres the Lukan narrative may be aligned. At the outset, the question of *Luke-Acts* unity will be considered and it will be proposed that with respect to genre, *Luke* and *Acts* represent multiple types and *Luke* can be understood as a separate generic work to *Acts*. In the context of the present dis-

sertation this establishes that the genre and historiography of *Luke* may be determined as a ‘stand-alone’ work without the constraints of the second volume. The discussion will survey the various scholarly positions that have been suggested for the genre of *Luke* including the literary types of *sui generis*, Greco-Roman biography, and historiography. The chapter will evaluate *Luke* as ‘stand-alone’ historiography and it will be suggested that the Gospel might feasibly be construed to align to the genre of the ancient historical monograph and in particular with the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph.

Chapter 5 (*Genres of 2 Maccabees*) will propose that *2 Maccabees* may be interpreted as Jewish-Hellenistic historiography and in particular may align to an emerging corpus of historical fiction monographs. A survey will be undertaken of scholarly opinion as to the genre of *2 Maccabees*. The study will consider the commonly suggested genres and literary *topoi* of the narrative. The analysis will discuss the proposals that *2 Maccabees* belongs to a propaganda literary type, an epiphanic tale, or a festal letter. The historiographic genres of ‘tragic’ history, didactic history, and dynastic history will also be examined. The discussion will proceed to investigate the emerging genre of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph and consider the aspects of *2 Maccabees* that may align to this category. It will be preliminarily established that *2 Maccabees* embraces generic features of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph.

Chapter 6 (*Luke’s Gospel and the Jewish-Hellenistic Historical Fiction Monograph*) will propose that *Luke*, as a stand-alone volume, qualifies as an ancient historiographic narrative and it exhibits generic aspects and historiographic methodologies characteristic of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph that are also found in *2 Maccabees*. The chapter will commence with a discussion concerning the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph and attempt to define this literary type. The subsequent discussion will proceed to analyse the narratives of *Luke* and *2 Maccabees*

under the headings of structure and style. An analysis of structural features will compare *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* with the formal aspects of the historical monograph. The methodological analysis will consider Lukan and Maccabean pretensions to historiography and the reception of both narratives as historiography by their immediate audiences will also be addressed. A short discussion of disambiguation criteria distinguishing Greco-Roman history and biography will be undertaken. The analysis of methodological features will present a historical continuum model and engage in a short *tertium quid* comparing *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* to the Jewish novels *Tobit* and *Judith*. This wider frame of reference will establish the significance and extent of Lukan and Maccabean parallels. There will be an evaluation of the historical errors in *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* and an analysis of chronological manipulations in both narratives. A final analysis will address Maccabean and Lukan use of supernatural causality. It will be shown that *Luke* exhibits generic aspects and historiographic methodologies characteristic of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph that are also found in *2 Maccabees*. As such, Lukan historiography may be construed to follow in the evolving tradition of Israelite-Jewish historiography and reflects a Hellenistic blend of fiction and non-fiction that was acceptable to the author and received as historiography by its audience.

1.4 Significance of this Study

Prior to proceeding to the details of the argument it is helpful to highlight the contributions the present work seeks to provide for New Testament scholarship and the wider implications in comprehending and interpreting the *Gospel of Luke* as a faithful record of the past. First, is the perspective regarding the relativistic and subjective nature of historiography. This viewpoint highlights the dissonant character of blurring ‘fact’ and ‘fiction’ in ancient historiography, and in fact the relativistic nature of all records of the past. The notion of an objective historical record fails to recognise the discordant historiography of *Luke* and the present study suggests a more nuanced view of how history is

recounted and should be understood. This perspective is critical in comprehending the possibility that *Luke* may align to the genre of the Jewish-Hellenistic Historical Fiction Monograph.

The second contribution is the flexible understanding of literary genres. The study advances the hypothesis that genres should be understood as fluid and not restricted to formal characteristics. This perspective allows for the inevitable possibility of genre bending and the blurring of boundaries between traditionally circumscribed categories. The application of prototype genre theory, where genres proceed from a prototype towards diverse types, is indispensable in comprehending the similarities between the genres of *Luke* and *2 Maccabees*. This malleable understanding suggests that *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* may belong to several literary genres at the same time.

A third contribution of the present work is the proposal of the Jewish-Hellenistic Historical Fiction Monograph as a plausible generic type to which *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* may be aligned. This generic type represents a blending of Jewish and Hellenistic literary genres that allows for narratives to be classified as historiography despite the presence of historical errors, manipulation of sources, and supernatural causality. It is anticipated that the acknowledgement of the presence of historical fiction in the *Gospel of Luke* will enable modern readers to interact with the text from a position of cognitive integrity and add to the ongoing debate as to the nature of Lukan historiography.

Finally, a word on the philosophical approach adopted in the present dissertation. The approach is one of positive reflexive skepticism where certainty is neither assumed nor argued, but where plausible proposals are advanced that might add to the ever-increasing accumulation of opinion as to the nature of Lukan historiography.⁷ From this perspective, it is not presumed that *Luke* must only be aligned to the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph but that the Gospel bears similarities to this literary type.

⁷ K. Jenkins, *Re-thinking History*, London: Routledge, 1991, p. 57.

Chapter 2. The Nature of Ancient Historiography

*Historiography can be reliable or unreliable,
accurate in some ways, inaccurate in others, written according to
various different conventions of literary representation of what happened.*

Richard Bauckham, 2007

2.1 A Tale of Two Histories

“History is fiction,” Robespierre observes at one point during Hilary Mantel's novel of the French Revolution, *A Place of Greater Safety*:

A passerby hesitated, stared. “Excuse me – ” he said. “Good citizen – are you Robespierre? Robespierre didn’t look at the man. “Do you understand what I say about heroes? There is no place for them. Resistance to tyrants means oblivion. I will embrace that oblivion. My name will vanish from the page.”

“Good citizen, forgive me,” the patriot said doggedly.

Eyes rested on him briefly. “Yes, I’m Robespierre,” he said. He put his hand on Citizen Desmoulin’s arm, “Camille, history is fiction.”¹

Peter McPhee’s review of Mantel’s work accentuates a prominent intellectual maxim where the distinction between works of fiction and non-fiction has become blurred: “In this age of postmodernist literary criticism, we are more than ever aware of the ways in which historical writing resembles the novel as one individual’s reconstruction of an imagined past. Historians may seek to be as ‘objective’ as possible, but they are no longer under positivist illusions about the scientific pretensions of their discipline.”²

Similar assessments abounded when historian Simon Schama’s novel, *Dead Certainties* was published. A central theme of the novel is a consideration of the nature of historical writing and historical understanding. Schama positions his readers to reconsider the boundaries between history and fiction and suggests that; “even in the most austere scholarly report from the archives, the inventive faculty – selecting, pruning, editing, commenting, interpreting, delivering judgements – is in full play.”³ Mantel and Schama

¹ H. Mantel, *A Place of Greater Safety*, New York: Picador, 2006, p. 566.

² P. McPhee, ‘Lunatic Liberty’, *SMH*, 17/10/1992.

³ S. Schama, *Dead Certainties (Unwarranted Speculations)* New York: Vintage Books, 1992, p. 322, ‘Though these stories may at times appear to observe the discursive conventions of history, they are in fact historical novellas, since some passages ... are pure inventions, based, however, on what documents suggest. This is not to say ... that I scorn the boundary between fact and fiction. It is merely to imply that even in the most austere scholarly report from the archives, the inventive faculty – selecting, pruning, editing, commenting, interpreting, delivering judgements – is in full play. This is not a naïvely relativist position that insists that the lived past is nothing more than an artificially

allude to a fundamental question in determining the nature of history and historiography – the use of the imagination. It implies a shaping of the past at the hands of the author and the inevitable blurring of fact and fiction.

However, not all historians concur imagination is acceptable in historiography. Gordon Wood, considered *Dead Certainties* a ‘self-proclaimed experiment in narration’ and by virtue of avoiding neat chronological sequences, it has ‘deliberately dislocated the conventions by which histories establish coherence and persuasiveness.’⁴ Keith Windschuttle, considers McPhee’s review derives from the permeance of poststructuralist theories into the field of humanities and social sciences:

In the 1900s, the newly dominant theorists within the humanities and social sciences assert that it is impossible to tell the truth about the past or to use history to produce knowledge in any objective sense at all. They claim we can only see the past through the perspective of our own culture, and hence, what we see in history are our own interests and concerns reflected back at us. The central point upon which history was founded no longer holds: there is no fundamental distinction any more between history and myth.⁵

Windschuttle asserts that ‘old-fashioned’ notions of the historian’s task to describe what really happened in the past have been exploded by theoretical developments that have occurred mainly outside the discipline of history. Linda Colley sums up the dichotomy:

What is the relationship between history and reality? And what is the relationship between the writing of history and the writing of fiction? There are, I suppose, still some historians left, and still some readers of history, who believe that the answers to these questions are unambiguously clear; that past realities can be uncovered and reconstructed in their entirety; that writers of history have nothing to do with the imagination since their concern is only with the recorded facts; that the whole truth and nothing but the truth can be found in the basement of an archive office if not in the bottom of a well.⁶

The reality is that historiography is not simply a record of the past. A work of history is as much about a historian’s own perspective and ideological position.

designed text. ... But it does accept the rather banal axiom that claims for historical knowledge must always be fatally circumscribed by the character and prejudices of its narrator.’

⁴ G.S. Wood, ‘Novel History’, *The New York Review*, June 27, 1991, p. 12.

⁵ K. Windschuttle, *The Killing of History*, Paddington: MacLeay Press, 1994, p. 2.

⁶ L. Colley, ‘Fabricating the Past’, *Times Literary Supplement*, June 14, 1991, p. 5. Further positive reviews, R.W.B. Lewis, ‘Call the Next Witness’, *The New York Times Book Review*, May 15, 1991, p. 3; Theodore Zeldin, ‘Playmates’, *London Review of Books*, June 13, 1991, pp. 15-6; and Andrew Delbanco, ‘The Fog of History’, *The New Republic*, June 3, 1991, pp. 39-41.

2.1.1 On the Philosophy of History

Many postmodern theorists suggest historians create histories from the perspectives of their own time and place with histories being produced from differing historiographical traditions. Recording history is a dynamic process involving investigation, selection, and interpretation. Beverley Southgate construes the past is recreated fresh for each person who interacts with it and this viewpoint challenges the notion of some ideal ‘reality of the past’ to which historians working ‘properly’ can attain.⁷ Albert Prior Fell points to the problem of historical objectivity in the memorable first lines of his article,

That Noble Dream: Predilection, Bias, and the Problem of Historical Objectivity:

The American historian Charles Beard, used the expression ‘that noble dream’ to refer to the disposition among some historians to seek ‘the objective truth’ about the past, to seek, that is an account of history which would retell perfectly events as they actually occurred and which would be devoid of any clinging residue of the historian’s own predilections and biases. Beard thought such a goal chimerical and went on to make a convincing case for the relativity of historical knowledge.⁸

Keith Jenkins draws a distinction between history and the past when he asserts: “history is a discourse about, but radically different to the past.”⁹ For Jenkins the past has gone and history is what historians make of it. Historians invent the descriptive categories and meanings of the past.¹⁰ In one sense, Jenkins’ outlook comes close to denying the value of the discipline of history altogether as he gives primacy to the present, but he nevertheless iterates the ‘inventive faculty’ to which Schama alludes. Hayden White, often considered to be the most responsible for overturning the ‘old historical certainties’ iterates this role of ‘invention’:

It is sometimes said that the aim of the historian is to explain the past by ‘finding’, ‘identifying’, or ‘uncovering’ the ‘stories’ that lie buried in chronicles; and that the difference between ‘history’ and ‘fiction’ resides in the fact that the historian ‘finds’ his stories, whereas the fiction writer ‘invents’ his. This conception of the historian’s task however, obscures the extent to which ‘invention’ also plays a part in the historian’s operations.¹¹

⁷ B. Southgate, *History What and Why?*, 2nd ed., New York: Routledge, 2001, p. 29.

⁸ A.P. Fell, ‘That Noble Dream: Predilection, Bias, and the Problem of Historical Objectivity’ in A.P. Fell, (ed) *Histories and Histories*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1968, p. 1.

⁹ Jenkins, *Rethinking History*, p. 7.

¹⁰ K. Jenkins, *On ‘What is History?’* London: Routledge, 1995, pp. 57-8.

¹¹ H. White, *Metahistory, The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973, pp. 6-7.

A fundamental key to understanding the historicity of the biblical narratives lies in an appreciation of this interpretation of historiography. Joel Green notes: “biblical studies in the historical mode has generally continued on the basis of an ‘old historicism’ not identical with but with close ties to the historical positivism of the nineteenth century.”¹² He notes the need to embrace recent work in the philosophy of history to “allow us a sharper image of how Luke himself has pursued his task of shaping the identity of a people through shaping their history.”¹³

Compounding the formation of a perspective on the nature of historiography, is the literary form or genre that historiography assumes when a record of the past is eventually composed. Is the resulting historiographic form to be received as non-fiction or fiction? Samuel Byrskog identifies this conundrum when he writes:

Story is story and history is history, one is accustomed to think today. The two should not be mingled, lest one fuses the narrative and fictional world with the extratextual and real world ... to read narrative texts both as ‘mirrors’ reflecting self-contained world and as ‘windows’ opening up to extrafictional and diachronic levels of history is often considered a violation of proper hermeneutical conduct.¹⁴

The question of genres highlights a fundamental contrast between history and the imaginative arts. But this is no longer a definitive distinction, *i.e.* poetry being artistic and historiography being scientific.¹⁵ The relationship between history and genre is central to historiography. Richard Bauckham alludes to this association:

The question ... is different. It is whether this Gospel is historiography. This is a generic question. Historiography can be reliable or unreliable, accurate in some ways, inaccurate in others, written according to various different conventions of literary representation of what happened.¹⁶

¹² J. Green, ‘The Book of Acts as History/Writing,’ *LTQ*, 37, 3, 2002, p. 119.

¹³ Green, ‘The Book of Acts as History’, pp. 120 and 125.

¹⁴ Byrskog, *History as Story*, p. 1.

¹⁵ M.L. Davies, ‘Orpheus or Clio? Reflections on the use of History’, *Journal of European Studies*, 17, 1987, p. 202. Davies argues for the primacy of poetry in face of the ‘closed’ nature of history when he critiques the role of the muse of history Clio, with that of the poet Orpheus: ‘History tries to construct meaning from the flawed autonomy of man; but poetry ... offers the sole prospect of liberation from the labyrinth of inconclusiveness that history is. ... Where Clio offers inconclusive knowledge of the past for the self-interest of the living, Orpheus in the end proposes for the living solidarity with the dead for what they once were.’

¹⁶ Bauckham, R, ‘Historiographical Characteristics of the Gospel of John’, *New Testament Studies*, 53, 1, 2007, p. 17. It should be noted that the gospel Bauckham is referring to in this instance, is the Gospel of John. The same sentiment could be expressed in relation to the Gospel of Luke.

At its core, the debate about fact and fiction in historiography concerns the notion of historical objectivity and historical relativism. Although the assertions by McPhee, Windschuttle, and Wood appear to identify this as a postmodern concern, the issue of historical objectivity and fiction has arguably existed ever since humans first began to chronicle their existence.

The focus of the present chapter is to underline that while the debate between historical objectivity (fact) and historical relativity (invention) has gained significant momentum in postmodern ideology, is not merely a recent phenomenon. The blurring of fact and fiction has persisted since the inception of historiography. Ever since history has been written down, persons have debated, questioned and judged the historical philosophies of how they and others have perceived the past, either explicitly or implicitly. The chapter will propose that while historical reality exists in the sense that something happened in the past as opposed to something not happening, the discovery of this ‘truth’ is restricted by the relativist nature of historiography. An appreciation of the nature of historiography is crucial to understanding the questions of historicity in these narratives.

At times, the debate has been explicit where one author highlights the inadequacy of another historian’s narrative. Such unequivocal disparagement can be seen in the criticisms the ancient Greek historians applied to each other. Polybius’ infamous attacks on Timeaus who, according to Polybius, ‘has no information on this subject and seems of set purpose to tell the exact opposite of the actual facts’,¹⁷ highlights an overt discussion of the nature of historiography. At other times the debate has been implicit, as observed in the reshaping of the history of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah by the author of the *Chronicles* (Chr). Much of what is written in *Chronicles* appears in the works of *Samu-*

¹⁷ Polybius, *Fragments of Book XII* 2:6. Polybius, LCL 159, (W. Paton, trans., F.W. Walbank, C. Habicht, rev.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010, p. 345.

el and *Kings*.¹⁸ The Septuagint title for *Chronicles* is Παραλειπομένων or ‘the things omitted,’¹⁹ which suggests that an earlier historical record was ‘inadequate’. The implication being that the Chr’s narrative reshapes previous works which are construed to have included errors and omissions.

2.1.2 Chapter Structure

The present chapter will commence with a survey of how the ancients perceived the nature of historiography. It will seek to establish there was a variety of opinion as to what may or may not constitute legitimate historiography at the time when *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* were composed. Following a brief discussion of the development of historiography in the ancient world, attention will be given to what some ancient Greco-Roman historians (Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Cicero and Lucian) regarded as acceptable historiographic methodology. It will be argued that while ancient Greco-Roman historians often set down guidelines for what they considered to be ‘good’ historiography, adherence to these guidelines was often lax and varied from historian to historian. In practice, ancient Greco-Roman historiography often blurred the boundaries between fact and fiction.

Consideration will then be given to the manner in which Israelite and Jewish-Hellenistic historians approached historiography by considering the methodology of ‘later’ historians in reshaping ‘previous’ accounts. Two case studies of the relative nature of historiography will be analysed to illustrate that historians felt free to shape previous or contemporaneous historical accounts; one from the Israelite-Jewish tradition (*Samuel-Kings* and *Chronicles*), and one from the Jewish-Hellenistic tradition (*1 Mac-*

¹⁸ Much of the content of *1 and 2 Chronicles* can be found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible and it is usually supposed that the Chronicler made use of other biblical material as his sources. Recent studies such as that by A.G. Auld, *Kings without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible’s Kings*, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994 argue though for a contemporaneous date for *Chronicles* and *Samuel-Kings* (and parts of *Genesis*). Auld’s view is that *Samuel-Kings* and *Chronicles* should be seen as parallel works rather than one being dependent on the other. For a critical response, see S.L. McKenzie, ‘The Chronicler as Redactor’, in M.P. Graham and S.L. McKenzie, (eds.), *Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, JSOTSup, 263, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999, pp. 158-80.

¹⁹ G.N. Knoppers and P.B. Harvey, ‘Omitted and Remaining Matters: On the Names Given to the Books of *Chronicles* in Antiquity,’ *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 121, 2002, pp. 227-43.

cabees and *2 Maccabees*).

Finally, attention will be given to Josephus' more critical approach to Jewish historiography in the first century C.E. and underscore the manner in which he manipulated his sources. It is proposed that when viewed from the perspective of historical relativism, the narratives of *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* may be better understood and accepted as legitimate ancient historiography.

2.2 Towards an Understanding of Ancient Historiography

One of the more fortunate aspects of ancient historiography is not just the many examples of history-writing that have survived, but also the number of extant texts which articulate an ancient understanding of historiography particularly in the Greco-Roman tradition. Some of these texts are explicit general treatises such as Lucian's *How History Ought to be Written*, and Cicero's *On the Orator*. However, much of the material on historiography needs to be extracted from asides and commentary in the ancient texts.

While the Israelite-Jewish historiographical corpus is vast, there are unfortunately few overt reflections on historiographical method. The historians of the Hebrew Bible collected their information from a variety of sources but they seldom mention these and do not reveal how they tested their reliability, neither do they openly criticise each other. In the cases of disagreement, contradictory accounts are given in a composite narrative without alerting the reader to the sources. The books of *Samuel* include numerous doublets and the Chr often rewrites the Deuteronomist (Dtr) but such changes are often made without reference as to why they happened. As Shaye Cohen observes, "the biblical historians conceive of history not as interpretation but as testimony, and the historian not as an artist creating a picture but as a witness describing events."²⁰ John van Seters identifies specific features of history writing in ancient Israel but these do not

²⁰ S.J.D. Cohen, 'History and Historiography in the Against Apion of Josephus', in *The Significance of Yavneh and Other Essays in Jewish Hellenism*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010, p. 125.

derive from explicit reflections made by ancient authors.²¹

Evidence of reflection on historical method is more prevalent in the Jewish-Hellenistic historians. Josephus' *Against Apion*, sets out a historiographical methodology. There is also an indication of authorial reflection in *2 Maccabees* particularly as to the style of his historiography *vis-à-vis* his abridgement of the work of Jason of Cyrene. More often than not though, historiographical critiques are implicit. Comparative studies of the Chr's treatment of a Samuel-Kings *vorlage* might well suggest attitudes to compositional techniques and historiographical assumptions of the respective authors. Such implicit reactions will be considered subsequently.

2.2.1 Greco-Roman Perceptions of Historiography

Scholarly opinion as to how the ancient Greco-Roman historians approached historiography is divided. On the one hand there are those who consider that the concern of ancient historians was to edify rather than a concern with factual veracity. According to David Aune, the ancients were trained in rhetoric not historiography.²² Henry Cadbury advanced a similar argument when he asserted: "modern criticism of sources and tests of historical probability, and insistence on first-hand evidence was not customary in antiquity."²³ To some degree, this opinion is based on observing the practices of ancient historians. To cite one example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus used rhetorical exaggerations in battle accounts (*Roman Antiquities*, VIII 89:1-2: 'the number of spears in a shield weighed them down'); and used 'theatre' in describing inspiring and emotional scenes like Brutus punishing his sons (V 8:5).²⁴

²¹ J. Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History*, Winona Lakes: Eisenbrauns, 1997, pp. 4-5.

²² D. E. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1987, p. 77, 'History was not in the curriculum of Greek and Roman schools ... [Rhetoricians] were more concerned with plausibility than truth, and plausibility (a combination of logic and common sense) was the ancient historian's only method for determining historical reliability.'

²³ H. J. Cadbury, 'Greek and Jewish Traditions of Writing History', in F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, (eds.), *The Acts of the Apostles*, Vol 2, London: Macmillan, 1922, p. 11.

²⁴ *Rom. Ant.*, V 8.5, 'For he neither permitted his sons to be led away to any other place and put to death out of sight of the public, nor did he himself, in order to avoid the dreadful spectacle ... but he caused every detail of the punish-

However, to assume that such embellishment was an accepted practice amongst ancient historians is to ignore the numerous occasions when ancient historians rebuked each other for succumbing to the manipulation of their material for the purpose of entertainment. Many of the ancient historians had a standard of what was good historiography despite not always following the guidelines. Colin Hemer rightly notes that ancient historians did employ rules and standards of historiography that sought historical reliability in factual reporting, and these were just as exacting as modern criteria:

It is easy to develop the assumption that because the ancients cannot be measured to advantage by an imposed modern yardstick they had no standards of their own. In contrast to the common dogma that they had no notion of the 'modern' interest in factual truth 'for its own sake,' it is clear that some of their keenest minds were exercised by the problems of source and critical method.²⁵

The extent to which ancient historians applied presumed standards of good historiography is however, wide-ranging. Even those who strongly advocated for accurate reporting did not always apply this standard to their own work. Ancient historians appear to have moved easily between attempts at accurate recording and invention. A number of issues appear to have concerned ancient historians in their judgment of what was acceptable historiography – proximity, literary artistry, objectivity, didactic value, invocation of deities, authorial intent, and faithfulness to the past. The immediate discussion will seek to provide an overview of the standards of 'good' historiography applied by various Greco-Roman historians.

ment established by the laws and customs against malefactors to be observed, and only after they had been scourged in the Forum in the sight of all the citizens, he himself being present when all this was done, did he then allow their heads to be cut off with the axes.' Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, Vols. 3, LCL 357, (E. Cary, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940, pp. 25-7.

²⁵ C. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, WUNT, 49, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1989, p. 66, cf. Seneca, *Natural Questions*, VII 16:1-2, 'Some historians get praise for their works by relating incredible stories, and by means of the marvellous they arouse a reader who would likely go and do something else if he were led through ordinary incidents. Some historians are credulous; others are negligent. On some, falsehood creeps unawares; some it pleases. The former do not avoid falsehood, the latter actively seek it. ... They do not think their works can be approved and become popular unless they sprinkle them with lies.' Seneca, LCL 457, (T. Corcoran, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971-2, p. 261.

1 – Herodotus

Accounts of wars tended to dominate ancient Greek historiography.²⁶ One such ‘war’ historian was Herodotus whose *Histories* recount the Greco-Persian wars of the fifth-century B.C.E. *Histories* engages with a number literary genres because while it centres on the war, it often strays into lengthy digressions on other matters.²⁷ As such, Herodotus’ *Histories* sometimes more closely resembles an anthology of separate essays looking at anthropology, history, geography, ethnology and even meteorology. Herodotus’ historiographic methodology is equally diverse. At times he relies on eye-witness accounts, especially highlighting his own autopsy: “Thus far all I have said is the outcome of my own sight and judgment and inquiry. Henceforth I will record Egyptian chronicles, according to that which I have heard, adding thereto somewhat of what I myself have seen.” (*Hist.* 2:99).²⁸ Notably, Herodotus had no personal experience of the wars which he describes but apparently this did not disqualify him as a historian. At other times Herodotus relates fantastic and implausible stories. For example, the rescue of Arion by a dolphin in *Hist.* 1:23-24.²⁹

Herodotus’ accounts were sometimes revised. Thucydides’ account of the Athenian resistance of the Cyclonians (*Hist.* 1:126) gives an expanded and ‘corrected’ version of Herodotus’ account in *Hist.* 1:71. In *On the Laws* I 5, Cicero describes Herodotus as “the father of history” but then brackets him with Theopompus as another notorious liar in the same sentence: “However, in the works of Herodotus, the Father of History, and in those of Theopompus, one finds innumerable fabulous tales.”³⁰ Plutarch gives a se-

²⁶ ‘The old saying must be true, ‘and war be the father of all things’, seeing what a litter of historians it has now teemed forth at a birth.’ (*Hist. Cons.* 2) Lucian, LCL 430, (K. Kilburn, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959, p. 5.

²⁷ For example the excursus into the geography, history and cultural practices of the Egyptians in *Hist.*, 2:5-99.

²⁸ Herodotus, LCL 269, (A.D. Goodley, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920-1925, p. 385.

²⁹ ‘Periander, who disclosed the oracle’s answer to Thrasybulus, was the son of Cypselus, and sovereign lord of Corinth. As the Corinthians and Lesbians agree in relating, there happened to him a thing which was the most marvellous in his life, namely, the landing of Arion of Methymna on Taenarus, borne thither by a dolphin ... So the crew sailed away to Corinth; but a dolphin (so the story goes) took Arion on his back and bore him to Taenarus.’ Herodotus, LCL 117, (A.D. Goodley, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920, pp. 25-7.

³⁰ Cicero, LCL 213, (C.W. Keyes, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928, p. 301.

vere critique of Herodotus' account of the Boeotians and the Corinthians in his work *Malice of Herodotus* declaring Herodotus' reports as 'fictions and fabrications'.³¹ These examples highlight the tension that existed amongst ancient historians as to the reliability of the historical narrative and its form.

While some scholars have sought to excuse Herodotus for his inaccuracies,³² the fact remains that Herodotus was flexible with historical veracity. He included stories that he perceived were inaccurate and explained such inclusions by suggesting he was giving a hearing to every opinion.³³ It appears that Herodotus was comfortable with this 'doubleness' of historiography where history and storytelling collide.³⁴ To coin the phraseology of White, history cannot escape literature and all that is entailed in the creative imagination that storytelling implies.³⁵

Herodotus seems to have openly pursued this double desire – to find truth where it could be ascertained (accuracy); and to record stories when the actual events were indeterminable (marvelous). At the outset, these dual characteristics of Herodotean historiography seem almost inconsistent with each other yet it need not necessarily be so. Herodotus gives the impression that he was aware this was what he was doing. He encapsulates this in his introductory sentence to *Hist.* 1:1:

What Herodotus the Halicarnassian has learnt by inquiry is here set forth: in order that so the memory of the past may not be blotted out from among men by time, and that great and

³¹ *Malice*, 21, Plutarch, LCL 426, (L. Pearson, and F.H. Sandbach, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926, p. 22.

³² S. Floy, *The Archaic Smile of Herodotus*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987, p. 12, 'Herodotus cannot be expected to obey the rules of a genre that had not yet become fully fixed and that he was in the act of creating.' cf. D. Lateiner, (ed.), *Herodotus: The Histories*, New York: Barnes and Noble Classics, 2004, p. xxxi. 'Herodotus invented historical reasons and historical writing. He did not perfect them – nor have we – but he took more steps and made longer strides than perhaps any one successor. Thucydides' further achievement (ignoring his regressive tendencies) is unimaginable without the pioneer Herodotus, and that is credit enough.'

³³ *Hist.*, 2:123, 'These Egyptian stories are for the use of whosoever believes such tales: for myself, it is my rule throughout this history that I record whatever is told me as I have heard it.' Herodotus, LCL 269, p. 425.

³⁴ A. Curthoys and J. Docker, *Is History Fiction?* Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2006, p. 11, Curthoys and Docker use the expression 'doubleness of history' to refer to the space between history as rigorous scrutiny of sources and history as part of the world of literary forms.

³⁵ White, *Metahistory*, pp. 6-7 'It is sometimes said that the aim of the historian is to explain the past by "finding," "identifying," or "uncovering" the "stories" that lie buried in chronicles; and that the difference between "history" and "fiction" resides in the fact that the historian "finds" his stories, whereas the fiction writer "invents" his. This conception of the historian's task, however, obscures the extent in which "invention" also plays a part in the historian's operations.'

marvellous deeds done by Greeks and foreigners and especially the reason why they warred against each other may not lack renown.³⁶

In this introductory sentence Herodotus promises to present the big and marvelous accomplishments of the Greeks and barbarians, and the causes for why they went to war. His later text however, reveals the struggles he had in accomplishing this. At times he uses the oral sources of eyewitnesses to historical events but battles with the issue of digesting his data and transforming it into prose. His account does not replicate all events, neither is it all the reports he heard, nor all his research.

A further aspect of Herodotus' flexibility vis-à-vis 'fact' and 'fiction' concerns his sources. Detlev Fehling suggests that Herodotus' source-citations "cannot be taken at face value" and he concludes that almost all of his source citations are wrong.³⁷ Fehling suggests Herodotus' cites non-Greek sources which assume a distinctive spirit of Ionian historiography and geography.³⁸ Additionally, the Greek historian's neat dove-tailing of separately reported stories from different sources presents difficulties.³⁹ For example, in *Hist.* 8:38-39:1, Herodotus cites two sources, the Delphians and the Persian survivors (foreigners) as his sources for the supernatural routing of the Persians at Delphi:

All this joining together struck panic into the foreigners; and the Delphians, perceiving that they fled, descended upon them and slew a great number. The survivors fled straight to Boeotia. Those of the foreigners who returned said (as I have been told) that they had seen other signs of heaven's working besides the aforesaid: two men-at-arms of stature greater than human (they said) had followed hard after them, slaying and pursuing. These two, say the Delphians, were the native heroes Phylacus and Autonomous, whose precincts are near the temple, Phylacus' by the road itself above the shrine of Athene Pronaea, and Autonomous' near the Castalian spring, under the Hyampean peak.⁴⁰

In this passage, Herodotus writes that the Persians who managed to escape the fighting at Delphi, reported that two 'supernatural' men-at-arms came to the Dephians' aid. Fehling correctly notes that it is highly implausible that the Persians would have known the identity of the 'supernatural' men-at-arms unless the Delphians had supplied

³⁶ Herodotus, LCL 269, p. 3.

³⁷ D. Fehling, *Herodotus and His 'Sources'*, (J. Howie, trans.), Leeds: Francis Cairns (Publications) Ltd., 1989, p. 1.

³⁸ Fehling, *Herodotus and His 'Sources'*, p. 1.

³⁹ Fehling, *Herodotus and His 'Sources'*, p. 1.

⁴⁰ Herodotus, LCL 120, p. 37.

the information. Herodotus therefore posits two sources behind the account.⁴¹ A difficulty in accepting there were two sources arises though when consideration is given to the supernatural aspect to the description. Fehling notes: “It assumes that there really was such an event and that it was independently observed by the two sides. Yet that assumption is impossible. In the real world the story can only have one primary source.”⁴² Herodotus’ claim that he had two sources raises the issue of whether he was actually retelling what he was told or not. Fehling adds: “All those features that create and impression of two independent sources realistically supplementing one another come from Herodotus himself.”⁴³ He further suggests that this methodology is “pure fiction.”⁴⁴

While Fehling’s position may be considered extreme,⁴⁵ he does not simply suggest that Herodotus is nothing more than a liar and a fraud. More rightly, Fehling considers Herodotus has invented a new art form, which is not history, but a kind of narrative based loosely on historical facts. Robert Fowler notes: “The alternative to Herodotus the historian is not Herodotus the fraud, but Herodotus the poet. He takes whatever information he has and spins a tale from it, using his imagination to fill in the gaps.”⁴⁶ Once again we see a blend of ‘fact’ and ‘fiction’ in *Histories* and Herodotus’ willingness to embrace the ‘doubleness’ of history.

It would appear that alongside the criticisms of Herodotus and the ‘lying historians’ there was an acceptance amongst many ancient writers that the ‘doubleness’ of historical accounts was inevitable. Historical truth was embodied within the subjective and

⁴¹ Fehling, *Herodotus and His ‘Sources’*, p. 14. Fehling notes two possible solutions given to solve the source problem. First, that Herodotus heard the story on two occasions and did not realise it had come ultimately from one source; second, that Herodotus’ original source already had two sources combined.

⁴² Fehling, *Herodotus and His ‘Sources’*, p. 14.

⁴³ Fehling, *Herodotus and His ‘Sources’*, p. 15.

⁴⁴ Fehling, *Herodotus and His ‘Sources’*, pp. 15-6. ‘I therefore regard it as certain that Herodotus’ Persian source is pure fiction. For that is the only way of eliminating all the difficulties entailed by assuming any underlying reality.’

⁴⁵ See, O. Murray, ‘Herodotus and Oral History’, H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid history II: the Greek sources*, Leiden: Netherlands Institute for Near East, 1987, pp. 93-115; W. K. Pritchett, *The Liar School of Herodotus*, Amsterdam: J.C. Geiben, 1993.

⁴⁶ R.L. Fowler, ‘Herodotus and His Contemporaries’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 116, 1996, p. 81.

biased stories of the actors in the arena of history. Dionysius of Halicarnassus,⁴⁷ Arrian,⁴⁸ and Lucian were champions of Herodotus' style. While they may have coupled him with being untrustworthy when compared to Thucydides, as does Lucian in *How to Write History*, they nevertheless commend him, "if only we could imitate Herodotus – not all his good qualities because this is beyond hope – but at least one of them."⁴⁹

Herodotus' convention of including inaccurate tales implies that at least in his practice, historical truth was not objective and credibility laid not so much in the veracity of the actual events as much as in the ability of the reader to accept them as plausible. On a number of occasions *Histories* is flexible with regard to historical 'facts' and the text demonstrates the tension of processing historical data and transforming it into narrative. In the final composition, 'fact' and 'fiction' are inevitably muddled.

2 – *Thucydides*

Thucydides wrote *History of the Peloponnesian War (History)* in the fifth-century B.C.E. and scholarly analyses of *History* generally separate into two schools. On the one hand there is the traditional approach where scholars receive the work as objective and scientific historiography. John Bagnall Bury asserts *History* is:

Severe in its reserves, written from a purely intellectual point of view, unencumbered with platitudes and moral judgments, cold and critical, but exhibiting the rarest powers of dramatic and narrative art, the work of Thucydides is at every point a contrast to the work of Herodotus.⁵⁰

On the other hand, there is the opinion that *History* should be read as a piece of literature rather than an objective account of events: "[Thucydides is] an artist who responds to, selects and skilfully arranges his material, and develops its symbolic and emotional potential."⁵¹ These opinions derive from an analysis, not only of allusions and pointers Thucydides provides concerning his historiographic methodology, but also from the

⁴⁷ *Letter to Pompeius*. In this letter Dionysius continuously champions Herodotus over Thucydides.

⁴⁸ *Anabasis*, 5.5.

⁴⁹ *How to Write History*, 21.1, Lucian, LCL 430, p. 143.

⁵⁰ J. B. Bury, *History of Greece*, 4th ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, p. 399.

⁵¹ W. R. Connor, *Thucydides*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984, pp. 231-2. See also K. J. Dover, 'Thucydides 'As History' and 'As Literature', *History and Theory*, 22, 1983, pp. 54-63.

content of *History*. One comment alluding to what Thucydides perceived as good historiography may be found in *Hist.* V 26:5. Thucydides recounts his banishment from Athens in 424 B.C.E. for failing to relieve Amphipolis. Almost as an aside, he reveals something about his approach to historiography:

I lived through the whole war, being of an age to form judgments, and followed it with close attention, so as to acquire accurate information. It befell me also to be banished from my own country for twenty years after my command at Amphipolis, and being conversant with affairs on both sides, especially with those of the Peloponnesians by reason of my banishment, to gain at my leisure a better acquaintance with the course of events. (*emphasis mine*)⁵²

Thucydides enumerates a number of factors that qualified him to write about the war, *viz.* eyewitness status, maturity, technical knowledge, familiarity with events, and time to assess such events at a distance. He also expresses a desire to know the exact truth. In addition to these implicit criteria, Thucydides also explicitly refers to his historiographic methodology in *Hist.* I 22:1-4.⁵³ With regard to speeches he recognises the difficulty in remembering actual words so his practice is to compose speeches appropriate to the occasion and to adhere as closely as possible to the general sense of what may have been said. With reference to the narration of events, Thucydides stressed the importance on accurate reporting, which was tried by the ‘most severe and detailed tests.’ He expressed the need for impartiality and sought to exclude romance (rhetoric) in his accounts. Thucydides’ desire for accuracy highlights his perception of good historiography. In those instances where he could not rely on exactness, as with speeches, he felt composition was necessary. But in reporting on events, he pursued faithfulness.

⁵² Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Vol. 3, LCL 110, (C.F. Smith, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921, p. 51.

⁵³ ‘As to the speeches that were made by different men ... it has been difficult to recall with strict accuracy the words actually spoken, both for me as regards that which I myself heard, and for those who from various other sources have brought me reports. Therefore the speeches are given in the language in which, as it seemed to me, the several speakers would express, on the subjects under consideration, the sentiments most befitting the occasion, though at the same time I have adhered as closely as possible to the general sense of what was actually said. But as to the facts of the occurrences of the war, I have thought it my duty to give them, not as ascertained from any chance informant nor as seemed to me probable, but only after investigating with the greatest possible accuracy each detail, in the case both of the events in which I myself participated and of those regarding which I got my information from others. ... And it may well be that the absence of the fabulous from my narrative will seem less pleasing to the ear; but whoever shall wish to have a clear view both of the events which have happened and of those which will some day, in all human probability, happen again in the same or a similar way – for these to adjudge my history profitable will be enough for me. And, indeed, it has been composed, not as a prize-essay to be heard for the moment, but as a possession for all time.’ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Vol. 1, LCL 108, (C.F. Smith, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921, pp. 39-40.

Thucydides grouped historians into three categories; those who write to delight their readers (romance); those who write to achieve a prize (applause); and those who write for truth (exact knowledge). He unsurprisingly positioned himself in the latter group. In commending Thucydides, George Abbott declares: “If Thucydides sometimes tells us less than we want to know about a transaction, he never tells us more; we have nothing but the facts which are, in his judgment, pertinent and authentic.”⁵⁴

However, while Thucydides expresses an estimation of what comprises accurate historiography, questions arise as to whether he actually does this in practice. Despite his claims to be objective, Thucydides seems to be influenced by what others perceived of his work⁵⁵ and at other times passed value judgments on events he recorded. An example of the latter activity occurs in Thucydides’ comments in *Hist.* II 8:4-5 implying Athens was universally hated by her allies or subjects.⁵⁶ Thucydides’ assessment appears to be an over-simplification. There were cities that were pro-Athenian and Thucydides even mentions these in his own narratives. In *Hist.* III 47, he writes: “At present the people in all the cities is friendly to you.”

In the first-century B.C.E., Dionysius of Halicarnassus criticised Thucydides for obscurity of style, unsatisfactory ordering of the content of his work, and lack of proportion in the treatment of different elements within that content.⁵⁷ In Thucydides’ Funeral Speech he employs features of dramatic writing (*Hist.* II 35-42). David Cartwright suggests the oration departs from the typical formula of Athenian funeral speeches and be-

⁵⁴ G. F. Abbott, *Thucydides: A Study in Historical Reality*, London: George Routledge and Sons, 1925, p. 36.

⁵⁵ See previous on *History*, V 26:5.

⁵⁶ ‘But men’s affections for the most part went with the Lacedaemonians, and the rather, for that they gave out they would recover the Grecians’ liberty. And every man, both private and public person, endeavoured as much as in them lay both in word and deed to assist them and thought the business so much hindered as himself was not present at it. In such passion were most men against the Athenians, some for desire to be delivered from under their government and others for fear of falling into it. And these were the preparations and affections brought unto the war.’ Thucydides, LCL 108, p. 273. See also *History*, VIII 2:1-2.

⁵⁷ *On Thucydides*, 2, ‘I suspect that some readers of this treatise will censure me for daring to express the view that Thucydides, the greatest of the historians, is occasionally at fault in his choice of subject-matter and very weak in his powers of expression ... In the choice of words he often adopts a figurative, obscure, archaic and strange diction, in place of that which was in common use and familiar to the men of his day. He takes the greatest trouble to vary his constructions, since it was in this respect chiefly that he wished to excel his predecessors.’ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Critical Essays: Ancient Orators. Lysias. Isocrates. Isaeus. Demosthenes. Thucydides*, Vol. 2, LCL 466, (S. Usher, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974, pp. 465 ff.

comes a glorification of Athenian achievements, designed to stir the spirits of a state still at war – a piece of patriotic propaganda.⁵⁸ While recognising that Thucydides sought to compose speeches appropriate to the occasion and the expectation that Pericles' speech would include rhetorical flourishes, the question remains as to where did Thucydides draw the boundary line between original speaker and invention? He does not inform his readers how much 'invention' was necessary. The speech highlights a definite Athenian bias and again it is not clear from whence this partiality derives, Pericles or the historian. Ernst Badian suggests the historian is the source of the bias:

Thucydides method of presentation is much more like of the journalist than like that of the historian. He only allows 'edited' material to reach the reader, the facts that he regards as 'fit to print' and that will leave the reader no choice but to accept his own conclusions implied in the presentation.⁵⁹

In addition to these examples of divergence is another aspect of Thucydidean historiography and one, which concerns the whole nature of historiography – the selection of material – what is considered 'significant and pertinent to his overall design.' Thucydides introduces, narrates and condenses some twenty-one years of war into a book of about 650 pages in length. T.P. Wiseman suggests selectivity is a rhetorical mendacity:

And so at last we find our seventh type of mendacity ... lying is the *absence* of elaboration ... Lying was brevity and carelessness, because truthful narrative consisted of elaborate detail – what for us the historical novelist supplies.⁶⁰

Wiseman cites the implication made by Cato in *Life of Hadrian* 2.1 that criticises 'Trebellius Pollio' for writing too often in a brief and careless manner.⁶¹ Thucydides

⁵⁸ D. Cartwright, *A Historical Commentary On Thucydides*, Michigan: University of Michigan Press. 1997, p. 107, 'Pericles' speech goes well beyond this formula: it is a eulogy to Athens itself, a glorification of its achievements and an affirmation of its promise. ... The speech is intended to promote among Athenians a full appreciation of what it means to be Athenian and thus to unite them in loyalty to the state and to each other in a war fought to protect Athenian culture and civilisation. ... the picture presented by [Pericles] here is, of course, idealised, almost romantic in its portrait of political and personal perfection. The essence of this style of oratory was to give unstinted praise in language designed to stir the emotions. ... It contains numerous generalisations and rhetorical flourishes, much that is detached from the world of everyday experience and that would not stand up to close scrutiny.'

⁵⁹ E. Badian, 'Thucydides and the Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. A Historian's Brief', in *From Plataea to Potidaea: studies in the history and historiography of the Pentecontaetia*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993, pp. 127-128.

⁶⁰ T.P. Wiseman, 'Lying Historians: Seven Types of Mendacity', in C. Gill and T.P. Wiseman (eds.), *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, p. 146.

⁶¹ T.P. Wiseman, 'Lying Historians: Seven Types of Mendacity', p. 125 and 146. 'Tiberianus maintained that much of Pollio's work was brief and careless. I protested that as far as history was concerned there was no author who have not lied about something.'

himself makes a similar complaint about brevity when he criticises Hellanicus in *Hist.* I 97:2.⁶² While the notion of selectivity as evidence of ‘fiction’ may be debated, it represents occasions of failing to tell the complete truth. Josephus was aware of engaging in selectivity when composing his accounts:

Being, therefore, now compelled to defend myself against these false allegations; I shall allude to matters about which I have hitherto kept silence. My omission to make such a statement at an earlier date should not occasion surprise. For, while veracity is incumbent upon a historian, he is nonetheless at liberty to refrain from harsh scrutiny of the misdeeds of individuals, not from any partiality for the offenders, but because of his own moderation.⁶³

The omission of details to avoid an accurate account may be perceived as an instance where historiography is relativistic and blurs the boundaries between ‘fact’ and ‘fiction’. It is understood that Thucydides chose to include some aspects and to neglect others but what determined his distribution of emphasis? *History* concentrates on the military aspects of the war. He engages in critiquing war as culturally degenerative; highlights the moral decay of Greek citizens; and emphasises the interplay of justice and power in politics. Despite his high ideals of factual truth and accuracy, he also had an explanatory ambition.⁶⁴ The determination of Thucydides’ motivation for writing is beyond the present discussion but the recognition that he selected and shaped his narrative is pertinent. Whether he shaped his narrative to the extent that he may be accused of deliberately lying is debatable. Victoria Hunter suggests he *did* lie when he tried to cause his readers to believe that Demosthene’s seizure of Pylos was the product of a succession of impromptu decisions and sheer accidents (*Hist.* 4).⁶⁵ Lowell Edmunds disagrees and suggests that Thucydides seeks “the clarity that transcends factual exactness” and accuracy was not “Thucydides primary aim in writing the *History*.”⁶⁶ These contrasting assessments are perhaps more informed by preconceptions of the stature of

⁶² ‘Hellanicus, the only one of these who has ever touched upon this period, has in his Attic History treated of it briefly, and with inaccuracy as regards his chronology.’ Thucydides, LCL 108, p. 165.

⁶³ Josephus, *Vita, 336-7, Josephus. The Life. Against Apion*, LCL 186, (H. St. J. Thackeray, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926, p. 125.

⁶⁴ Byrskog, *History as Story*, p. 259.

⁶⁵ V. Hunter, *Past and Process in Herodotus and Thucydides*, Princeton: Princeton Press, 1982, p. 81f.

⁶⁶ L. Edmunds, *Chance and Intelligence in Thucydides*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975, p. 156, 163.

Thucydides than his narrative. Thucydides wrote of his intent to write ‘an exact knowledge of the past’ but still selected his sources, offered an opinion, and shaped his account. The historiographical standards he establishes in *Hist.* I 22:1-4 and 5:26.5 are not always maintained. While Thucydides aspired to exactness, his final composition was not always objective and when occasion warranted, he was flexible with the ‘facts’.

3 – Xenophon

Xenophon’s most celebrated historical works are his war tracts, the *Anabasis* and the *Hellenica*. Lucian’s opinion of Xenophon was that he was a ‘just historian’ and would not compromise truth; “The historian’s task is to tell the thing as it happened. ... A fair historian, a Xenophon, a Thucydides” (*Hist. Cons.* 39). On the other hand, Cicero criticised Xenophon’s characterisation of Cyrus in *Cyropaedia* as, “not as a historical character, but as a model of righteous government” (*Letter to Quintus*, 1.1.23).

More recent critical assessments of Xenophon’s work tend to decry any claim to his being a historian. Frances Pownall notes “Xenophon’s *Hellenica* is notorious for omissions of fact and inequalities of treatment.”⁶⁷ She argues that the reason for these omissions derive from Xenophon’s shaping of his narrative for a “moralising purpose.”⁶⁸ C.H. Grayson similarly notes the accusation of omissions and declares, “Xenophon as a historian stands condemned. His intellectual honesty is impugned as his abilities are questioned.”⁶⁹

While debate continues as to the historiographical nature of Xenophon’s work, he nevertheless attempts a narrative history in the *Hellenica* and the *Anabasis* and this may be ascertained by identifying his purpose and methodology, a task that is perhaps easier

⁶⁷ F. Pownall, *Lessons from the past: the moral use of history in fourth-century prose*, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2004, p. 65. The recovery of *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* in 1906 and its subsequent publication has led to the observation of the shortcomings of Xenophon’s work.

⁶⁸ Pownall, *Lessons from the past*, p. 66.

⁶⁹ C. H. Grayson, ‘Did Xenophon Intend to Write History?’, Barbara Levick, (ed.), *The Ancient Historian and His Materials: Essays in Honour of C. E. Stevens on His Seventieth Birthday*, Westmead: Gregg International, 1975, p. 31. Grayson (p. 37-8) argues that *Hellenica* should not be read as history but as a didactic narrative; “The traditional critical approach of Xenophon is therefore misguided as it assumes, wrongly, that Xenophon’s *Hellenica* was written as history. ... If regarded as primarily didactic, the *Hellenica* fits well into the context of Xenophon’s other works.’

said than done. Unlike Thucydides he does not include a methodological prologue, but it must be inferred from comments he makes in the text.

The prominent criterion that Xenophon reflects upon is the recording of ‘things that are noteworthy.’ However, while he expresses the existence of such a criterion, he often suggests that he does not maintain this standard. There are four passages in the *Hellenica* where he underlines this standard and his subsequent divergence from it. In *Hell.* II 3:56, Xenophon infers that what he is writing may not be ‘worthy of record’ and by making this comment he establishes that some sayings are noteworthy and some are not.⁷⁰ The inference is that a criterion of good historiography is the noteworthiness of events and sayings that are recorded. A similar sentiment is expressed in *Hell.* IV 8:1⁷¹ and while at first glance this comment may appear to iterate his aside in *Hell.* II 3:56, the interruption of his narrative may more correctly indicate that he is conscious of not always having met the same standard.⁷²

Hell. V 1:4, again expresses Xenophon’s conscious consideration of what he has included in his account and it details what he may actually consider as noteworthy.⁷³ In this instance, Xenophon alludes to three considerations considered to be noteworthy in history writing; (i) expenditure of money; (ii) danger; and (iii) memorable strategy. That Xenophon is willing to depart from this standard in talking about Teleutias suggests that his methodology is not always constrained by such criteria. A fourth passage

⁷⁰ ‘Now I am not unaware of this, that these are not sayings worthy of record; still, I deem it admirable in the man that when death was close at hand, neither self-possession nor the spirit of playfulness departed from his soul.’ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, Vol. 1, LCL 88, (C.L. Brownson, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918, p. 143.

⁷¹ ‘I will now recount what happened by sea and in the cities on the coast while all these things were going on, and will describe such of the events as are worthy of record, while those which do not deserve mention I will pass over.’ Xenophon, LCL 88, p. 353.

⁷² P. Rahn, ‘Xenophon’s Developing Historiography’, *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 102, 1971, p. 499. For example, in *Hell.* II 4:16-19, Xenophon’s account of Agesilaus’ training methods appears to fall outside of a ‘noteworthy’ criterion.

⁷³ ‘Now I am aware that I am not describing in these incidents any enterprise involving money expended or danger incurred or any memorable stratagem; and yet, by Zeus, it seems to me that it is well worth a man’s while to consider what sort of conduct it was that enabled Teleutias to inspire the men he commanded with such a feeling toward himself. For to attain to this is indeed the achievement of a true man, more noteworthy than the expenditure of much money and the encountering of many dangers.’ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, Vol. 2, LCL 89, (C.L. Brownson, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921, p. 5.

addressing the ‘noteworthy’ standard is *Hell.* VII 2:1.⁷⁴ At this point in the *Hellenica*, Xenophon openly confesses to recording aspects of the past that are not normally considered noteworthy. The usual subjects of history are great cities and noble achievements but he diverges from this. The concept of what was noteworthy originally had governed Xenophon’s choice of material but as he interpreted this concept for himself he gradually moved away from the traditional selection of subject-matter.”⁷⁵

As noted in the analysis of Thucydides, historians must engage in the process of selectivity to construct their narratives. Xenophon openly engaged in this methodology and admits to being aware he was doing so. Several passages point to the prominence of interpretative selectivity in his work. In *Hell.* V 4:1 Xenophon acknowledged that he knew more than that which he chose to record.⁷⁶

Xenophon does not give the reasons for his choices and it appears that his selectivity was quite subjective. It may have been due to his tendency to deal with actions that highlight the individual but it is uncertain what ultimately drove his choices. What the selectivity does indicate is that the historical ‘facts’ were shaped by the author’s interpretative framework. E.M. Soulis suggests that Xenophon’s selectivity involved the “free creation of a historical picture to such an extent that he adds details, which are unimportant and of questionable historicity.”⁷⁷ In parts of the *Hellenica*, Xenophon does not convince his audience that he retells what has really happened but presents events that while within the bounds of probability, may not be the most plausible. Soulis notes: “this is the boundary between fiction and history which Xenophon blurs very often.”⁷⁸

⁷⁴ ‘I will speak further of them; for while all the historians make mention of the large states if they have performed any noble achievement, it seems to me that if a state which is small has accomplished many noble deeds, it is even more fitting to set them forth.’ Xenophon, LCL 89, (C.L. Brownson, trans.), p. 263.

⁷⁵ Rahn, ‘Xenophon’s Developing Historiography’, p. 500.

⁷⁶ ‘Now one could mention many other incidents, both among Greeks and barbarians, to prove that the gods do not fail to take heed of the wicked or of those who do unrighteous things; but at present I will speak of the case which is before me.’ Xenophon, LCL 89, (C.L. Brownson, trans.), p. 71.

⁷⁷ E.M. Soulis, *Xenophon and Thucydides: A Study on the historical methods of Xenophon in the Hellenica with special reference to the influence of Thucydides*, Athens, 1972, p. 33.

⁷⁸ Soulis, *Xenophon and Thucydides*, p. 33.

In Xenophon's opinion, some aspects of history are more noteworthy of mention than others although he does not offer an explicit criterion against which to measure this noteworthiness. His treatment of Cyrus in *Cyropaedia* and his encomium on Agesilaus, may be perceived as proving Xenophon was flexible with 'historical facts' but he was aware that he selected his sources, offered an opinion, and shaped his narrative.

4 – Polybius

Polybius wrote on the rise of Rome from the beginning of the First Punic War (264 B.C.E.) to the destruction of Carthage and Corinth (146 B.C.E.). In addition to his primary concern of relating a pragmatic history of Rome (*Histories*), his Book XII discusses the merits and faults of the historian Timaeus. His work encompasses therefore, not just historiography, but also a significant reflection on the nature of history. *Histories* is written in an apodictic style with the historian assuming the position of an unobtrusive narrator but employing the literary feature of an intrusive explicator. Many episodes are explained, analysed, commended or approved. John Marincola notes: "Polybius allows nearly nothing to pass without drawing his own moral from it for the benefit of his audience."⁷⁹

Polybius envisaged three categories of history readers, each with an equivalent type of narrative. Genealogy appealed to the curious reader, the antiquarians enjoyed accounts of city origins, and the deeds of rulers appealed to the students of politics. Polybius understood his narrative belonged to the latter category.⁸⁰ He was aware of historiographic genre and suggested that his history is useful to those who wish to learn ra-

⁷⁹ J. Marincola, *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 11.

⁸⁰ *Hist.* IX 1. 'I am not unaware that my work owing to the uniformity of its composition has a certain severity, and will suit the taste and gain the approval of only one class of reader. For nearly all other writers, or at least most of them, by dealing with every branch of history, attract many kinds of people to the perusal of their works. The genealogical side appeals to those who are fond of a story, and the account of colonies, the foundation of cities, and their ties of kindred, such as Ephorus also remarks somewhere or other, attracts the curious and lovers of recondite lore, while the statesman is interested in the doings of nations, cities, and monarchs. As I have confined my attention strictly to these last matters and as my whole work treats of nothing else, it is, as I say, adapted only to one sort of reader, and its perusal will have no attractions for the larger number. I have stated elsewhere at some length my reason for choosing to exclude other branches of history and chronicle actions alone, but there is no harm in briefly reminding my readers of it here in order to impress it on them.' Polybius, *Histories*, Vol. 4, LCL 159, pp. 3-5.

ther than those who simply like a good story.⁸¹

As to historiographic methodology, Polybius' criteria may be considered under positive and negative standards. The positive criteria are the explicative asides he mentions in his work, the negative criteria are those faults he identifies in the works of others, such as his critique of Timaeus. Polybius' assessment of his own work can fall into the category of 'do as I say, not as I do' as the following examples will illustrate. Polybius held in high esteem the recording of contemporaneous history and claimed to have based his works on native information and eyewitness evidence (*Hist.* III 48; III 4:13).⁸² He did not particularly regard 'book-learning' as valuable (*Hist.* IV 2:1-3),⁸³ and yet he needed to use 'book' sources in order to complete his narrative as in the case of the re-writing of the history of the First Punic War. On these occasions he often appended a disclaimer.⁸⁴ It seems that a prohibition of non-contemporaneous history could be ignored when the author believed he had superior information. Polybius also desired to avoid myth in his narrative and distinguished between myth-writers and historians.⁸⁵

⁸¹ *Hist.* II 56, 'A historical author should not try to thrill his readers by such exaggerated pictures, nor should he, like a tragic poet, try to imagine the probable utterances of his characters or reckon up all the consequences probably incidental to the occurrences with which he deals, but simply record what really happened and what really was said, however commonplace. For the object of tragedy is not the same as that of history but quite the opposite. The tragic poet should thrill and charm his audience for the moment by the verisimilitude of the words he puts into his characters' mouths, but it is the task of the historian to instruct and convince for all time serious students by the truth of the facts and the speeches he narrates, since in the one case it is the probable that takes precedence, even if it be untrue, the purpose being to create illusion in spectators, in the other it is the truth, the purpose being to confer benefit on learners.' Polybius, *Histories*, Vol. 1, LCL 128, (W. Paton, trans., F.W. Walbank, C. Habicht, rev.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010, pp. 415-7.

⁸² *Hist.* III 48, 'On these points I can speak with some confidence as I have inquired about the circumstances from men present on the occasion and have personally inspected the country and made the passage of the Alps to learn for myself and see.' Polybius, *Histories*, Vol. 2, LCL 137, (W. Paton, trans., F.W. Walbank, C. Habicht, rev.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010, pp. 415-7.; see also. *Hist.* III 4.13, 'About this latter, owing to the importance of the actions and the unexpected character of the events, and chiefly because I not only witnessed most but took part and even directed some, I was induced to write as if starting on a fresh work.' Polybius, LCL 137, p. 13.

⁸³ *Hist.* IV 2, 'This I considered to be the best starting point, because in the first place, Aratus's book terminates just at this period and I had decided on taking up and carrying on the narrative of Greek affairs from the date at which he leaves off, and secondly because the period following on this date and included in my history coincides with my own and the preceding generation, so that I have been present at some of the events and have the testimony of eyewitnesses for others. It seemed to me indeed that if I comprised events of an earlier date, repeating mere hearsay evidence, I should be safe neither in my estimates nor in my assertions.' Polybius, LCL 137, p. 327.

⁸⁴ *Hist.* I 12:8-9. 'My readers need not therefore be surprised if, even in the further course of this work, I occasionally give them in addition some of the earlier history of the most famous states; for I shall do so in order to take such a starting point as will make it clear in the sequel from what origins and how and when they severally reached their present position. This is exactly what I have just done about the Romans.' Polybius, LCL 128, p. 35.

⁸⁵ *Hist.* III 58, 'While nearly all authors or at least the greater number have attempted to describe the peculiarities and the situation of the countries at the extremities of the known world, most of them are mistaken on many points. We must therefore by no means pass over the subject, but we must say a word to them, and that not casually and by scattered allusions, but giving due attention to it, and in what we say we must not find fault with or rebuke them, but

Yet he accepts a mythical account in *Hist.* III 91:7 as being most probable:

The mythical tale concerning this plain, and other celebrated plains which like it are called Phlegraean, has indeed much semblance of probability; for it was quite natural that they should have been a special cause of strife among the gods owing to their beauty and fertility.⁸⁶

Polybius also averred impartiality and on a number of times expressed a desire for objectivity.⁸⁷ However, he himself used the flattering history of Philinus and Fabius to form the basis of his Punic War recollection and excuses partiality if it was prepared on the basis of facts.⁸⁸ In *Hist.* XII 5:1-5, Polybius excuses his own partiality with respect to the Locrians.⁸⁹ Walbank notes that Polybius distinguishes between tragic historians who apply skills of poetic tragedians to the manner in which they write history and those who write ‘suitable’ history.⁹⁰ In *Hist.* II 56, Polybius disregards Phylarchus’ description of the Cleomenic war and adjudges his intentions as seeking to “arouse the pity and attention of his readers.” In Polybius’ estimation, the desire of historians to amaze their readers leads to an exaggeration of the events rather than seeking to report exactly what happened, the latter being what he understood as the purpose of history.

In *Hist.* III 48, Polybius criticises those historians who described Hannibal’s journey across the Alps for their introduction of a *deus ex machina*. He denounces the introduction of a ‘supernatural’ agency as an apparatus of the tragedians to bring the plot to a

rather be grateful to them and correct them when wrong, knowing as we do that they too, had they the privilege of living at the present day, would correct and modify many of their own statements.’ Polybius, LCL 137, p. 153.

⁸⁶ Polybius, LCL 137, p. 247.

⁸⁷ *Hist.* I 14, ‘For just as a living creature which has lost its eyesight is wholly incapacitated, so if History is stripped of her truth all that is left is but an idle tale. We should therefore not shrink from accusing our friends or praising our enemies; nor need we be shy of sometimes praising and sometimes blaming the same people, since it is neither possible that men in the actual business of life should always be in the right, nor is it probable that they should be always mistaken. We must therefore disregard the actors in our narrative and apply to the actions such statements and such judgments as they deserve.’ Polybius, LCL 128, p. 39. See also *Hist.* VIII 8:5-9; 38:4.

⁸⁸ *Hist.* XVI 14:6, Now I would admit that authors should have a partiality for their own country but they should not make statements about it that are contrary to facts. Surely the mistakes of which we writers are guilty and which it is difficult for us, being but human, to avoid are quite sufficient; but if we make deliberate misstatements in the interest of our country or of friends or for favor, what difference is there between us and those who gain their living by their pens?’ Polybius, *Histories*, Vol. 5, LCL 160, (W. Paton, trans., F.W. Walbank, C. Habicht, rev.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011, p.35.

⁸⁹ ‘I happen to have paid several visits to Locri and to have rendered the Locrians important services. It was indeed through me that they were excused from serving in the Spanish and Dalmatian campaigns, in both of which they were required by the terms of their treaty to send aid to the Romans by sea. In consequence they were relieved from considerable hardship, danger, and expense, and in return conferred on me all kinds of honors and favors; so that I ought rather to speak well of the Locrians than the reverse.’ Polybius, LCL 159, p. 357.

⁹⁰ F.W. Walbank, ‘ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ A Polybian Experiment’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 58, 1938, pp. 57. Walbank notes three rubrics as (1) inaccuracy, (2) sensationalism, and (3) neglect of underlying causes. Cf. Polybius, *Histories*, II 16:14; 6:1-2; III 48:8; VII 7:2.

conclusion rather than seeking human ‘cause and effect’. Ironically, Polybius appears on occasion to employ the manner of tragic history despite censuring others for this tendency. In his description of Philip V of Macedon in *Hist.* XXIII 10-16 Polybius suggests that a ‘supernatural’ agency was responsible for Philip’s demise:

This year witnessed the first outbreak of terrible misfortunes for King Philip ... For it was now that *Fortune*, as if she meant to punish him at one and the same time for all the wicked and criminal acts he had committed in his life, sent to haunt him a host of the furies, tormentors and avenging spirits of his victims, phantoms never leaving him by day and by night.⁹¹

Polybius also regarded the ‘epic’ or ‘legendary’ period as a genuine stage in Greek history. One theme that permeates his work is that Rome rose under the direction of Fortune (*Tyche*). While *Tyche* is used somewhat ambiguously in *Histories*, sometimes as an expression meaning ‘something happened’ but at other times implying a divine power, there are instances where the ‘divine’ or supernatural aspect is unambiguous. *Tyche* is seen as the cause for the rise of Rome and in *Hist.* II 71:3-6, the concurrent deaths and accessions of three rulers in the 140th Olympiad are interpreted as synonymous with the deaths of three rulers in the 124th Olympiad.⁹² *Histories* does not fall into the category of historiography that considers divine intervention and miracles as a matter of fact, but it would seem that at least for the historical period prior to his contemporaneous account, Polybius saw *Tyche* as instrumental in ordering events. While the aforementioned qualities that are required for suitable historiography, *viz.*, contemporaneous recording, avoidance of myths and tragic style, and impartiality, generally represent positive statements, much of what Polybius writes about historiographic methodology derives from the negative criticism he levels at other Timaeus and other historians.⁹³

⁹¹ *Hist.*, XXIII 10:1-3, Polybius, LCL 160, p. 473.

⁹² F. Walbank, ‘Polybius and the Past’, in F. Walbank, *Polybius, Rome and the Hellenistic World: Essays and Reflections*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 182. cf. *Hist.* II 71:3-6, ‘Just about the same time Ptolemy Euergetes fell sick and died ... Seleucus ... also died at this time, his brother Antiochus succeeding him in the kingdom of Syria. The same thing in fact occurred in the case of these three kings, as in that of the first successors of Alexander in the three kingdoms, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, who all, as I stated above, died in the 124th Olympiad, while these kings died in the 139th.’ Polybius, LCL 128, p. 455.

⁹³ Polybius critiques Phylarchus in Book II, Chaerus and Sosylus in Book III, Theopompus in Book VIII, Callistenes and Timaeus in Book XII, and Postumius Albinus in Book XXXIX.

As the failings of Timaeus are highlighted, they create a contrasting picture of what Polybius considered to be creditable historiography. The list of offences include: poor (or no) historical inquiry, falsehood, lack of proportion, errors in judgment, inexperience, excessiveness, pedantry, love of paradox, ignorance, childishness, excessive complaining, and fault-finding. Three significant aspects of Polybius' attack directly impinge on the blurring of fact and fiction; (i) deliberate mendacity; (ii) prodigious polemic; and (iii) the excessive use of rhetoric.

One of Polybius' most vigorous criticisms of Timaeus is his use of falsehood. In Polybius' estimation, there are two kinds of falsehood: "One that is the consequence of ignorance and the other deliberate" (*Hist.* XII 12:4). The first should be pardoned but one should refuse to forgive deliberate lying. It is this second charge of falsehood that is levelled against Timaeus: "one finds that Timaeus himself is a chief sinner in this respect" (*Hist.* XII 12:7). While noting that truth, as opposed to falsehood, is often determined by probability (*Hist.* XII 7:4), Polybius suggests that Timaeus' reasons for falsehood also stem from "prejudice" (*Hist.* XII 7:1), selective omission (*Hist.* XII 10:6), and untruthful reporting especially as it relates to speeches (*Hist.* XII 25a:5).

Much of Polybius' criticism of prodigious polemic stems from Timaeus' comments that Aristotle was "arrogant, reckless, and headstrong" (*Hist.* XII 8:2). Ironically Polybius might be accused of a similar attitude towards Timaeus. Polybius however is adamant that this defect in Timaeus' character is not conducive to good historiography. Timaeus is accused of having taken history's task to praise and blame, beyond its acceptable limits.⁹⁴ The third accusation against Timaeus is his excessive use of rhetoric. Polybius announces: "We should indeed reprove and ridicule the frenzy of those authors who dream dreams and write like men possessed. ... Such is the case with Timaeus"

⁹⁴ *Hist.* XII 23:1-2, 'Timaeus, while vehemently attacking Ephorus, is himself guilty of two grave faults, the first being that he bitterly accuses others of the sins he himself is guilty of, and the second that he shows an utterly depraved mind in publishing such statements in his works and engendering such notions to others.' Polybius, LCL 159, p. 405.

(*Hist.* XII 12b:1). The unnecessary use of rhetoric, where “writers ... measure everything by the standard of their own passions” (*Hist.* XII 14:5) is regarded as suspect, not just in that the instance where it occurs but in all their work. This all-encompassing disdain of lying historians is clearly expressed by Polybius when he adjudges: “When we find one or two false statements in a book and they prove to be deliberate ones, it is evident that not a word written by such an author is any longer certain and reliable” (*Hist.* XII 25a:2).

In his polemic against Timaeus, Polybius’ attitude towards historical veracity is evident and a number of aspects may be noted; (i) truth is often determined by probability; (ii) deliberate falsehood is decried but unintentional falsehood may be excused; (iii) deliberate falsehood may result from prejudice, selectivity and invention; (iv) deliberate falsehood may be found in excessive polemic and slander; and (v) deliberate falsehood may be the product of disproportionate rhetoric.

Polybius appears to have understood that there were strict standards against which to measure good historiography. These criteria included contemporaneous recording, avoidance of myths and tragic style, impartiality coupled with a honourable approach, and expertise in the events recorded. His main emphasis though was that historiography should avoid falsehood and where deliberate instances of such behaviour was evident in a work, he was of the opinion this rendered any subsequent work uncertain: “a single drop from the largest vessel suffices to tell the nature of the whole contents” (*Hist.* XII 25a:1). It has been seen though that in practice, Polybius massaged his standards to present his own perspective.

5 – Cicero

The ancient works considered to this point have been historical narratives, which addressed historiographic methods in passing. The following two treatises that will be examined are general commentaries are more specifically directed to historiographic

methodology – Cicero’s *On Oratory* (*De. Orat.*), and Lucian’s *How to Write History* (*Hist. Cons.*)

De. Orat. assumes the form of an imagined dialogue held in Crassus’ Tuscan villa between historical Roman personalities – L. Licinius Crassus (Cicero’s teacher), M. Antonius, P. Sulpicius Rufus and C. Aurelius Cotta. In the second book of *De. Orat.*, Antonius mentions historiography as one of the skills to be possessed by an orator.⁹⁵ The conversation moves to a comparison of the early Roman and Greek historians,⁹⁶ thence to a brief summary of Greek historiography,⁹⁷ and finally presents an explanation of how an orator should write history:

Do you see how great a responsibility the orator has in historical writing? I rather think that for fluency and diversity of diction it comes first. Yet nowhere do I find this art supplied with any independent directions from the rhetoricians; indeed its rules lie open to the view. For who does not know history’s first law to be that an author must not dare to tell anything but the truth? And its second that he must make bold to tell the whole truth? That there must be no suggestion of partiality anywhere in his writings? Nor of malice? This groundwork of course is familiar to every one; the completed structure however rests upon the story and the diction. The nature of the subject needs chronological arrangement and geographical representation: and since, in reading of important affairs worth recording, the plans of campaign, the executive actions and the results are successively looked for,’ (*De Orat.* II 62-63)⁹⁸

While the precise interpretation of this injunction is debated and the context concerns an oration, there are a few features pertaining to historiography that may be drawn from Antonius’ description.

⁹⁵ *De. Orat.*, II 36, ‘And as History, which bears witness to the passing of the ages, sheds light upon reality, gives life to recollection and guidance to human existence, and brings tidings of ancient days, whose voice, but the orator’s, can entrust her to immortality?’ Cicero, *On the Orator: Books 1-2*, Vol. 3, LCL 348, (E.W. Sutton and H. Rackham, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942, p. 225.

⁹⁶ *De. Orat.*, II 51-54. “Now further,” proceeded Antonius, “what class of orator, and how great a master of language is qualified, in your opinion, to write history?” “If he is to write as the Greeks have written,” answered Catulus, “a man of supreme ability is required: if the standard is to be that of our own fellow-countrymen, no orator at all is needed; it is enough that the man should not be a liar.” “But nevertheless,” rejoined Antonius, “... the Greeks themselves also used to write, in the beginning, just like our Cato, Pictor and Piso. For history 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. A similar style of writing has been adopted by many who, without any rhetorical ornament, have left behind them bare records of dates, personalities, places and events. In this sense Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilas, and very many others among the Greeks, correspond to our own Cato, Pictor and Piso, who do not understand the adornment of composition—since it is only of late that decoration of that sort has been brought into this country—and, so long as their narrative is understood, regard conciseness as the historian’s single merit. Antipater, an admirable man and a close friend of Crassus, raised his crest a little higher, and imparted to history a richer tone: the rest did not embellish their facts, but were chroniclers and nothing more.” Cicero, LCL 348, pp. 235-7.

⁹⁷ *De. Orat.*, II 55-58.

⁹⁸ Cicero, LCL 348, pp. 245-7.

Historiography, first and foremost, is meant to avoid falsehood, and to tell the truth without partiality or personal animosity. Second, history should include attention to order of time, and descriptions of countries. Third, there should be an emphasis on intentionality, causes, consequences and explanation. On a first reading it would appear that Cicero's assessment aligns with the theoretical perception determined in the previous discussion where the historiographer's concern is with recorded facts and disdains the faculty of the imagination. However, Cicero's comparison of historiography to the rhetoric skills of the orator might also suggest an alternate understanding.

By exhorting history writers to have an orator's voice, Cicero suggests that persuasion is an important aspect of historiography. In *On Invention*, I 21,30 Cicero notes; "the speaker must bend everything to the advantage of his case, by passing over all things that make against it which can be passed over, by touching lightly on what must be mentioned, and by telling his own side of the story carefully and clearly."⁹⁹ This 'twisting' is supported in *De. Orat.* II 53-54 where historians are disparaged if they record their account without elaboration. Interestingly, Cicero commends Timaeus describing him as 'best informed' and 'whose style had some polish'.¹⁰⁰ Cicero highlights that orators have difficulty in presenting history: "Do you see how great a task history is for an orator?" (*De. Orat.* II 51). A reason for this struggle is that orators' rhetoric often relies on falsehoods.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Cicero, LCL 386, p. 63.

¹⁰⁰ *De Orat.* II 58, 'Timaeus, the latest-born of all these, but as well as I can judge, by far the best informed, the most amply endowed in wealth of material and range of thought, and a man whose very style had some polish, brought to authorship abounding eloquence but no experience of public speaking.' Cicero, LCL 348, p. 241.

¹⁰¹ *De. Orat.* II 30, "'Oratory, it seems to me, derives distinction from ability, but owes little to art. For, while art is concerned with the things that are known, the activity of the orator has to do with opinion, not knowledge. For we both address ourselves to the ignorant, and speak of matters unknown to ourselves, with the result, that while our hearers form different conceptions and judgements at different times, concerning the selfsame subjects, we on our part often take opposite sides, not merely in the sense that Crassus sometimes argues against me, or I against him, when one or the other of us must of necessity be urging what is false, but also because we both maintain different opinions at different times on an identical issue, in which case only one of such opinions can possibly be right. I shall therefore speak as one who is dealing with a subject which is founded upon falsehood (*mendacio nixa*), which seldom attains to demonstration, which sets its snares to entrap the fancies and often the delusions of mankind, provided of course that you think there is any reason for listening to me.' Cicero, LCL 348, pp. 219-221.

The activity of an orator is presented as involving personal opinion and “leans upon mendacity” (*mendacio nixa*). While Cicero appears to stress that historiography is to avoid falsehood, the intersection of history, rhetoric and falsehood is present in his reflections. Byrskog poses the question “did the influence of rhetoric actually produce lying historians?”¹⁰² Robert Hall argues that perhaps it did:

Writers of narration ruled sovereignly over the historical data at their disposal. They omitted, altered, rearranged, or fabricated events for maximum effect. Even when truthful, they contoured their accounts so that events suggested proofs to be advanced later, cut out any events not essential to their argument, and attributed motives to their characters to make plausible their interpretations of events. They told events in chronological order or did not ... They invented conversations; inserted unexpected twists of plot and developed suspense to enhance the interest of the audience. Implications for the modern historian are clear: narrations do employ historical data when the truth is the most effective means of persuasion, but they cheerfully bend or even invent history to make whatever points they wish.¹⁰³

If Cicero presupposes that rhetorical training prepared orators to write history and that it was one of their duties, it would seem that the influences of rhetoric upon historiography were assumed. In *De. Orat.* II 54, Cicero disparages historians who do not ‘adorn’ their subjects with elaboration. It may be construed therefore that while on the one hand Cicero commends historiography as avoiding falsehood, on the other hand he commends orators, whose role it is to engage in historiography, to ‘twist everything to the advantage of his case.’ The rhetorical features that Cicero advocates are an example of *inventio* which implies discovery of what needs to be said in a given situation in order to convince the hearer or reader. How this aligns with the view that historiography must seek to be faithful to the past is ambiguous.¹⁰⁴

Cicero’s *De. Orat.* appears to indicate that there is a difference in his estimation between ancient historiography and the view that supposes ‘faithfulness to the past.’ Because of its affinities to rhetoric, Luke Pitcher suggests Cicero’s understanding of histo-

¹⁰² Byrskog, *Story as History*, p. 205.

¹⁰³ R.G. Hall, ‘Historical Inference and Rhetorical Effect’, in D. F. Watson, (ed.), *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy*, JSNTSup. 50, Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1991, pp. 313-4.

¹⁰⁴ A.J. Woodman, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography: Four Studies*, London: Croom Helm and Portland, 1988, p. 87, ‘It is important to realise that none of Antonius’ prescriptions is expected to deal with data which are necessarily true; on the contrary *inventio* is defined by Cicero himself as ‘the devising matter true or truelike which will make a case appear convincing’ (*De Inv.* 1:9) and what is convincing is ‘that which for the most part happens or which does not strain credibility or which contains within itself an approximation to either of these, whether it be true or false.’

riography may be more concerned with presenting “an eloquent case for a version of the past and so tends to privilege the plausible.”¹⁰⁵ The influence of rhetoric does not however simply mean that the historian is at liberty to write whatever he likes. Cicero’s *Antonius* does emphasise the need to avoid falsehood and to be impartial. The ambiguity of two seemingly contradictory perspectives, which allows for persuasion by falsehood on the one hand and persuasion by factual truth and impartiality on the other, may suggest that Cicero’s own understanding of historiography was indistinct. It underlines the premise that historiography is not an absolute art bound by rules and restrictions, but it may be presented differently under extenuating circumstances. This is borne out by Cicero’s advice to his friend Luceius on how he should record his own achievements:

Therefore I ask you again, not mincing my words, to write of this theme more enthusiastically than perhaps you feel. Waive the laws of history for this once. Do not scorn personal bias, if it urge you strongly in my favour – that sentiment of which you wrote very charmingly in one of your prefaces, declaring that you could no more be swayed thereby than Xenophon’s Hercules by Pleasure. Concede to the affection between us just a little more even than the truth will license. (*Ad Familiares* V 12:3)¹⁰⁶

Cicero’s blend of rhetoric and history suggests that the distinction between the two disciplines was not as clear in antiquity as it may be construed in some modern comprehensions.¹⁰⁷ Ancient rhetorical historiography highlights the formal qualities of language that relate to the persuasive and moral demands of the occasion. The notion of historical objectivity is that historiography must transcend rhetoric. It is far from a given though that all ancient views of historiography embrace the blend of the disciplines, at least in theory. An analysis of Lucian of Samosata’s *How to Write History*, suggests a closer affinity to an objective view of historiography.

¹⁰⁵ L. Pitcher, *Writing Ancient History: An Introduction to Classical Historiography*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2009, p. 17.

¹⁰⁶ Cicero, *Letters to Friends*, Vol. 1, LCL 205, (D.R. Shackleton Bailey, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001, p. 159.

¹⁰⁷ See the arguments of A.J. Woodman, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography*, and J.L. Moles, ‘Truth and Untruth in Herodotus and Thucydides’, in C. Gill and T.P. Wiseman (eds.), *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. Moles uses the language of literary and history to distinguish between the two sides of the debate. p. 90.

6 – *Lucian*

Lucian (c. 125 – 180 C.E.) was a prolific writer of some eighty works, across a number of genres and on a wide variety of themes. In the field of literary analysis his most recognised work is *How to Write History* (*Hist. Cons.*). Lucian addressed this letter-formatted treatise to his friend, Philo and began by pointing out that the present war against the barbarians turned everyone into a historian. He then wrote, not on the war, but on the correct way to write history. His treatise is divided into two sections, (i) the sections that need to be avoided; and (ii) the sections that need to be observed.

In the first section of his treatise, Lucian addresses a number of historiographical pitfalls. Prominent amongst these are the excessive use of flattery;¹⁰⁸ the expression of thoughts in dialectical form;¹⁰⁹ verbose description of nonessential matters;¹¹⁰ poetic description of historical narratives;¹¹¹ long introductions in proportion to short body;¹¹² inaccurate use of geography;¹¹³ lengthy description of insignificant events;¹¹⁴ and the fabrication of stories.¹¹⁵ In the context of the present discussion consideration will be given to Lucian's repugnance for the excessive use of flattery and fabrication of stories. According to Lucian, the first matter to avoid in historiography is a panegyrist attitude because it leads to falsehood.¹¹⁶ Lucian objected to the excessive flattery of rulers and generals in history writing that was motivated by personal gain. Not that he excluded eulogies completely but they needed to be used in moderation.¹¹⁷ Such writing, Lucian suggested, belonged to poetry, which "enjoys unrestricted freedom." The danger of in-

¹⁰⁸ *Hist. Cons.* 7.

¹⁰⁹ *Hist. Cons.* 17.

¹¹⁰ *Hist. Cons.* 19.

¹¹¹ *Hist. Cons.* 22.

¹¹² *Hist. Cons.* 23.

¹¹³ *Hist. Cons.* 24.

¹¹⁴ *Hist. Cons.* 28.

¹¹⁵ *Hist. Cons.* 29.

¹¹⁶ *Hist. Cons.* 7, 'To begin with, let us look at this for a serious fault: most of them neglect to record the events and spend their time lauding rulers and generals, extolling their own to the skies and slandering the enemy's beyond all reserve; they do not realise that the dividing line and frontier between history and panegyric is not a narrow isthmus but rather a mighty wall; as musicians say, they are two diapasons apart, since the encomiast's sole concern is to praise and please in any way he can the one he praises, and if he can achieve his aim by lying, little will he care; but history cannot admit a lie, even a tiny one', Lucian, *How to Write History*, Vol. 6, LCL 430, (K. Kilburn, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959, p. 11.

¹¹⁷ *Hist. Cons.* 9, Lucian, LCL 430, p. 15.

roducing panegyric is that it encourages the use of falsehood. Lucian labours the point of avoiding any hint of untruth: “History has only one concern and aim, and that is the useful; which again has one single source, and that is truth”.¹¹⁸

In the second section of his treatise Lucian highlights the principles that need to be observed in historiography and iterates his preference for historical faithfulness and disdain for falsehood. A summary of his advice to historians includes: a working knowledge of salient facts;¹¹⁹ an accurate statement of what happened;¹²⁰ avoidance of vulgar language;¹²¹ consultation of reliable sources;¹²² impartiality;¹²³ omission of an appeal for a favourable hearing;¹²⁴ presentation of myths for what they are;¹²⁵ and to keep the future audience in mind.¹²⁶ These principles may be sub-divided into those which address accuracy and those that address style. The aspects that relate to accuracy include knowledge of facts, accurate statements, consulting sources and impartiality. Instead of fabricating stories to compensate for ignorance, Lucian stressed the importance of the historian’s knowledge of his subject.¹²⁷ Lucian’s injunction to write an accurate account of ‘what happened’ sounds almost van Rankean:

The historian’s sole task is to tell the tale as it happened. This he cannot do as long as he is afraid of Artaxerxes when he is his physician or hopes to get a purple cufta ... On the contrary, even if he personally hates certain people he will think the public interest far more binding, and regard truth as worth more than enmity, and if he has a friend he will nevertheless not spare him if he errs. This ... is the one thing peculiar to history, and only to Truth must sacrifice be made. (*Hist. Cons.* 39, 40a *highlight mine*)¹²⁸

Lucian’s appeal to ‘sacrifice to no God but Truth’ derives from the context of partiality and bias. The existence of partiality and bias appears to have been frowned upon

¹¹⁸ *Hist. Cons.* 9, Lucian, LCL 430, p. 15.

¹¹⁹ *Hist. Cons.* 37.

¹²⁰ *Hist. Cons.* 39.

¹²¹ *Hist. Cons.* 44.

¹²² *Hist. Cons.* 47.

¹²³ *Hist. Cons.* 51.

¹²⁴ *Hist. Cons.* 53.

¹²⁵ *Hist. Cons.* 60.

¹²⁶ *Hist. Cons.* 61.

¹²⁷ *Hist. Cons.* 37, ‘So give us now a student of this kind ... one who could handle affairs if they were turned over to him, a man with the mind of a soldier combined with that of a good citizen, and a knowledge of generalship; yes, and one who has at some time been in a camp and has seen soldiers exercising or drilling and knows of arms and engines; ... in short not a stay-at-home or one who must rely on what people tell him.’ Lucian, LCL 430, pp. 51-3.

¹²⁸ Lucian, LCL 430, p. 55.

moreso than factual errors in ancient historiography. Woodman suggests that when the ancients speak of ‘truth’ and ‘falsehood’, they often meant that a historian was required to be impartial. This is at variance to some modern understandings of truth and falsehood.¹²⁹ It should be noted Lucian equally criticises a lack of salient knowledge, geographical errors and fabrications.¹³⁰

A further aspect that Lucian is critical of in historiography is the avoidance on embellishments, wordiness, sensationalism, and the use of vulgar language (language of the market place). These aspects may be understood as aesthetic concerns and moral issues in historiographic narratives. Lucian construes that the practice of such aesthetic concerns challenges objectivity. He compares the mind of the historian to a clear mirror that directly reflects the events of the past.¹³¹ However, having used this metaphor, Lucian gives an obscure analogy of a sculptor and his material to illustrate his point:

In brief, we must consider that the writer of history should be like Phidias or Praxiteles or Alcamenes or one of the other sculptors – they certainly never manufactured their own gold or silver or ivory or their other material; no, their material was before them, put into their hands by Eleans or Athenians or Argives, and they confined themselves to fashioning it, sawing the ivory, polishing, glueing, aligning it, setting it off with the gold, and their art lay in handling their material properly. The task of the historian is similar: to give a fine arrangement to events and illuminate them as vividly as possible. And when a man who has heard him thinks thereafter that he is actually seeing what is being described and then praises him—then it is that the work of our Phidias of history is perfect and has received its proper praise. (*Hist. Cons.* 50, 51)¹³²

Lucian’s logic seems to go against his ‘clear reflection’ argument. The material before the sculptor represents the past, which is already made, but the role of the sculptor

¹²⁹ Woodman, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography*, pp. 73-74. ‘As modern readers and critics we have been conditioned ... to expect ancient historical writers to be concerned with historical truth in our sense of the term; but if we look closely at what the ancients actually say, instead of what we think they ought to be saying, we shall see that Cicero’s view of the truth is by no means peculiar to him. ... In the *Histories* Sallust says [that] partisan politics did not cloud his view of ‘the truth’, ... words which are echoed in Livy in his preface. ... We should note that even Lucian, ... takes exactly the same view as Cicero and the other historians. If we can rid ourselves of the mistaken notion that the ancients’ view of historical truth was the same as ours, we will be able readily to appreciate why truth and falsehood were seen in terms of prejudice and bias.’

¹³⁰ Velleius Paterculus criticises Cato for errors in chronology (*Vellius Paterculus* 1.7); Polybius devotes much attention to cataloging factual inaccuracies on the part of other historians.

¹³¹ *Hist. Cons.* 50. ‘Above all, let him bring a mind like a mirror, clear, gleaming-bright, accurately centred, displaying the shape of things just as he receives them, free from distortion, false colouring, and misrepresentation. His concern is different from that of the orators—what historians have to relate is fact and will speak for itself, for it has already happened: what is required is arrangement and exposition. So they must look not for what to say but how to say it.’ Lucian, LCL 430, p. 63-5.

¹³² Lucian, LCL 430, p. 65.

is to shape it ‘saw, polish, cement, proportion the ivory and plate it with gold.’ This appears to refer to a shaping of the past through rhetorical devices. It highlights the tension inherent in trying to keep orators (rhetoricians) separate from historians. Lucian employs standard rhetorical vocabulary (it is necessary to arrange and say it) and it seems that the use of rhetorical techniques in historiography is inescapable.¹³³

Despite this confusion, Lucian nevertheless seeks to set clear limits on how to write history. It seems there is an inevitable blend of historiography for utility and historiography for pleasure. The pleasure may be a result of embellishment, but is a bonus in historiography, just as good looks are a bonus in an athlete.¹³⁴ In Lucian’s estimation, the true essence of history is in its usefulness that comes from truth; if truth is not there then the historiography is poor.

Summary

The preceding discussion has shown that ancient Greco-Roman perceptions of historiography were varied. However, an intention to record what actually happened in the past and to avoid falsehood appears paramount. Seneca observed though that despite such aspirations to be faithful to the past, there seemed to be a tendency to ‘sprinkle ... works with falsehood’ in the final composition.¹³⁵

A ‘doubleness’ of historiography existed where history and storytelling collided. Herodotus pursued this double desire and while coming under criticism for using such methodology, he was not alone. Thucydides engaged in invention, showed partiality, and was willing to accept supernatural causality. He selected material that was significant to his overall purpose and omitted material that he deemed unimportant. The

¹³³ M. Fox, ‘Dionysius, Lucian, and the Prejudice Against Rhetoric in History’, *JRS*, 91, 2001, p. 84-6.

¹³⁴ *Hist. Cons.* 9, ‘As for what gives pleasure, it is certainly better if it is there incidentally—like good looks in an athlete; but if it isn’t there, there is still nothing to prevent Nicostratus, the son of Isidotus, a true blue and a stouter fellow than either of his rivals, from becoming “a successor of Heracles though he be ugly to look at, while his opponent is Alcaeus of Miletus, the handsome fellow who, they say, was loved by Nicostratus. So it is with history—if she were to make the mistake of dealing in pleasure as well she would attract a host of lovers, but as long as she keeps only what is hers alone in all its fullness – I mean the publication of the truth – she will give little thought to beauty.’ Lucian, LCL 430, p. 15.

¹³⁵ Seneca, *Natural Questions*, VII 16:1-2, LCL 457, p. 261.

‘high’ historiographical standards he espoused were not always evident in his own work. Xenophon employed a similar process of selection and admitted to only including those events of the past that he considered noteworthy.

Polybius’ attacks on Timaeus highlighted the importance of historical accuracy and iterated standards of good historiography, but examples from his own composition illustrate that he also was capable of partiality, embellishment and the inclusion of supernatural causality when it served his narrative. Cicero’s *On Oratory* straddles the divide between historiography and rhetoric, but encouraged the telling of a story which resulted in a blend of fact and good argument. Lucian reproached those who fabricated stories of the past and perhaps set down the strictest guidelines for good historiography, but he also praised the superinduction of ‘charm’ and ‘most lucid’ descriptions.

The muddling of fact and fiction is evident in ancient Greco-Roman historiography both as a matter of theoretical reflection and in historiographic practice. This muddling was often exposed and criticised in the works of other historians, but despite this denunciation historians still engaged in reimagining the past and to some extent, expected and excused the blurring of the boundaries of historical veracity. Aspirations to historical objectivity often gave way to the subjective temperament of the historians resulting in a relativist rather than objective historiography.

The blurring of fact and fiction is constituent to the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph, as the name implies. The authors of *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* may be expected to have emulated to some extent this particular historiographic practice of the ancient historians. Greco-Roman historiography is one of the culture-specific patterns that should be considered when seeking to comprehend the gospels. It was however not the only literary background in which Luke and the epitomist circulated. Our authors were most certainly influenced by the concurrent traditions of Israelite and Jewish-Hellenistic historiography and it is to the consideration of this milieu that we now turn.

2.2.2 Israelite Historiography

Daniel Marguerat concludes *Luke* is at the crossroads of two historiographical currents – Jewish and Greek:

Luke is situated precisely at the meeting point of Jewish and Greek historiographical currents. His narrative devices are heavily indebted to the cultural standard in the Roman Empire, that is, history as the Greeks wrote it. However, contrary to the ideal of objectivity found in Herodian and Thucydidean historiography, Luke recounts a confessional history. ... The quest for causality which animates the Graeco-Roman historian is exclusively theological for Luke. He shows a complete lack of interest in other causes. This characteristic incontestably links Luke's narrative with biblical historiography. Judeo-Christian *historia* has no other ambition than to point to God behind the event.¹³⁶

In drawing this conclusion, Marguerat advances the reality that history may be recorded in various ways and is linked to the cultural standards and perspectives of the time in which it was written. In the case of *Luke*, Marguerat identifies two standards – Jewish historiography and Greek historiography. It is erroneous though to assume that Jewish or Greco-Roman historiography can be defined by some prevailing *modus operandi* that distinguishes them as coherent disciplines following an agreed process of historiographic methodology. Both disciplines show evidence of evolution and variation over time. The preceding analysis of Greco-Roman historiography has highlighted the diversity in this tradition.

Furthermore any unqualified assertion that 'Judeo-Christian *historia* has no other ambition than to point to God behind the event' belies the heterogeneity of Israelite historiography. A case in point is the Davidic court history recorded in 2 *Sam.* 9–20 and 1 *Kgs.* 1–2 which stands as an example of abstemious, factual historiography. Robert Pfeiffer goes as far as to observe that the author of the early Samuel source is 'the father of history' in a much truer sense than Herodotus.¹³⁷ In this instance, the Israelite historian attempts to write objectively by highlighting human causality and not simply with the 'ambition to point to God behind the event.'

¹³⁶ D. Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian: Writing the Acts of the Apostles*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 25.

¹³⁷ R.H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941, p. 357.

Without question, Marguerat's observation that Judaeo-Christian *historia* presents history as a *Heilsgeschichte* is fundamentally accurate. However, this observation presents an underlying problem for the historian who works from within the discipline of historical criticism. *Heilsgeschichte* does not always meet the standards of accuracy assumed in rigorous historical evaluation.¹³⁸ Bernard Anderson has identified this discrepancy as a dilemma for biblical scholars who are committed to the critical method that requires that history be subject to analysis but on the other hand are confronted with the notion that biblical history is a *Heilsgeschichte*.¹³⁹ However, the discrepancy need not become a sharp alternative. As noted, many modern historians have been emancipated from nineteenth-century historicity with its concern to discover *wie es eigentlich gewesen*. History can be portrayed as that which reflects critical methodology and human causation as well as being a *Heilsgeschichte*.

Writing from within the paradigm of late nineteenth-century German historicism,¹⁴⁰ Julius Wellhausen proposed a solution to the Israelite historiographical dilemma by discerning that different aspects of Biblical historiography reflect the spiritual situations of the time in which they were written. Wellhausen perceived much of the Pentateuch, with its emphasis on *Heilsgeschichte* from Creation to the conquest of Canaan, being written c. 500 B.C.E. by Aaronic priests in Babylonian exile. In Wellhausen's understanding *Heilsgeschichte* was therefore a later way of viewing earlier history – 'the historical sense of the people developed itself in connection with religion.'¹⁴¹ The events of the past were inevitably shaped to endorse the religious comprehension of the present. Wellhausen's hypothesis, *vis-à-vis* the wider corpus of Israelite historiography,

¹³⁸ W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, Vol. 1 trans. J.A. Baker, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961, p. 512, 'The discrepancy between the picture of history constructed by critical study and the salvation-history portrayed in the utterances of Old Testament faith has emerged ever more clearly in the researches of the last hundred years, and has long constituted an urgent problem for the understanding of the message of the Old Testament.'

¹³⁹ B. Anderson, 'The Problem of Old Testament History', *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, 1965, p. 5.

¹⁴⁰ D. Banks, *Writing the History of Israel*, New York: T. & T. Clark, 2006, p. 16. Historicism is defined here as the 'view that cultural phenomena are historically determined and thus all truths and values, including those of the historian, are relative and may only be understood within their historical context.'

¹⁴¹ J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, trans. J. Black and A. Menzies, Edinburgh: Adams and Charles Black, 1885, p. 464.

was later modified by German scholars such as Hermann Gunkel, Albrecht Alt, Gerhard von Rad and Martin Noth who suggested that Israel's history in terms of a *Heilsgeschichte* was not merely a late construction but was rooted in oral traditions.

These theorisations on the nature of Israelite historiography, whether it is written or oral, serve to highlight the notion that Israelite historiography was not a firm, concrete corpus but recorded traditions that had been gathered together to produce an end product relative to the perspective of the composing historian. While historiographic understandings and methodology in certain cultures at certain periods may exhibit some homogeneity, closer examination of ancient Israelite historiography reveals an evolution of thought and practices. The following survey of ancient Israelite and Jewish historiography will seek to elucidate this relativist outlook through a consideration of Israelite and Jewish-Hellenistic history writing.

The previous survey of Greco-Roman historiography tended to concentrate on the distinctions between fact and fiction. The following analysis of Israelite historiography will seek to explore the aspect of source manipulation and the reshaping of the past by later historians in favour of the present. It is suggested that Israelite historians were flexible with their sources and while not explicitly stating their methodology; they freely manipulated them. In so doing, they implicitly advanced a relativist approach to historiography. Attention will also be given briefly to the development of supernatural causality in the Israelite historiographic tradition. It is proposed that this characteristic became so entrenched in Israelite historiography that it became an unquestioned and acceptable blurring of fact and fiction.

2.2.2.1 The Evolving Nature of Israelite Historiography

Israelite historiography is extremely diversified and characterised by numerous connotations to the extent that even the terminology used to discuss the discipline can seem ambiguous. Historiography may simply concern the form in which history is recorded

and can be analysed primarily from a form-critical perspective. It may also refer to the study of the nature of biblical histories as written by different historians or historical ‘schools’ such as the Yahwist (J), the Deuteronomist (Dtr), the Chronicler (Chr), or the Maccabean authors. Historiography can also designate the general collection of written works that reflect historical thinking no matter the form or author. In this third understanding, scholars seek to trace the evolution of mental states of Israel’s historians in relation to each other as well as those of her Near Eastern neighbours.¹⁴² It is this latter aspect of historiography which primarily concerns the present study, however a review of the scholarly discussion that informs the other designations of Israelite historiography is judicious in determining the relativist nature of ancient Israelite historical thought.

At the commencement of the twentieth century, Gunkel¹⁴³ and Hugo Gressmann¹⁴⁴ developed theories about the evolution of the Israelite historical narratives. Their theories envisaged Israelite historiographical forms progressing through a number of developmental stages, from primitive fairy tale that employed fantasy and imagination (*Märchen*), to legend that focused on specific people and places (*Vätersagen*), and finally to an expansive narrative style (*Geschichts-Novelle*) that corresponded to a higher level of culture.¹⁴⁵ While Gunkel and Gressmann perceived continuity in historiography between *Vätersagen* and *Geschichts-Novelle*, one difference they discerned was that the writer of *Geschichts-Novelle* tended to tell it ‘how it actually was’ and excluded the wonders and direct appearances and ‘physical’ intervention by the deity.¹⁴⁶ The awareness of such a distinction between historical narratives raises the question of historical

¹⁴² Van Seters, *In Search of History*, p. 209. Seters distinguishes between the three aspects of Israelite historiography and organises his work along the lines of the evolution of literary forms, the development of histories and the advancement of historical thought.

¹⁴³ H. Gunkel, ‘Geschichtsschreibung im A.T’, *RGK* II, pp. 1348-54.

¹⁴⁴ H. Gressmann, *Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels*, SAT II.1, Göttingen: 1910.

¹⁴⁵ Van Seters, *In Search of History*, p. 211.

¹⁴⁶ Van Seters, *In Search of History*, p. 212. The exclusion of ‘supernatural’ aspects is highlighted by A. Rofé, ‘4QSam in the Light of Historico-literary Criticism: The Case of 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21’, *Judentum und Umwelt – Biblische und Judaistische Studien*, 1990, 29, pp.109-119. ‘Here we have a Biblical author, writing ... before the Hellenization of the East who employs the standards of a ‘Western’ literate. He detects contradictions and incongruities with no less acumen than a modern critic. And since he cannot condone such a disarray in his source, he sets himself to rearrange it.’

objectivity and suggests an evolution in the manner in which Israel's historians thought about history.

Von Rad affirmed the view that a 'historical sense' arose in Israelite historiography when historians sought to apply causal thinking to sequences of political events. Causal thinking was evident in the use of etiological legend and was argued as indicative of 'historical thinking'.¹⁴⁷ This 'historical thinking' was predisposed to the theological orientation of the Israelite historians and von Rad concluded that 'belief in the sovereignty of God in history' was the most important factor in Israel's development of its historiography.¹⁴⁸

If the premise is accepted that the style of historical writing evolved throughout Israel's history, it implies that later historians questioned, either explicitly or implicitly, the manner in which earlier or contemporaneous historians wrote or recounted the past. The decision to modify previously written material or oral traditions often appears to have been driven by the 'newer' ideological framework of a revising historian, and in many cases it probably was, but it also serves to illustrate that earlier historiographic accounts were not considered absolute in the sense of impervious objective truth.

Martin Noth took up the scholarly developments flowing from the discussion of Israelite historiography in his works on the corpus of writings from *Joshua* to *Kings*, and his work on the Chronicler's history.¹⁴⁹ Noth conducted a study on historical traditions based on source analysis. He extended source-critical studies on the Pentateuch to include the historical books of the Former Prophets. By delimiting the Pentateuchal

¹⁴⁷ G. Von Rad, G., *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, (trans.), E. W. Trueman Dicken. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1966, pp. 166-7, 'A historical sense is a particular form of causal thinking, applied in practice to a broad succession of political events. ... There are only two peoples in antiquity who really wrote history – the Greeks and, long before them, the Israelites.'

¹⁴⁸ von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch*, p.170, 'The Israelites came to a historical way of thinking, and then to historical writing, by way of their belief in the sovereignty of God in history. For them, 'History is under God's management. He sets the process in motion by his promise. He sets its limits according to his will and watches over it. ... All history has its source in God, and takes place for God.' cf. L. Köhler, *Old Testament Theology*, tr. A.S. Todd, London: Lutterworth Press, 1957, p.93.

¹⁴⁹ M. Noth, *The Chronicler's History*, trans. H.G.M Williamson, JSOTSup 50, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

sources (J, E and P) to the Tetrateuch, Noth proposed the existence of a comprehensive history undertaken by a single author that ranged from *Deuteronomy* to *Kings*. In this corpus he identified oral and written traditions being brought together to present a particular ideology. While Noth stressed that the 'Dtr was not a redactor trying to make corrections, but a compiler of historical traditions and a narrator of the history of his people,'¹⁵⁰ he also observed the Dtr selected material in accordance with his general approach to history.¹⁵¹ Noth's suggestion of the Dtr's process of critical examination through explanation and judgment of events, underscores the notion of historical relativism. It presumes the sources at Dtr's disposal were open to modification.

A similar process of combining, editing, and shaping was suggested by von Rad with regard to the Pentateuch and the role of J whom he envisaged as the 'creative genius who combined the various themes, filled them out, and gave the theological perspective to the whole'.¹⁵² To admit that, at least for some sections of the material in the Pentateuch, J engaged in a form of historical editing again underscores the notion that previous historical accounts whether written or oral traditions were capable of reinterpretation. In the mind of the reviser, the source material was viewed as a relative account of the events and was capable of being reshaped and rewritten.

Sigmund Mowinckel continued to explore the changing perspective in Israelite historiography and he suggested that references in the books of *Kings* to the 'Annals of the Kings of Israel, or Judah' and the 'Annals of Solomon' indicate that this was the point

¹⁵⁰ Noth, *The Chronicler's History*, p. 84.

¹⁵¹ Noth, *The Chronicler's History*, p. 84, 'It is true that Dtr did not merely assemble the traditional material used in his work; he was also selective. This is particularly demonstrable for the period of the kings of Israel and Judah. The 'Books of the Chronicles' presumably contained a wealth of detailed information on this period from which Dtr made a very restricted selection. ... He by no means made an arbitrary choice of material which seemed at the moment to fit with his central ideas; but he selected consistently in accordance with the general approach taken in his history, drawing on the 'Books of the Chronicles' for material on a few topics which he thought important and, equally consistently, omitting all other material – including the political and military activities of the kings as rulers of the state – because it did not seem essential to the treatment of his general theme.' NB. 'Books of the Chronicles' does not refer to the canonical books of *1* and *2 Chronicles* but to non-extant sources referred to within the Dtr history.

¹⁵² von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch*, p. 59 'What we see is a large quantity of detached materials which have been fused into a single whole according to the pattern of one ancient tradition.'

of departure for Israelite historiography.¹⁵³ Mowinckel perceived a reference to an earlier historical work containing tales about the deeds and wisdom of the king in *1 Kgs.* 11:4 – the ‘Book of the Acts of Solomon.’ The historical narrative of *Kings* was therefore added as a second stage of historiography. Mowinckel suggests *Kings* is therefore a ‘synchronistic history of the kings of Israel and Judah’ that corresponded to a popular version of the state annals of Judah.¹⁵⁴ In Mowinckel’s proposal, the revision of previous recorded history illustrates that later redactors and authors were not mere collectors of traditions but were active historians who critically interpreted previous historical recollections.

A third way of approaching the historiography is to explore the idea of ‘historical thinking’ or to coin a synonymous term, the ‘philosophy of history’. Von Rad alluded concluded ‘the Israelites came to a historical way of thinking, and then to historical writing, by way of their belief in the sovereignty of God in history.’¹⁵⁵ Millar Burrows reaches a similar conclusion: “The basic ... presupposition of all ancient Hebrew ideas about history is the conviction that in human history the one eternal, living God is working out his own sovereign purpose for the good of his creatures.”¹⁵⁶ Both von Rad and Burrows were primarily concerned with distinguishing Israelite historiography from the historiographies of the surrounding Near Eastern cultures and Burrows suggests that the focus on a religious idea is “relatively advanced historiography ... since the records, in their present form, are the result of prolonged reflection on the nation’s history.”¹⁵⁷

As concerns the comparison between ‘historical thinking’ in Israelite historiography and the surrounding cultures of the Near East, Hartmut Gese suggested that Mesopotamian and Hittite cultures understood history as the consequence of human actions but

¹⁵³ S. Mowinckel, ‘Israelite Historiography’, *ASTI* 2, 1963, p.7. Sources are cited in *1 Kgs.* 14:19, 15:31, 16:14, 20, 27.

¹⁵⁴ Mowinckel, ‘Israelite Historiography’, p.18.

¹⁵⁵ von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch*, p. 170.

¹⁵⁶ M. Burrows, ‘Ancient Israel’, R.C. Denton (ed.), *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955, p. 128.

¹⁵⁷ Burrows, ‘Ancient Israel’, p. 103.

that Israel developed its own unique conception of history based upon its particular understanding of a covenant with Yahweh.¹⁵⁸ It is suggested that this ‘predisposing factor’ in Israel’s thinking gave rise to ‘historiographic works’. Bertil Albrektson, has challenged this view and suggests that in the Mesopotamia and the Hittite texts, gods are also presented as intervening in the affairs of men. He concludes that a formulae was used to express the concept of divine intervention throughout the Near East.¹⁵⁹

As to when an awareness of divine intervention arose in the historical thinking of the Israelites is disputed. Albrektson supports the view that the idea of a divine plan is, in the word of Burrows, ‘relatively advanced historiography.’ He perceives the notion of a divine plan of history in the OT as being overstated especially in the historical books of the Dtr and the Chr and finds little evidence of a comprehensive theology before the time of *Second Isaiah*.¹⁶⁰ Wilfred G. Lambert counters Albrektson’s position by arguing that in J there is a philosophy of history that informs the prophets and all subsequent history.¹⁶¹

These divergent views as to when Israelite historians perceived a ‘divine plan’ and supernatural causality are further complicated by the numerous assessments seeking to date J and the Dtr. Manfred Weippert attempts to correlate the emergence of historical thinking with historical, sociological and political changes, akin to Gunkel’s treatment of historiographic forms. Weippert envisages the rise of the monarchy under David and Solomon as changing the socio-cultural conditions in Israel and as a result of these changes the historical works and thinking of the Yahwist and Elohist emerged.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ H. Gese, ‘The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East and Old Testament’, (trans.), J.F. Ross, *Journal for Theology and the Church*, 1, 1965, pp. 49-65.

¹⁵⁹ B. Albrektson, *History and the Gods: An Essay on the Idea of Historical Events as Divine Manifestations in the Ancient Near East and Israel*, Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1965, p. 38, ‘The phrase which the king ... uses to express the belief that the course of events was directed by the gods and that his victory was a divine gift, ‘the gods delivered it into my hand’ seems to have spread all over the ancient Near East.’

¹⁶⁰ Van Seters, *In Search of History*, p. 242.

¹⁶¹ W.G. Lambert, review article of *History and the Gods*, in *Orientalia*, 39, 1970, pp. 170-7.

¹⁶² Van Seters, *In Search of History*, p. 243.

For the purpose of the present discussion the actual time period when changes in historical thinking happened, and the subsequent impact of the changes, is less significant than the fact that the changes occurred. A homogeneous and infallible manner in which Israelite history was written or understood did not exist, despite the later claims by Josephus that it did.¹⁶³ While a later historiography had a *tendenz* towards the ‘sovereignty of God in history’, such a *tendenz* was not necessarily evident in the earlier historical traditions. Earlier myths, such as that which may be perceived in the story of Cain and Abel where a conflict between pastoral and agricultural societies is evident, were later rewritten by J to foreground the interests of sin and judgment.¹⁶⁴ Similarly, the hero legend of David acting to fulfil the purposes of God by killing Goliath may suggest Dtr’s attribution to the king of the earlier exploits of Elhanan who is credited with the same valorous feat in *2 Sam.* 21:19.¹⁶⁵

Israel’s historians took liberties with each other’s histories and traditions and while their own ‘version’ may have been seeking a perceived goal of objectivity with a ‘divine *tendenz*’, it was in turn open to alteration by subsequent historiographers. Such rewriting can be seen in a closer analysis of the omissions and additions that exist between the Dtr and the Chr. The following case study will centre on the differences that occur between the two historical accounts as evident in *2 Sam.* 24 and *1 Chr.* 21 and illustrate how the Chr manipulated his sources.

¹⁶³ Josephus’ views will be considered subsequently. He contends that historical truth is not created or discovered by human inquiry since it exists as ‘objective fact’. This ‘objective fact’ is subsequently witnessed by the historian and when historians confirm each other’s account, the testimony is deemed to be true.

¹⁶⁴ C. Ochs, ‘Nomad and Settler in Patriarchal Religion’, *Feminist Studies*, 3, 3/4, pp. 56-61. Ochs highlights that the Cain and Abel story has an earlier counterpart in the Sumerian myth of Dumuzi and Enkimdu. cf. D. K. Sharpes, *Lord of the Scrolls: Literary Traditions in the Bible and Gospels*, Peter Lang Publishing, New York, 2007, pp. 93-104 who notes, ‘Hebrew national literature, clumsily adapted from Sumerian and Egyptian mythology, became codified, standardised and sanctified’, p.104; also J. McKeown, *Genesis*, Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2008, p. 104, ‘Stories from Sumer ... reflect ancient tensions between farmers and shepherds. An example is the dispute between the shepherd-god Dumuzi and the farmer-god Enkimdu. These farmer/shepherd tensions are very much in the background of the biblical story’, cf. ‘Dumuzi and Enkimdu: The Dispute between the Shepherd God and the Farmer God’ in J.B. Pritchard, (ed) *Ancient and Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969, pp. 41-2.

¹⁶⁵ The text from *2 Samuel* 21-24 is commonly perceived as a miscellaneous appendix consisting of materials that are old and have originated at earlier times than when they appear in the canon. This suggests that the reference to Elhanan is an earlier account that may have provided a source to the Dtr cf. W. Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, Louisville: John Knox Publishing, 1990, pp.385-394; and A.F. Campbell, S.J., *2 Samuel*, Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005, pp. 184-210.

2.2.2.2 An Analysis of the Deuteronomist and the Chronicler

The previous discussion has argued that Israelite historiography is heterogeneous, and that this heterogeneity reflects a relativist view of the nature of history. Israelite historiography evolved over time and earlier histories were subject to later, or perhaps contemporaneous reshaping and revision. Two historians who illustrate this evolution are the Dtr and the Chr. The following case study will demonstrate how these historians shaped their sources and rewrote earlier historiography. Noth summarises the traditional consensus as to the nature of Israelite historiography in relation to these authors:

In the works of the Deuteronomist and the Chronicler we have compilations in the strict sense of historical traditions, each work with its own purpose and particular point of view. Thus, these two works are, generally speaking, very closely related to each other. ... It need not be stressed that the Deuteronomistic work has an outstanding significance as the first collection and editing of traditions within Old Testament literature. It marks the beginning of a special type of Biblical literature. Furthermore, it is only within this work that an abundance of priceless, old historical tales and reports are preserved; later these were transferred in part into the Chronicler's history, but were partially distorted and deformed in the process.¹⁶⁶

It has been suggested that subsequent rewriting implies earlier historiography was not considered objective in the sense of impervious truth and it could therefore be changed. Based on the similarities in consecutive word order it is safe to assume that the Chr relied on earlier written sources.¹⁶⁷ Whether he was seeking to replace an older account with his own, or presenting a parallel but different version is unclear, but the fact remains that modern readers now have two historical accounts of the same events that enables us to consider how sources were shaped by subsequent authors.

1 – Sources and Dates

Chronicles is a work for which some of the historical sources are still available to the modern reader.¹⁶⁸ It would appear for the Chr that a 'primary history' existed in some form from *Genesis* to *2 Kings* and as well as providing a historical source, this 'primary

¹⁶⁶ M. Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, JSOTSup. 15, Sheffield: JSOT, 1981, pp. 1-2.

¹⁶⁷ J. Sparks, 'The Chronicler's Genealogies: Towards an Understanding of 1 Chronicles 1-9', PhD thesis, Murdoch University, 2007, pg. 444 and 465. Sparks bases his conclusions on the work of McIvor and Carroll published in two articles, *Experiments to Develop Criteria for Determining the Existences of Written Sources, and Their Potential Implications for the Synoptic Problem* (2002) and *Distinguishing Characteristics of Orally Transmitted Material when Compared to Material Transmitted by Literary Means* (2004).

¹⁶⁸ W. Johnstone, *Chronicles and Exodus*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998, p. 142.

history' could be reshaped. In addition to this canonical record, the Chr version of history has almost certainly derived from additional extinct non-canonical sources.¹⁶⁹ Until the discovery of the Qumran scrolls, it was almost unanimously presumed that the Chr's *Vorlage* was the canonical books of *Samuel/Kings*, and various extinct non-canonical sources such as the 'Annals and Acts of the Kings of Israel and Judah.'

Since the recovery of the 4QSam^a, another hypothesis has been advanced that proposes the existence of a different text type to Masoretic Samuel. Werner Lemke suggests that the widening of Chr's *Vorlage* to include 4QSam^a may suggest an additional reason for the variations in the Masoretic texts of *Chronicles* text *vis-à-vis* *Samuel*.¹⁷⁰ This proposal suggests that the Chr either had before him a text similar to 4QSam^a or both Masoretic *Samuel* and 4QSam^a. While it is acknowledged that not all variations between the Chr and his sources are the result of his own perceptions and may be due to problems in textual transmission, this transmission should not be used to dismiss all of the alterations.¹⁷¹

Further compounding the issues surrounding the Chr's *Vorlage* is the wide divergence of opinion concerning the date of the Chr's history with suggestions varying widely from the early Persian period to as late as the Maccabean period.¹⁷² The general consensus is that the Chr wrote after the Dtr and this chronology is assumed in the following discussion.

¹⁶⁹ J. Van Seters, J., 'Creative Imitation in the Hebrew Bible', *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 29, 4, 2000, p. 397.

¹⁷⁰ W. Lemke, 'The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History', *HTR*, 58, 1965, p. 356.

¹⁷¹ W.E. Lemke, 'The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History', pp. 349-63. cf. E. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, HSM 19, Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978, p. 163-4. 'None of the 4Q[Sama] agreements ... betrays characteristics commonly associated with the Chronicler's specific interests (Levitical, genealogical, cultic, etc.) ... but C[hronicles] is rather what has been believed all along, viz., a retelling of the S[amuel] K[ings] history. The contribution of 4Q is that it provides us with an exemplar much closer than M[asoretic] to the Samuel textual basis used by the Chronicler.'

¹⁷² K. Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemiah*, ATD Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954, in W. Lemke, 'The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History', p. 349. Galling considers the Chr's history to be the work of two successive editions, one dating from ca. 300 B.C.E. and the other from ca. 190 B.C.E., cf. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, HAT 21; Tübingen: Mohr, 1955, in W. Lemke, 'The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History', p. 349. Rudolph views the history to be the work of a single author in the early 4th century B.C.E.

2 – 2 Samuel 24:1-9 and 1 Chronicles 21:1-6

The narratives 2 *Sam.* 24 and 1 *Chr.* 21 relate three parallel episodes: (i) the census which David conducted through Joab and the officers of the army (2 *Sam.* 24:1-9, 1 *Chr.* 21:1-7); (ii) the pestilence sent by the Lord to punish Israel (2 *Sam.* 24:10-17, 1 *Chr.* 21:8-17); and (iii) the building of an altar by David on the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite (2 *Sam.* 24:18-25, 1 *Chr.* 21:18-27). Added to these extant canonical accounts is a 4QSam^a fragment that corresponds with 2 *Sam.* 24:16-20. While Septuagintal and Josephean texts provide further Greek parallels, the present discussion will restrict itself to the canonical Masoretic texts. The discussion will also be limited to the parallels in 2 *Sam.* 24:1-10 and 1 *Chr.* 21:1-7. 2 *Sam.* 24:1-10 and 1 *Chr.* 21:1-7 bear a number of similarities and differences as shown in Table 1. (See following page)

Statistically 2 *Sam.* 24 uses 143 words and 1 *Chr.* 21 uses 96. There are 48 words that are the same in both accounts. This commonality between the texts of 1 *Chr.* 21 and 2 *Sam.* 24 suggests that either one of the accounts has been recast from the other. In the presumption of the present discussion, it is assumed that the Chr modified his Dtr source, generally by minuses but also by significant pluses.

In the case of the pluses, the Chr significantly adds שׂטן as the one who incites David to take the census rather than the Dtr's, יְהוָה. This change displays a significant modification of the Dtr text by the Chr. The alteration essentially removes from the Dtr account any suggestion that David is a Kafkaesque victim of a higher power where the Dtr narrative is framed by the pronouncement that David's actions were determined by Yahweh's anger.¹⁷³

Rivkah Kluger suggests that the Chr's alteration may be part of the process in which evil came to be associated with the demons or Satan.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, Roddy Braun pro-

¹⁷³ D. Penchansky, *What Rough Beast: Images of God in the Old Testament*, Louisville: Westminster, 1999, p. 35.

¹⁷⁴ R. S. Kluger, *Satan in the Old Testament*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967, pp. 151-62.

poses the text of *Chronicles* probably represents the final stage in the Old Testament's development of a figure of Yahweh's heavenly council who not only bring charges against his people but also actually incites them to evil.¹⁷⁵

Table 1. Synoptic Parallel 2 Samuel 24:1-10 and 1 Chronicles 21:1-7

2 Samuel 24:1-10	1 Chronicles 21:1-7
<p>ויסוף אף־יהוה לחרות [בישראל ויסת את־דוד] בהם לאמר 6/12 [לך מנה את־ישראל] ואת־יהודה [ויאמר] המלך [אלי־ואב] שר־החיל אשר־אתו שוט־נא בכל־שבטי [ישראל] [מדן ועד־באר שבע] ופקדו את־העם 7/22 [וינדעתי את מספר] העם [ויאמר יואב] אל־המלך [ויוסף יהוה] אלהיך [אל־העם כהם וכהם מאה פעמים] ועיני אדני־המלך ראות [ואדני המלך למה] חפץ בדבר הזה 12/23</p>	<p>ויעמד שטן [על־ישראל ויסת את־דוד] 6/8 [למנות את־ישראל] [ויאמר] דוד [אלי־ואב] וא־לשרי העם לכו ספרו [את־ישראל] [מבאר שבע ועד־דן] והביאו אלי 7/18 [ואדעה את־מספרם] [ויאמר יואב יוסף יהוה] [על־עמו כהם מאה פעמים הלא] [אדני המלך] כלם לאדני לעבדים [למה] יבקש זאת אדני 12/23 למה יהיה לאשמה לישראל [ודבר־המלך חזק עלי־ואב] [ויצא יואב] ויתהלך 9/10 [בכל־ישראל]</p>
<p>[ויחזק דבר־המלך אלי־ואב] ועל שרי החיל [ויצא יואב] ושרי החיל לפני המלך לפקד את־העם 9/17 [את־ישראל]</p>	<p>9/10</p>
<p>ויעברו את־הירדן ויחנו בערוער ימין העיר אשר בתוך־הנחל הגד ואל יעזר ויבאו הגלעדה ואל־ארץ תחתים חדשי ויבאו דנה יען וסביב אל צידון ויבאו מבצר־צר וכל־ערי החוי והכנעני ויצאו אל־נגב יהודה באר שבע וישטו בכל־הארץ ויבאו מקצה תשעה 2/47 חדשים ועשרים [יום ירושלם]</p>	<p>2/2 [ויבא ירושלם] [ויתן יואב את־מספר מפקד־העם] אל־ דוד ויהי כל־[ישראל] אלף אלפים ומאה אלף [איש שלף חרב] [ויהודה] ארבע מאות ושבעים אלף 11/25 [איש] שלף חרב</p>
<p>[ויתן יואב את־מספר מפקד־העם] אל־המלך ותהי [ישראל] שמנה מאות אלף [איש] חיל [שלף חרב] ואיש [יהודה] חמש־מאות אלף 11/22 [איש]</p>	<p>ולוי ובנימן לא פקד בתוכם כי־נתעב דבר־המלך את־יואב וירע בעיני האלהים על־הדבר הזה [וינך] 1/18 את־ישראל</p>
<p>[וינך] לבדוד אתו אחרי־כן ספר את־העם 1/8</p>	<p>1/18</p>

(In the table, the Hebrew text is displayed in such a way that the differences between the synoptic accounts can be easily discerned. Similarities are enclosed in brackets while pluses and minuses in the two accounts are open.)

¹⁷⁵ R.L. Braun, *1 Chronicles*, WBC 14, Dallas: Word Books, 2002, p. 216.

A number of further pluses in the Chr account may be construed as appropriating greater guilt to David. These may be perceived in the added disputation by Joab, ‘Why should he bring guilt on Israel?’ (למה יהיה לכשמה לישראל); in the changing of the designation ‘king’ (חמלך) to a more pointed ‘David’ (דויד); and in Joab being given credit for not counting Levi and Benjamin ‘he did not include Levi and Benjamin in the numbering’ (ולוי ובנימן לא פקר בחזכם). In the case of the minuses, the Chr omits יהודה in the scope of the census. Judah becomes part of Israel and is not an equal partner with (northern) Israel as the Dtr suggests. This minus may reflect an omission made by someone other than the Chr with the general consensus being that the Chr tended to focus on the kingdom of Judah and on numerous other occasions events relating to the northern kingdom are omitted.¹⁷⁶ The Chr also omits the Dtr’s detailed geographical route of how the census was undertaken (2 *Sam.* 24:5-7) but this may have been either a plus in the Dtr’s account or a minus in the Chr’s account if they were using a common original.

Concerning the differences in the numbers cited by the Dtr and the Chr it is impossible to speak about the alterations with certainty. 2 *Sam.* 24:9 records that in Israel there were 800,000 who drew the sword and in Judah there were 500,000 men. 1 *Chr.* 21:5, gives the figures as 1,100,000 and 470,000 (differences of an additional 300,000 and reduction of 30,000 respectively). Apart from the fact that these figures seem implausible for the total population of military age, there appears to be evidence that a later copyist added an extra 300,000 to the number of Israel and subtracted 30,000 from the Judeans.¹⁷⁷ There are many parallel passages in which numbers are found and often these do not agree with each other. John Wenham notes that there “may have been corruption [in numbers] even before the second of the two narratives was written.”¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ D. Freedman, ‘The Chronicler’s Purpose’, *CBQ*, 23, 1961, p. 436; J. Newsome ‘Towards a New Understanding of the Chronicler and his Purposes’, *JBL*, 94, 1975, p. 205.

¹⁷⁷ J.W. Wenham, ‘Large Numbers in the Old Testament’, *Tyndale Bulletin*, 18, 1967, p. 33-4.

¹⁷⁸ Wenham, ‘Large Numbers in the Old Testament’, p. 21.

Summary

The Chr's only negative portrayal of King David occurs in *1 Chr.* 21 – David committed the sinful act of numbering the people. This interpretation is based though on *2 Sam.* 24. Yet, if *1 Chr.* 21 is read without the framework of *2 Sam.* 24, David may simply be perceived as an innocent victim, rather than a guilty sinner. This shaping of *2 Sam.* 24 vindicates David and serves to promote him as the legitimate founder of Israel and its native dynasty. In the context of the present discussion it also infers that previous historiography could be manipulated and reshaped. The Chr regularly embellished the text of his sources, through omissions and pluses. While Noth notes that the Chr adopted a basically positive attitude towards the sources that he was working with, the undeniable reality is that he manipulated previous histories under the influence of the conceptions of his own time.¹⁷⁹ It would appear that the Chr approached his task with a relativist outlook towards the historiographic sources he had at his disposal, even if he was unaware of this.

2.2.2.3 An Analysis of *1* and *2 Maccabees*

It has been argued that Israelite historiography evolved over time with earlier histories being subject to later interpretation, reshaping, and revision. Such subsequent reshaping of a previous narrative highlights the relativist nature of historiography and that history writers were prepared to sacrifice historical veracity in order to advance a particular ideological position. The following case study will seek to further illustrate how this behaviour continued into the Jewish-Hellenistic period by comparing the ideological, or propagandist, historiography found in the similar accounts of the birth of the Hasmonean dynasty in the second-century B.C.E.

George Nickelsburg and Jonathan Goldstein, advance the hypothesis that *2 Maccabees* is anti-Hasmonean propaganda written as an alternative to *1 Maccabees*. This hy-

¹⁷⁹ Noth, *The Chroniclers History*, pp. 89-95.

pothesis arises from notable differences in the foci of *1 Maccabees* and *2 Maccabees*, which essentially recount the same period of history but with marked disparities. These different foci may be understood as propaganda promoting the Hasmoneans (pro-Hasmonean) or propaganda against the Hasmoneans (anti-Hasmonean). It also further underscores the proposal that ancient Jewish-Hellenistic historiography was relativistic. The presumably later historian – the epitomist of *2 Maccabees* – shapes his story to stand as an alternative to the historiography of *1 Maccabees*.

In the time period of the Maccabean revolt Jewish rivalries were prominent. One such rivalry existed between the pious Jews (Ἀσιδαῖτοι) and the Hasmoneans. This conflict may explain why in *2 Maccabees* the Hasmoneans are mainly ignored and the real heroes are the Hasidic martyrs: Eleazar, the mother, her seven sons, and Razis.¹⁸⁰ If this rivalry is behind the epitomist's motivations to abridge Jason the Cyrene's narrative as an alternative history to *1 Maccabees*, then *2 Maccabees* may be considered to be anti-Hasmonean and an example of rewriting the past.¹⁸¹ Goldstein suggests the anti-Hasmonean propaganda may be comprehended in three aspects; (i) the presumed dates of writing and cultural milieu of the respective books, (ii) modification of the Second Maccabean narrative to challenge the First Maccabean account; and (iii) the omission of references to Hasmonean achievements in *2 Maccabees*.

Before proceeding, it is helpful to briefly address the premise that *1 Maccabees* is pro-Hasmonean historiography. Goldstein understands “First Maccabees is a history of the rise of the Hasmonean dynasty, from the daring deeds of the zealous priest Mattathias to the reign of John Hyrcanus, high priest and prince of the Jews by dynastic heredi-

¹⁸⁰ G. W. Nickelsburg, ‘1 and 2 Maccabees – Same Story, Different Meaning’, *Concordia Theological Monthly*, 42, 8, 1971, p. 525.

¹⁸¹ Nickelsburg, ‘Same Story, Different Meaning’, p. 525, ‘[The author of 2 Maccabees] intends to confute the kind of interpretation of 2nd-century history expressed in 1 Maccabees. He does so by asserting the heroism and redemptive activity of the Hasidic martyrs, enlisting Judas into their ranks and ignoring the accomplishments of the later Hasmoneans.’

ty.”¹⁸² This emphasis is confirmed by the events that *1 Maccabees* relates, viz., the story of the Maccabean family: “the stock chosen by God to save [the Jews]”.¹⁸³ Yet despite an apparent divine mandate to rule, during the time of Alexander Jannaeus a schism occurred between the Hasmoneans and the upholders of the Ἀσιδαῖοι over this assumed divine right.¹⁸⁴ The schism precipitated the Judean Civil War of the first-century B.C.E.¹⁸⁵ and it is presumed this was the time *1 Maccabees* was written.¹⁸⁶

The anti-Hasmonean focus of *2 Maccabees* presumes that its author knew of the earlier work and therefore *2 Maccabees* would have appeared later. Goldstein maintains that *2 Maccabees* could not have been written after the Roman general Pompey because according to *2 Macc.* 15:37, Jerusalem had been in Jewish hands from the death of Nicanor.¹⁸⁷ There is also the possibility that Jason of Cyrene’s work (and the abridgement) were actually written concurrently from two opposing camps.

¹⁸² J.A. Goldstein, *1 Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1976, p. 4.

¹⁸³ Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, p. 12.

¹⁸⁴ We are not sure of the date of this schism. Some date it under John Hyrcanus and others under his son, Alexander Jannaeus although Josephus’ account links the actions of Jannaeus to the outbreak of the fighting.

¹⁸⁵ *Antiquities*, 13:13-14. During the Feast of Tabernacles, Jannaeus incited the people to riot and his soldiers slew more than 6,000 people in the temple courtyard. The incident was a factor causing the Judean Civil War. The war lasted six years and left some 50,000 Judeans dead. The rebels requested Seleucid assistance and joined forces with Demetrius III. While Jannaeus was defeated, the rebels ultimately returned to the Hasmoneans. The greatest impact of the war was Jannaeus’ revenge and Josephus reports that he crucified 800 rebels in Jerusalem and had the throats of their wives and children cut before their eyes as Jannaeus ate with his concubines. ‘The most powerful of them, however, he shut up and besieged in the city of Bethoma, and after taking the city and getting them into his power, he brought them back to Jerusalem; and there he did a thing that was as cruel as could be: while he feasted with his concubines in a conspicuous place, he ordered some eight hundred of the Jews to be crucified, and slaughtered their children and wives before the eyes of the still living wretches.’ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Vol. 5, LCL 365. (R. Marcus, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943, p. 417. cf. H. Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*, Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2008, p. 131. ‘It therefore seems that the composition found in 4Q390 was written by an opponent of Alexander Jannaeus. The author of 4Q390 tried to encourage the opponents of Alexander Jannaeus to rise against the Hasmonean king, and this led to a composition which called for the end of the Hasmonean’s priestly succession and control.’

¹⁸⁶ J. Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and Their Supporters: From Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990, p. 3. ‘First Maccabees was composed between the latter years of John Hyrcanus (104 B.C.E.) ... and Pompey’s conquest of Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E.’; cf. Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, p. 78, ‘First Maccabees is both a presumptuous work and a stylistic tour de force. Only pressing needs could have stimulated the labors of the pious talented author to produce it. ... [S]uch pressure existed only in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus. Written propaganda probably accompanied the oral charges against the legitimacy of the priest-king Alexander Jannaeus.’

¹⁸⁷ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 71. This presumption rests on the integrity of the epitomist’s statement that peace actually existed. The fact that the epitomist makes an error in assuming that Judas brought peace, but actually didn’t when compared to the battles that ensued following his death may permit a later date of writing. The dating of *2 Maccabees* is diverse. D. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, CEJL, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008, pp. 14-5 opts for an early date, c. 143 B.C.E. and actually before *1 Maccabees*; Bickerman, *Makkabäerbücher*, p. 791 opts for a date c. 60 B.C.E.; van Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs*, p. 50 suggests somewhere between 124 and 63 B.C.E.; Zeitlin, *Second Maccabees*, pp. 20-1 opts for 41-44 C.E.

The proposal that *2 Maccabees* is anti-Hasmonean propaganda is embedded in the manner in which it counters the First Maccabean account. The first focus of this propaganda is found in the modifications the epitomist makes to the earlier work. A significant change is the way *2 Maccabees* represents the Ἀσιδαῖτοι. The author of *1 Maccabees* highlights the errors of the Ἀσιδαῖτοι on numerous occasions. Unlike the Hasmoneans they did not openly resist the pagan king (*1 Macc.* 2:7-8); they did not wage war on the Sabbath (*1 Macc.* 2:29-41); and they accepted Alcimus as high priest (*1 Macc.* 7:5-18). While commending the pious martyrs as brave, their courage was seen to have brought only their deaths (*1 Macc.* 1:62-63). In contrast to this, the author of *2 Maccabees* positions the Ἀσιδαῖτοι as steadfast followers of Judas (*2 Macc.* 14:56); Judas agrees with their Sabbath stance (*2 Macc.* 15:1-5); and the courage and steadfastness of the martyrs is foregrounded as that which ensured God's support (*2 Macc.* 8:3, 28-30). The epitomist's esteem of the Ἀσιδαῖτοι stands in contrast to the manner in which the Hasmoneans in *1 Maccabees* regarded them and appears to indicate a reshaping or divergent account of the historical events.

Another difference is the omission of Hasmonean achievements in *2 Maccabees*. At the top of this list is the almost complete disinterest in the Hasmonean family apart from Judas. The author of *1 Maccabees* often attempts to link the achievements of the Hasmonean brothers to those of the heroes of the Hebrew faith but the epitomist ignores this. When Judas' brother Simon is mentioned (*2 Macc.* 10:18-19; 14:17), he is presented as ineffective: "Simon the brother of Judas had encountered Nicanor but had temporarily stumbled because of the sudden perplexity caused by the adversaries" (14:17). None of the family is mentioned by name in the Second Maccabean prologue and the name of the hero father Mattathias does not rate a mention in the narrative.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸ Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, p. 79. Goldstein goes as far to insinuate that the author of *2 Maccabees* has "inflicted a *damnatio memoriae* on Mattathias.

Additional omissions of Hasmonean importance are identified in the passing over of First Maccabean battle victories. The epitomist does not mention the important victory in Azotus (*1 Macc.* 5:68, 10:83-85, 11:4) where Judas and Jonathon destroyed the works of idolatry. The aggressive siege of Akra (*1 Macc.* 6:18-21) is again passed over in silence by the epitomist. Goldstein remarks “all these contrasts suggest that [the epitomist] is opposing the aggressive policies of the later Hasmoneans.”¹⁸⁹ Hand in hand with the First Maccabean victories is the overwhelming emphasis that it was Jonathan and Simon who won lasting freedom for Jerusalem not Judas, who had been killed (*1 Macc.* 9:23-27; 10:1-47; 11:20-37, 41-43; 13:36-52). The epitomist’s ‘premature’ conclusion to his narrative fails to mention the death of Judas and the “great affliction” that followed in Israel, rather Judas is foregrounded as the bringer of peace and not the Hasmonean brothers. These omissions again show a modification of the historical events or two relativist perspectives on the past. The divergent accounts of the rise of the Hasmonean dynasty illustrate that the recording of the historical events was shaped by the ideological positions of the respective authors.¹⁹⁰ The historical narratives of the Maccabean period again reflect the relativistic nature of ancient historiography.

2.2.3 Josephus

A final consideration of ancient historiography pertinent to the present thesis concerns Josephus. At the intersection of biblical and Greco-Roman historiography in the first-century C.E., Josephus brings Jewish history into the realm of historical criticism. He did not learn this approach from Jewish sources although his criticism evidences biblical historiographic standards. It has been noted that the historians of the Hebrew Bible collected their information from a variety of sources despite seldom mentioning these. Cohen observed: ‘the biblical historians were witnesses describing events.’¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 18.

¹⁹⁰ Further aspects of the epitomist’s historiographic methods in *2 Maccabees* will be considered subsequently.

¹⁹¹ S.J.D. Cohen, ‘History and Historiography in the *Against Apion* of Josephus’, p. 4.

On the other hand, the Greek conception of historiography consists of interpretation of sources and attempts to create a work of literature with prefaces, author names and self-consciousness. They often openly discuss their sources and criticise each other; pointing out each other's failings. There is no *opinio communis* as to which historiographic genre the writings of Josephus may belong. *Jewish Antiquities (JA)* is variously placed alongside the Greek historians but others have suggested Josephus is closer to the OT and Jewish tradition.¹⁹²

Josephus' writings nonetheless exhibit Greek characteristics but in his critique of others, especially in *Against Apion (AA)*, he holds up Jewish historiography as a standard to be admired. The *Jewish War (JW)* opens with an attack against the Greek historians (1:1-8) who are accused of disregarding the truth, defaming the Jews, praising the Romans, and basing their narratives on false information. In *JW* 1:13-16, Josephus contends that the Greeks are more concerned with rhetoric than truth. In *JA* 12:358-9, he criticises Polybius' account of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes.¹⁹³ In *Vita*, 336-7, he questions Justus of Tiberias' qualifications, describing him as a falsifier of history.¹⁹⁴ While these excerpts show that Josephus practised historical criticism in his works, and was concerned with accuracy, his more detailed criticisms are made in *AA*.

¹⁹² H. Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the 'Antiquities Judaicae' of Flavius Josephus*, HDR, Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976, pp. 43-60, Attridge argues *JA* belongs to 'antiquarian rhetorical historiography'; L. Feldman, 'Josephus' Portrait of Saul', *HUCA*, 53, 1982, pp. 46-52. Feldman emphasised Josephus' similarities with Dionysius of Halicarnassus; Pere V.I. Varneda, *The Historical Method of Flavius Josephus*, ALGHJ 19, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986, p. 256. Varneda contends Josephus is closest to Polybius; P. Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome: His Life, his Works, and their Importance*, JSPSup 2, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988, pp. 202-6, Bilde thinks Josephus is 'to be related closer to Old Testament and Jewish traditions than to Hellenistic literature and historiography.'

¹⁹³ 'Accordingly I am surprised that Polybius of Megalopolis, who is an honest man, says that Antiochus died because he wished to despoil the temple of Artemis in Persia; for merely to wish a thing without actually doing it is not deserving of punishment. But although Polybius may think that Antiochus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that the king died because of sacrilegiously despoiling the temple in Jerusalem. Concerning this matter, however, I shall not dispute with those who believe that the cause given by the Megalopolitan is nearer the truth than that given by us.' Josephus, LCL 365, p. 187.

¹⁹⁴ 'Justus, for instance, having taken upon himself to record the history of this war, has, in order to gain credit for industrious research, not only maligned me, but even failed to tell the truth about his native place. Being, therefore, now compelled to defend myself against these false allegations, I shall allude to matters about which I have hitherto kept silence. My omission to make such a statement at an earlier date should not occasion surprise. For, while veracity is incumbent upon a historian, he is nonetheless at liberty to refrain from harsh scrutiny of the misdeeds of individuals, not from any partiality for the offenders, but because of his own moderation.' Josephus, LCL 186, p. 125.

Much of *AA* is an apology for Judaism but in this defence, Josephus engages in an exposition of historiography. The historiographic standards he establishes are measured against a Jewish exemplar. The main focus of comparison concerns the stableness and unity of a corpus of historiography, which Josephus suggests is that against which historical mendacity should be measured. Greek historians are the subjects of his criticism, although he actually criticises Egyptian historians more than the former. Accusations he brings against the Greeks are that they contradict each other (*AA*, 1:15-18),¹⁹⁵ they do not preserve documents (*AA*, 1:19-22),¹⁹⁶ and they try to upstage each other (*AA*, 1:23-27).¹⁹⁷

Josephus' argument for historiographic truth derives from a notion of universal consensus. If the majority of people believe something to be true, then it must be. In this opinion, the Jewish historiographic corpus is presumed to 'agree' and therefore it must be true. This presumed Jewish 'unity' contrasts with Josephus' understanding of Greek

¹⁹⁵ 'Surely, then, it is absurd that the Greeks should be so conceited as to think themselves the sole possessors of a knowledge of antiquity and the only accurate reporters of its history. Anyone can easily discover from the historians themselves that their writings have no basis of sure knowledge, but merely present the facts as conjectured by individual authors. More often than not they confute each other in their works, not hesitating to give the most contradictory accounts of the same events. ... what discrepancies there are between Hellanicus and Acusilaus on the genealogies, how often Acusilaus corrects Hesiod, how the mendacity of Hellanicus in most of his statements is exposed by Ephorus, that of Ephorus by Timaeus, that of Timaeus by later writers, and that of Herodotus by everybody. ... Timaeus did not condescend to agree with Antiochus, Philistus, or Callias; there is similar divergence on Attic affairs between the authors of the 'Atthides' and on Argive affairs between the historians of Argos. ... On many points even Thucydides is accused of error by some critics, notwithstanding his reputation for writing the most accurate history of his time.' Josephus, LCL 186, pp. 169-71.

¹⁹⁶ For such inconsistency many other causes might possibly be found if one cared to look for them; for my part, I attach the greatest weight to the two which I proceed to mention. ... The main responsibility for the errors of later historians who aspired to write on antiquity and for the licence granted to their mendacity rests with the original neglect of the Greeks to keep official records of current events. This neglect was not confined to the lesser Greek states. Even among the Athenians, who are reputed to be indigenous and devoted to learning, we find that nothing of the kind existed, and their most ancient public records are said to be the laws on homicide drafted for them by Dracon, a man who lived only a little before the despotism of Pisistratus. Of the Arcadians and their vaunted antiquity it is unnecessary to speak, since even at a still later date they had hardly learnt the alphabet. It is, then, this lack of any basis of documentary evidence, which would have served at once to instruct the eager learner and to confute the liar, that accounts in the main for the inconsistencies between different historians.' Josephus, LCL 186, pp. 171-3.

¹⁹⁷ 'Those who rushed into writing were concerned not so much to discover the truth, notwithstanding the profession which always comes readily to their pen, as to display their literary ability; and their choice of a subject was determined by the prospect which it offered them of outshining their rivals. Some turned to mythology, others sought popularity by encomiums upon cities or monarchs; others, again, set out to criticize the facts or the historians as the road to a reputation. In short, their invariable method is the very reverse of historical. For the proof of historical veracity is universal agreement in the description, oral or written, of the same events. On the contrary, each of these writers, in giving his divergent account of the same incidents, hoped thereby to be thought the most veracious of all. While, then, for eloquence and literary ability we must yield the palm to the Greek historians, we have no reason to do so for veracity in the history of antiquity, least of all where the particular history of each separate foreign nation is concerned.' Josephus, LCL 186, p. 173.

divergence where their books are simply collections of invented stories.¹⁹⁸ Josephus is perhaps unique amongst ancient historians in arguing that disagreement is a sign of error and that agreement is a sign of truth and reliability.¹⁹⁹ In fact, it is not altogether certain if he himself maintained this position. In *JA*, 16:176 he writes, “For there is no nation which always follows the same customs”²⁰⁰ which would seem to suggest that even the Jewish historians may diverge from time to time.

In addition to advancing the hypothesis that the endurance of Jewish historiography bears testimony to its faithfulness, Josephus contends historical truth is not created or discovered by human inquiry since it exists as ‘objective fact’ and he considers this objectivity to derive from the revelation of God.²⁰¹ While he does not suggest biblical heroes were the discoverers of culture, as did the Jewish-Hellenistic ethnic historians such as Demetrios, Artapanos or Eupolemos, he does seek to defend Jewish historiography as ‘objective fact’ based on its continuity and consensus. This critical approach may reflect Greco-Roman methodologies but his conclusions derive from the Hebrew Bible and contrast Greek historiographic practices.

In addition to the preceding observations, Josephus also makes important statements throughout his corpus as to his own historical conceptions.²⁰² Prominent amongst these statements are his concerns with accuracy both as an eyewitness and as an accurate recorder of the past: “It is the duty of one who promises to present his readers with actual

¹⁹⁸ *Against Apion*, 1:42-45, ‘What Greek would endure as much for the same cause? Even to save the entire collection of his nation’s writings from destruction he would not face the smallest personal injury. For to the Greeks they are mere stories improvised according to the fancy of their authors; and in this estimate even of the older historians they are quite justified, when they see some of their own contemporaries venturing to describe events in which they bore no part, without taking the trouble to seek information from those who know the facts. We have actually had so-called histories even of our recent war published by persons who never visited the sites nor were anywhere near the actions described, but, having put together a few hearsay reports, have, with the gross impudence of drunken revelers, miscalled their productions by the name of history.’ Josephus, LCL 186, p. 181.

¹⁹⁹ Cohen, ‘History and Historiography in the *Against Apion* of Josephus’, p. 8.

²⁰⁰ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Vol. 7, LCL 410, (R. Marcus & A. Wikgren, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 71.

²⁰¹ *JA* 3:81, ‘Of these happenings each of my readers may think as he will; for my part, I am constrained to relate them as they are recorded in the sacred books.’ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Vol. 1, LCL 242, (H. St. J. Thackeray, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930, p. 357.

²⁰² Important historiographical statements in the Josephus corpus are, *JW* 1:1-30; 7:454-455; *JA* 1:1-26, 14:1-3, 16:183-187, 20:154-157, 259-266; *AA1*: 6-56 in addition to the polemical remarks in *JA* 1:121, 8:253, 260-262.

facts first to obtain an exact knowledge of them himself, either through having been in close touch with the events, or by inquiry from those who knew them” (AA 1:53). This being said Josephus was also aware that he was shifting traditions. In the prologue to *JA*, he reflects on the different motives historians have for writing, *viz.*, to display writing skills, flattery, overwhelming life experience, and the correction of general ignorance.²⁰³ While initially claiming to be driven by the latter of these two motives, Josephus nevertheless iterates an emphasis on good style and reliability.²⁰⁴ The common concern for Josephus throughout his corpus though is the pursuit of truth in contrast to the rhetorical tendency he perceived in Greek historiography. Having acknowledged his aspirations and concerns, the question remains as to whether Josephus actually maintained these ideals in practice. Did he understand that previous histories were objective accounts that could not be changed or did he seek to reshape his sources and in so doing practice relativist historiography?

Pere Villalba Varneda suggests that Josephus felt free to reshape past histories almost as a matter of course.²⁰⁵ He made use of anachronistic inclusions;²⁰⁶ there are historical differences between his own works;²⁰⁷ he employed chronological manipulation;²⁰⁸ he made errors in areas such as Roman Imperial details;²⁰⁹ he exaggerated;²¹⁰ and

²⁰³ *Ant.* 1:1-3, ‘Those who essay to write histories are actuated, I observe, not by one and the same aim, but by many widely different motives. Some, eager to display their literary skill and to win the fame therefrom expected, rush into this department of letters; others, to gratify the persons to whom the record happens to relate, have undertaken the requisite labour even though beyond their power; others again have been constrained by the mere stress of events in which they themselves took part to set these out in a comprehensive narrative; while many have been induced by prevailing ignorance of important affairs of general utility to publish a history of them for the public benefit.’ Josephus, LCL 242, p. 3.

²⁰⁴ *Ant.* 14:2-3, ‘For while the relation and recording of events that are unknown to most people because of their antiquity require charm of exposition, such as is imparted by the choice of words and their proper arrangement and by whatever else contributes elegance to the narrative, in order that readers may receive such information with a certain degree of gratification and pleasure, nevertheless what historians should make their chief aim is to be accurate and hold everything else of less importance than speaking the truth to those who must rely upon them in matters of which they themselves have no knowledge.’ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Vol. 6, LCL 489, (R.Marcus & A. Wikgren, trans.), Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1943, p. 3.

²⁰⁵ Varneda, *The Historical Method of Flavius Josephus*, pp. 242-79.

²⁰⁶ *JW*, 1:35.

²⁰⁷ *JW*, 1:36, cf. *JA*, 12:270. See Varneda, *The Historical Method of Flavius Josephus*, p. 267 for more instances.

²⁰⁸ *JW*, 1:38.

²⁰⁹ *JW*, 3:5, Claudius the emperor, who triumphed for the conquest of Britain, was enabled so to do by Vespasian’s conduct and bravery, and Josephus styles him as ‘the father of Vespasian’ although he was not.

²¹⁰ *JW*, 4:313, ‘The whole outer court of the Temple was deluged with blood, and day dawned upon eight thousand five hundred dead.’ Josephus, LCL 487, p. 249. We are told elsewhere (*JW*, 4:206) that at the outset of the blockade

he included his own personal interpretations.²¹¹ This flexible attitude towards the past may be illustrated by considering how Josephus handled his sources.

The major source for the first eleven books of *JA* is the Hebrew Bible. Sources Josephus used in *JW* are the commentaries of Vespasian and Titus, Nicolas of Damascus, and King Agrippa II, as well as his own eyewitness knowledge. The specific manner in which Josephus handled the Hebrew Bible will serve to illustrate the relativist nature of Josephus' historiography. Josephus declared in *AA*. 1:26, that he was faithful to his sources: "This I have found written in the Holy Books." Throughout his corpus he invokes the authority of the biblical sources.²¹² Yet despite these claims, in *JA* Josephus adds to the biblical text, mixes biblical sources with others, inserts his own interpretation, makes errors, condenses and enlarges texts, provides narrative variants, uses anachronisms, makes contradictions, makes omissions, uses invention, changes order, remoulds sources, fills in events, and corrects his source text.²¹³ In *JA* 4:196-197, Josephus admits to a theoretical methodology as to how he treated his sources:

But here I am fain first to describe this constitution, consonant as it was with the reputation of the virtue of Moses, and withal to enable my readers thereby to learn what was the nature of our laws from the first, and then to revert to the rest of the narrative. All is here written as he left it: nothing have we added for the sake of embellishment, nothing which has not been bequeathed by Moses. Our one innovation has been to classify the several subjects; for he left what he wrote in a scattered condition, just as he received each several instruction from God. (*emphasis mine*)²¹⁴

This is a bold claim and implies that Josephus held Moses' narrative in high regard as an objective account of history ultimately emanating from God. However it is a perspective that is not completely borne out in Josephus' historiography. A clear example of the reshaping of his Mosaic source may be found in *JA* 1:122-129 which gives a greatly expanded narrative than in *Gen.* 10:1-5. (See Table 2)

the guards on duty at one time numbered not more than 6000 (εις ἑξακισχίλιους). That number was apparently afterwards increased.

²¹¹ See Varneda, *The Historical Method of Flavius Josephus*, p. 267-8 for instances of personal interpretation in *JW*.

²¹² Varneda, *The Historical Method of Flavius Josephus*, p. 268 for a list of instances.

²¹³ Varneda, *The Historical Method of Flavius Josephus*, p. 268-72 for examples.

²¹⁴ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, LCL 490, pp. 95-7.

Table 2. Parallel Genesis 10:1-5 and Jewish Antiquities I 122-129

<i>Genesis 10:1-5</i>	<i>Jewish Antiquities I 122-129</i>
<p>The descendants of Japheth: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras. The descendants of Gomer: Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah. The descendants of Javan: Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Rodanim. From these the coastland peoples spread. These are the descendants of Japheth in their lands, with their own language, by their families, in their nations.</p>	<p>Noah's children had sons, who were honoured by having their names conferred upon the nations by the first occupants of the several countries. Japheth, son of Noah, had seven sons. These, beginning by inhabiting the mountains of Taurus and Amanus, advanced in Asia up to the river Tanais and in Europe as far as Ga-deira, occupying the territory upon which they lit, and, as no inhabitant had preceded them, giving their own names to the nations. Thus those whom today the Greeks call Galatians were named Gomarites, having been founded by Gomar. Magog founded the Magogians, thus named after him, but who by the Greeks are called Scythians. Two other sons of Japheth, Javan and Mados, gave birth, the latter to the Madaeans – the race called by the Greeks Medes – the former to Ionia and all the Greeks. Theobel founded the Theobelians, nowadays called Iberians. The Meschenians, founded by Meschos, are today called Cappadocians, but a clear trace of their ancient designation survives; for they still have a city of the name of Mazaca, indicating to the expert that such was formerly the name of the whole race. Theires called his subjects Theirians, whom the Greeks have converted into Thracians. So numerous are the nations founded by the sons of Japheth. Gomar had three sons, of whom Aschanaxes founded the Aschanaxians, whom the Greeks now call Reginians, Riphathes the Riphataeans – the modern Paphlagonians – and Thugrames the Thugramaeans, whom the Greeks thought good to call Phrygians. Javan, son of Japhet, also had three sons: of these Halisas gave his name to his subjects the Halisaeans – the modern Aeolians – and Tharsos to the Tharsians; the latter was the ancient name of Cilicia, as is proved by the fact that its principal and capital city is called Tarsus, the Th having been converted into T. Chethimos held the island of Chethima – the modern Cyprus – whence the name Cheihim given by the Hebrews to all islands and to most maritime countries; here I call to witness one of the cities of Cyprus which has succeeded in preserving the old appellation, for even in its Hellenized form Cition is not far removed from the name of Chethimos. So many were the countries possessed by the sons and grandsons of Japheth. I have one thing to add, of which Greeks are perhaps unaware, before reverting to the narrative where I left it. With a view to euphony and my readers' pleasure these names have been Hellenized. The form in which they here appear is not that used in our country, where their structure and termination remain always the same; thus Nochos (Noah) in Hebrew is Noe, and the name retains this form in all the cases.</p>

The source from *Gen. 10:1-5*, recounts the descendants of Japheth with little else except for an authorial comment that it was from these descendants that ‘the coastal people spread’. The Josephean narrative enlarges upon this source, from 40-50 words in *Genesis* to 400-450 words in *JA*. In the amplification the following historiographic changes are immediately apparent including: additions to the biblical text, a possible mix of other sources, the personal interpretation of Josephus, anachronisms, possible invention, a remoulding of the source, and the filling in of events. While this reshaping may be explained by suggesting Josephus conducted a thorough investigation of other sources extant at the time of his composition but since lost, it is difficult to perceive

how he understood such aggrandisement conformed to his declaration in *JA* 4:196-197 – ‘nothing has been added which had not been handed down to us by Moses’ and ‘the only innovation which we have had contributed has been to put in order the several subjects.’ The objectivity of his declaration in *JA* 4:196-197 appears to be unsupported by the excerpt from *JA* 1:122-129.

The freedom with which Josephus approached his Hebrew source is apparent from this example but the methodology is repeated throughout his narrative. It underscores a relativistic approach to historiography. This may not have been Josephus’ intention, and he presumably thought he was being objective, but a comparison with his sources shows that his methodology was relativistic nevertheless. A willingness to freely manipulate an assumed objective source belies an underlying assumption that the original source was a relativist account of history in the first instance.

Summary

Israelite-Jewish historiography is not homogenous and evolved over time. The perceived notion that the discrepancies between *Heilsgeschichte* and critical historicity are incompatible is alleviated to some degree when it is recognised that the Israelite-Jewish historiography does not emanate from a concrete and objective corpus but reflects a diversity of understandings and practice. The manner in which Israelite historians tampered with, critiqued, reinterpreted, reshaped, and chose (even if unconsciously), to rewrite and change previous historical accounts, demonstrates the relativistic nature of historiography.

Israelite historiography evolved from primitive fairy tales (*Märchen*) to expansive narratives (*Geschichts-Novelle*) that at times displayed critical analysis. One aspect of this evolution was a shift away from supernatural causality that was to reappear in the post-exilic period. These shifts iterated the relativist nature of historiography where early accounts could be rewritten to interpret the past in the light of the present. This

process can be observed in the Chr's manipulation of his Dtr source in *1 Chr.* 21. The later historian reshaped an earlier account of the Davidic census to promote an ideological position. Whether the Chr was aware of it or not, such reshaping illustrates the relativistic nature of Israelite historiography. The divergent histories of *1* and *2 Maccabees* further highlight the diverse and relativistic nature of post-exilic historiography.

The historical methodology of Josephus demonstrates an intersection of Israelite-Jewish and Greco-Roman historiographic understanding and practice. Despite Josephus' pretensions to recognise Israelite historiography as being entrenched in 'objective fact' deriving from the revelation of God, his historiographic corpus freely engages in additions and omissions with earlier historical accounts. He mixes his sources, commits errors, indulges in narrative variants and inventions, uses anachronisms, makes contradictions, changes the order of events, and adds his own interpretation.

2.3 Chapter Conclusions

The present chapter has sought to establish the nature of ancient historiography as a step towards understanding the historicity of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph. It has been proposed that fundamental to this comprehension is an appreciation that ancient historiography was relativistic in the manner in which it was composed, despite historians' self-proclaimed aspirations and admonitions to be objective, reliable, impartial, and truthful. The inventive faculty is apparent in historical narratives through selection, pruning, editing, commentary, interpretation, delivering judgments, and the reshaping of the past to accord with the present concerns of the historian.

As the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph materialised at the intersection of two literary streams, so the present chapter has sought to identify the nature of both Greco-Roman and Israelite-Jewish historiography. It has been observed that while there are differences in each of these historiographic traditions, *viz.*, Greco-Roman being more critical and explicit in how history ought to be recorded as opposed to more

implicit and inclusive standards of the Jewish-Israelite tradition, both streams freely practiced a relativistic approach with regards to historiography.

The discussion of the Greco-Roman traditions highlighted the blurring of fact and fiction. An analysis of the theoretical positions of Greco-Roman historians confirmed the existence of criteria for what was deemed to be acceptable historiography. Principles of accuracy, trustworthiness, faithfulness to the past, impartiality, plausibility, accuracy, and a sober account were contrasted with instances of fabrication, falsehood, errors, embellishment, and rhetorical exaggeration. An analysis of the actual practice of the ancient historians revealed though that these standards were often broached and neglected even by those who explicitly espoused them. The muddling of fact and fiction frequently occurred in Greco-Roman historical narratives and aspirations to historical objectivity often gave way to the subjective temperament of the historians.

The discussion of the Israelite-Jewish traditions identified that Israelite-Jewish historiography was not homogenous but evolved over time with different emphases and foci. The first-century reflection by Josephus that Jewish historiography was entrenched in objective fact was shown to be inaccurate as throughout Israelite history, historians freely manipulated their earlier sources. This was highlighted through the examples of the Chr manipulating his earlier Dtr source, the double historiographic accounts of *1* and *2 Maccabees*, and the methodology of Josephus *vis-à-vis* his biblical Hebrew sources. While explicit comment on source manipulation is not readily evident throughout the Israelite-Jewish historiographic corpus, instances of manipulation of previous historiography were identified.

In the context of the discussion of Lukan historiography, it is important to recognise that ancient history writing was equivocal with respect to muddling fact and fiction, and in the manipulation of previous historiography. This ambiguity and tension allows for an appreciation of the nature of Lukan historiography, which is informed by an analysis

of the relativistic nature of the ancient Greco-Roman and Israelite-Jewish historiographic backgrounds. These cultural milieux were favourable and conducive to the emergence of the Jewish-Hellenistic historic fiction monograph, which openly engaged in the amalgamation of fact and fiction while at the same time presuming that ‘truth’ or ‘reliability’ in recording the past was a primary goal.

Chapter 3. The Question of Genres

*It becomes obvious that a static definition of genre,
one that would cover all its manifestations, is impossible.*

Yury Tynyanov, 1924

3.1 Genre Bending

Harold Attridge employs the term ‘genre bending’ to describe the mismatch and manipulation of genres in the Fourth Gospel when he asks, “Why does the Fourth Gospel exhibit so much interest in playing with generic conventions, extending them, twisting traditional elements into new and curious shapes, making literary forms do things that did not come naturally to them?”¹ Attridge suggests the evangelist’s strategy in playing with generic questions and the subsequent bending of the same was not unprecedented in antiquity and the same could be said for the manner in which genres are bent in *Luke*. In fact, genre bending has created effect and meaning throughout literary history.

When Charlotte Brontë’s novel *Jane Eyre* was first published in 1847 it appeared under the pen name of Currer Bell and under the title of *Jane Eyre: An Autobiography*. The first impression given to the reader is of a male author writing a female autobiography, and the assumption that the ensuing account will be based on reality. However, a reading of the work quickly reveals fictional constructs. Brontë, it would appear, freely engaged in bending and blending genres. While Vicky Simpson notes that this ‘mix of the realist mode of autobiography with the supernatural world of folk and fairy tales may be understood as a response to the constraints imposed on women in the early Victorian period’,² the evidence nevertheless points to genre manipulation.

A more recent bending occurred when Dan Brown wrote *The Da Vinci Code: A Novel* in 2003. Although the original title of the work indicated it was a novel, Brown prefaces his narrative with a page titled ‘Fact’ and asserts that historical elements in the

¹ H. W. Attridge, ‘Genre Bending in the Fourth Gospel’, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 121, 1, 2002, p. 21.

² V. Simpson, ‘The Eagerness of a listener quickens the tongue of the narrator’: Storytelling and Autobiography in *Jane Eyre*, *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies*, 4.3, 2008, p. 29.

novel are true in reality. The result was confusion in determining the genre of the work.

Is it a work of novelistic fiction or is it a factual account? William Propp aptly

summarises the dilemma that many subsequent readers encountered:

What baffles us in academia is simply, why do people persistently ask us if it's true? Partly, it is because Brown uses real settings, real paintings, real historical people like Leonardo. But the full title is *The Da Vinci Code: a Novel*, as if to say, *caveat lector*. Brown uses whatever facts work for him; where they don't, he falsifies and fabricates. The guild of historical novelists, if there is such a thing, might debate his professional ethics; I am not sure, however, that they differ much from Shakespeare's or Alexandre Dumas's.³

A theoretical question is whether it is permissible for literary genres to be bent to the author's whim and fancy, or should they be fixed with established rules to be followed and obeyed? While the evidence indicates that genres are frequently blended, twisted and bent, not all theorists are in agreement with such an enterprise.

3.1.1 Generic Questions

In the second book of *The Histories*, Herodotus is often interpreted as decrying the poetic literary genre as a suitable historiographical medium when he suggests that poets invent details of their accounts and history should be concerned with accuracy:

The opinion about the Ocean is grounded in obscurity and needs no disproof; for I know of no river of Ocean; and I suppose that Homer or some older poet invented this name and brought it into his poetry.⁴

Thucydides expresses similar disdain *à propos* of poetic genres and prose chroniclers:

Still, from the evidence that has been given, any one would not err who should hold the view that the state of affairs in antiquity was pretty nearly such as I have described it, not giving greater credence to the accounts, on the one hand, which the poets have put into song, adorning and amplifying their theme, and, on the other, which the chroniclers have composed with a view rather of pleasing the ear than of telling the truth, since their stories cannot be tested and most of them have from lapse of time won their way into the region of the fabulous so as to be incredible.⁵

It would appear, in the opinion of these Greek fathers of history that the literary genre through which history is transmitted, matters. Genre bending is frowned upon. In their ancient estimation, poets aim to please, not to investigate historical truth. While preceding the thought of Russian Formalists by some two thousand years, the ancient's

³ W.H.C. Propp, 'Is the Da Vinci Code true?' *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture*, 25.1.2013, p. 36.

⁴ *Histories*, 2:23, Herodotus, LCL 117, p. 321.

⁵ *History of the Peloponnesian War*, I 21, Thucydides, LCL 108, p. 37.

analogous sentiment, where the function of a particular type of literature may be as important as the type itself, underlines the complexities of determining appropriate historiographical genre and the difficulties associated with establishing a categorical axiom.

However, the importance of genre extends further than opinion and becomes a matter of interpretation. As noted by Sean Adams: “determining the genre of a work is fundamentally important for understanding a text.”⁶ One way to understand the function of genre is that it acts as a ‘code of social behavior.’⁷ The choice of genre becomes an initial act of communication between authors and readers as seen in the examples of Brontë and Brown. Authors recognise ‘rules’ of a code that not only affect how they write, but also how they expect readers to subsequently approach the text.⁸ Tzvetan Todorov notes: “it is because genres exist as an institution that they function as ‘horizons of expectation’ for readers and as ‘models of writing’ for authors.”⁹ A ‘generic contract’ is therefore established between authors and readers.¹⁰ The contract, enacted through structural, literary, characteristic features and content, gives notice to readers that an author will seek to follow the conventions associated with the selected genres and that the reader should pay close attention to aspects of the work that are characteristically important to that genre.¹¹

⁶ S. A. Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, SNTSMS 156, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 1. The present author notes the contribution of Adams to this explanation of generic questions.

⁷ E.D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967, p. 93. ‘This emphasis on the conventional character of all genre expectations and inferences leads back to Wittgenstein’s metaphor of a game. If the drawing of implications did not vaguely correspond to the moves in a familiar game (the particular game is, of course, the intrinsic genre), then the interpreter would not know what moves to make. ... A genre is less like a game than like a code of social behaviour, which provides rules of them such as, do not drink a toast to your hostess at a Scandinavian dinner party. ... The conventions of language are of this broadly social character, since language itself is broadly social and outreaches the rigid, artificially confined rules of a game.’

⁸ H. Dubrow, *Genre*, Critical Idiom Series 42, London: Methuen, 1982, p. 31, ‘Genre is a conceptual orienting device that suggests to the hearer the sort of receptorial conditions in which a fictive discourse might have been delivered.’

⁹ T. Todorov, “The Origin of Genres,” in D. Duff (ed.), *Modern Genre Theory*, New York: Longman, 2000, p. 199.

¹⁰ Dubrow, *Genre*, p. 31. ‘The establishment of a prosodic pattern, an activity that has been described as the creation of a ‘metrical contract’ between author and reader, offers a useful comparison. By setting up a certain meter in the first few lines of his poem, the poet teaches us what to expect and what to respond to as the work progresses. ... Using this analogy with meter, the way genre established a relationship between author and reader might fruitfully be labelled a generic contract. Through such signals as the title, the meter and incorporation of familiar topoi into his opening lines, the poet sets up such a contract with us. He in effect agrees that he will follow at least some of the patterns and conventions we associate with the genre or genres in which he is writing, and we in turn agree that we will pay close attention to certain aspects of his work while realising that others, because of the nature of the genres, are likely to be far less important.’

¹¹ F. Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press,

In ancient Greco-Roman culture, genre similarities between historiography and biography were common. The similarities are such that if the reader were to misinterpret a biography as historiography, such an interpretation would probably not be a major concern. Nevertheless, the reader would still overlook some of the nuances in the text – the authorial emphases in the work would be distorted and lost to the reader. For a proper understanding of the text it is important for the reader to understand how the author shaped the material. Interpreting historiography as biography misses authorial intention and may lead to the acceptance of inaccurate information, or the rejection of text reliability due to a perceived error. In order to discern historical fact from fiction, context needs to be understood and that understanding can be enhanced by thorough investigation of genre, especially when the genre of the text is contested.

Debate continues when the genres of biblical literature are critically examined. Biblical studies have a natural affinity with genology, the study of genres, but biblical writings do not usually explicitly identify or define their respective types. While the literature itself may provide clues to their genres – in such things as their structures, internal features and functions – the question of what, or who, determines a particular genre is often unclear and has precipitated centuries of discussion. Furthermore, if a genre may be provisionally established, the question remains as to which literary genres may suitably be regarded as historiography and those which may fall into the category of symbolism, testaments, homilies, wisdom literature, or any diversity of types?

As concerns *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*, how is one to understand the nature of their literature? If *Luke* is classified as a gospel, what does that mean? Who determines this nomenclature – the author or the reader, or the time period in which it was created, or designated as a gospel, or is presently experienced? Perhaps the works can be determined as a mix of genres? Additionally, can the genre be distinguished as a suitable

1981, p. 106. It is possible that an author may wish to deceive the reader and fool them into thinking that the work is of an alternate genre. This not common for ancient texts and so will not be further discussed in this work.

historiographic medium and if so, what type of historiography does it resemble – pragmatic historiography or ‘tragic’ historiography? Is it a *Heilsgeschichte*, or political history, or rhetorical history, or apologetic historiography?

In the discipline of literary theory, perhaps few concepts have been as challenging as the notion of genre. The characteristics and functions of genre remain a concept whose meaning, validity and purpose have been questioned since their emergence in the world of critical literature, especially in the last two hundred years.¹² The default conception of genre is the traditional view of categories as logical classes defined by a set of features, possession of which is necessary and sufficient for membership.¹³ But is it the only understanding? Carol Newsom identifies six current but different approaches to literary genre.

The first approach views genre as a classificatory ‘box’ into which one sorts various kinds of literary features identified by a list of distinguishing characteristics.¹⁴ This is arguably the most common way genre is understood. A second way of thinking is to perceive genre akin to family resemblance based on Wittgenstein’s discussion of what is ‘common’ between different texts. The analogy between genetic family resemblances and the resemblances of a conceptual set was popular among genre theorists in the 1960s.¹⁵ A third way to understand genre is to consider it as a mode of comprehension based on surrounding texts. Consciously or unconsciously, readers are engaged in

¹² J. Collins, ‘Towards the Morphology of a Genre,’ *SEMEIA 14, Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, Atlanta: The Society of Biblical Literature, 2003, p. 1, Collins illustrates the ambiguous nature of understanding literary genre when he attempts a definition, ‘By ‘literary genre’ we mean a group of written texts marked by distinctive recurring characteristics which constitute a recognizable and coherent type of writing. The texts which make up the genre must be intelligible as independent units. ... In many cases recognizable units are embedded in larger works and we cannot be sure whether they ever circulated independently. If they constitute coherent wholes which are intelligible without reference to their present context, they can qualify as members of a genre. ... A genre is identified by the recognizable similarity among a number of texts. ... Further, while a complete study of a genre must consider function and social setting, neither of these factors can determine the definition. ... in the case of ancient literature our knowledge of function and setting is often extremely hypothetical and cannot provide a firm basis for generic classification. The only firm basis which can be found is the identification of recurring elements which are explicitly present in the texts.’

¹³ M. Turner, *Reading Minds: The Study of English in the Age of Cognitive Science*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, p. 150.

¹⁴ C. Newsom, ‘Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre: A Case Study of the Hodayot,’ *Dead Sea Discoveries*, 17, (2010), p. 272.

¹⁵ Newsom, ‘Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre’, p. 273.

an act of intertextuality that helps them locate a text in relation to others. The perception of relationship is the sense of genre that facilitates the comprehension of new texts.¹⁶ A fourth way of understanding genre is to see genres as modes of perception. Rosalie Colie described genres as “a set of interpretations, or ‘frames’ or ‘fixes’ on the world,” as “tiny subcultures, with their own habits, habitats, and structures of ideas as well as their own forms.”¹⁷ Genre is comprehended as a form of knowing and conceptualising the world.

A fifth method is concerned less with individual genres as with the ecology of genres or genre systems at a given point in time and history. Genres and genre systems are understood to be historically dynamic and different cultural epochs may see the flourishing and demise of genres.¹⁸ A sixth method is to focus on a genre’s role in communication and acquisition of cultural knowledge. More attention is paid to the social functions of genre with genre being understood as a cultural-linguistic template. Genre competency in this instance is acquired through the cognitive recognition of a prototype to which other instances are intuitively compared.¹⁹

3.1.2 Chapter Structure

The present chapter will discuss the role of literary genre in determining narrative purpose and the establishment of ‘rules’ of communication between author and audience. The chapter serves both as a survey of the state of present research into genre theory as well as laying the groundwork for an informed discussion on determining the genres of *2 Maccabees* and the *Gospel of Luke*. Establishing their genres is critical to understanding their historiographic pretensions. However, the determination of literary genre is not a straightforward exercise. Debate surrounds what genre actually means as

¹⁶ Newsom, ‘Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre’, pp. 273-4.

¹⁷ R. Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance*, Berkley: University of California Press, 1973, pp. 8, 115.

¹⁸ Newsom, ‘Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre’, p. 276.

¹⁹ Newsom, ‘Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre’, p. 274.

well as the identification of literary types. The present study will propose that literary genres are best understood as fluid categories emanating from a prototype rather than fixed classes.

In order to appreciate the aforementioned contention, the chapter will discuss genre theory in an ancient Greco-Roman setting and then in the modern period. It will propose that literary genres may be better understood within the model of prototypes encompassing blurred boundaries, as opposed to an understanding of literary genres as distinct categories. The discussion will illustrate the ambiguity that surrounds the understanding of literary genre by citing examples of the equivocal perception of the nature of genre. The ancient Greco-Roman understanding of genre will be examined and will serve to demonstrate the nebulous understanding of historiographical genre that existed in antiquity. The discussion will then engage with modern theorists and survey the positions of the Romantics and Chicagoans, the Russian Formalists, Structuralism and Post-Structuralism, and Prototype theorists. It will seek to highlight that genres evolve as a result of history and culture, being defined as much by function as by form. It will be argued that genres have indeterminate boundaries and can be extended to include marginal or atypical examples.

The final focus of the chapter will consider the intersection of genre and biblical studies. It will trace the development of scholarly perceptions in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and survey author-centred theories, text-centered theories, reader-response theories, and prototype theory. It will be proposed that author-centred and text-centered theories tend to proceed from a premise that genres are fixed. Reader-response and prototype theories tend to allow for the possibility that genres are fluid and that texts may be understood as aligning to a ‘club’ of historiography despite the diversity of methodology. In the context of *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*, indeterminate boundaries of genre allow for the possibility that the narrative may be construed to bend ‘tradition-

al' genre distinctions, and might be considered to belong to a variety of historiographical types. The groundwork will be laid for the determination of the genres of *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* to be explored in subsequent chapters.

3.2 Ancient Genre Theory

Ancient writers in the Hellenistic era viewed and discussed genre using their own literary categories with a focus on the origin of genres, genre hierarchies, and the blending of genres. Although the Classical writers failed to formulate a comprehensive system of genres, they did establish certain distinctions that would continue to play a role in Western literary tradition for the millennia that followed. The following section will analyse Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Cicero, Horace, and Quintilian as representative of the Greco-Roman literary background to genre theory.

1. *The Greeks – Plato, Aristotle, and Isocrates.*

Plato divided literary genres into two primary categories – poetic representations by way of described action, as in epic poetry; and representations by way of impersonated action, as in drama. In *Ion*, Plato refers to poetry as an inspiration deriving from the Muse.²⁰ This notion of a transcendental source pertained not only to the words that were transcribed by the poet but referred equally to the type itself which was assumed to be beyond its earthly creator and derived from a supernatural source. The existence of a poetic sub-category, alluded to in *Ion* as 'lyric,' is further acknowledged by Plato in *The Republic*, but only to be condemned, in seeming contradiction of its supernatural inspiration, as beautifully contrived falsehoods passed off as truth.²¹

²⁰ *Ion* (533d-534c), 'For, as I was saying just now, this is not an art in you, whereby you speak well on Homer, but a divine power, which moves you like that in the stone which Euripides named a magnet ... In the same manner also the Muse inspires men herself, and then by means of these inspired persons the inspiration spreads to others, and holds them in a connected chain. For all the good epic poets utter all those fine poems not from art, but as inspired and possessed, and the good lyric poets likewise ... Seeing then that it is not by art that they compose and utter so many fine things about the deeds of men—as you do about Homer—but by a divine dispensation, each is able only to compose that to which the Muse has stirred him.' Plato, *Statesman. Philebus. Ion*, LCL 164, (H.N. Fowler, & W. R. M. Lamb, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925, pp. 421-3.

²¹ *Republic X* (595b), 'Speaking between ourselves, for you won't denounce me to the tragic poets and all the rest of the writers who use imitation, all this kind of thing seems to me to be a corruption of the minds of their audiences

When faced with the fact that Homeric epic employs different modes of representation, Plato added a ‘mixed mode’ genre where the related action alternates between pure narrative and re-created dialogue.²² French literary theorist, Gérard Genette identified Plato as the creator of three mimetic genres distinguished by mode of imitation rather than content. These include the drama, pure narrative and a mixture of the two – the epic.²³ However, while Plato emphasised the existence of literary genres, he is ambiguous as to what constitutes a particular type and what distinguishes it from another. He is equally unsure as to what literary purpose a particular genre served.

Plato’s student Aristotle explored the concept of genre in his work *Poetics*, described as the earliest surviving work of dramatic theory and the first extant philosophical treatise to focus on literary theory.²⁴ The term poetics (ποίησις), as Aristotle defined it, refers exclusively to literary works composed in verse. The verse form, however, is a less important criterion than the notion of ποίησις (a making) that perhaps would be best understood as ‘fiction’ in Aristotle’s thought. While written scientific material may have appeared in verse form in antiquity,²⁵ Aristotle is often understood as limiting the term poetry to fictional representations.²⁶

Prose, in Aristotelian thought, belonged to the realm of rhetoric, which was then re-

who don’t have the remedy of knowing exactly what it is really like.’ Plato. *Republic*, Vol 2., LCL 276, (C. Emlyn-Jones & W. Preddy, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013, p. 391.

²² *Republic*, III (394c) “‘You’ve got it in one,” I said, “and I think I can now make clear to you what I couldn’t before, the fact that of poetry and storytelling: the one is done entirely by means of imitation, i.e., tragedy and comedy exactly as you say, and the other is the recital of the poet himself, and you would find it in particular, I suppose, in the dithyramb. Where it is a combination of the two, you would find it in the composition of epic poetry and in many other places, if you follow me”.’ Plato. *Republic*, Vol 1., LCL 237, (C. Emlyn-Jones & W. Preddy, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013, p. 255.

²³ G. Genette, *The Architext: An Introduction*, (trans.), J.E. Lewin, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1992, p. 9.

²⁴ R. Janko, *Aristotle: Poetics, with the Tractatus Coislinianus, reconstruction of Poetics II, and the fragments of the On Poets*, Indianapolis, 1987. p.ix.

²⁵ Hesiod’s *Works and Days* didactic poem is dated between 750 and 650 B.C.E. Similarly, Lucretius, c. 55 B.C.E. composed *On the Nature of Things* that explained atomic theory to the infinity of the cosmos in verse.

²⁶ *Poetics*, IX, ‘It is also evident from what has been said that it is not the poet’s function to relate actual events, but the kinds of things that might occur and are possible in terms of probability or necessity. The difference between the historian and the poet is not that between using verse or prose; Herodotus’ work could be versified and would be just as much a kind of history in verse as in prose. No, the difference is this: that the one relates actual events, the other the kinds of things that might occur. Consequently, poetry is more philosophical and more elevated than history, since poetry relates more of the universal, while history relates particulars.’ Aristotle, *Longinus, Demetrius. Poetics. Longinus: On the Sublime. Demetrius: On Style*, LCL 199, (S. Halliwell, W. H. Fyfe, D. C. Innes, W. R. Roberts, trans., D. A. Russell, rev.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995, p. 59.

stricted to oratory, historiography, and philosophical discourse. The philosopher neglected though to account for the fictional use of prose, as in the fable, and this perhaps evidences a lack of comprehensiveness in his distinctions. In fact, there are consistency issues in his definition of poetry as noted by Robert Yanal, “even after writing the lines – ‘poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular’ – Aristotle suggests that the ‘writers of iambic lampoons’ are ‘concerned with a particular individual’”.²⁷

Unlike Aristotle, there is no surviving work of Isocrates’ that directly addresses the concept of genre however some narrative comments shed insight into his perspective. Isocrates identified a number of ways in which prose and poetry may be composed and he opens his oratory in *Panathenaicus* by discussing various means of discourse:

When I was younger, I elected not to write the kind of discourse which deals with myths nor that which abounds in marvels and fictions, although the majority of people are more delighted with this literature than with that which is devoted to their welfare and safety, nor did I choose the kind which recounts the ancient deeds and wars of the Hellenes, although I am aware that this is deservedly praised, nor, again, that which gives the impression of having been composed in a plain and simple manner and is lacking in all the refinements of style, which those who are clever at conducting law-suits urge our young men to cultivate ...²⁸

While Isocrates does not propose a rigid system of genre in mentioning these forms, he does mention genre distinctions in his *Encomium of Helen* when he notes the differences between an encomium – written to praise someone; and a defense – written when someone has been charged with a crime.²⁹

In addition to the differences Isocrates notes between these two genres, he also notes in passing that there is a certain hierarchy between genres. Those who write speeches

²⁷ R.J. Yanal, ‘Aristotle’s Definition of Poetry’, *Nous*, 16,4, 1982, p. 499. cf. *Poetics*, XI, ‘It clearly follows that the poet or ‘maker’ should be the maker of plots rather than of verses; since he is a poet because he imitates, and what he imitates are actions. And even if he chances to take a historical subject, he is none the less a poet; for there is no reason why some events that have actually happened should not conform to the law of the probable and possible.’

²⁸ *Panathenaicus*, 1-2. Isocrates, *On the Peace. Areopagiticus. Against the Sophists. Antidosis. Panathenaicus*, LCL 229, (G.Norlin, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929, p. 373.

²⁹ *Enc. Helen*, 14-15, ‘This is the reason why, of those who have wished to discuss a subject with eloquence, I praise especially him who chose to write of Helen, because he has recalled to memory so remarkable a woman, one who in birth, and in beauty, and in renown far surpassed all others. Nevertheless, even he committed a slight inadvertence – for although he asserts that he has written an encomium of Helen, it turns out that he has actually spoken a defense of her conduct! But the composition in defense does not draw upon the same topics as the encomium, nor indeed does it deal with actions of the same kind, but quite the contrary; for a plea in defense is appropriate only when the defendant is charged with a crime, whereas we praise those who excel in some good quality.’ Isocrates. *Evagoras. Helen. Busiris. Plataicus. Concerning the Team of Horses. Trapeziticus. Against Callimachus. Aegineticus. Against Lochites. Against Euthynus* ... LCL 373, (L. Van Hook, trans.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945, pp. 67-9.

are spoken well of in court, but those who write certain types of prose are held in high esteem by all society.³⁰ A final comment by Isocrates concerns his appreciation and freedom in breaking the confines of genre. He expresses the view that genres were flexible and that rhetorical discourses were ‘mobile and fluid’ and capable of being bent.³¹

2. *The Romans – Cicero, Horace and Quintilian*

Moving to Roman period, Latin writers also wrote about genre and Cicero’s work is commonly seen as the beginning of this examination. *On the Best Type of Orators* specifically addresses the poetic genre and lists among them; tragedy, comedy, epic, melic, and dithyrambic, and claims they have their own particular set of features.³² Cicero admonishes that genres should not be mixed, ‘each has its own tone and a way of speaking.’ He expands his discussion to cite examples and perhaps to rank the genres:

If any one likes, he has a right to call Ennius a consummate epic poet, and Pacuvius an excellent tragic poet, and Caecilius perhaps a perfect comic poet. But I do not divide the orator as to class in this way. For I am seeking a perfect one. ... For he is the best orator who by speaking both teaches, and delights, and moves the minds of his hearers. To teach them is his duty, to delight them is creditable to him, to move them is indispensable.³³

Horace’s *The Art of Poetry* is another important work on ancient literature. Although it is a letter to Pisos regarding poetry and not a literary critique, it nevertheless elucidates an understanding of ancient genre. Horace writes that metre and subject matter should not be mixed: “a theme for comedy refuses to be set forth in verses of tragedy.

³⁰ *Antidosis*, 47-49, ‘For [prosaists] set forth facts in a style more imaginative and more ornate; they employ thoughts which are more lofty and more original, and, besides, they use throughout figures of speech in greater number and of more striking character. All men take as much pleasure in listening to this kind of prose as in listening to poetry, and many desire to take lessons in it, believing that those who excel in this field are wiser and better and of more use to the world than men who speak well in court.’ Isocrates, LCL 229, p. 213.

³¹ Y. Too, *The Rhetoric of Identity in Isocrates: Text, Power, Pedagogy*, Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1995, p. 33. cf. *Evagoras*, 8, ‘I am fully aware that what I propose to do is difficult – to eulogize in prose the virtues of a man. The best proof is this: Those who devote themselves to philosophy venture to speak on many subjects of every kind, but no one of them has ever attempted to compose a discourse on such a theme.’ Isocrates. *Evagoras* ... LCL 373, p. 9.

³² *On the Best Type of Orators*, 1, ‘It is said that there are various kinds of orators as there are of poets. But the fact is otherwise, for poetry takes many forms. That is to say, every composition in verse, tragedy, comedy, epic, and also melic and dithyrambic (a form more extensively cultivated by Greeks than by Romans) has its own individuality, distinct from the others. So in tragedy a comic style is a blemish, and in comedy the tragic style is unseemly; and so with the other genres, each has its own tone and a way of speaking which the scholars recognize.’ Cicero, *On Invention. The Best Kind of Orator. Topics*, Vol. 2, LCL 386, (H.M. Hubble, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947, p. 355.

³³ *On the Best Type of Orators*, 1, Cicero, LCL 386, p. 355.

... Let each style keep the singular place for which it is suited."³⁴ He stresses that genres should be kept distinct.³⁵ It appears that by the time of Horace, the ambiguity that may have been evident in the Platonic and Aristotelian schools may have been lessened. Horace designates rigid generic conventions. Plays should only have five acts, there should only be three speakers on the stage at a time, and proper use should be made of the chorus.³⁶ He suggests that genres have historical beginnings and recognises a time when genres were not in existence and someone sought to produce them.³⁷

A concluding ancient perspective on genre may be found in Quintilian's *The Orator's Education* where he outlines a reading program indicating the authors/genres who should be read at each educational stage. In the younger years, students are encouraged to read Homer, Virgil, tragedy, lyric poets, and Cicero.³⁸ In later years, students should concentrate on history and oratory and once graduated, Quintilian outlines a regime that provides examples of Greek poets. These generic divisions serve to illustrate that works were differentiated by mode. Quintilian also groups narratives into three categories – fictitious, realistic and historical; based on their relationship with truth.³⁹ As to the

³⁴ *The Art of Poetry*, 89 and 92, Horace, *Satires. Epistles. The Art of Poetry*, LCL 194, (H. R. Fairclough, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926, p. 459.

³⁵ *The Art of Poetry*, 366-373, 'O you elder youth, though wise yourself and trained to right judgement by a father's voice, take to heart and remember this saying, that only some things rightly brook the medium and the bearable. A lawyer and pleader of middling rank falls short of the merit of eloquent Messalla, and knows not as much as Aulus Cascellius, yet he has a value. But that poets be of middling rank, neither men nor gods nor booksellers ever brooked.' Horace, LCL 194, p. 481.

³⁶ *Art of Poetry*, 189 and 190-205, Horace, LCL 194, p. 467.

³⁷ *Art of Poetry*, 74-78, 'In what measure the exploits of kings and captains and the sorrows of war may be written, Homer has shown. Verses yoked unequally first embraced lamentation, later also the sentiment of granted prayer: yet who first put forth humble elegiacs, scholars dispute, and the case is still before the court. Rage armed Archilochus with his own iambus: this foot comic sock and high buskins alike adopted, as suited to alternate speech, able to drown the clamours of the pit, and by nature fit for action. To the lyre the Muse granted tales of gods and children of gods, of the victor in boxing, of the horse first in the race, of the loves of swains, and of freedom over wine. If I fail to keep and do not understand these well-marked shifts and shades of poetic forms why am I hailed as poet?' Horace, LCL 194, pp. 457-9.

³⁸ *The Orator's Education*, 8:5-6, 'The other aspects of reading require important cautions: above all, these tender minds, which will be deeply affected by whatever is impressed upon them in their untrained ignorance, should learn not only eloquent passages but, even more, passages which are morally improving. The practice of making reading start with Homer and Vergil is therefore excellent. Of course it needs a more developed judgement to appreciate their virtues; but there is time enough for this, for they will be read more than once. Meanwhile, let the mind be uplifted by the sublimity of the heroic poems, and inspired and filled with the highest principles by the greatness of their theme. Tragedy is useful; and even lyric poets are educative, so long as you select not only the authors but the parts of their works to be read, because the Greeks have a good deal that is licentious, and there are some things in Horace that I should not care to explain in class.' Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*: Vol. 1, LCL 124, (D.A. Russell, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002, p. 201.

³⁹ *The Orator's Education*, 2:4.2-3, 'We are told that there are three species of Narrative, apart from the one used in actual Causes. One is Fable, found in tragedies and poems, and remote not only from truth but from the appearance of

blending of genres, Quintilian held to a high view with each genre having its own rules and seemliness. Adams notes: “Quintilian laments that Terence’s blending of iambic trimeter undermined his elegance and intimates that proper metre determined good writing.”⁴⁰

Summary

The preceding discussion has highlighted that ancient writers, both Greek and Roman, recognised genres and differing modes of writing. An amalgamation of Platonic and Aristotelian ideas saw the emergence of the familiar tripartite division of poetry into epic, lyric, and drama although Genette notes the division is actually a conflation of the two systems – Plato’s narrative, dramatic, and mixed genres with Aristotle’s modes.⁴¹

While initially there was a degree of ambiguity as to the identification of genres and their subsequent purpose, a hierarchy appears to have emerged that elevated some modes above others. Similarly, some genres, such as an encomium and a defense; or a fictitious and a historical narrative, were variously preferred as modes to adequately express a writer’s concern. A combination of genres was often censured as ‘each has its own tone and way of speaking’ and while blending was not universally condemned, the preference was towards a high view of separate genres with rules and propriety.

It is not within the scope of the present discussion to seek to determine exactly what ancient writers understood in their definitions of genre, and in fact there is lack of clear ancient criteria for defining specific genres.⁴² The present purpose is to underscore

truth. The second is Plot, which is the false but probable fiction of comedy. The third is History, which contains the narration of actual events. We have given poetical Narratives to the grammatici; the rhetor should begin with historical ones, which are more grown-up because they are more real.’ Quintilian, LCL 124, p. 201.

⁴⁰ Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, p. 46. cf. *The Orator’s Education*, 10:1, 99. ‘It is in comedy that our steps most falter. True, Varro (quoting the view of Aelius Stilo) held that the Muses would have talked like Plautus if they had chosen to speak Latin; true, older critics extol Caecilius; true, Terence’s works are attributed to Scipio Africanus (and they are in fact the most elegant of their kind, and would have possessed even more attraction if they had been written wholly in trimeters).’ Quintilian, *The Orator’s Education*, Vol. 4, LCL 127, (D. A. Russell, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002, p. 307.

⁴¹ G. Genette, *The Architext: An Introduction*, (trans.), J.E. Lewin, University of California Press, Berkley, 1992, p.23.

⁴² R. Burridge, *What are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, 2nd ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. p. 59, ‘The immediate problem to be face in discussing Graeco-Roman biography is that it was never strongly delineated as a genre by the ancients.’

first, that the concept of literary genre was a subject of Classical dialogue; second, that the distinguishing characteristics of different genres and modes shifted from ambiguity to strict guidelines; and perhaps more importantly to the present consideration, debate existed as to which genre may be best suited for the writing of history.

3.3 Modern Genre Theory

The modern period evidenced resurgence in literary criticism with genre criticism becoming a particular scholarly discipline. The prolific number of theories that this period produced is far beyond the scope of the present study and the following discussion will consider the theoretical modifications that materialised with the Romantics and Chicagoans, the Russian Formalists, New Criticism, Structuralists and Post-Structuralists, and Prototype theory.

1 – *The Romantics and Chicagoans*

The Platonic-Aristotelian doctrine of the division of genres remained at the foundation of Renaissance and Neoclassical poetics but came under renewed scrutiny with the emergence of the European Romantic movement in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Friedrich Schlegel wrote in his *Critical Fragments*, “We already have so many theories about poetic genres. Why do we have no concept of poetic genre? Perhaps then we would have to make do with a single theory of poetic genres.”⁴³ Schlegel’s observations continue to underscore the lack of certitude in determining genre and highlight the indistinctness of the concept.

Until the emergence of Romanticism most genre criticism treated types as transcendent or ‘natural’ forms that were valid across all historical periods. Romanticism began to recognise genres as dynamic entities historically and culturally conditioned rather than static forms. This renewed scrutiny pointed to another important development in

⁴³ F. Schlegel, ‘Critical Fragments, no.62’, in *Lucinde and the Fragments*, (trans.), by P. Firchow, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1971. p. 150.

the Romantic period, *viz.*, the recognition of the evolutionary and historical character of genres. The notion that the transcendent or ‘natural’ categories of genre rooted in Classical thought could be challenged and a new genre or type may emerge was given impetus in the work of Georg Hegel⁴⁴ and through the influence of Charles Darwin.

According to Hegel, the novel was an imperfect, prosaic epic, reflecting both the positive aspect of modernity’s diversity, as well as the negative sense of chaos and conflict that arises as a result. “The novel is a work of prose reflecting the schism of a world where man, society, and nature have come to be at odds, a world that has lost its sense of transcendental totality – a world become prosaic.”⁴⁵ Additionally, with Darwin’s *Origin of Species* and its emerging organic metaphors, it was inevitable that similar discourses of ‘species’ and ‘type’ in literary criticism commended evolutionary ideas as a model for the development of literary forms.⁴⁶

This was particularly manifest in Ferdinand Brunetière’s work, *L’évolution des genres*. Perhaps the most enterprising legacy of Romanticism was the idea that it was possible to ignore altogether the concept of genres. Schlegel’s comment that “every poem is a genre unto itself”⁴⁷ was revolutionary, as was his assertion that the traditional distinctions of genre were “as primitive and childish as the old pre-Copernican ideas of astronomy.”⁴⁸ These ideas resurfaced in the twentieth century in the thought of Italian Benedetto Croce who condemned the doctrine of artistic and literary kinds (genres).⁴⁹

⁴⁴ G.W.F. Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Arts*, (trans.), T.M. Know, Vol 2, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975. p. 392-93.

⁴⁵ N. Vazsonyi, *Lukács Reads Goethe: From Aestheticism to Stalinism*, Columbia: Camden House, 1997, p. 47.

⁴⁶ D. Duff, (ed) *Modern Genre Theory*, Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2000, p. 4.

⁴⁷ F. Schlegel, *Literary Notebooks 1797-1801*, quoted in P. Szondi, ‘Friedrich Schlegel’s Theory of Poetical Genres: A Reconstruction from the Posthumous Fragments’, in P. Szondi, *On Textual Understanding and Other Essays*, trans. H. Mendelsohn, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986, p. 93.

⁴⁸ F. Schlegel, ‘Athenaeum Fragments’, no. 434, in F. Schlegel, *Lucinde and the Fragments*, (trans.), by P. Firchow, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1971, p. 237.

⁴⁹ B. Croce, *Aesthetic as Science of Expression and General Linguistic*, trans. D. Ainslie, 2nd edn. London: Peter Owen, 1953, p. 36-7, ‘From the theory of artistic and literary kinds derive those erroneous modes of judgment and of criticism, thanks to which, instead of asking before a work of art if it be expressive and what it expresses, whether it speak or stammer or is altogether silent, they ask if it obey the laws of epic or tragedy, of historical painting or of landscape ... Every true work of art has violated some established kind and upset the ideas of the critics, who have thus been obliged to broaden the kinds, until finally even the broadened kind has proved too narrow, owing to the appearance of new works of art, naturally followed by new scandals, new upsettings and – new broadenings.’

Across the Atlantic, the Chicago Aristotelians were less progressive in their thought than their Continental counterparts and maintained the claims of traditional genre distinctions. While committed to the critical method, and in theory pluralistically tolerant, in practicality they tended to dismiss Romantic ideas.⁵⁰ Whether or not the Continental responses to genre were a reaction to Neoclassicism is debatable, but the fact remains that the notion of literary genres continued to be debated among literary theorists. The Romantics nevertheless challenged the Classical transcendent nature of genre and saw types as evolving due to historical and cultural conditions.

2 – Russian Formalists

The Romantics and Chicagoans were not the sole proponents of modern genre theory and discerning developments in the debate emerged from Eastern Europe. Posited as they were between the Romantics of the late-nineteenth century and the Structuralists of the mid-twentieth century, the Russian Formalists turned their attention to genre theory in the 1920s. The school of thought emerged as a reaction against Romanticist theories of literature, which centered on the artist and individual creative genius, and as an alternative the Formalists placed the text itself into the spotlight, to show how the text was indebted to forms and other works that had preceded it. The writings of the Formalists may be summarised by five general features.

First, upon inheriting the problem of literary evolution as suggested by Brunetière, the eastern Europeans argued that literary evolution is discontinuous.⁵¹ Second, the Formalists maintained that the “evolution of a particular genre cannot be understood

⁵⁰ A. Fowler, ‘Genre’ in M. Coyle, et.al., *Encyclopedia of Literature and Criticism*, Cardiff: University of Wales, p. 153, ‘The Chicagoans’ return to rhetorical detail may be considered a sort of progress. But their insistence on rigid genre boundaries, between classes with defining characteristics, vitiated all they achieved. They had put on blinkers excluding literature’s true complexity and untidiness.’

⁵¹ V. Shklovsky, ‘Literature without a Plot: Rozanov’, in V. Shklovsky, *Theory of Prose*, trans. B. Sher, Elmwood Park: Dalkey Archive Press, 1990, pp. 189-90, ‘The history of literature progresses along a broken path. If we were to arrange all of the literary saints canonized since the seventeenth century along one line, we would still fail to produce a single line of descent that might allow us to trace the history of literary form ... These ruptures in literary history take place for reasons that have nothing to do with chronology. No, the real point is that the legacy that is passed on from one literary generation to the next moves not from father to son but from uncle to nephew.’

from the genre-system as a whole.”⁵² Todorov noted the question of genre is simultaneously a question of history and of logic. Genres are born and change and die within history; they are socio-cultural conventions (codes).⁵³ An important methodological implication of this feature is that genres cannot be studied in isolation, only in relation to one another. Furthermore, genres need to be studied in relationship to the creator of the artwork, the created artwork, and the received artwork. Critics of the Formalists who perceived they were doing the opposite, often misunderstood this point.⁵⁴

Third, the Formalists held that genre is ‘defined by function as well as form, and that functions as well as forms evolve.’⁵⁵ In his study on the evolution of the Russian ode Tynyanov indicated that functional changes occurred not only due to general historical development but also for internal reasons. As a leading representative of the later stage of Russian Formalism he also stressed the role of external factors such as changes in social demands.⁵⁶ In the words of David Duff, “the Russian ode performs a different function in the eighteenth century than in the Romantic period.”⁵⁷ Fourthly, the Formalists through Shklovsky, insisted that “a new form arises not in order to express new content, but because the old form had exhausted its possibilities.”⁵⁸ Fifthly, the Formalists agreed that while the Neoclassicists believed in a hierarchy of genres, the hierarchy is always changing.

⁵² Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, p. 7.

⁵³ G. Aichele, *Sign, Text, Scripture: Semiotics and the Bible*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd., 1997, p. 95.

⁵⁴ Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, p.6, ‘There are many lingering apprehensions about this aspect of Formalism, not least as a result of deliberate distortions which were put into circulation in the mid-1920s in order to discredit the Formalists for essentially political reasons.’ cf. L. Trotsky, *Literature and Revolution*, New York: Russell and Russell, 1957, p. 171.

⁵⁵ Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, p. 7.

⁵⁶ J. Striedter, *Literary Structure, evolution and value: Russian Formalism and Czech Structuralism Reconsidered*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989, p. 199.

⁵⁷ Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, p. 7.

⁵⁸ V. Shklovsky, ‘The Relationship between Devices of Plot Construction and General Devices of Style, in V. Shklovsky, *Theory of Prose*, (trans.), B. Sher, Elmwood Park, Illinois, Dalkey Archive Press, 1990. p. 20, cf. T. Todorov, *Genres in Discourse*, (trans.), Catherine Porter, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. p. 14. ‘Thus ‘genre’ as such has not disappeared; the genres-of-the-past have simply been replaced by others. We no longer speak of poetry and prose, of documentary and fiction, but of novel and narrative, of narrative mode and discursive mode, of dialogue and journal. The fact that a work ‘disobeys’ its genre does not mean that the genre does not exist.

The Formalist's discussion on genre has often been discredited for political reasons and it has been misapprehended as being uninterested in literary history but more concerned with seeking to isolate a single text as an object for study.⁵⁹ However, the Formalists model of genre acknowledged radical changes in the hierarchy of genres that was far from being ahistorical. They actually perceived genre as being defined in relation both to the genres that surround it and to the previous manifestations of that genre. They initiated an important methodological implication suggesting that genres cannot be studied in isolation, only in relation to one another, and advocated that genre is defined by function as well as form. It can be seen that these insights inform the present study when comparing the genres of *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*.

3 – *Structuralism and Post-Structuralism*

The next phase in the development of genre theory challenged the notion that meaning derives from inferred authorial intentions. Authorial inference became less important than unobvious or inadvertent meanings that derived from genre, history, and the reader. Structuralism is oriented toward the reader insofar as it suggests that the reader constructs literature, *i.e.*, reads the text with certain conventions and expectations in mind. The French Structuralists who perceived interpretation was an affair of decoding and analysing the results took this practice to its extreme. Authorial intentions, biographical and historical contexts were reduced in value with Roland Barthes even speaking of the 'death' of the author'.⁶⁰ Meaning is not derived from the originator (author) but from the destination (reader).

⁵⁹ V. Erlich, 'Russian Formalism' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 34, 4, 1973. p. 635. Erlich notes, 'Ever since the 1903s, 'formalism' has been, in Soviet parlance, a term of abuse connoting undue preoccupation with 'mere' form.'

⁶⁰ R. Barthes, *Death of the Author*, trans. R. Howard, 1967, accessed on 28th September, 2014 @ http://www.tbook.constantvzw.org/wp-content/death_authorbarthes.pdf. Barthes concludes, 'Once an action is recounted, for intransitive ends, and no longer in order to act directly upon reality – that is, finally external to any function but the very exercise of the symbol – this disjunction occurs, the voice loses its origin, the author enters his own death, writing begins. ... We know that a text does not consist of a line of words, releasing a single 'theological' meaning (the 'message' of the Author-God), but is a space of many dimensions, in which are wedded and contested various kinds of writing, no one of which is original: the text is a tissue of citations, resulting from the thousand sources of culture. ... In this way is revealed the whole being of writing: a text consists of multiple writings, issuing from several cultures and entering into dialogue with each other, into parody, into contestation; but there is one place where this mul-

Literature came to be understood as a series of intertextualities in which texts generated texts. Structuralists, therefore, are not so interested in interpretation, but attempt to find patterns and types that connect all works of literature. In their attempts to raise literary studies from the realm of the subjective to the objective, Structuralists extended Ferdinand de Saussure's linguistic concepts of *langue* and *parole* to literature. Just as a student studying a second language learns the rules of morphology and syntax (*langue*) and becomes competent and can then perform in the new language (*parole*), so one can become competent in learning the syntax and rules of narrative. The underlying structures of narrative may be called genres. Genre regained importance in literary criticism, because with the author removed, genre became a significant coding system.⁶¹

Some Post-structural theorists, such as Stanley Fish, have been singled out as suggesting that the reader constructs the text entirely. Fish initiated a reader-response approach when he concluded that the essential factor in meaning is not the spatial form of the text on the page but the temporal process of reading. He discerned that literature was dependent on subjective perception and concluded, "it is the reader who 'makes' literature," although with the qualification that the reader operates not as a "free agent" but as "a member of a community."⁶²

These assumptions about literature *viz.*, its openness and liberation from prescriptive theories, highlight generic purpose and consequently the defensive tone of earlier genre

tiplicity is collected, united, and this place is not the author, as we have hitherto said it was, but the reader: the reader is the very space in which are inscribed, without any being lost, all the citations a writing consists of; the unity of a text is not in its origin, it is in its destination; but this destination can no longer be personal: the reader is a man without history, without biography, without psychology; he is only that someone who holds gathered into a single field all the paths of which the text is constituted.'

⁶¹ A. Fowler, 'Genre' in M. Coyle, et.al., *Encyclopedia of Literature and Criticism*, Cardiff: University of Wales, p. 156.

⁶² S. Fish, *Is There a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982, p. 11, 'The conclusion is that while literature is still a category, it is an open category, not definable by fictionality, or by a disregard of propositional truth, or by a predominance of tropes and figures, but simply by what we decide to put into it. And the conclusion to that conclusion is that it is the reader who 'makes' literature. This sounds like the rankest subjectivism, but it is qualified almost immediately when the reader is identified not as a free agent, making literature in any old way, but as a member of a community whose assumptions about literature determine the kind of attention he pays and thus the kind of literature 'he' 'makes' ... Thus the act of recognizing literature is not constrained by something in the text, nor does it issue from an independent and arbitrary will; rather, it proceeds from a collective decision as to what will count as literature, a decision that we be in force only so long as a community of readers or believers continues to abide by it.'

theory as suggested by Benedetto, began to diminish. The deconstruction of the ‘law of genre’ by Post-structuralist Jacques Derrida reiterates the importance of genre analysis whilst avoiding the prescriptive theories:

To formulate it in the scantiest manner – the simplest but most apodictic – I submit for your consideration the following hypotheses: a text cannot belong to no genre, it cannot be without or less a genre. Every text participates in one or several genres, there is no genreless text; there is always a genre and genres, yet such participation never amounts to belonging.⁶³

The word genre, once regarded as “as primitive and childish” and on the verge of being abandoned from critical vocabulary, reemerged as “precisely that theoretical term which encapsulates, in the problems that it poses, all the uncertainties, and confusions of the post-modern era, whether in the cultural, intellectual, or political domains.”⁶⁴

4 – *Prototype Theory*

More recent developments in genre theory have moved away from a classificatory approach and seek rather to discover how mental categories are formed and function. Two key insights in this endeavour are; (i) the recognition that genres function in much the same way as other mental categories; and, (ii) mental categories are “not best thought of as defined by distinctive features possessed by every member of the group but rather by a recognition of prototypical examples which serve as templates against which other possible instances are viewed.”⁶⁵

Classical theories of categorisation depict prospective members as belonging to a group or not, depending upon the presence or absence of requisite attributes. George Lakoff asserts that this classical model of categorisation based on the identification of “shared properties,” is not necessarily incorrect but is incomplete. Categorisation processes are socially constructed and depend on variant notions of relationships.⁶⁶ Eleanor Rosch argued that “human categorisation should not be considered the arbitrary product

⁶³ J. Derrida, ‘The Law of Genre’ trans. A. Ronell, *Critical Inquiry*, 7, 1, 1980, p. 65.

⁶⁴ G. Kress, review of Vijay K. Bhatia, *Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings*, London: Longman, 1993, Times Higher Education Supplement, 15th April, 1994.

⁶⁵ C. Newsom, ‘Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology,’ in R. Boer, (ed.), *Bakhtin and Genre Theory in Biblical Studies*, Leiden: Boston, 2008, p. 24.

⁶⁶ G. Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987, pp. 5-7.

of historical accident or of whim, but rather the result of psychological principles of categorisation.”⁶⁷

Prototype genre theory is based on this notion of psychological categorisation. People organise knowledge by means of structures called idealised cognitive models (ICMs). Subsequent category structures and prototypes are by-products of that organisation.⁶⁸ At the center of an ICM are those features that most strongly characterise the category but there are degrees of alignment to the ICM. Prototype theory suggests a mode of graded categorisation where some members of a category are considered to be more central than others. For example, in the category of furniture, *chair* is more frequently cited than, *stool*. Or in the category of birds, *robin* is more frequently cited than, *penguin*. Thus *chair* and *robin* may be considered prototype exemplars but those things such as *stool* or *penguin* have a marginal status in the grouping. This leads to a graded notion of categories based not on a rigid set of definitions and classifications but rather on recognition of prototypical examples.

This notion of categorisation can be applied to literary genres. Traditional genre-theory critics have often been perceived as sorters who place texts within the most desired generic boxes, while exiling texts that do not measure up. When applied to literary genre categories, prototype theory requires an identification of exemplars that are prototypical and an analysis of the properties that establish the sense of typicality.⁶⁹ Exemplars hold a special status that may have been afforded through significant social recognition or by reason of being a generator of a new category. Other literary types emanate from this prototype with varying degrees of association.

The features of prototype theory may be summarised as follows; (i) a prototypical structure underlies every category; (ii) prototype categories cannot simply be realised by

⁶⁷ E. Rosch, ‘Principles of Categorization’, in E. Rosch and B. Lloyd, (eds) *Cognition and categorization*, Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1978, p. 27.

⁶⁸ Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, p. 68.

⁶⁹ Newsom, ‘Spying out the Land’, p. 24.

a set of features, since the various members may not share the same amount of such features; (iii) prototype categories may be blurred at the edges; (iv) category membership can be realised in terms of gradience; and (v) semantic structures of such categories often cluster and overlap in meaning. While on the surface, prototype theory may sound very similar to categorising genres based on definition by features, the point of difference is that prototype theory views categories as involving cognitive models or background schemata not just a collection of features.

The significance of this approach with regards to genre studies is that ‘elements’ alone are not what triggers recognition of a genre but rather the way in which elements are related to one another in a framework associated with an ICM. The elements only make sense in relation to the whole. In the case of birds there are default elements; a prototype bird may be defined as having the features of feathers, beak, and an ability to fly. Individual examples can depart from the prototypical exemplars with respect to default elements and still be recognised as a bird. It is the ICM that organises and authorises the extension from the prototypical cases to those that are atypical.

A further way prototype theory differs from the classification approach is that it challenges the binary logic whether a text does, or does not belong to a genre. Thinking in prototype exemplars and a graded continuum challenges the notion of generic categories. Marie-Laure Ryan describes the idea of belonging or not belonging, or the “highly typical” and the “less typical” texts of a genre, as resembling a club imposing a number of conditions for membership but tolerating as quasi-members those who can only fulfil some of the requirements and who do not seem to fit into any other club.⁷⁰ An advantage of this approach is that it removes the boundaries of genre that are inherent in classification approaches and more easily allows for genre blurring.

⁷⁰ M-L. Ryan, ‘Introduction: On the why, what and how of generic taxonomy’, *Poetics*, 10, 1981, p. 118.

Prototype theory offers the possibility of thinking differently about genre as a classificatory tool. Rather than listing necessary features or a framework of definition and classification, prototype theory focuses on the way that humans categorise through the use of prototypical exemplars that reflect an idealised cognitive model of a category. Within this approach, genres have indeterminate boundaries and can be extended to include marginal or atypical examples. Rather than fixed sets of texts belonging equally to a genre, cognitive theory proposes that genres are radial categories extending outward from a 'prototypical' center toward a fuzzy boundary, with texts participating in the genre to varying degrees of gradience.

Summary

The preceding survey of modern genre theory illustrates that the understanding of genre moves between notions of prescriptive transcendental ideas to notions of form-generating ideologies; from definitional and classificatory approaches to idealised cognitive models. The meaning of a text extends beyond a study of words and language to include an analysis of the form that the text takes. Each form, or genre, provides a framework of communication through which the text may be understood. Genre negotiates the author's communicative relationship with readers and with surrounding texts. Genres are not fixed but are fluid. To borrow the analogy of Alistair Fowler, they are less a matter of pigeonholes as of pigeons.⁷¹ Genres evolve and change as a result of history and culture and are defined as much by function as by form.

New forms that derive meaning from the surrounding genres, ideologies, temporality and spatiality give new meaning to old forms. Author, readers and surrounding texts participate in the construction of genres and all texts participate in one or several genres, but this participation does not necessarily amount to belonging. Texts participate in genres, invoking them, gesturing to them, playing in and out of them, and changing

⁷¹ A. Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982, p. 37.

them.⁷² Through their capacity to define situations, control perspectives, and give texts aesthetic shape, genres are forms of moral imagination.⁷³

Prototype theory envisages that genres have indeterminate boundaries and can be extended to include marginal or atypical examples. Rather than texts belonging to a fixed and immovable literary type, cognitive theory proposes that genres are radial categories extending outward from a 'prototypical' center like a wagon wheel but with differing length spokes. Genres may be understood as being positioned along a graded continuum rather than categories. This approach more readily explains the aspect of genre blending with the removal of distinct boundaries and only default elements remaining.

In the context of the present discussion where it is proposed that *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* may be understood as aligning to the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph, prototype theory permits genre similarities to be recognised without requiring that all check boxes need to be ticked. The texts may be understood as belonging to a default prototype of historiography but with degrees of bending and blending implicit in the nature of historiography. The prototypical example of history writing might be a retelling of the past that strives to be faithful to what happened. Emanating from this hub are a numerous spokes that align to the historiographic genre but do so in varying degrees. Faithfulness to the past may be construed contrarily in different cultural situations. The 'sub-genre' of Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monologue may be perceived as belonging to historiographic genre along one of the radial arms.

3.4 Genre and Biblical Studies

The intersection of literary criticism and biblical studies is not new although it witnessed a surge in interest during the second-half of the twentieth century.⁷⁴ This interest

⁷² C. Newsom, *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. p. 12.

⁷³ Newsom, *The Book of Job*, p. 12.

⁷⁴ T. Longmann III, 'Literary Approaches to Biblical Interpretation', in M. Silva, (ed.), *Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996, p. 103.

is divided into four broad areas for the present discussion – author-centered theories, text-centered theories, reader-centered theories, and prototype theories.

3.4.1 Author-centered theories

Prior to the 1940s, traditional criticism (historical-critical) focused on the author and authorial intent. Interpreters desired to discover the author's intended meaning and they felt that through a thorough study of history, biographies, and works by an author, one could eventually arrive at a correct interpretation of a text. Within this approach, biblical genre studies are most closely aligned with form criticism which tended to concentrate on the literary types or 'forms' found in the gospels. Outside of the Passion Narrative, form critics identify three main narrative forms. The first are variously designated as Paradigms, Apophthegms or Pronouncement Stories. These are brief episodes that culminate in an authoritative saying of Jesus. Paradigms are presumed to have attained their form in order to serve as examples in the preaching of early missionaries and were located in this *Sitz im Leben*.⁷⁵ A second form is Tales or Miracle Stories, which unlike paradigms is attributed to a class of storytellers and teachers. The *Sitz im Leben* of Tales was their use by storytellers 'to prove the miracle-worker was an epiphany of God.'⁷⁶ The third narrative form is Historical Stories and Legend or Myths. These are those 'parts of the tradition that are not miracles stories in the proper sense, but instead of being historical in character, are religious and edifying.'⁷⁷

Form critics are concerned with how the early church and authors moulded the forms.⁷⁸ The discipline made a significant contribution to the sociology of genres. The manner in which the form critics understood how forms developed and functioned in

⁷⁵ Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, p. 43. (An example is Mark 2:1 ff., the healing of the paralytic. Dibelius notes that the Anointing Story in Mark 3:3-9 'represented the type in noteworthy purity.')

⁷⁶ Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, p. 95.

⁷⁷ R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, (trans. J. Marsh) Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1963, p. 244.

⁷⁸ D. Nineham, 'Eye-Witness Testimony and the Gospel Tradition, I', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1958, p.13, 'It is of the essence of the form-critical approach that it starts from the internal evidence of the gospels in their finished form; and the characteristics of the finished gospels to which it points as the key features for their proper understanding ... It is an article of belief of the form-critic that the Gospel tradition owed the form in which it reached our evangelists almost entirely to community use and its demands, and hardly at all to direct intervention or modification on the part of eye-witnesses.'

their historical and social contexts is akin to Todorov's suggestion that genres are born, change, and die within history, and are essentially socio-cultural conventions. Yet despite these similarities with later genre theories, early form criticism was characterised by a rigid approach to genre.⁷⁹ The quest to discover a 'pure' form or genre suggests that for many form critics there remained an essentialism that controls the use of genre.

3.3.2 Text-centered theories

1 – New Criticism

Text-centered theories moved away from the origin emphases of the author-centered theories to focus on the text itself. Often designated as New Criticism, this Anglo-American school saw texts as being self-sufficient, with authorial intent and background diminishing in importance.⁸⁰ An example of how New Criticism was applied to biblical genre studies can be found in David Gunn's *The Story of King David: Genre and Interpretation* where he defines genre as, "a label which gives information about the form and content of a piece of literature and thus very crudely sets limits around the expectations a reader should bring to the piece."⁸¹

Gunn's suggestion that "it is not necessary that the generic terminology should be that of the original author" indicates a shift away from the historical-critical method.⁸² Dissatisfaction with the state of historical-critical research at the time he was writing drives Gunn's work and he attempts a juxtaposition of historical-critical and literary-critical analyses. His concept of genre remains dominated though by the essentialism of

⁷⁹ M. Buss, *Biblical Form Criticism in Its Context*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999, pp. 251. Buss when writing about Gunkel, illustrates this rigid approach, '[Gunkel] said that the oldest genres, which are actively related to life, 'are almost completely pure.' ... Two kinds of consideration supported Gunkel in this position. One was a belief that ancient persons were more strictly bound by customs than are moderns. ... Another consideration was his observation that 'still today' genres, such as that of the sermon or the children's story, have their own special location in life.

⁸⁰ T. B. Dozeman, (ed.), *Methods for Exodus*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 17-18, 'The reader should simply study and appreciate the internal literary dynamics of a poem or novel without being influenced by what the original author may have intended (the so-called Intentional Fallacy of new criticism) or by knowledge of the social political conditions of the era in which the literary work was written.'

⁸¹ D. Gunn, *The Story of King David: Genre and Interpretation*, JSOT Supp. 6; Sheffield: JSOT, 1978, p. 19.

⁸² Gunn, *The Story of King David*, p. 19.

genre characteristics. This attitude is illustrated when Gunn seeks to identify the genre of the Succession Narrative and lists the characteristics of historiography, *viz.* interest in sources, chronology, historian presence, and discriminating analysis.⁸³ This illustrates his approach is aligned to the classificatory approach to genre.

2 – Structuralism

As noted, structuralists attempt to raise literary studies from the realm of the subjective to the realm of the objective. This approach led to the suppression of both the author and the reader so that in structuralism's purest position, writers are not conceived as original contributors to their works but as users of previous devices. Readers are understood as simply assimilating the conventions, bringing nothing to textual interpretation except knowledge of these conventions. Meaning is found in the convention or genre rather than in authorial intent with intertextuality replacing subjectivity.⁸⁴ Jonathan Culler describes this process in the following manner, "A work can only be read in connection with or against other texts, which provide a grid through which it is read and structure by providing expectation which enable one to pick out salient features and give them a structure."⁸⁵

Examples of the intersection of structuralism and biblical studies can be found in various issues of *Semeia* that appeared between 1974 and 2002.⁸⁶ This plethora of papers was a result of the Society of Biblical Literature Genre Project initiated in the 1970s. Groups were established to consider various genres including parable, pronouncement stories, miracle stories, letters and apocalypse with a focus on structural

⁸³ Gunn, *The Story of King David*, p. 21, 'I would also add some other features of the work which suggest that 'history' is an inappropriate classification. There is a lack of interest in sources, a most rudimentary chronology, and an almost total lack of any sense of the historian's presence over against the material being presented, let alone the *sine qua non* of history writing, the discriminating analysis or explanation, explicit as well as implicit, in the narrative.'

⁸⁴ J. Kristeva, *Semiotiké: Recherches pour une sémanalyse*, Seuil, Paris, 1969, p. 146 quoted in J. Culler, *Structuralist Poetics*, Ithaca: Cornell, 1975, p. 9. Kristeva explains, 'Every text takes shape as a mosaic of citations, every text is the absorption and transformation of other texts. The notion of intertextuality comes to take the place of intersubjectivity.'

⁸⁵ Culler, *Structuralist Poetics*, p. 163.

⁸⁶ *Semeia* 11 (1978) concentrated on the genre of miracle stories, *Semeia* 14 (1979) concentrated on the genre of apocalypse. *Semeia* 20 (1981) concentrated on the genre of pronouncement stories. *Semeia* 22 (1981) concentrated on the genre of ancient letter writing.

linguistics. An example of the structuralist's perspective with particular attention to the apocalyptic genre, is given by David Hellholm in *Semeia* 36:

In analyzing generic concepts from a paradigmatic point of view [I note] that genres participate in three separate, though related, aspects: form, content, and function. This is true for all levels of abstraction, called (in linguistic analysis) *subsememe*, *sememe*, *archisememe*, *superarchisememe*, etc. Applying this to apocalypses, [I suggest] 31 *semes-noemes*; no apocalypse has all characteristics but all have some from each aspect. In spite of all the necessary hierarchization of these characteristics, [I maintain] that even this is unsatisfactory. We need to complement it with text-linguistic analysis. This approach can take into account not only content, form, and function, but also the syntagmatic aspects (micro- as well as macro-syntagmatic structures). This latter analysis requires hierarchically-arranged communication levels of different ranks. The final result is a three-dimensional analysis of texts.⁸⁷

While encountering criticism due to its high level of complexity, its almost esoteric terminology, and a perceived limited assistance in understanding the text, the structuralists nevertheless focused scholarly attention on genre studies. However, the manner in which the *Semeia* scholars approached genre studies often remained within the framework of definition and classification. This classification can be seen in Hellholm's observation where he suggests apocalypses have "31 *semes-nomes*; no apocalypse has all characteristics but all have some from each aspect." This focus on characteristics still appears to perceive genres as 'pigeonholes' as opposed to 'pigeons'.

3.3.3 Reader-Response Theories

One consequence of structuralism was the emergence of reader-centered theories that as the name suggests, perceived meaning as residing in the reader. The reader's focus is less upon the original circumstances and more upon the text in a contemporary reading context. The issues of *Semeia* 31 and *Semeia* 48 were devoted to exploring reader-response biblical interpretations.⁸⁸ Fowler promotes reader-response criticism in the introduction to his work, *Let the Reader Understand: Reader-Response Criticism and*

⁸⁷ D. Hellholm, 'The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre and the Apocalypse of John', *Semeia*, 36, 1986, p.13.

⁸⁸ *Semeia* 31, 1985 included articles by R. Fowler, 'Who is "the reader" in reader response criticism?', pp. 5-23; K. Dauber, 'The Bible as literature : reading like the rabbis', pp. 27-48; F. Burnett, 'Prolegomenon to reading Matthew's eschatological discourse : redundancy and the education of the reader in Matthew', pp. 91-109; G. Phillips, 'History and text : the reader in context in Matthew's parables discourse', pp. 111-138. *Semeia* 48, 1989 included articles by B. Lategan, 'Coming to grips with the reader', pp. 3-17; W. Vorster, 'The reader in the text : narrative material', pp. 21-39; W. Wuellner, 'Is there an encoded reader fallacy', pp. 41-54; W. Schenk, 'The roles of the readers or the myth of the reader', pp. 55-80; and, B. Iersel, 'The reader of Mark as operator of a system of connotations', pp. 83-114.

the Gospel of Mark; where he declares the book is “not about the Gospel of Mark, rather it is a book about the experience of reading the Gospel of Mark.”⁸⁹

Further illustrations of reader-response theory in biblical studies come from scholars who might be called, ‘ideological readers’. Two examples of ideological readers are socio-economic theologians (including liberation theologians) and feminist scholars. Ideological readers regularly approach texts with an agenda of what they perceive are the needs of their contemporary position. Such positions lead the reader to interpret the text from a particular ideological position and this generates a reader-response to text. The reader’s role in this instance aligns with Culler’s thought when he suggests that the process of reading reveals the reader’s condition as maker and reader of signs, and this is the meaning of the work.⁹⁰ Culler’s explanation of reader-response criticism suggests that the operations of reading are different for different genres. He proposed that genres are not special varieties of language but sets of expectations which allow sentences to become signs of different kinds in a second-order literary system.⁹¹

Differences in genre are further compounded by differences in ideology. Each reader approaches a text with cultural and ideological perspectives that influence interpretation. When genres are perceived as a mode of perception this entails going beyond definitional and classificatory ‘features’ to understanding that meaning is encompassed in how the communicators view reality. The extent to which a reader understands a particular genre impacts on how the text may be read and understood.

⁸⁹ R. Fowler, *Let the Reader Understand: Reader-Response Criticism and the Gospel of Mark*, Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991, p. 1, ‘I claim that we have always talked about our experience of reading Mark’s Gospel but have usually done so under the guise of talking about the intentions of the evangelist, the historical events or theological ideas toward which the Gospel points, or the literary structure of the Gospel, in short, in terms of almost everything except our own encounter with the text in the act of reading. By redirecting our critical focus away from the text *per se* and towards the reading of the text, we shall ... better understand what we have been doing all along as we were reading and talking about our reading ...’

⁹⁰ J. Culler, ‘Literary Competence’, in J. Tompkins (ed), *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, p. 116-17 ‘Reading is not an innocent activity. It is charged with artifice, and to refuse to study one’s modes of reading is to neglect a principal source of information about literary activity.’

⁹¹ Culler, ‘Literary Competence’, p. 116, ‘The same sentence can have a different meaning depending on the genre in which it appears. Nor is one upset ... On the contrary, change in modes of reading offers some of the best evidence about the conventions operative in different periods.’

Reader-response criticism has met with varying degrees of acceptance amongst biblical scholars. The complexity and creative nature of reader-response theory can pose a challenge to those searching for certitude. Readers concerned with establishing the meaning of a text based on a secure foundation are often unsettled and over-whelmed by the approach.⁹² However, changes in modes of reading offer some of the best evidence about the conventions operative in different periods. Being aware of the changes is implicit in discovering meaning.

3.4.4 Prototype Theory

Newsom's work 'Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology', is a seminal work in biblical studies and prototype theory. Together with her article, 'Pairing Research Questions and the Theories of Genre: A Case Study of the Hodayot', Newsom surveys the questions of genre and identifies prototype theory as a means of understanding.⁹³ The Hodayot collection of poetic compositions of praise and thanksgiving found at Qumran, employ a style similar to the OT Psalms yet defy generic classification.⁹⁴ They have standardised openings, a relatively limited number of *topoi*, and similar to the biblical "psalms of lament" they employ intimate and personal language. The poems address God and he is often contrasted with the wretchedness of the human condition.

Originally the Hodayot were compared with the biblical psalms and these intertextual comparisons informed early discussions of genre. A division was made between 'psalms of thanksgiving' and 'hymns' but it was soon recognised that not all of the poems fit neatly into these two categories.⁹⁵ Newsom's approach has turned to prototype theory to better understand the genre of the poems. She proposes a new set of questions about genre including; (i) how genres developed within the sectarian world function as a

⁹² E. McKnight, 'Reader-Response Criticism' in S. McKenzie & A. Haynes, (eds), *To Each Its Own Meaning*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, p. 248.

⁹³ C. Newsom, 'Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre', pp. 270-88.

⁹⁴ E. Schuller, 'Recent Scholarship on the Hodayot 1993-2010,' *Currents in Biblical Research*, 10,1, p. 119.

⁹⁵ Schuller, 'Recent Scholarship on the Hodayot 1993-2010', p. 137.

system; (ii) how they relate to the larger genre system of Second Temple Judaism, and (iii) how the Hodayot can be studied as part of the broader phenomenon of first-person poetic prayer in early Judaism and Christianity.⁹⁶

While Newsom does not explore these questions in detail, she raises them as the next step in genre analysis that presents itself to biblical studies. Benjamin Wright III undertakes a similar analysis in ‘Joining the Club: A Suggestion about Genre in Early Jewish Texts.’ Wright understands that seeking to isolate a text to a ‘singular allegiance’ is an obstacle to identifying literary genre.⁹⁷ For Wright, prototype theory offers “the possibility of thinking fruitfully about the relationships among texts and genres”⁹⁸ and he applies this to the genre of wisdom literature. He notes one of the obstacles to identifying wisdom literature as a genre has been “that no set of classificatory criteria seems to work when trying to determine which texts belong to the genre.”⁹⁹ By approaching genre through the lens of prototype theory, Wright is able to conclude:

I find the utility of looking at genre via prototypes to be primarily twofold. First, it obviates the necessity of worrying about whether “borderline” cases belong or not. Texts fall somewhere on a gradient from central and close to the prototypes to peripheral and more distant from them. Second, as Sinding notes, the borders between genres are likely to be blurred and to overlap. Changing the model from one that produces self-contained categories to one that admits to less exactitude and to fuzzy, or perhaps “conflicted,” boundaries eliminates what often seems to be some artificiality or incongruity in placing texts into generic categories.¹⁰⁰

The approach of prototype theory enables an understanding of biblical genres that facilitates changing the conception of what genres were available to and popular with the biblical authors, whether they be typical or atypical examples of the genres. It has the advantage of clarifying how texts can belong to the same ‘club,’ despite the diversity that may appear among them.

⁹⁶ Newsom, ‘Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre’, pp. 285-86.

⁹⁷ B. Wright III, ‘Joining the Club: A Suggestion about Genre in Early Jewish Texts,’ *Dead Sea Discoveries*, 17, 3, 2010. p. 292, ‘In my view, the perceived necessity of deciding on a text’s singular allegiance has been a major obstacle to seeing wisdom as a literary genre, and such an approach does not seem best suited to getting at how texts relate to one another – both inside and outside of a genre.

⁹⁸ Wright, ‘Joining the Club’, p. 292.

⁹⁹ Wright, ‘Joining the Club’, p. 298.

¹⁰⁰ Wright, ‘Joining the Club’, pp. 302-3.

Summary

The natural affinity of biblical studies with genology has precipitated various approaches to understanding of biblical genres. Form criticism made a significant contribution to the sociology of genres and the manner in which the form critics understand the development and function of forms in their historical and social contexts suggests that genres are essentially socio-cultural conventions. Yet despite these similarities with later understandings of genre, early form criticism was characterised by a rigid approach to genre and the quest to discover a 'pure' form or genre suggests that for many form critics there remained an essentialism that controls the use of genre.

In the example of Gunn's text-centered approach, it was observed that new criticism remained linked to a definitional and classificatory understanding of genre. The same conclusion may be reached when critiquing structuralism where the manner in which the *Semeia* scholars approached genre studies also tended to remain within a framework of classification. Reader-response criticism's acknowledgement that changes in modes of reading offer evidence about the conventions operative in different periods, intimates that changes are implicit in discovering meaning, and foreshadows the view that genres may not only be understood under a methodology of distinguishing characteristics.

The approach of prototype theory enables an understanding of biblical genres that facilitates the conception of what genres were available to and popular with the biblical authors, whether they be typical or atypical examples of the genres. It has the advantage of clarifying how texts can belong to the same 'club,' despite the diversity that may appear among them. Prototype theory understands that the borders between genres are likely to be blurred and that genre bending is to be expected.

3.5 Chapter Conclusions

Proceeding from the comprehension that specifying the genre of a narrative is a necessary step to understanding its purpose, the present chapter has surveyed the develop-

ment of genre theory in ancient and modern eras. It has examined the various approaches that have sought to understand how genre works and has highlighted the ambiguity that clouds the determination of literary types. This vagueness was recognised in the positions of the ancient Greek and Roman authors who whilst appreciating and identifying different genres, were equivocal as to what rules governed their use. Genres were construed as socially constructed and some types were preferred to others as acceptable modes of recording history.

A survey of modern theorists revealed that the concept of genre moved between notions of transcendental ideas and form-generating ideologies; and from classificatory approaches to cognitive models. More recent theories recognise that genres are often bent and blended in narratives to the extent that definitional understandings may no longer provide an adequate basis to comprehend specific literary types. Genres might be better understood as fluid and not fixed. The emergence of prototype theory was seen to be an approach through which the indefiniteness of genres may be understood. Rather than texts belonging to a set of fixed criteria, genres are radial categories extending outward from a 'prototypical' center like a wagon wheel but with differing length spokes. To employ another metaphor, genres may be better comprehended as situated along a graded continuum rather than belonging to static categories.

The survey of genre and biblical studies indicated that the discipline has essentially proceeded apace with the development of genre theory. Form criticism, text-centred theories of reader-response, and structuralism fundamentally operate within a classificatory outlook. The emergence of prototype theory has seen the development of new approaches to understanding biblical genres. The prototype proposal that blurring of borders between genres is to be expected might be seen to eliminate obstacles to understanding that previously proved problematic.

In the context of the present discussion, a recognition that *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*

may be construed as bending or blending genres paves the way for non-traditional generic categories to be explored. Both narratives exhibit literary characteristics that have been variously construed as aligning them to particular genres. Numerous proposals have been suggested that seek to position them in one literary type or another with diverse implications and interpretations arising from these determinations. From the perspective of the prototype theory, some genre distinctions may now be understood to overlap and even become blurred. This does not mean that genre distinctions are superfluous but it acknowledges that the works may be positioned along a continuum of historiographic narratives with degrees of deviation from a prototypical example.

The Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph may not conform to all the 'characteristics' associated with ancient historiography and in fact the proposed definition of this literary type reflects a blend of the ancient historical monograph and Jewish-Hellenistic historical novels. However, the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph may be understood to be a radial arm emanating from a default prototype and is positioned somewhere on a continuum of narratives that have pretensions to historiography.

Chapter 4. The Genres of the *Gospel of Luke*

The genius of Luke's work is the synthesis of many different literary genres.

Brigid Curtin Frein, 2008

4.1 Titles and Expectations

Having established the possibility of understanding genres as extending from prototypes with flexible boundaries and the prospect of blending and bending various literary types, we are in the position to consider the genre of Luke's Gospel. Adela Collins sums up the significance in discovering the genre of the gospels as: "not merely a matter of finding the right pigeonhole for the work or of academic debate in an ivory tower. Assumptions about the literary form of [Luke] affect the way the work is allowed to function in the lives of readers, in the life of the church, and in society."¹ Brigid Frein notes: "The question of genre is not simply a matter of identification and classification. ... The literary genre of a work is an important element in its comprehension; it conveys the author's view of the relationship between the story and other available narratives."²

The inscription 'Gospel of Luke' already presumes a possible literary type – the gospel. However, is this designation a description of genre or simply a title? Twenty-first century readers are met with this label and its meaning, whilst often accepted as valid, is replete with ambiguity. The designation 'Gospel According to Luke,' (ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ) along with the titles of the other canonical gospels, were later additions to the manuscripts, most probably to distinguish one from another according to the then-current opinion.³

¹ A. Y. Collins, *Mark: A Commentary*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007, p.17.

² B.C. Frein, 'Genre and Point of View in Luke's Gospel', *Biblical Theology Bulletin: Journal of Bible and Culture*, 31,8, 2008, p. 4.

³ D. Duling, *The New Testament: History, Literature, and Social Context*. Belmont: Wadsworth, 2003. p. 73. Justin Martyr (c.150-160 C.E.) calls the Gospels "memoirs of the apostles" in his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* 106.3, Justin refers to the 'memoirs of him' (γεγραμμένοι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ) which can be translated "the memoirs about him" (the him is Jesus as the subject). By the time of Irenaeus (c. 185 C.E.) the term 'gospel' in referring to the first four books of the NT was in use. 'For that according to John ... that according to Luke ... Matthew, again, relates his generation as a man ... Mark, on the other hand.' *Against Heresies*, 11:8. See also M. Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1985, pp. 64-84.

Titles of ancient works are often difficult to ascertain and when readers are met with subsequently ascribed headings, the new titles assume meanings of their own and project these meanings onto the reader. In some instances a title is little more than a guess, and in other cases it is the product of a consensus of opinion.⁴ The acknowledgement of a title and authorship means that readers approach a text under a particular set of circumstances and expectations. Sometimes these expectations can render the purpose of the writer harder to detect and obscure a sense of understanding, even before a work is opened. When it comes to ‘The Gospel According to X’, how a reader accepts, interprets, and understands the title and the author, may affect the way in which the actual narrative is subsequently understood.

Moving beyond the title, further questions arise. Can ‘gospel’ be considered a genre? If so, how may it be perceived? Is the genre fixed or does it have indeterminate boundaries that can be expanded to include marginal or atypical examples? Additionally, there is the question of whether the author of *Luke* knew what ‘gospel genre’ was and if so, was he following the characteristics and features that later readers subsequently attached to the type? It is doubtful if this latter scenario was the case. The acknowledgement of a ‘gospel genre’ came some time after the time of Luke’s composition and if the notion that genre is an act of communication between authors and readers it is uncertain if Luke’s contemporaneous audience would have recognised the ‘rules’ of this emerging code sufficiently to approach the text under this ‘generic contract.’

⁴ The fourth-century B.C.E. historian Xenophon wrote an account of an unsuccessful expedition to Asia, commonly known as *The Anabasis of Alexander*, but most probably originally written under the pseudonym ‘Themistogenes of Syracuse.’ Xenophon refers to the account of ‘Themistogenes’ in *Hellenica*, 3.1.2. ‘... all this has been written by Themistogenes the Syracusan.’ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, LCL 88, p. 175. This attribution effects how *The Anabasis* is read, interpreted and understood. Plutarch, writing in the first-century C.E., considered the pseudonym was intended to give an impression of greater objectivity, since Xenophon himself is an important figure within the account of Alexander’s expedition. ‘Xenophon, to be sure, became his own history by writing of his generalship and his successes and recording that it was Themistogenes the Syracusan who had compiled an account of them, his purpose being to win greater credence for his narrative by referring to himself in the third person, thus favouring another with the glory of the authorship.’ Plutarch, *Moralia*, Vol. 4, LCL 305, (F. C. Babbitt, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936, p. 495.

It remains then to try and discern what, if any, literary types may have informed Luke in the composition of his narrative. Was it an ancient Greco-Roman biography or historiographic genre? If it was historiography, was there a particular sub-genre that he sought to follow? Or, was Luke writing a monograph or even a novel? Seeking responses to these questions is the purpose of the immediate discussion.

4.1.1 Chapter Structure

The present chapter will survey current research into the genre of the *Gospel of Luke* and seek to determine to which genres the Lukan narrative may be aligned. At the outset, the question of *Luke-Acts* unity will be considered and it will be argued that while authorial, narrative, and theological unity of *Luke* and *Acts* may be generally accepted, agreement as to reception, canonical, and generic unity is not conclusive. It is proposed that with respect to genre, *Luke* and *Acts* represent multiple types and *Luke* can be understood as a separate generic work to *Acts*. In the context of the present dissertation this establishes that the genre and historiographic nature of *Luke* may be considered without the constraints of the second volume.

Having established a case for separation of *Luke-Acts*, the discussion will proceed to survey the various scholarly positions that have been suggested for the genre of *Luke*. The positions that are surveyed include the literary types of *sui generis*, Greco-Roman biography, and historiography (general, political, apologetic, deuteronomistic, and Jewish). This will be followed by an evaluation of *Luke* as ‘stand-alone’ historiography. It will be suggested that the Gospel might be understood to align to the genre of the ancient historical monograph. It will be preliminarily established that *Luke* exhibits characteristics that permit further investigation into possible similarities with the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph.

4.2 The Unity of *Luke* and *Acts*

Luke straddles a literary divide when it comes to determining its genre. If coupled with its companion volume *Acts*, the genre of Luke's Gospel is often determined as historiography based on the commonly accepted generic features of the second volume. On the other hand the canonical gospels are commonly understood as belonging to a biographical genre. Frederick Danker illustrates this ambiguity when he writes: "Luke's two-volume work is a mixed genre, exhibiting historical and biographical interests, with a strong aretalogical ingredient."⁵ This comment raises the question as to whether *Luke* assumes a different character if coupled to, or uncoupled from *Acts*?

W. Ward Gasque observes that the unity argument was the primary development of Lukan studies in the first half of the twentieth century.⁶ Patrick Spencer suggests the determination of unity "focuses on four 'bolts'; (i) genre; (ii) narrative; (iii) theology; and (iv) reception history."⁷ Mikeal Parsons and Richard Pervo identify five levels where unity may be tested: (i) authorial unity, (ii) canonical unity, (iii) generic unity, (iv) narrative unity, and (v) theological unity.⁸ The present study will briefly survey the arguments for and against the theological, narrative, and generic unity of *Luke* and *Acts* with slight mention given to the other 'bolts.'

1 – Authorial, Reception and Canonical Unity

The recognition that *Luke* and *Acts* were written by the same author begins in the second century. The two volumes were customarily assigned to Luke the physician who is mentioned by Paul (*Col.* 4:14, *Philem.* 24, and *2 Tim.* 4:11) and their significance lay in the supposed connection with the apostle.⁹ Although the precise identity of the au-

⁵ F.W. Danker, *Jesus and the New age, According to St. Luke: A Commentary on the Third Gospel*, St. Louis: Clayton Pub. House, 1972, p. 4.

⁶ W. Gasque, *A History of Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles*, BGBE, Tübingen: 1975, p. 309.

⁷ P.E. Spencer, 'The Unity of Luke-Acts: A Four-Bolted Hermeneutical Hinge,' *Currents in Biblical Research*, 5, 3, 2007, p. 341.

⁸ M. Parsons and R. Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993. pp. 7-19.

⁹ The Muratorian canon, declares, 'the third book of the Gospel is that according to Luke. Luke, the well-known physician, after the ascension of Christ, when Paul had taken with him as one zealous for the law, composed it in his own

thor is debated, almost all New Testament scholars agree that the same person authored the Gospel and *Acts*.¹⁰ The canonical question is addressed succinctly by Brevard Childs who admits that the Lukan volumes were separated at some point but probably not during canonisation.¹¹ The Muratorian canon (c.170 C.E.) distinguishes *Acts* as ‘a separate book’ to *Luke*¹² and for many years *Luke* and *Acts* were considered independently, with *Acts* being the lesser of the accounts. Andrew Gregory concludes that there is virtually no evidence that *Luke* and *Acts* were read as one work in the early church.¹³ It appears safe to presume that Luke’s Gospel remained grouped with the other three canonical gospels and was generally studied under this prehension until the nineteenth-century.¹⁴

At this time, under the critical examination of the Tübingen School, *Acts* continued to be isolated, with the book construed as an unhistorical account composed early in the second-century.¹⁵ Reaction to the Tübingen critique came from those who supported the traditional view with numerous hypotheses advanced to determine Lukan authorship of *Acts*, its historical reliability, and unity with *Luke*.¹⁶ At the turn of the twentieth-

name, according to [the general] belief.’ Muratorian canon, 1-6, *Early Christian Writings*, accessed 15.4.2015 @ <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/muratorian-metzger.html>

¹⁰ Parsons and Pervo, *Rethinking*, p. 7.

¹¹ B. Childs, *The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984, p. 116, ‘It seems far more probable that Luke was first assigned a canonical sanctity and only subsequently did Acts acquire a similar status ... on the basis on the prologue to Luke’s Gospel the case has been made for the original integrity of the Gospel as a separate entity. The second volume of Acts was added later. Accordingly, the form of Luke’s first volume as a Gospel did not derive from the later canonical decision to divide the work into two.’

¹² Muratorian canon, 1-6, *Early Christian Writings*, ‘Moreover, the acts of all the apostles were written in one book. For ‘most excellent Theophilus’ Luke compiled the individual events that took place in his presence —as he plainly shows by omitting the martyrdom of Peter as well as the departure of Paul from the city [of Rome]’ accessed 15.4.2015 @ <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/muratorian-metzger.html>

¹³ A. Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus: Looking for Luke in the Second Century*, WUNT, 2.69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, p. 39. cf. K. Rowe, ‘History, Hermeneutics and the Unity of Luke-Acts’, *JSNT* 28, 2005, pp.131-57; L.T. Johnson, ‘Literary Criticism of Luke-Acts: Is Reception-History Pertinent?’ *JSNT* 28, 2005, pp. 159-62.

¹⁴ M. Luther in E. Muller, (ed) *Luther’s Explanatory Notes on the Gospels*, trans. P. Anstadt, P. Anstadt and Sons, York, 1898, p.iv. ‘In the first place it must be known, that all the apostles teach the same doctrine, and it is not correct to count four Evangelists and four Gospels. There is one Gospel which proclaims to us the grace of God, freely given, though one Evangelist has a style different from that of the other, and speaks the same truths with different words.’

¹⁵ E. Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, pp. 15-24.

¹⁶ Some British scholars who provided counter-arguments to the Tübingen critics were James Smith (1782), Henry Alford (1810-71), Joseph Lightfoot (1818-89) and Sir William Ramsay (1851-1939). See W. Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem, A Study on the credibility of St. Luke*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898, pp. 3-4, ‘Among the writings which are collected in the New Testament, there is included a History of the life of Christ and of the first steps in the diffusion of his teaching through the Roman world, composed in two books. These two books have been separated from one another as if they were different works, and are ordinarily called, ‘The Gospel according to St.

century, initial steps were taken towards the consideration of *Luke* and *Acts* together, motivated by the quest for historical integrity and perhaps fuelled by British and German rivalry.¹⁷

This brief overview of the authorial, reception, and canonical unity of *Luke* and *Acts*, reveals that for the most part scholars accept that both volumes had the same author but they were received by the church and subsequent canon as separate books. Attempts to perceive the two tomes as a single work emerged at the end of the nineteenth-century possibly as a reaction to the critical endeavours of German scholarship and in an endeavour to re-establish the historicity of the New Testament.

2 – Theological Unity

Robert O'Toole states, "Luke's Gospel must be studied with his *Acts of the Apostles*, and to consider the one book without the other would only truncate Luke's thought."¹⁸ O'Toole's claim is the majority position amongst scholars who have recently dealt with *Luke-Acts* theology.¹⁹ This being said, it presupposes the question as to what is understood by the concept, 'theological unity' of Luke's work? Since the time of Hans Conzelmann, it has generally been accepted that *Luke* has a distinctive theology but it remains a complex issue to describe its content and to determine its unity. Marshall proposes five theological themes that overlap *Luke* and *Acts*: (i) Jesus as proclaimer and proclaimed; (ii) the sending of the apostles and witnesses; (iii) the prominence of kingdom and Messiah; (iv) discipleship as the appropriate response to the Gospel; and (v) salvation offered to all.²⁰ Jozef Verheyden suggests three modes to respond to the question of theological unity in *Luke-Acts*.

Luke' and 'The Acts of the Apostles.' It is, however, certain from their language, and it is admitted by every scholar, that the two books were composed by a single author as parts of a single historical work on a uniform plan. ... this History in two books was incorporated in the Canon, and its unity broken up: the first book was placed among the group of four Gospels, and the second was left apart.

¹⁷ J.R. Davis, *The Victorians and Germany*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2007. p. 9. Davis writes, 'German theology began to provoke hysterical, obsessive responses, and caused a broad and lasting alteration to the religious landscape.'

¹⁸ R. O'Toole, *The Unity of Luke's Theology: An Analysis of Luke-Acts*, Wilmington: Glazier, 1984, p. 11.

¹⁹ M. Parsons, 'The Unity of the Lukan Writings: Rethinking the *Opinio Communis*', in N.H. Keathley, (ed) *With Steadfast Purpose: Essay on Acts in Honor of Henry Jackson Flanders, Jr.*, Waco: Baylor University, 1990, p. 34.

²⁰ I. H. Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, Downers Grove, IVP, 1988.

Verheyden's first approach is to "write a synthesis of Luke's theology, ... or to look for the one overarching theme or perspective that dominates, explains, and holds together the whole of Luke's work."²¹ A second technique to examine the unity of Luke's theology is to look for theological themes the author may have used to structure his work. A widely regarded example of this model, and elemental for reading *Luke-Acts* as a unified work, is the theological theme of 'promise/announcement and fulfilment.'²² John T. Squires gives an instance of this model of theological structure when he addresses the theme of God's plan: "this study examines one significant theme in *Luke-Acts*, that of 'the plan of God'."²³ Verheyden's third methodological approach to the issue of theological unity is to find coherency in Luke's theology in a specific area. Verheyden gives two examples, one is Luke's pneumatology – the author speaks of the Spirit of God and it is commonly observed that the Spirit is "the connecting thread which runs through both parts" of his work.²⁴ A second example is Christology about which Verheyden observes: "there is hardly an area of Luke's theology in which scholars have done more to demonstrate the consistency of his thought."²⁵

The preceding discussion has highlighted some of the methodologies advocated to support the case that *Luke* and *Acts* form a theological unity, *viz.*, overarching themes present in the two works; theological themes used to structure the work; and theological

²¹ J. Verheyden, 'The Unity of Luke-Acts', J. Verheyden (ed) *The Unity of Luke Acts*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999, p. 34. Examples of this approach are found in N. M. Flanagan, 'The What and How of Salvation in Luke-Acts', in D. Durken (ed), *Sin, Salvation, and the Spirit*, Collegeville: Liturgical, 1979, pp. 203-213; cf. K.N. Giles, 'Salvation in Lukan Theology', *Reformed Theological Review*, 42, 1983. p. 10, 'As salvation lies right at the heart of the Christian religion it is not surprising that in the protracted debate about Lukan theology ... the question of Luke's understanding of salvation has often been broached. Several important studies have appeared but they have not exhausted the topic and we should not expect this for this issue takes us right to the heart of Lukan theology.'

²² Giles, 'Salvation in Lukan Theology', pp. 36-8. Examples of this model are C.H. Talbert, 'Promise and Fulfillment in Lukan Theology', in C.H. Talbert (ed.), *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature*, New York: Crossroads, 1984, pp. 91-103.

²³ J.T. Squires, *The Plan of God in Luke-Acts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. i.

²⁴ W.H. Shepherd, *The Narrative function of the Holy Spirit as a Character in Luke-Acts*, SBL DS, 147, Atlanta: 1994, p. 13.

²⁵ J. Verheyden, *The Unity of Luke Acts*, p. 44. See also, S. Voorwinde, 'Luke-Acts: One Story in Two Parts', *Vox Reformata*, Warun Ponds: Reformed Theological College, 2010, p. 30. 'When it comes to the primary theological concerns of Acts, each has its starting point in the Gospel: (a) The apostles were baptized with the Holy Spirit at Pentecost and Jesus was baptized with the Holy Spirit at the Jordan; (b) The apostles carried out the Great Commission in the power of the Holy Spirit. Jesus likewise carried out his commission in the power of the Spirit; (c) The apostles' central message was the resurrection of Jesus, which was the climatic event of the Gospel.'

coherence in Luke's theology in a specific area. Verheyden concludes, "above all, it has become evident that these two impressive documents, *Luke's Gospel* and the *Book of Acts*, should be read and studied as one great work by the same great author and theologian they were meant to be."²⁶

3 – Narrative Unity

The general consensus among modern scholars, is that *Luke* and *Acts* form a narrative unity and are often referred to as *Luke-Acts* (with a hyphen) following Cadbury's pronouncement that, "*Acts* is neither an appendix nor an afterthought. It is probably an integral part of the author's original plan and purpose."²⁷ Narrative coherence arguably presents the most convincing case for unity. The following discussion will follow Marguerat's summary of the unity argument where he defends the thesis that:

The narrative of Luke-Acts does aim to provide a unifying effect at the theological level; but this unity is not announced in the text; it is devolved as a task to the reader who must construct this unity in the course of reading.²⁸

Marguerat notes the advantages of maintaining *Luke-Acts* is a unity allows for the possibility that Luke can be historian, writer, and theologian across all the work he authored. Narrative unity is often supposed by noting the prologues (*Lk.* 1:1-4, and *Acts* 1:1-2) which suggest Luke conceived of a single work but in two parts. Yet this in itself may not be conclusive. Loveday Alexander works under the assumption that *Luke* and *Acts* are "two parts of a single work" but she recognises that there are no clear hints in the preface to the Gospel that Luke was thinking of *Acts*.²⁹ She reckons with "the possibility that Luke did not have the narrative of *Acts* immediately in mind when he wrote

²⁶ Verheyden, 'The Unity of Luke-Acts', *HTS*, 55.4, 1999, p. 979.

²⁷ Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, pp. 8-9; F. Bovon, *Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1-9:50*, Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2002. p.1, 'Luke's two volumes are both a concrete and an abstract entity'. cf. H. Koester, *History and Literature of Early Christianity*. Tübingen, DEU: Walter de Gruyter, 2012., p. 312, 'both parts ... reveal one and the same language and style of literary composition. In order to understand the purpose of Luke's work, the genre and intention must be determined for the entire work'.

²⁸ D. Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, p. 45.

²⁹ L. Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel: Literary Convention and Social Context in Luke 1.1-4 and Acts 1.1*, SNTSMS 78, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 2, n.1.

Lk. 1:1-4.”³⁰

In addition to the prologues, narrative unity may be recognised through narrative strategy. This involves the comprehension that the reading of *Acts* presupposes information that is included in the Gospel. Marguerat notes a number of literary indicators that confirm *Luke-Acts* is so structured. The first is source-based and looks at the deliberate withholding of sections of the *Gospel of Mark* in *Luke*, and moving them to *Acts*.³¹ A second, concerns the notion of *inclusio* where the Lucan diptych is framed by a significant inclusion. The whole work is overshadowed by a narrative arch constructed by the references to ‘the salvation of God’ (*Lk.* 3:6 and *Acts* 28:28).³² Between these bookends the history of salvation – predicted, incarnated, announced, rejected by the Jews, and finally offered to the Gentiles – is narrated. These literary features suggest that *Luke-Acts* is a narrative unity.³³

Other narrative features supporting the reading of *Luke-Acts* as a unified work, are indicators in the Gospel that point in the direction of *Acts* (*prolepsis*).³⁴ These predictions of ‘things to come’ belong to the hand of a narrator. For example, the announcement in *Lk.* 2:34b-35: “This child is destined for the falling and the rising of many in Israel, and to be a sign that will be opposed so that the inner thoughts of many will be revealed ...” is understood to call the reader to discover answers through further reading – a story is unfolding. Narrative unity is presumed where a *prolepsis* occurs in *Luke* that projects into, and finds an answer in *Acts*.³⁵

³⁰ Alexander, *The Preface to Luke’s Gospel*, p. 146.

³¹ Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, p. 47. The Markan account concerning the destruction of the Temple and its reconstruction is omitted in *Luke* but reinserted in the arrest of Stephen (*Acts* 6:14); as is the Torah of Purity (Mark 7:1-23), omitted from the Gospel but present in Peter’s disclosure (*Acts* 10:15). The withholding of information supports the thesis that the narrator of *Luke-Acts* envisions a plot whose conclusion is in *Acts* 28 rather than *Lk.* 24.

³² Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, p. 49.

³³ Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, p. 49.

³⁴ C.K. Barrett, ‘The Third Gospel as a preface to Acts? Some Reflections,’ in F. Van Segbroeck (ed.), *The Four Gospels, 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck*, Leuven: Peeters, 1992. pp. 1451-61. Barrett records 41 *prolepses*.

³⁵ Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, p. 51. An example of this may also be found in *Lk.* 12:49-50, Πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τί θέλω εἰ ἤδη ἀνήφθη. βάπτισμα δὲ ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ πῶς συνέχομαι ἕως οὗτου τελεσθῆ. The combination of πῦρ and βάπτισμα calls for a reference to the Holy Spirit and it is only on arriving at the Pentecost narrative that the declaration in *Lk.* 12 can be fully comprehended, ‘this procedure is of the utmost importance as it implies that the scheme announcement-accomplishment ... [is] at the very heart of the Lucan diptych.’

Another pointer to unity is the occurrence of narrative chains such as the ‘chain of centurions’, where three centurions appear at key moments in the Lucan narrative.³⁶ The presence of narrative chains suggests that Luke is working with repetition and overlapping. Narrative chains mark the way in the sequence of events and signal key points. A final literary feature is Luke’s use of the rhetorical device – *syncrisis*. This involves the presentation of a character upon another in order to draw a correlation between them. Syncrisis creates a set of intertextual connections that suggest literary unity.³⁷ The best example is the Jesus-Peter-Paul parallel where Peter and Paul heal as Jesus did (*Lk.* 5:18-25; *Acts* 3:1-8; 14:8-10); receive ecstatic visions at the key moments on their ministry (*Lk.* 3:21-22; *Acts* 9:3-9; 10:10-16); preach, suffer, and appear before the authorities. These syncrises help create a sense of unity between the relevant passages.³⁸

The preceding discussion has highlighted some of the major literary points advocated to support the case that *Luke* and *Acts* form a narrative unity through the narrative strategies experienced through reading. The two prologues, Luke’s use of sources, prolepses, narrative chains, and syncrises are among some of the features that coalesce to suggest a single author and unity across *Luke-Acts*.

4 – Generic Unity

In the past twenty-five years a prodigious amount of scholarly investigation has surrounded the question of the genres of *Luke* and *Acts*. Aune declared: “*Luke-Acts* must be treated as affiliated with one genre.”³⁹ Predisposed to working from the presumption that genres may best be determined according to classification and features, scholarly

³⁶ The centurion of Capernaum (*Lk.* 7:1-10); the centurion at the cross (*Lk.* 23:47); and the centurion in Peter’s revelation (*Acts* 10:11:1; 15:7-11)

³⁷ Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, pp. 55-7. Syncrises noted by Marguerat include Jesus and Stephen (*Lk.* 23:34-36; *Acts* 7:55-60); a similar narrative scenario such as the road to Emmaus and the road to Damascus (*Lk.* 24:13-35; *Acts* 8:26-40);

³⁸ Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, pp. 63-4, ‘The back-and-forth from the gospel to Acts and from Acts to the gospel that this mirroring provokes is the work of reading, and it is from this work that the unity of Luke-Acts emerges. ... unity does not lie in the text but takes place in the act of reading. The work of the reader is guided by a series of markers that the author has placed in the narrative, (inclusions, *prolepsis*, narrative chains and *syncrisis*.)’

³⁹ Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, p. 80. Cadbury contended that this does not argue against the unity of Luke’s work. “It is not the common genre, it is the literary effort of the author that unifies the work.” Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 139.

attempts to reconcile the genres of *Luke* and *Acts* are diverse and include biography, historiography, epic, and novel.⁴⁰ Integral to the debate is the difficulty in maintaining genre unity in the face of diverse genre distinctives in the two works. The genres of historiography and biography will be briefly considered in the immediate discussion.

As with narrative unity, Cadbury's hyphen is grounded in the claim that *Luke-Acts* represents the same genre: "Luke is not the author of two books either of history or of biography, or one book of each."⁴¹ Cadbury concedes though that seeking to determine a genre to which the unified work belongs is confounded by the realisation that the complete work must be considered as two parts.⁴² Despite this admission, Cadbury maintains that *Luke-Acts* is closer to the genre of historiography than any other classification. Those who argue for genre unity commonly adopt this historiographical position. While the actual nature of the history is subject to various opinions, most unitarians situate *Luke-Acts* in this genre.⁴³

A second perspective is that offered by Charles Talbert who concludes that *Luke-Acts* corresponds to a succession narrative.⁴⁴ This form of ancient biography exhibits the characteristics of; (i) the life of the founder; (ii) narratives about disciples and successors; and (iii) summaries of the doctrine of the philosophical school. Though most scholars do not favour the attribution of biography for *Luke* and *Acts* together, Stanley E. Porter embraced it as the most logical conclusion,⁴⁵ and more recently Adams pro-

⁴⁰ T.E. Phillips, 'The Genre of Acts', *Currents in Biblical Research*, 4,3, 2006. pp. 365-96.

⁴¹ Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 133.

⁴² Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 134, 'The comparisons which we hoped to make with *Luke-Acts* cannot be made with them as a whole but in parts. The analogies are partial and sectional. The sayings of Jesus have their parallels in the collected dicta of the Greek philosophers, and in the proverbs of the Jews and in the apothegms of the Christian Fathers. The narratives have their parallels in the Old Testament and in all popular history.'

⁴³ D.L. Balch, 'The Genre of Luke-Acts: Individual Biography, Adventure Novel, or Political History', *Southwestern Journal of Theology*, 33, pp. 5-19; G. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography*, SNT 64, Leiden: Brill, 1992; K. Yamada, 'A Rhetorical History: The Genre of the Acts of the Apostles', *Rhetoric, Scripture, and Theology: Essays from the 1994 Pretoria Conference*, S.E. Porter and T.H. Olbricht, (eds.), Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996, pp. 230-50; D. Lee, *Luke-Acts and 'Tragic History'*, WUNT 2, 346, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.

⁴⁴ C.H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts*, SBLMS, 20, Missoula: Scholars Press, pp. 125-34.

⁴⁵ S.E. Porter, 'The Genre of Acts and the ethics of Discourse', in T.E. Phillips (ed.), *Acts and Ethics*, New Testament Monograph, 9, Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005, pp. 1-15.

posed that *Acts* more closely resembled the genre of collected biographies and aligns generically with the *Gospel of Luke*.⁴⁶

Adams develops the case presented by Talbert that *Luke-Acts* aligns to the model of biographies that is found in the work of Diogenes Laëterius' *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*. This pattern follows the life of the founder, a narrative of the founder's successors, and a summary of the doctrine (which Talbert and Adams note in the case of *Luke-Acts*, is embedded narrative). This pattern forms the basis for determining that *Luke-Acts* represents a generic unity. Adams suggests that ancient biographers had a preference for collected biographies over individual biographies, which undergirds his argument that *Luke-Acts* is an example of collected biography.⁴⁷ Following a discussion of the internal and external generic features of *Acts*, Adams concludes: "The best genre label for *Acts* is collected biography, since it has the greatest number of similar genre features, including those that are most determinative for genre selection."⁴⁸

Adams notes a perceived purpose for writing *Luke-Acts* is the delineation of the Christian movement's expansion.⁴⁹ The genre of collected biographies which encompasses the joint work, traces the work of the master and his disciples and Adams concludes:

The Gospels, although informative for understanding the life and teachings of Jesus, do not provide an adequate account of the Christian movement's expansion ... the inclusion of the gentiles, the development of new church offices, the rise of Paul and James ... all of these events led Luke to think that his Gospel would be insufficient for Theophilus' education and that the writing of *Acts* was necessary.⁵⁰

While Talbert's proposal that *Luke* is biography, and Adam's inclusion of *Acts* as collected biography complements this designation and by consequence establishes a degree of *Luke-Acts* unity, it fails to recognise that the collected philosophical biographies

⁴⁶ Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, p.1.

⁴⁷ Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, p. 23.

⁴⁸ Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, p. 171.

⁴⁹ Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, p. 248.

⁵⁰ Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, p. 248.

of Diogenes Laëterius upon which much of the generic parallels are based, did not appear until the mid-3rd century, some 150 years after *Luke* composed his work.⁵¹ Adams does include a list of collected biographies that predate *Luke*,⁵² but notes: “Sadly, extant manuscripts only begin to appear in earnest in the first century BC.”⁵³

The generic unity of *Luke* and *Acts* often flows from the presumptions of narrative and theological unity. If the volumes are read as independent documents it is possible to view *Luke* as a biography, and *Acts* as historiography, or vice versa. Differences and ‘generic contracts’ are easily understood. When *Luke-Acts* are perceived as a single literary work, differences in genre become problematic. These problems have resulted in the possibility of rethinking the unity of the Lukan books.

5 – A Case for Separation

The emergence of redaction criticism presented a challenge to Cadbury’s pronouncement of unity. Conzelmann introduced a new approach to Lukan studies that expressed a new understanding of the relationship between *Luke* and *Acts*. He accepted there was a connection between two volumes but understood that they were separate works. *Acts* is the complement to the Gospel, but was to be distinguished from it in content and form.⁵⁴ In the 1980s, Mikeal Parsons and Richard Pervo challenged the *opinio communis* about the unity of *Luke-Acts*.⁵⁵ They highlighted a number of tensions in the unity proposal. These tensions may be summarised under three fundamental realisations that align to the theological, narrative and generic unity of *Luke* and *Acts*.

⁵¹ K. Seddon, *A Summary of Stoic Philosophy: Zeno of Citium in Diogenes Laetius Book 7*, Lulu, 2007, p. 11, n. 5, ‘Modern scholarship is more in agreement with the date that makes Diogenes a contemporary of Alexander Severus (c. AD 209-235).’ cf. T. Söderqvist (ed.), *The History and Poetics of Scientific Biography*, London: Routledge, 2007, p. 23.

⁵² Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, pp. 112-3.

⁵³ Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, p. 112. P. Stadter, ‘Biography and History’, in J. Marincola, (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman historiography*, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011, pp. 528-40. Notes that the first extant biographer is Nepos who had completed his work *Atticus* around 32 B.C.E. p. 532.

⁵⁴ H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, (trans. G. Buswell) Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1961, p. 17.

⁵⁵ R. Pervo, *Profit with Delight. The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1997; R. Pervo, ‘Must Luke and Acts Be Treated as One Genre?’ *SBLSP* 28, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989, pp. 309-16; M. Parsons, ‘The Unity of the Lukan Writings: Rethinking the *Opinio Communis*’, N.H. Keathley, (ed) *With Steadfast Purpose: Essay on Acts in Honor of Henry Jackson Flanders, Jr.*, Waco: Baylor University, 1990. M. Parsons and R. Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993.

The first of Parsons' and Pervo's contentions *vis-à-vis* theological unity, is a remonstration with methodology. In their assessment, to commence with *Luke* and to overlay identified themes onto *Acts* is problematic, "the priority usually given to *Luke* in studies of Lukan theology is questionable on redaction-critical (and other) grounds."⁵⁶ This argument of Parsons and Pervo against the theological unity of *Luke* and *Acts* may be seen as tenuous.⁵⁷ Findings that start with *Luke* are not necessarily illegitimate. Notwithstanding this critique, Parsons and Pervo suggest that there are theological themes that demand separation of the diptych. In *Luke*, the theme is on the Kingdom of God whereas in *Acts* the theme is a strongly Christological kerygma. They argue inquiries into the themes of eschatology, soteriology, and ethics do not yield a unified picture.⁵⁸

It is difficult to enumerate differences in theology that specifically highlight unity or separation between *Luke* and *Acts*. A consideration of Marshall's five theological themes that overlap the books, and Voorwinde's suggestion that 'when it comes to the primary theological concerns of *Acts*, each has its starting point in the Gospel,'⁵⁹ could be applied equally to any of the gospels and *Acts*. Jesus' baptism in *Mark* could be seen as a theme that continues across into *Acts* with the coming of the Holy Spirit but this does not mean that the *Gospel of Mark* and the *Acts of the Apostles* are necessarily a narrative unity. Arguably, there is a theological unity that pervades the NT but this does not translate into narrative unity between all the books.

As to the implied narrative unity of *Luke* and *Acts*, Parsons and Pervo contend there are significant differences between the two books on a 'discourse' level.⁶⁰ *Luke* and *Acts* treat their sources differently. From a stylistic point of view, the fragmentary narrative in *Luke* is unlike the great speeches of *Acts* and the long narrative sequences (*Acts*

⁵⁶ Parsons and Pervo, *Rethinking*, p. 86 ff.

⁵⁷ Spencer, 'The Unity of Luke-Acts', p. 354.

⁵⁸ Parsons and Pervo, *Rethinking*, p. 113-4.

⁵⁹ S. Voorwinde, 'Luke-Acts: One Story in Two Parts', *Vox Reformata*, Warun Ponds: Reformed Theological College, 2010, p. 30

⁶⁰ Parsons and Pervo, *Rethinking*, p. 82.

3-5; 10-11; 13-14; and 21-26). Their argument stresses that each volume tells the story from a different narrative level based on Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan's taxonomy of 'typology of narrators.'⁶¹ In critiquing Tannehill's narrative unity argument, Parsons and Pervo maintain that he writes almost exclusively at the level of story and does not reckon adequately with the disunity at discourse level. They suggest the assumption of narrative unity needs 'serious re-examination' with narrative unity no longer being an *a priori* assumption.⁶²

Parsons' and Pervo's third contention is that *Luke* and *Acts* belong to two different literary genres – *Luke* is biographical and *Acts* is historiographical. This challenges the assessment of Aune who argued: "Luke does not belong to a type of ancient biography for it belongs with Acts and Acts cannot be forced into a biographical mold."⁶³ Parsons and Pervo highlight a number of generic differences between *Luke* and *Acts*, viz., (i) the speeches in *Acts* suggest the license of a historian that the author apparently did not employ in the Gospel; (ii) changes in the use of journeys, from artificiality in *Luke* to details in *Acts*; (iii) divergences in tone, from forgiveness in *Luke* to punishment for wrongdoing in *Acts* and; (iv) the disappearance of the harlots and publicans present in the Gospel, replaced by those of status and wealth in *Acts*.⁶⁴

These instances are evidence enough for Parsons and Pervo to affirm: "[Luke] approached *Acts* with objectives and methods different from those which govern the composition of *Luke*. At the very least they provide methodological justification for challenging the assumption of generic unity."⁶⁵ While Parsons and Pervo do not offer detailed examination of all that they suggest, they raise the question that the unity of *Luke* and *Acts* should not be treated as a *fait accompli* and needs to be re-examined – to un-

⁶¹ S. Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction: A Contemporary Poetics*, London: Methuen, 1983, p. 177ff.

⁶² Parsons and Pervo, *Rethinking*, p.83.

⁶³ Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, p. 77.

⁶⁴ Parsons and Pervo, *Rethinking*, pp. 38-40.

⁶⁵ Parsons and Pervo, *Rethinking*, p. 40.

dergo a ‘rethinking.’ If the two treatises are one book, Pervo claims that the *Gospel of Luke* is only ‘half a work’.⁶⁶

6 – *Towards a Consensus*

That there is some degree of unity between *Luke* and *Acts* is highly probable. On the question of authorial unity it would appear that the diptych stems from the pen of a single author. As to reception and canonical unity, evidence indicates that the two works were divided with *Luke* being grouped together with the gospels and *Acts* treated as a separate entity. Theologically, it remains difficult to enumerate specific similarities and differences in themes that highlight specific unity or separation between *Luke* and *Acts* as distinct to other canonical works of the New Testament. Perhaps the strongest case for unity of the diptych is narrative unity. The narrative discourse exhibits numerous links ranging from direct connections to indirect echoes.⁶⁷

Generically, *Luke* and *Acts* represent a synthesis of many different literary genres. That *Luke* could have written in multiple genres seems not only plausible, but perhaps most probable, especially when genre bending and blending is identified as characteristic of ancient works. The difficulty in ascertaining a single genre for a unified work often necessitates the forcing of one book to fit the pattern of the other.⁶⁸ These differences in genre advocate for separation and the subsequent examination will treat *Luke*’s Gospel as a separate *generic* work to *Acts* as much as is possible.

4.3 The Genres of the *Gospel of Luke*

As noted, when a work assumes a title it can often be presumed that this also answers the question of literary character. While on reflection it seems improbable that the author of *Luke* or his immediate audience, comprehended what ‘gospel’ meant in a literary

⁶⁶ R. Pervo, ‘Must Luke and Acts Belong to the Same Genre?’ *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*, 1989, Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1989, pp. 316.

⁶⁷ Spencer, ‘The Unity of Luke-Acts’, p. 351.

⁶⁸ M. Parsons, ‘The Unity of the Lukan Writings: Rethinking the *Opinio Communis*’, in N.H. Keathley, (ed) *With Steadfast Purpose: Essay on Acts in Honor of Henry Jackson Flanders, Jr.*, Waco: Baylor University, 1990, p. 47.

sense, a further difficulty immediately surfaces as to what meaning the ‘gospel genre’ later assumed. The canonical gospels are primarily narrative accounts but other works, which were not narratives such as the *Gospel of Thomas* or the *Gospel of Truth* were also called ‘gospels.’⁶⁹

The earliest Christian usage of the term gospel (εὐαγγέλιον) appears in the writings of Paul and here the term seems to have been associated with the “announcement of God’s plan of salvation, proclaimed by the prophets and realised through the death and resurrection of Christ.”⁷⁰ Detlev Dormeyer uses the terminology ‘metaphor’ to refer to this oral stage of understanding, “Christians formed new metaphors in order to describe the transfer of all values through Jesus’ death on the cross and resurrection.”⁷¹ Similarly, A. Collins notes that this earliest announcement of the gospel in Paul’s letters referred to an oral proclamation and concentrated on the death and resurrection of Jesus.⁷² When the εὐαγγέλιον was coined by Mark to commence a narrative that extended beyond the death and resurrection of Jesus, it was innovative and εὐαγγέλιον assumed a new meaning and context. In Dormeyer’s terminology, Mark combined the ‘metaphor gospel’ with literary ‘metonym’.⁷³ Εὐαγγέλιον assumed a double function in *Mark* as metaphor and metonym. How this ‘new’ usage came to be understood is varied.

An early Christian author who provides evidence for a reflection on the literary nature of the gospels is Justin Martyr. Justin used the term απομνημονεύματα (memoirs) most probably to characterise the gospels as historical sources.⁷⁴ Origen elaborated on

⁶⁹ D. Dormeyer, *The New Testament Among the Writings of Antiquity*, trans. R. Kossov, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998, p. 215. Dormeyer notes, ‘In the New Testament, two subgenres of gospel should be differentiated: the ‘sayings’ gospels and the ‘narrative’ gospel. ... Sayings gospels also experience a development. They were extended by the Gnostics to include the ‘dialogue gospel.’

⁷⁰ A. von Harnack, quoted by P. Stuhlmacher, ‘The Pauline Gospel’, in P. Stuhlmacher, *Gospel and the Gospels*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991, p. 150.

⁷¹ Dormeyer, *The New Testament*, p. 68.

⁷² Collins, *Mark*, p.15. For example 1 *Cor.* 15:1, ‘Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, ὃ καὶ παρελάβετε, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐστήκατε’

⁷³ Dormeyer, *The New Testament*, p. 216. Metonymy describes a given objective context, whereas a metaphor blends together two independent horizons of meaning.

⁷⁴ Justin Martyr, *Apology I*, lxvi, 3. ‘For the apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels.’ The books quoted by Justin are called by him ‘Memoirs of the Apostles’. This term is possibly an analogy with the ‘Memorabilia’ of Xenophon and could signify the Gospels as ancient historical sources.

the notion of gospels as history when he used the term ἱστορία to refer to the works.⁷⁵ Both Justin and Origen were less concerned though with the literary nature of the gospels than in claiming historical reliability for the content. How εὐαγγέλιον as a literary form is presently understood is debated. Three scholarly positions will be surveyed in the immediate discussion; (i) Gospel as *sui generis*; (ii) Gospel as Greco-Roman biography; and (iii) Gospel as historiography.

4.3.1 Gospel of Luke as *Sui Generis*

A number of scholars suggest that with respect to the gospels, the notion of genre in any precise sense is inappropriate because the canonical gospels do not belong to a category of literature.⁷⁶ This view is represented in the thought of Franz Overbeck,⁷⁷ Julius Schniewind,⁷⁸ Helmut Koester,⁷⁹ and Karl Schmidt.⁸⁰ Complicit with, and often evident in the scholarly expressions of the previous point of view, is the proposal that a gospel is a unique Christian literary form (*sui generis*) that shaped its narratives on the primitive Christian kerygma. This view finds explication amongst scholars such as Charles H. Dodd⁸¹ and Hans Conzelmann.⁸² Norman Perrin considers the first gospel is a

⁷⁵ Origen, *Principles*, 4.1.16, 'He did the same thing both with the evangelists and the apostles, as even these do not contain throughout a pure history of events, which are interwoven indeed according to the letter, but which did not actually occur.'

⁷⁶ K. L. Schmidt, *The Place of the Gospels in the General History of Literature*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002, p. 17-18.

⁷⁷ Dormeyer, *The New Testament*, p. 22. Dormeyer writes, 'Overbeck claimed Christianity created an 'original literature', which lies beyond literary comparison.' The Gospel of Mark could not be accurately categorised by genres extant in its day. The subsequent discovery of new texts in Akhmin, Cairo, Oxyrhynchos, and Nag Hammadi move to disprove Overbeck's contention.

⁷⁸ R. S. Pak, 'The Genre of the Gospel of Mark: A Critical Assessment', *Dissertation presented to the Southern Baptist Seminary*, 2000, 'For Schniewind, there can be no doubt: [Mark] is the product of a kerygma that proclaimed that a man who lived in the flesh was the Lord. The primitive Christian kerygma in its uniqueness also created its own literary form, which corresponded neither to biography, nor to cultic legend, nor to the encomium of antiquity.'

⁷⁹ H. Koester, 'One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels,' *Harvard Theological Review*, 61, 1968. pp. 203-47. Koester's thesis is that the literary genre of the Gospel of Mark reflects a combining of several genres, but the resulting narrative mirrors no literary type outside of the Christian milieu. Koester attempts to characterise the four gospels as being pseudobiographical rather than biographical. The Gospel of Mark is written on an outline, into which the delivered words and narration are inserted. It is a literary "extension of the kerygma of Jesus' passion and resurrection.'

⁸⁰ Schmidt, *The Place of the Gospels*, p. 16, 'In order to understand 'Gospel folk books it is important to observe carefully those parallels which illustrate a nonliterary tradition: short stories and light practical proverbs ... and collections, frameworks, and explanations of such stories and proverbs (which correspond to the gospels as wholes). ... The oldest individual narratives of the gospel tradition betray no literary intention, no artistic outlook, no really personal perceptions, no external explanation, and no internal motivation.'

⁸¹ C.H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments*, New York: Harper & Bros., 1962, p. 45. Dodd refers to his explanation of the gospel as the explication, rather than the evolution of the kerygma concluding that the Gospel of Mark is the 'literaturization' of the kerygma as the message of the Church.

⁸² H. Conzelmann and A. Lindemann, *Interpreting the New Testament: An Introduction to the Principles and Methods of NT Exegesis*, trans. Siegfried S. Schatzmann, Peabody: Hendrickson, 1988, p. 26. Conzelmann notes that there

unique literary form produced by early Christianity and as such must be held to be characteristic of a distinctive element in early Christian faith:

The Gospel of Mark is the prototype which the others follow and it is a mixture of historical reminiscence, interpreted tradition, and the free creativity of prophets and the evangelist. It is, in other words, a strange mixture of history, legend, and myth. It is this fact which redaction criticism makes unmistakably clear; and it is this fact to which we have to do justice in our thinking about the significance of the 'Gospel' as the characteristic and distinctive literary product of early Christianity.⁸³

Perrin's assessment appears to forecast prototype theory. He considers the gospel genre to be a blend of types and a prototype of an emerging literary form. In a similar vein, Robert A. Guelich starts with a question, "Is it possible then ... that the Gospels do not represent a distinct genre but carry a special label as 'gospels' which belongs to another literary genre?"⁸⁴ He proceeds to suggest that gospel must be classified as a literary genre of its own: "To the extent that Mark first put the 'gospel' in written form, he created a new literary genre, the gospel. But Mark did not create this genre *de novo*."⁸⁵ Guelich posits that this new literary genre of the gospel is an expansion of Peter's sermon in *Acts* 10:36-43.⁸⁶

Two positions may be noted in response to the stance that understands the literary form gospel as *sui generis*. First, in the instance where genre is defined within the framework of classification involving aspects of content, form, and function, then it seems obvious there is *sui generis* dimension to the gospel genre. It is hard to deny that the specific content of the gospel genre is unique. Aune notes: "The unique character of the gospels lies primarily in the uniqueness of their content, determined by their subject: Jesus of Nazareth. ... No Greco-Roman biography depicts a life even remotely comparable to that of Jesus."⁸⁷ While there are Greco-Roman literary parallels to the gospels

are no parallels to the New Testament literary type 'gospel.' For Conzelmann, the term 'gospel' became the designation of a literary genre since the written gospel contains the accounts of the events of salvation.

⁸³ N. Perrin, *What is Redaction Criticism?* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969, p. 75.

⁸⁴ R. A. Guelich, 'The Gospel Genre,' in *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien*, ed. P. Stuhlmacher, Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1983, p. 175.

⁸⁵ Guelich, 'The Gospel Genre,' p. 202.

⁸⁶ Guelich, 'The Gospel Genre,' p. 201.

⁸⁷ Aune, *Literary Environment*, p. 122.

in terms of their form and function there is no clear parallel to the content.

A second response likewise hinges upon the definition of literary genre. Where genres are recognised as deriving from the appropriation and reshaping of existing genres, then the idea of a totally unique and new genre is unsound. Comprehending genre in this sense represents the sum of aesthetic devices available to the writer and intelligible to the reader. Jeremy Hawthorn notes, “One cannot imagine a writer successfully inventing a genre for him or herself, for a genre to exist in some form, reader recognition, of social acceptance, is necessary.”⁸⁸ Genres function as ‘horizons of expectation’ for readers and as ‘models of writing’ for authors and if *Luke* was written in a new genre there would be difficulty in communication and in establishing any ‘generic contract.’ It is therefore proper to consider that the author of the *Gospel of Luke* wrote within and for a particular historical and social context.

4.3.2 *Gospel of Luke* as Greco-Roman Biography

In 1901, Friedrich Leo argued for three types of ancient biography – the encomium, the peripatetic type, and the Alexandrian type.⁸⁹ Leo’s work led Johannes Weiss to compare the *Gospel of Mark* with ancient biographies and initiate modern research comparing the synoptic gospels with ancient Greco-Roman biographies.⁹⁰ In 1915, Clyde Votaw furthered the enterprise and admitted two forms of biography – historical biographies where the writing aims to present all the important dates and facts about someone; and popular biographies intended to acquaint a historical person by giving some account of his deeds.⁹¹ Votaw concluded: “in comparison with these elaborate literary productions of the Greeks and Romans, the Gospels were brief, special and popular writings.”⁹²

⁸⁸ J. Hawthorn, *Unlocking the Text: Fundamental Issues in Literary Theory*, London: Edward Arnold, 1987, p. 45.

⁸⁹ F. Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1901.

⁹⁰ J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903.

⁹¹ C. Votaw, ‘The Gospels and Contemporary Biographies’, *American Journal of Theology*, 19,1,1915, pp. 45-73.

⁹² Votaw, ‘The Gospels and Contemporary Biographies’, p. 45.

Following a hiatus, possibly due to the prominence of form-critical theses, two significant works were published that revived the biography hypothesis. Charles H. Talbert wrote *What is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels*,⁹³ and Richard A. Burridge wrote *What are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*.⁹⁴

1 – Charles H. Talbert

Talbert defined ancient biography as a “prose narration about a person’s life, presenting supposedly historical facts which are selected to reveal the character or essence of the individual, often with the purpose of affecting the behaviour of the reader.”⁹⁵ Writing to some extent to confute the denial of significant links between the canonical gospels and ancient biographical literature advocated by Bultmann, Talbert subjects his adversaries’ three foundation ‘pillars’ to critical analysis, *viz.*, “(i) the gospels are mythical, the Graeco-Roman biographies are not; (ii) the gospels are cultic, the Graeco-Roman biographies are not; and (iii) while the gospels emerge from a community with a world-negating outlook, the Greco-Roman literary biographies are produced by and for a world-affirming people.”⁹⁶

Responding to Bultmann’s first pillar – the gospels are mythical but the Greco-Roman biographies are not – Talbert draws numerous comparisons of Greco-Roman biographies that included mythical ‘god’ and ‘man’ concepts. For example in Arrian’s *The Anabasis of Alexander*, Talbert highlights:

One writer has not even shrunk from the statement that Alexander, perceiving that he could not survive, went to throw himself into the Euphrates, so that he might disappear from the world and leave behind the tradition more credible to posterity that his birth was of the gods and that to the gods he passed.⁹⁷

Talbert asserts the concept of ‘divine men’ in Greco-Roman biography is evident in a

⁹³ C. Talbert, *What is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977. Talbert’s ideas were first expressed in C.H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts*, SBLMS 20; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1974.

⁹⁴ R. Burridge, *What are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, 2nd ed., Cambridge: CUP, 2004.

⁹⁵ Talbert, *What is a Gospel?* p. 17.

⁹⁶ Talbert, *What is a Gospel?* p. 2.

⁹⁷ Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 7:27, and Talbert, *What is a Gospel?* p. 31.

number of ways. Sometimes the divine-humans possess uncommon divine strength or insights; other times persons may be lifted into heaven after death and attain the status of an eternal god. Talbert cites biographies written by Arrian, Diodorus, Philo, Plutarch, Pseudo-Callisthenes, Dio Cassius, Philostratus, Seutonius, Diogenes Laertius et al., to support his contention.⁹⁸ While cognizant that the majority of the ancient authors he quotes actually wrote subsequent to the gospel authors, Talbert concludes, “early Christians were aware of the Mediterranean myth of the immortals and utilised it in one way or another in their proclamations of Jesus.”⁹⁹

In refuting Bultmann’s second pillar, Talbert attempts to show that the cultic function of the gospels is actually reflected in the Greco-Roman biographies. He categorises the function of ancient biographies of philosophers and rulers into five types. Type A, corresponds to biographies that seek to present their characters as someone to emulate, (e.g. Lucian’s *Life of Demonax* and Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives*).¹⁰⁰ Type B, represents biographies seeking to dispel a false image of the teacher or ruler and give a true model, (e.g. Philodemus *Life of Epicurus* and Pseudo-Callisthenes’ *Life of Alexander*).¹⁰¹ Type C, groups biographies that discredit a teacher or ruler (e.g. Lucian’s *Alexander the False Prophet*, and Arrian’s *Anabasis of Alexander*, in parts).¹⁰² Type D, includes biographies that indicate where ‘a living voice’ may be found in the period after the founder. In these latter biographies a narrative about the philosopher’s successors follows the life of a founder of a philosophical school.¹⁰³ Type E, encompasses biographies that validate the

⁹⁸ Talbert, *What is a Gospel?* pp. 25-43.

⁹⁹ Talbert, *What is a Gospel?* p. 42.

¹⁰⁰ Lucian, *Life of Demonax*, 2. ‘It is now fitting to tell of Demonax ... that young men of good instincts who aspire to philosophy may not have to shape themselves by ancient precedents alone, but may be able to set themselves a pattern from our modern world and to copy that man, the best of all the philosophers who I know about.’ Lucian, *Demonax*, LCL 14, (A.M. Harmon, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913, p. 143.

¹⁰¹ Both Plutarch and Pseudo-Callisthenes had their own interpretations and opinions of the driving motivations and the actual events that came to shape his Alexander’s story. In the ‘romantic’ biography of Pseudo-Callisthenes, Alexander is idolized as a god-like king against supposed misrepresentations of him elsewhere.

¹⁰² Lucian, *Alexander the False Prophet*, 2. ‘I blush for both of us ... for you because you want a consummate rascal perpetuated in memory and in writing, and for myself because I am devoting my energy to such an end, to the exploits of a man who does not deserve to have polite people read about him ...’ Lucian, *Alexander the False Prophet*, LCL 162, (A. M. Harmon, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925, p. 177.

¹⁰³ C.H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts*, SBLMS 20; Atlanta: Scholars

hermeneutical key for the teacher's or leader's doctrine. (e.g. Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus* and Philo's *Life of Moses*).¹⁰⁴

Under his categorisation of 'biographical functions', Talbert notes a 'striking similarity' between the second grouping and the canonical gospels. He concludes:

Both type B biographies of rulers and philosophers and the canonical gospels aim to dispel a false image of the teacher and to provide a true one to follow. This similarity in function offers significant support for the contention that the Christian gospels – Matthew, Mark, Luke and John – belong to the biographical genre.¹⁰⁵

The shift to equate such a function with a cultic act of worship is tenuous and the motive to find a consistent worship function in the Greco-Roman biographies is somewhat contrived. Talbert's desire to confute Bultmann through the German's own argument may be found wanting despite his assertion that "the role of a founder of a philosophic school in antiquity is a religious, not an academic one."¹⁰⁶

In confuting Bultmann's third pillar, Talbert looks to establish that the dominant attitude in the canonical gospels is not so world-negating that it precludes the use of literary forms from the Greco-Roman world. The notion of a world-negating attitude is thought to derive from early Christianity's eschatological perspective and according to Overbeck, this eschatological proclamation of the primitive church negated the canonical gospels being perceived as biographies.¹⁰⁷ Against this assertion of 'overrealised eschatology', Talbert contends that Luke sets up stages that must transpire before the end and

Press, 1974, pp. 129-30. 'Both Luke-Acts and Diogenes have for their content "the life of a founder of a religious community, a list or narrative of the founder's successors and selected other disciples, and a summary of the doctrine of the community.'

¹⁰⁴ Philo, *Life of Moses*, II, 2. The *Life of Moses* was written to introduce the Jewish point of view to Hellenistic Greeks. Philo defends Moses as the epitome of a philosopher and ruler: 'For some persons say, and not without some reason and propriety, that this is the only way by which cities can be expected to advance in improvement, if either the kings cultivate philosophy, or if philosophers exercise the kingly power. But Moses will be seen not only to have displayed all these powers – I mean the genius of the philosopher and of the king – in an extraordinary degree at the same time, but three other powers likewise, one of which is conversant about legislation, the second about the way of discharging the duties of high priest, and the last about the prophetic office.'

¹⁰⁵ Talbert, 'What is a Gospel?' p. 98.

¹⁰⁶ Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, p. 126. Talbert cites Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, an example of the religious function, 'On the death of his father, likewise, though he was still but a youth, his aspect was most venerable, and his habits most temperate, so that he was even revered and honored by elderly men: and converted the attention of all who saw and heard him speak, on himself, and appeared to be an admirable person to every one who beheld him. Hence it was reasonably asserted by many, that he was the son of a God.' Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, trans. T. Taylor, London: J. M. Watkins, 1818, p. 5.

¹⁰⁷ F. Overbeck, 'Über die Anfänge der patristischen Literatur,' *Historische Zeitschrift*, n.f., 12, 1882, pp. 417-72, quoted by C. H. Talbert, *What is a Gospel?* p. 115.

locates each part of the Jesus tradition in a controlling context.¹⁰⁸ He suggests the compositional procedure in *Luke* is one of inclusive reinterpretation and rather than having ‘a mood of rejection of and abstention from that what was different in point of view’, the Gospel seeks to incorporate a larger whole.¹⁰⁹ He also finds this attitude of ‘inclusive reinterpretation’ and compositional tendency, in the Greco-Roman βίοι. The compositional procedure of including hostile material but reinterpreting it was, according to Talbert, deeply rooted in Mediterranean biographical writing.¹¹⁰

Based on the presumption that early Christians and gospel authors were aware of the Mediterranean myth of the immortals in ancient biographies; aware of the role of a founder of a philosophic school in antiquity was religious; and aware that the compositional style of ‘inclusive reinterpretation’ is reflected in some Greco-Roman biographies, Talbert arrives at the conclusion: “*Luke–Acts*, to some extent, must be regarded as belonging to the genre of Greco-Roman biography, in particular, to that type of biography which dealt with the lives of the philosophers and their successors.”¹¹¹ For Talbert, the fact that Luke shaped his work by employing aspects of the genre of philosophical biographies is important to understand his authorial intentions. By emulating this literary type, Luke intended to defend one particular form of Christianity.¹¹² To this end, Talbert contends Luke’s selection of the biographical genre was the best option to fulfil his purpose for writing.

¹⁰⁸ Talbert, *What is a Gospel?* p. 120, ‘In Luke, the words of Jesus with a realized eschatology are set in a controlling context so as to prevent their being taken without a future eschatological point reference. The whole gospel, moreover, is set up so that salvation history is seen unfolding in certain stages, some of which are still future.’

¹⁰⁹ Talbert, *What is a Gospel?* p. 124.

¹¹⁰ Talbert cites Isocrates’ *Busiris* and Philodemus’ *Life of Epicurus*, which predate the canonical gospels, as representative of ‘inclusive reinterpretation’. Throughout his encomium on Busiris, Isocrates states, ‘You say, but ...’ and neutralises material hostile to the Egyptian king by inclusion in a larger whole. e.g. *Busiris*, 7. ‘And you have been so careless about committing inconsistencies that you say Busiris emulated the fame of Aeolus and Orpheus, yet you do not show that any of his pursuits was identical with theirs. What, can we compare his deeds with the reported exploits of Aeolus? But Aeolus restored to their native lands strangers who were cast on his shores, whereas Busiris, if we are to give credence to your account, sacrificed and ate them!’

¹¹¹ Talbert, *What is a Gospel?* p. 134.

¹¹² Talbert, *What is a Gospel?* p. 135, ‘The Lucan community was one that was troubled by a clash of views over the legitimate understanding of Jesus and the true nature of the Christian life. The Evangelist needed to be able to say both where the true tradition was to be found in his time (i.e., with the successors of Paul and of the Twelve) and what the content of that tradition was (i.e., how the apostles lived and what they taught, seen as rooted in the career of Jesus).’

As has been noted, Talbert's reasoning is at times tenuous. He admits that the majority of Greco-Roman βίοι to which he compares *Luke*, all post-date the composition of the Gospel. His argument seeking to equate the function of βίοι with a cultic act of worship is tenuous and the motive to find a consistent worship function in the Greco-Roman biographies is somewhat contrived. Talbert's endeavours essentially seek to provide a counterpoint to Bultmann's work and while this may be an acceptable rhetorical approach it does tend to shape and constrict his argument. A more thorough analysis of Greco-Roman βίοι is found in the work of Richard Burridge.

2 – Richard A. Burridge

Burridge's study had as its purpose "the crucial importance that either the biographical hypothesis be given a proper scholarly footing or else be exposed as a false trail."¹¹³ He initiates his inquiry with a study of genre criticism and literary theory and embraces a perspective similar to Fowler perceiving that genres should not be taken as an instrument of classification but of meaning. Burridge follows Culler in noting works 'can only be read in connection with or against other texts, which provide a grid through which it is read' and adopts the language of H. Dubrow in speaking of a generic contract. He consequently defines genre as; "A group of literary works sharing certain 'family resemblances' operating at a level between Universals and actual texts and between modes and specific subgroups, and functioning as a set of expectations to guide interpretation."¹¹⁴ He notes that Greco-Roman biography was never strongly delineated as a genre by the ancients and that the description used from the Hellenistic age was simply 'Lives', βίοι, or *vitae*.¹¹⁵

Burridge's position leads him to conclude that ancient narrative genres are 'mixed' with flexible boundaries and consequently, βίος is a "spectrum or band of literature po-

¹¹³ Burridge, *What are the Gospels?* p. 24.

¹¹⁴ Burridge, *What are the Gospels?* pp. 40-1.

¹¹⁵ Burridge, *What are the Gospels?* p. 59.

sitioned between history at one extreme and encomium at the other.”¹¹⁶ Although Burridge does not directly advance the hypothesis of prototype theory, he anticipates the approach when he suggests the concept of *genera proxima*:

βίος can relate to a number of different *genera proxima* at the same time ... history, encomium, rhetoric and moralizing – but also other genres such as the entertaining story or early novel and a link with the didactic genres of philosophical and political beliefs, teachings and polemic. The boundaries between *βίος* and any of the *genera proxima* are flexible, and so borrowing or sharing of generic features across the border is to be expected.¹¹⁷

Burridge represents this understanding diagrammatically.¹¹⁸

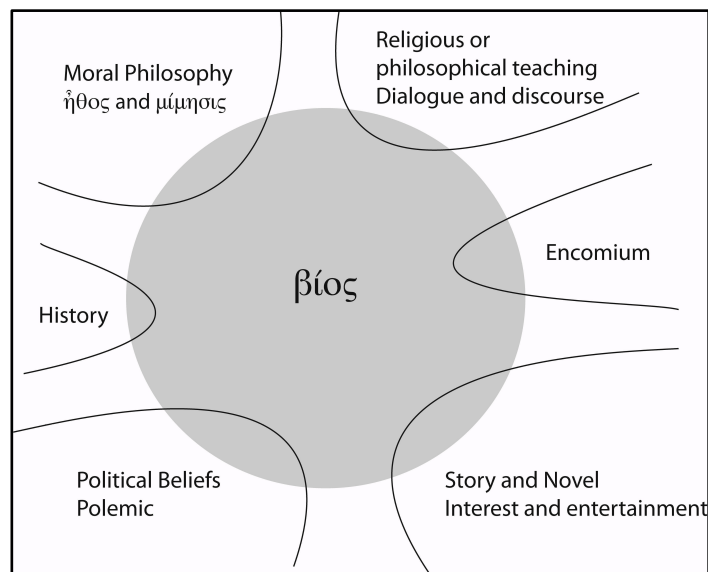


Figure 1.

Burridge’s assessment perceives genres as radial categories extending outward from a ‘prototypical’ center toward a fuzzy boundary, with texts participating in the genre to varying degrees of gradience. Burridge uses the manner in which readers encounter texts, *viz.* opening features, subject matter, external appearance and internal aspects, to determine four groups of generic elements likely to reveal generic pattern for βίoι; (i) opening features such as the title, prologue and opening words; (ii) the subject or focus of the work; (iii) external features such as the length and structure of the work; and (iv) internal features such as the style, attitude and quality of the characterisation.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Burridge, *What are the Gospels?* p. 62.

¹¹⁷ Burridge, *What are the Gospels?* p. 63.

¹¹⁸ Adapted from Burridge, *What are the Gospels?* p. 64.

¹¹⁹ Burridge, *What are the Gospels?* p. 107.

Burridge applies his model to two groups of ancient lives. The first group includes – Isocrates’ *Evagoras* and Xenophon’s *Agésilas*; as well as Satyrus’ *Euripides*, Nepos’ *Atticus*, and Philo’s *Life of Moses*. The second group includes – Tacitus’ *Agricola*, Plutarch’s *Cato Minor*, Suetonius’ *Lives of the Caesars*, Lucian’s *Demonax*, and Philostratus’ *Apollonius of Tyana*. Burridge construes that by and large, these biographies align to the generic pattern he established for βίοι.¹²⁰

The final step in Burridge’s work is an analysis of the canonical gospels according to the same model he applied to the βίοι. Under the aspect of opening features, Burridge highlights that the title of Luke’s gospel comes to us with a degree of textual variance and was a later addition to the text.¹²¹ The titles suggest that the early church grouped the gospels together into a ‘type’ without necessarily conferring upon them a genre. Burridge suggests that the books were seen as a literary group possibly with a connection with βίος. As to opening formulae, Burridge notes the Synoptic gospels vary significantly, with Luke alone making a significant attempt in his prologue to relate his work to contemporary Greco-Roman literature. He concludes: “we can relate the opening features of the synoptic gospels to βίοι in that Matthew and Mark begin with the subject’s name, while Luke has a formal preface, with the name occurring later at the start of the main narrative.”¹²²

In order to confirm a focus on a particular subject, Burridge undertakes grammatical analysis to determine the number of instances where the subjects of verbs refer to the character in the gospels. He determines that while the verb-subject agreement is not as strong as in the Greco-Roman βίοι, when coupled with Jesus’ deeds, half the verbs in the synoptic gospels are taken up with Jesus’ words and deeds and are an indicator of a

¹²⁰ Burridge, *What are the Gospels?* p. 149, ‘By the first century AD there was a clear generic grouping of βίος literature ... As a flexible genre, it continued to develop, but within a recognizable family resemblance.’

¹²¹ Manuscripts B and F have Κατά Λουκάν, A, C and D have Ευαγγέλιον Κατά Λουκάν and others have Κατά Λουκάν Ευαγγέλιον

¹²² Burridge, *What are the Gospels?* p. 189.

‘strong biographical tendency in the gospels.’¹²³ The allocation of little space to the actual life of Jesus and an emphasis on his death have been used as arguments against the gospels being biographies but BurrIDGE notes that under examination this is often the case for Greco-Roman βίοι as well.¹²⁴

BurrIDGE summarises that the external features of Luke’s gospel align with those of the Greco-Roman βίος; (i) it is a continuous prose narrative which parallels historiography or βίος; (ii) the size of the gospel is shared with the normal length of βίοι; (iii) the chronological account, most clearly marked in Luke’s gospel, is not dissimilar to βίοι; (iv) the use of anecdotal stories, speeches and sayings are very similar to βίοι; and (v) the use of sources and methods of characterisation show a resemblance to βίοι. The combination of these generic features “reflects the same family resemblance as was seen in [the] study of Greco-Roman βίοι.”¹²⁵ BurrIDGE finally compares the internal features of the gospels – setting, topics,¹²⁶ style, mood, characterisation and authorial intention – to his study of the βίοι and notes that the synoptic gospels share the βίος pattern of internal features. He concludes:

There is a high degree of correlation between the generic features of Graeco-Roman βίοι and those of the synoptic gospels; in fact, they exhibit more of the features than are shown by works at the edges of the genre, such as those of Isocrates, Xenophon and Philostratus. This is surely a sufficient number of shared features for the genre of the gospels to be clear: while they may well form their own subgenre because of their shared content, **the synoptic gospels belong within the overall genre of βίοι.**¹²⁷ (*BurrIDGE emphasis*)

BurrIDGE’s wide-ranging assessment may appear to have brought a ‘satisfactory resolution’ to the question of genre and it has drawn numerous commendations.¹²⁸ However his judgment has also drawn criticism. A. Collins suggests that BurrIDGE has so wid-

¹²³ BurrIDGE, *What are the Gospels?* p. 191.

¹²⁴ BurrIDGE, *What are the Gospels?* pp. 191-3.

¹²⁵ BurrIDGE, *What are the Gospels?* pp. 193-200.

¹²⁶ BurrIDGE, *What are the Gospels?* pp. 201-2. Here BurrIDGE looks specifically at ancestry, birth, boyhood and education, great deeds, virtues, death and consequences.

¹²⁷ BurrIDGE, *What are the Gospels?* p. 212.

¹²⁸ J.H. Neyrey, review of *What are the Gospels?* *CBQ* 55, April 1993, p. 363; C. H. Talbert, *JBL* 112, 1993, pp. 714-5; C. Bryan, *Sewanee Theological Review*, 36,1, 1992, pp. 173-4; L. Cope, *Religious Studies Review*, 19,3, 1993, p. 264; S.E. Porter, *JSNT* 59, 1993, p. 113; N. Clark, *Expository Times*, Aug, 1992, p. 334; T. Duff, *The Classical Review*, New Series XLVI,2, 1996, pp.265-6; F.E. Brenck, *Gnomon* 66, 194, pp. 492-6.

ened the dimensions of the βίος genre through his flexible interpretation that he fails to adequately define the ‘heart of the circle’.¹²⁹ Andrew Pitts recently suggested that Burrige focuses “far too much on detection criteria, especially as it relates to identification and not nearly enough on disambiguation criteria.”¹³⁰ In this sense, Burrige fails to adequately establish what distinguishes the βίος genre from historiography. Pitts further adds that Burrige restricts his work to a small control group and his work on internal features, such as verbal subjects, is also found in Greco-Roman historiography.¹³¹

However, as noted, an understanding of genre need not be restricted to a set of definitions and classifications but can be understood as a graded notion of categories. In the case of ancient Greco-Roman βίος features of the genre were never strongly delineated and the distinguishing characteristics of different genres and modes were often ambiguous,¹³² it would seem prudent to apply an understanding of genre that is less rigid.

Further critiques concern Burrige’s concentration on Greco-Roman biographies to the neglect of comparisons with other narratives.¹³³ Two alternative narratives that are underscored as oversights are Jewish and biblical literature, and historiography.¹³⁴ A. Collins considers the “evangelists, including the highly educated author of Luke-Acts, are more likely to have been familiar with Greek historiography than with βίος.”¹³⁵

4.3.3 *Gospel of Luke as Historiography*

Viewing *Luke* as ancient historiography is often linked to its recognition as a generic unit with the *Acts of the Apostles*. It has been noted that generic unity of *Luke* and *Acts*

¹²⁹ A. Collins, review of *What are the Gospels?* *Journal of Religion*, 75,2,1995, p. 241. With respect to Jewish and biblical literature Collins remarks: ‘Burrige’s case for defining the Gospels as βίος (“lives”) appears strong in large part because he did not seriously consider any alternative. The very brief review of scholarship under the heading “The Jewish Background” does not constitute a serious consideration of the relevant genres of Jewish literature.’

¹³⁰ A. Pitts, ‘The Genre of the Third Gospel and Greco-Roman Historiography: A Reconsideration’, paper presented in the Paul. J. Achtemeier Award section of SBL, Atlanta, 2015, p. 1.

¹³¹ Pitts, ‘The Genre of the Third Gospel’, p. 4. A more thorough development of disambiguation criteria between Greco-Roman βίος and historiography will be undertaken in Ch. 6.

¹³² Burrige, *What are the Gospels?* p. 59.

¹³³ M. Davies, review of *What are the Gospels?* *New Blackfriars*, 868, 74, 1993, pp. 109-110; and Collins, review of *What are the Gospels?* p. 241-4.

¹³⁴ Collins, review of *What are the Gospels?*, p. 241.

¹³⁵ Collins, review of *What are the Gospels?*, p. 245.

flows from the presumptions of narrative and theological unity however, if the volumes are read as independent documents it is possible to view *Luke* as a biography, and *Acts* as historiography. However, when *Luke* and *Acts* are integrated into a single literary work the general consensus is that *Luke-Acts* resembles ancient historiography. Adams presents an alternative to this conclusion in his recent proposal that *Acts* may be determined to be collected biographies.¹³⁶ In the present discussion that focuses particularly on *Luke* as a stand-alone volume, the Adams' hypothesis and its specific analysis of *Acts* have not been granted detailed attention. The immediate discussion will explore the nature of the historiography that scholars contend are closest to the genre of *Luke-Acts*, prior to considering *Luke* as a 'stand-alone' work.

At the turn of the twentieth-century, Ramsay announced, 'among the writings which are collected in the New Testament, there is included a history of the life of Christ.'¹³⁷ While one of the foremost difficulties of Ramsay's work is its lack of academic rigour his view that *Luke* is Christian history remained the majority view among many lay persons.¹³⁸ Scholarship, while not so accommodating of Ramsay's simplistic supposition, has often arrived at a comparable position – the *Gospel of Luke* records history even if it not always considered to be free of errors.

In *The Making of Luke-Acts*, Cadbury sought to place Luke's composition in the context of its contemporaneous Hellenistic literary tradition and responded to the suggestion of Votaw that the gospels find their parallel in biographies:

¹³⁶ Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, p. 22.

¹³⁷ Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem*, pp. 3-4.

¹³⁸ J.H. Ropes, review of Sir W. M. Ramsay, *The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1915, *The Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Apr., 1917), p.211. 'The facts and arguments themselves are interesting but do not carry us as far as Ramsay thinks, and do not meet all the difficulties which have led many older scholars to question Luke's statements. It is Sir William's habit to present arguments in which gaps unfilled by positive evidence are supplied by assumptions; and readers can seldom ... share the author's confidence in his own power of divination. His views are always suggestive, but it ought to be recognized that they are often unproved, and hence can never be safely adopted without rigorous and independent scrutiny of the evidence.'

No matter how much Luke differs from the rhetorical historians of Greece and Rome and the pragmatic historians of Israel, his narrative shares with them the common intention of informing the reader concerning the past.¹³⁹

Despite the lack of sufficient evidence supporting his position, Cadbury rejected Votaw's hypothesis and declared that *Luke-Acts* is best understood under the "rubric of history".¹⁴⁰ This view continued amongst scholars who were content to apply the genre of ancient historiography to *Luke-Acts*.¹⁴¹ Cadbury's initial work has been found lacking in his failure to adequately define genre and the features that may make a work historiography or biography. Adams notes that his work also employs a number of generalisation that do not hold up after critical analysis.¹⁴²

Recent scholarship supportive of the historiography hypothesis has become more refined and has sought to further delineate the 'type' of historiography that Luke-Acts represents. These 'subgroups' include historical monograph (Conzelmann, Hengel, Palmer, and Bock),¹⁴³ general history (Aune),¹⁴⁴ institutional history (Canick),¹⁴⁵ kerygmatic history (Fearghail),¹⁴⁶ apostolic testimony in oral history (Byrskog),¹⁴⁷ biblical history (Rosner),¹⁴⁸ Jewish history (Uytanlet),¹⁴⁹ theological history (Maddox),¹⁵⁰ rhetor-

¹³⁹ Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, pp. 299.

¹⁴⁰ Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, pp. 132-3.

¹⁴¹ E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*, trans. R.M. Wilson, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971, pp. 90-103; J.J. Scott, "Stephen's Speech: A Possible Model for Luke's Historical Method," *JETS* 17, 1974, pp. 91-7; J.D.G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Valley Forge: Trinity Press, 1996, pp. xv-xix; J.B. Green, "Internal Repetition in Luke-Acts: Contemporary Narratology and Lucan Historiography," in B. Witherington (ed.), *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 283-99; C. K. Barrett, *Luke the Historian in Recent Study*, London: The Epworth Press, 1961, p. 9, Barrett iterated the status quo, 'Both the form and the matter of [Luke's] work place him among the historians: but we must not for that reason count him in the same company with Ranke and Acton, Meyer and Harnack. A historian of the modern kind he certainly was not, but a historian of the Hellenistic age. His fellows are Polybius and Plutarch, Josephus and Tacitus.'

¹⁴² Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, p. 6.

¹⁴³ H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, xl; M. Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*, trans. J. Bowdler; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979; D.W. Palmer, "Acts and the Ancient Historical Monograph," B.W. Winter and A.D. Clarke (eds.), *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting: Vol. 1 Ancient Literary Setting*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 1-29; D.L. Bock, *Acts, BECNT*, Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007.

¹⁴⁴ Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*.

¹⁴⁵ H. Cancik, "The History of Culture, Religion, and Institutions in Ancient Historiography: Philological Observations Concerning Luke's History," *JBL* 116, 1997, pp. 673-95.

¹⁴⁶ F. Fearghail, 'The Introduction to Luke-Acts: A Study of the Role of Lk 1,1-4-4,44' in *Composition of Luke's Two-Volume Work, AnBib 126*, Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991.

¹⁴⁷ S. Byrskog, *Story as History*, pp. 228-34.

¹⁴⁸ B.S. Rosner, "Acts and Biblical History," in B.W. Winter and A.D. Clarke (eds.), *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting: Vol. 1 Ancient Literary Setting*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993, pp. 65-82.

¹⁴⁹ S. Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, WUNT, 366, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.

¹⁵⁰ R. Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts, SNTW*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1982.

ical history (Yamada),¹⁵¹ apologetic history (Sterling),¹⁵² political history (Balch),¹⁵³ deuteronomistic history (Brodie),¹⁵⁴ tragic history (Lee),¹⁵⁵ and historical hagiography (Evans).¹⁵⁶ The following discussion will interact with three Greco-Roman comparisons – general history (Aune), political history (Balch), and apologetic history (Sterling); thence two Biblical-Jewish comparisons – Deuteronomistic history (Brodie) and Jewish historiography (Uytanlet).

1 – *General History* – David E. Aune

Aune proposes that *Luke-Acts* is a popular “general history written by an amateur Hellenistic historian with credentials in Greek rhetoric.”¹⁵⁷ This appears to be an extremely specific determination and warrants evaluation. Not only does Aune declare *Luke-Acts* to be general history but contrary to the position of Luke’s Gospel as biography, he suggests that *Luke* is also history: “*Luke* does not belong to a type of ancient biography for it belongs with *Acts*, and *Acts* cannot be forced into a biographical mode.”¹⁵⁸ To support his contention Aune identifies five major genres of Hellenistic ‘historical’ writing in antiquity; (i) genealogy or mythography, (ii) travel descriptions (ethnography and geography), (iii) local history, (iv) chronography, and (v) history. They are all prose genres that attempt to distinguish fact from fiction.¹⁵⁹ In a further delineation, Aune divides history into ‘historical monographs’, ‘antiquarian history’, and ‘general history’.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵¹ K. Yamada, ‘A Rhetorical History: The Genre of the Acts of the Apostles’.

¹⁵² G. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography*, Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 64, Leiden, New York: Brill, 1992.

¹⁵³ D.L. Balch, ‘The Genre of Luke-Acts: Individual Biography, Adventure Novel, or Political History’, *Southwestern Journal of Theology*, 33, pp. 5-19.

¹⁵⁴ T.L. Brodie, ‘Luke-Acts as an Imitation and Emulation of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative’, *New Views on Luke and Acts* (ed. E. Richard, Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1990, pp. 78-85.

¹⁵⁵ D. Lee, *Luke-Acts and ‘Tragic History’*, WUNT, 2, 346, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.

¹⁵⁶ C.A. Evans, “Luke and the Rewritten Bible: Aspects of Lukan Hagiography,” in J.H. Charlesworth and C.A. Evans (eds.), *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation*, *JSPSup 14, SSEJC 2*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, pp. 170-201.

¹⁵⁷ Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*. p. 77.

¹⁵⁸ Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*. p. 77.

¹⁵⁹ Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*. p. 84.

¹⁶⁰ Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*. pp. 86-9.

Aune identifies the works of Herodotus and Thucydides where the focus is on “an important sequence of events ... during a restricted period of time,”¹⁶¹ as historical monographs. Antiquarian history finds expression in Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ *Roman Antiquities* that elaborates on myths with a chronological survey.¹⁶² General history narrated the “historical experiences of a single national group from their origin to the recent past.”¹⁶³ Aune finds examples of general history in Polybius and Diodorus Siculus but also in the ‘nationalistic’ Hellenistic historians – Manetho, Berossus, Artapanus, Eupolemus and Josephus. These latter historians sought to communicate the achievements of their native peoples to the Greeks.¹⁶⁴ In addition to modeling his work on the *Gospel of Mark*, Aune contends Luke, also modeled his narrative on general history following the conventions of Hellenistic general history.¹⁶⁵ He supposes Luke presented Christianity as an independent religious movement in the process of emerging from Judaism. In being distanced from other religious, political, and partisan groups it is a ‘fitting subject for historical treatment.’¹⁶⁶

A concern for a number of critics is Aune’s proliferation of genre and sub-genre categories. Adams suggests it would be difficult to see how the ancients would have ascribed to all these genre divisions.¹⁶⁷ It seems Aune anachronistically applies modern genre categories to ancient texts although he is not alone in doing this. There is certainly no extant evidence that the ancients were aware of the historiographical genre distinctions that Aune suggests. Aune also does not establish firm criteria for establishing parallels between *Luke-Acts* and historiography. Adams also notes: “Aune needs to compare *Luke* to other historians and prose writers in addition to the other Gospels.”¹⁶⁸

¹⁶¹ Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, p. 87.

¹⁶² Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, p. 89.

¹⁶³ Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, pp. 88-9.

¹⁶⁴ Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, pp. 88-9.

¹⁶⁵ Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, p. 140.

¹⁶⁶ Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, p. 141.

¹⁶⁷ Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, p. 9.

¹⁶⁸ Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, p. 9.

However, in Ch. 3 it was noted that while the concept of literary genre was a subject of ancient dialogue; the distinguishing characteristics of different genres and modes shifted.¹⁶⁹ The abundance of categories and the struggle to specify a particular genre may also be in keeping with the enterprise of determining the genre of Luke's first work. Seeking to find an exact Greco-Roman genre resemblance is highly improbable especially when the default conception of genre is the traditional view of categories as logical classes defined by a set of features. Perhaps a more fruitful way to approach the various streams of historiography would be to adapt Burridge's diagrammatic schema on βίος with its various radial arms and to posit historiography as another 'central' genre with radial arms of Aune's sub-groups emanating from the prototype.

2 – *Political History* – David L. Balch

The research of David L. Balch was initiated by a concern over the understanding of *Luke* as biography, and *Acts* as a novel.¹⁷⁰ While not completely dismissing these understandings, Balch proposes the genre most similar to *Luke-Acts* is Greek historiography, especially that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Balch makes the observation that Dionysius "does not narrate [his] stories primarily as a 'historian' but as a rhetorician" and assumes that the rhetorical conventions in Dionysius may have influenced Luke.¹⁷¹

Balch's work on Dionysius', focuses on the Greek rhetorician's structure in *Roman Antiquities*. He identifies the following organizational structure in Dionysius' narrative: (a) an introductory preface, (I 1-8); (i) Rome: Ancestors and Date of Settlement (I 9-70); (ii) the Roman Monarchy: Founding and Overthrow, (I 71-IV 85); and (iii) the

¹⁶⁹ T.E. Duff, *Plutarch's Lives: Exploring Virtue and Vice*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 14-5. Duff argues that it is a mistake to elevate the statement distinguishing history from biography, into one of generic difference in ancient thought. "The boundaries between history, political biography, and related forms of writing such as *enkomion* and the so-called historical monography, were never clearly drawn, rather, generic difference were open to construction by individual authors in order to distinguish their work from those of rivals."

¹⁷⁰ Balch, 'The Genre of Luke-Acts', pp. 5-10. Balch evaluates the proposal of Talbert (biography) and Pervo (novel). Pervo's novel approach has not been addressed directly in the present discussion owing to the fact that it really concerns the book of *Acts* as a separate entity to Luke's gospel.

¹⁷¹ Balch, 'The Genre of Luke-Acts', p. 11.

Roman Aristocracy: Annual Consuls to the First Punic War, (V-XX).¹⁷² Balch recognises a similar pattern in *Luke-Acts*: (a) Prologues and prefaces (*Lk.* 1:1-4, *Acts* 1:1-2); (i) Ancestors (*Lk.* 3:23-28, *Acts* 7:1-53, 13:16-41, 46-47); (ii) The Royal Founder (*Luke*); and (iv) Growth of the Word among All Nations (*Acts*).¹⁷³ An expansion of Balch's three divisions illustrates the development of his argument.

In the division of 'Ancestors', Balch notes that the author of *Luke-Acts* delays in developing this aspect when compared to Dionysius. Jesus' ancestors are mentioned in *Lk.* 3 and elsewhere in *Lk.* 1 - 3, but is not until the speeches of *Acts* 7 and *Acts* 13:16-41 that details concerning these ancestors find elaboration.¹⁷⁴ Another distinguishing feature at this juncture is that Luke's treatment of the ancestor is invective as opposed to Dionysius' eulogy or encomium.¹⁷⁵ After mentioning ancestors some fifteen times, Stephen's speech concludes not with words of praise but of reproof, "You are the ones that received the law as ordained by angels, and you did not keep it" (*Acts* 7:53). Despite these and similar divergences, Balch concludes there are overall similarities in the ancestor section that link *Luke-Acts* to Dionysius.¹⁷⁶

Under his division of the 'Royal Founder', Balch notes the following agreements between Dionysius and *Luke-Acts*: (i) Dionysius is concerned with chronology at the beginning of his work as is Luke; (ii) Romulus birth was surrounded by supernatural signs as was the birth of Jesus; (iii) Romulus and Remus were believed to have been the sons of a deity as was Jesus; (iv) the teaching of Romulus is presented to his readers as is the teaching of Jesus; (v) the death accounts include the similarity of arrest (Romu-

¹⁷² Balch, 'The Genre of Luke-Acts', p. 11.

¹⁷³ Balch, 'The Genre of Luke-Acts', pp. 11-2.

¹⁷⁴ *Lk* 1:55,73 – Abraham, *Lk* 1:33 – Jacob, *Lk* 1:27,32,69; 2:4,11 – David; *Lk* 2:22,27,39 – Moses.

¹⁷⁵ D.L. Balch, 'Two Apologetic Encomia: Dionysius on Rome and Josephus on the Jews', *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 13,1-2, 1982, pp. 102-22, *Roman Antiquities*, I 5,1-3, 'In order therefore, to remove these erroneous impressions as I have called them, from the minds of the many and to substitute true ones in their room, I shall in this Book show who the founders of the city were, at what periods the various groups came together and through what turns of fortune they left their native countries. By this means I engage to prove that they were Greeks and came together from nations not the smallest nor the least considerable. And beginning with the next Book I shall tell of the deeds they performed immediately after the founding of the city and of the customs and institutions by virtue of which their descendants advanced to so great dominion.'

¹⁷⁶ Balch, 'The Genre of Luke-Acts', pp. 12-4.

lus is arrested for releasing captives as is reported of Jesus in *Lk.* 4:18), and supernatural events surround their passing (an eclipse of the sun – τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπόντος, *Lk.* 23:45, τὸν ἥλιον ἐκλιπεῖν, *Rom. Ant.* II 56:6; and finally (vi) there is a similar appearance story of Romulus (*Rom. Ant.* II 63:3-4) and Jesus (*Lk.* 24:13-53) after their deaths.¹⁷⁷ Some notable divergences between the two works at the ‘Royal Founder’ level of comparison concern: (i) an omission of miracle stories attached to Romulus; (ii) differences in their teaching content; and (iii) differences in length. Balch notes “it seems possible to explain many of the differences as development within the genre.”¹⁷⁸

In his analysis of the third division – ‘Growth of the Word among the Nations’ in *Luke*, and the ‘Reception of Foreign Nations’ in *Roman Antiquities* – Balch notes that Dionysius holds two important values in tension throughout his work: (i) laws and customs must be ancient; and (ii) one of the ancient Roman customs is the reception of foreign nations into the body politic. The second value finds expression in *Roman Antiquities*, “From the very beginning, immediately after [Rome’s] founding, she began to draw to herself the neighbouring nations.” (I 3:4), and “finding that many of the cities in Italy were very badly governed, both by tyrannies and by oligarchies, he undertook to welcome and attract to himself the fugitives from these cities, who were very numerous, paying no regard either to their calamities or to their fortunes, provided only they were free men.” (II 15:3) Balch considers the acceptance of outsiders in *Roman Antiquities* to be central to *Luke-Acts* also. While Dionysius develops the military possibilities of the topic and *Luke-Acts* emphasises the λόγος growing throughout the world, Balch contends that for this third section, *Luke-Acts* and *Roman Antiquities* maintain a common theme of protecting the old customs while incorporating other nations.

In a more recent work, Balch has minimised the importance of being able to determine the genre of *Luke-Acts* and declares that “the debate about genre – whether the au-

¹⁷⁷ Balch, ‘The Genre of Luke-Acts’, p. 15.

¹⁷⁸ Balch, ‘The Genre of Luke-Acts’, p. 16. Balch does not provide evidence of this ‘development’.

thors are writing history or biography – is much less important in this light than the issues at stake in the argument itself.”¹⁷⁹ He still views *Luke-Acts* as history, but suggests that identifying a specific sub-genre should be resisted.¹⁸⁰ Balch’s shift to identify the generic overlap of history and biography perhaps stems from the presumption that *Luke-Acts* are unified, but that problems of genre unity remain unresolved. It would appear there is some overlap of history and biography in ancient narratives. Balch’s recent conclusion, where he understands the genre of a work is secondary, negates his earlier approach: “one of the most important questions that determines how we read *Luke-Acts* concerns the kind of literature we think it is, the genre.”¹⁸¹ The complexity in determining genre should not necessarily relegate it to a ‘secondary’ concern.

3 – *Apologetic History* – Gregory E. Sterling

There is a distinction to be made as to how scholars view apologetics and subsequently, apologetic history. Do they situate the Lukan apologetic historiography among the genres of ancient historians, or as a prototype of the apologists of the second-century? Sterling seeks to position *Luke-Acts* within the former understanding, *viz.*, the Greco-Roman apologetic historiographical tradition.¹⁸² Noting that “attempts to classify history [demonstrated] there were not hard and fast categories of historical writing among the Greeks in antiquity,”¹⁸³ Sterling selects a format of analysis based on content, form and function against which to determine genre.¹⁸⁴

Through the consideration of texts from the Persian Empire, the Hellenistic world, and the Roman Empire Sterling identifies that there were a group of texts where the au-

¹⁷⁹ D.L. Balch, ‘ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ Jesus as Founder of the Church in Luke-Acts: Form and Function,’ in T. Penner and C.V. Stichele, eds., *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2003, p. 145.

¹⁸⁰ Balch, ‘ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ p. 186, ‘Luke-Acts belongs to historical literature ... literature that includes not only histories but also political biographies of founders. On the one hand, Luke-Acts represents a form of Asian historiography: ... On the other hand, Luke acculturates and Romanizes early Christianity.

¹⁸¹ Balch, ‘The Genre of Luke-Acts’, p.1.

¹⁸² Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*.

¹⁸³ Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, p. 9.

¹⁸⁴ Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, p. 15.

thor felt a need to explain his ‘native’ story to a larger world.¹⁸⁵ Consequently Sterling defines apologetic historiography as: “the story of a subgroup of people in an extended prose narrative written by a member of the group who follows the group’s own traditions but Hellenises them in an effort to establish the identity of the group within the setting of the larger world.”¹⁸⁶

Sterling undertakes an extensive chronological analysis of the works of Hekataios of Miletos, Herodotus, Hekataios of Abdera, Berossos, Manetho, Alexander Polyhistor, Demetrios, Artapanos, Pseudo-Eupolemos and Eupolemos. By his own admission, Sterling notes that while he set out with an intention of investigating the genre of *Luke-Acts*, his work becomes “an attempt to determine whether or not there was a distinct tradition of ‘apologetic historiography’ and to indicate how Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities* and *Luke-Acts* fit within it.”¹⁸⁷ A brief illustration of Sterling’s method concentrating on the Jewish Hellenistic historian Eupolemos, will serve to demonstrate that he does locate a tradition of apologetic historiography within this collection of historians. Noting that the corpus is problematic due to the fragmentary nature of its texts, Sterling traces their work in the material of later historians such as Eusebius, who attributes his source to Alexander Polyhistor, Clement and Josephus.¹⁸⁸

Writing at the end of the second-century, B.C.E., the works of Eupolemos survive in seven (or five as two are parallel) fragments which are found in the works of Eusebius and Clement. Four fragments cover events from Moses to the fall of Jerusalem with the fifth fragment giving a chronological summary from Adam until the fifth year of Ptolemy. Eupolemos structured his narrative on the LXX but included the Hebrew text. It

¹⁸⁵ Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, p. 17, ‘[T]here were a group of texts which all told the story of a particular group of people (content) by recasting native texts into a mold more palatable in the Greco-Roman world (form). All of the authors were natives or ‘insiders’ who related the story of their own group in an effort to offer a self-definition of that group (function.) ... The common element in all cases was the need that each author felt to relate her/his group to the larger world. The works are therefore apologetic, but may be directly or indirectly apologetic depending on the primary audience.’

¹⁸⁶ Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, p. 17.

¹⁸⁷ Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, p. xxx.

¹⁸⁸ Eusebius and Clement quote Alexander Polyhistor, a compiler to whom the world is indebted for information on the oldest Jewish, Hellenic, and Samaritan elaboration of Biblical history.

would also appear he favoured the Chr to the Dtr when he harmonises his narrative, with David and Solomon serving as a foci of his work.¹⁸⁹ Eupolemos though is not bound to the biblical record and freely adds to it. He adds that Moses was the first wise man and a *Kulturbringer*.¹⁹⁰ Eupolemos also recasts the biblical record to fit a more contemporary setting. For example he changes the conquests of David resetting them in the language of military conquests in campaigns.¹⁹¹

Sterling remarks that it is perhaps better to “see Eupolemos as a revisionist who uses the biblical text for his own purposes.”¹⁹² The two functions of Eupolemos’ revision are his cultural claims and the Temple. Culturally, he presents Moses as the bringer of grammar and a lawgiver as opposed to this *Kulturbringer* being an Oriental or Hellenic god/hero. On the matter of the Temple, it serves as a rallying point for his work and the centre of revolt. Sterling concludes that Eupolemos’ work stands within the tradition of apologetic historiography – sharing the same native tradition content, form and the purpose of giving a new self-definition.

In this extremely brief investigation of Sterling’s argument, it can be seen that his analysis emphasises the ethnic quality of the works he considers. The goals of the Hellenistic Jewish historians, equate to similar goals found in Berossos’ *Babylonika*, Manethon’s *Aigyptiaka*, and Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities* – goals that are unquestionably nationalistic. Just as these works of apologetic historiography provide an apology for the ethnic groups from which they derive, Sterling contends that *Luke* provides an apology for Christians to the outside reader in the Greco-Roman world.

The author of *Luke-Acts* shared the same outlook as the writers of the genre of apologetic historiography through belonging to subgroups within the larger Greco-Roman

¹⁸⁹ Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, pp. 214-6.

¹⁹⁰ Clement, *Stromata*, 1.23, ‘Eupolemos, in his book ... says that Moses was the first wise man [who] imparted grammar to the Jews, that the Phoenicians received it from the Jews, and the Greeks from the Phoenicians.’

¹⁹¹ Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9.30.3-4.

¹⁹² Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, p. 218.

community. This led them to write a story which “betrays a defensive mentality in the historian who wants to gain respectability for his group.”¹⁹³ An awareness of the group’s past traditions led to the Hellenisation of these traditions. How this takes shape varies between authors, but Hellenistic historiography provided the basic methodology. In regard to function, Sterling admits that all the works in the apologetic historiographical tradition seek to define the group. The concern of *Luke-Acts* is the social and political standing of the group (Christianity) within the empire.¹⁹⁴

One of the criticisms of Sterling’s hypothesis is whether Lukan depiction of John the Baptist, Jesus and the followers of Jesus truly represent a nationalistic or ethnic interest. Other studies have shown that *Acts* is distinctive among early Christian literature in showing that the early Christian movement was unconstrained by ‘nationalism.’¹⁹⁵ Adams further questions the ‘apologetic’ nature of Sterling’s hypothesis when applied to *Acts*. He suggests, following Marguerat, that the language of *Acts* is “a language for the initiated” not a wider audience and by implication it is not an apology.¹⁹⁶ Another observation is whether Sterling actually defines the genre of *Luke-Acts* or simply illustrates its perspective.¹⁹⁷

Summary

The preceding survey has indicated that *Luke* and *Acts* owe a literary debt to Hellenistic Jewish narrative tradition with a focus on the fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish historians. Added to this are Greco-Roman prototypes such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus to which could be added a wealth of other historians, antiquarians and apologists such as those cited by Aune. All of these are valuable comparisons but biblical models are also

¹⁹³ Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, p. 387.

¹⁹⁴ Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, p. 387. cf. T. Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins: Stephen and the Hellenists in Lukan Apologetic Historiography*, ESEC, New York: T&T Clark, 2004.

¹⁹⁵ C.K. Rothschild, *Luke-Acts and the Rhetoric of History. An Investigation of Early Christian Historiography*, WUNT II 175 Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004, p.52. cf. R. Pervo, Must Luke and Acts Belong to the Same Genre? p.313, “General histories, moreover, were ethnic, national, and military-political works, whereas Luke presents the claims of Christianity to qualify as the world religion.”

¹⁹⁶ Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, p. 13. cf. Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian*, p. 30.

¹⁹⁷ R. I. Pervo, in book review, G. Sterling, ‘Historiography and Self-Definition’, in *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*, 13, 1995, pp. 108-10.

important and this latter category of historiography perhaps offers two advantages to a consideration of the genre of *Luke's Gospel*.

First, the amalgamation of the history and prophecy model derives from biblical texts; and second, the biblical texts include sources and motifs with which the author of *Luke* was undoubtedly familiar.¹⁹⁸ The texts that found their way into the LXX show a tendency to organise narrative histories around significant characters, or to express it another way, to mingle history with a form of biography. It is to the consideration of two studies on biblical historiography and correlations with *Luke* that we now turn.

4 – Deuteronomistic Historiography – Thomas L. Brodie

The stated purpose of Thomas Brodie's 1981 thesis was "to show that when Luke was writing his two-part work, *Luke-Acts*, he had laid out before him another two-part work, the OT narrative of Elijah and Elisha, and that as he was composing he systematically used the ancient text as a foundation for the construction of sections of his own narrative.¹⁹⁹ Although Brodie was not the first to suggest that the deuteronomistic history (DH) and their LXX versions influenced Luke's writings,²⁰⁰ he specifically argued that Luke used the Elijah-Elisha narrative to create a form of 'prophetic biography.'²⁰¹ A particular narrative feature Brodie identifies to support his proposal is the ancient practice of *imitatio* and *emulatio* – forming a new text by appropriating old material in such a way as to say something new.²⁰² George Kennedy notes, "in later Hellenistic times ...

¹⁹⁸ R. I. Pervo, 'Israel's Heritage and Claims upon the Genre (s) of Luke and Acts', in *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy*, D.P. Moessner, (ed), Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999, p. 130.

¹⁹⁹ T.L. Brodie, *Luke the Literary Interpreter: Luke-Acts as a Systematic Rewriting and Updating of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative in 1 and 2 Kings*, Vatican City: Pontificia Universita S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1981, p. 1.

²⁰⁰ C.F. Evans, 'The Central Section of Luke's Gospel', D.E. Nineham (ed.), *Studies in the Gospels: Essay in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955, pp. 37-53; and M. Goulder, *Type and History in Acts*, London: SPCK, 1964.

²⁰¹ T. L. Brodie, 'Luke-Acts as an Imitation and Emulation of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative', E. Richards, (ed.), *New Views on Luke and Acts*, Collegeville: Michael Glazier, 1990, p. 78. Brodie does not enlarge on a 'prophetic biography' actually entailed. In fact he is clear that he does not agree that Luke's model was that on the Hellenistic biographies. cf. R. Brown, 'Jesus and Elisha', *Perspective*, 12, 1971. pp. 85–104. Brown indicates that the Gospels were partly modelled on the prophetic biographies, particularly the account of Elisha and his miracles.

²⁰² Brodie, 'Luke-Acts as an Imitation and Emulation of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative', pp.79-80, 'The likelihood that Luke used some ancient text, such as the Elijah-Elisha narrative, is greatly increased by the fact that among authors who wrote in the Hellenistic mold – and Luke was such an author – this type of procedure was standard practice. The

imitation or emulation of a classical literary model ... tended to overshadow everything else.”²⁰³ In a detailed analysis of the ancient practice of *imitatio*, Brodie considers sources that illustrate its use under the headings of Greco-Roman narratives, Old Testament instances,²⁰⁴ as well as instances between the New Testament writers.²⁰⁵ A brief analysis of Brodie’s approach in his article, *Towards unraveling Luke’s Use of the Old Testament: Luke 7.17 as an imitatio of 1 Kings 17.17-24*,²⁰⁶ will serve to illustrate his position and approach.

Brodie notes that the instance of the raising of the widow’s son at Zarephath occurs at the commencement OT text of the Elijah-Elisha narrative, and the raising of the widow’s son at Nain occurs at a fairly early stage in Luke’s Gospel. Brodie finds further correlation in the details of the two texts that leads him to suggest: “elements in Luke’s text appear to be a systematic adaptation of the OT text.”²⁰⁷ For example, ἐν τῷ ἐξῆς (*Lk.* 7:1) is perceived as little more than a rewording of the LXX μετὰ ταῦτα (*1 Kg.* 17:17). The meeting at the gate of Nain is closely modeled on the meeting at the gate of Zarephath.

The widow of Zarephath’s admission of sinfulness is linked to the centurion’s unworthiness. The woman’s phrase in *1 Kgs.* 17:18, Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ; is balanced with the centurion’s Κύριε, μὴ σκύλλου (*Lk.* 7:6). Where the widow is sensitive to the consequences of her sinfulness, the centurion is sensitive to the conse-

name given this procedure was imitation (Greek, μίμησις; Latin *imitatio*) and it sought to rework and reproduce both the form and content of the model or source text in a variety of ways. But it was not slavish. It sought, almost constantly, to surpass the source text – so much so that the idea of imitation became virtually synonymous with emulation or rivalry (Greek, ζήλος; Latin *emulatio*).

²⁰³ G. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1980, p. 118.

²⁰⁴ Brodie, *Luke the Literary Interpreter*, p. 11. Brodie tests the work of C. M. Carmichael, *Women, Law and the Genesis Traditions*, Edinburgh: University Press, 1979, pp. 21-2, whose analysis of the Deuteronomic laws concerning women indicates that the laws are to be explained not through appeal to a reconstructed historical situation but through precise literary dependence on the text of Genesis.

²⁰⁵ Brodie, *Luke the Literary Interpreter*, p. 84. Brodie considers instances of rewriting between Matthew and Mark and in the Epistles. Overall he concludes that the manner in which the NT rewrote the OT, ‘involved considerable freedom. This multifaceted freedom may be put under four main headings ... adaptation of explicit citations; allegorizing; anthologizing (style anthologique); and unacknowledged rewriting.’

²⁰⁶ T. L. Brodie, ‘Towards Unraveling Luke’s Use of the Old Testament: Luke 7.17 as an imitatio of 1 Kings 17.17-24’, *New Testament Studies*, 32, 2, 1986. pp. 247-67.

²⁰⁷ Brodie, ‘Towards Unraveling Luke’s Use of the Old Testament’, p. 251.

quences of his unworthiness. Brodie concludes, “there is ... between the texts, a precise continuity.”²⁰⁸ It is a form of *imitatio*.

There is however a rewriting that also occurs. Brodie suggests that whereas in the OT text there is a sense of sinfulness leading to despair and resulting in the death of the woman’s son, in *Luke* the sense of unworthiness is combined with a profound faith. Brodie suggests, “the OT picture of God visiting the sin of a mother on her child is replaced by the NT image of the life-giving $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, looking not on one’s unworthiness but on one’s faith.”²⁰⁹ It is a form of *emulatio*.

Brodie proceeds by this method of comparison and arrives at the conclusion that in the pericopae he addresses; (i) every element of the OT text has been incorporated in some form into the NT with the addition of new material; (ii) Luke adapts the OT text by simple rewording, geographic adaptation, compression, elaboration, dramatisation, explication, complementary angles, and contrast; and (iii) Luke’s authorial purposes appear to be a positivisation of the image of God, a universalisation of God’s visitation, and a Christianisation of the message.²¹⁰ The relationship between the texts is not haphazard but is consistent and systematic and extends beyond a relationship of oral transmission. Brodie asserts: “Luke’s adaptative practices should be viewed within the context of imitation. ... the tense blend of continuity and development, finds an appropriate context in the practice of *imitatio* and *emulatio*.”²¹¹

Whether or not Brodie’s work clears a path to determine the genre of *Luke* as DH is debatable. Adams notes that while Brodie’s list of possible OT influences on *Luke* are ‘intriguing’, he does not adequately explain how these texts have fundamentally shaped Luke’s work.²¹² In a recent volume, Brodie concedes that the Elijah-Elisha narrative is

²⁰⁸ Brodie, ‘Towards Unraveling Luke’s Use of the Old Testament’, p. 251.

²⁰⁹ Brodie, ‘Towards Unraveling Luke’s Use of the Old Testament’, p. 254.

²¹⁰ Brodie, ‘Towards Unraveling Luke’s Use of the Old Testament’, pp. 257-9.

²¹¹ Brodie, ‘Towards Unraveling Luke’s Use of the Old Testament’, pp. 259-60.

²¹² S.A. Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2011. p. 31.

not a full model for the gospel.²¹³ He does not make any absolute claims for his thesis and realises that more work needs to be done especially in establishing a generic model for the gospels.

5 – Jewish Historiography – Samson Uytanlet

Samson Uytanlet's recent work, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*,²¹⁴ re-examines the question of where to best situate the work of *Luke-Acts* in the ancient literary world. Uytanlet's analysis proceeds from the stream of scholars seeking to correct a perceived investigative imbalance which has concentrated on the Greco-Roman literary milieu. He compares literary strategies employed within Greco-Roman, Jewish, and Lukan narratives to defend the underlying thesis:

Greco-Roman and Jewish historical narratives share a number of theological, literary, and ideological elements. There are features, however, that distinguished Jewish histories from their Greco-Roman counterparts. Where discrepancies can be observed, Luke-Acts exhibits greater affinities with earlier Jewish writings.²¹⁵

Uytanlet considers three features of these ancient historical narratives to arrive at his conclusions, *viz.*, (i) how ancient writers presented divine action in history; (ii) how and why ancient writers narrated successions; and (iii) to what purpose ancient writers used narratives of migration or conquest, genealogies, and divine requirements for regency.

Contrary to the assumed notion that Greek historians 'avoided' writing about acts of god in their historical accounts,²¹⁶ Uytanlet suggests many of the events the historians subsequently described were explained in terms of divine orchestration of human affairs. He contends that Greco-Roman narratives often included *theopraxis* where gods were portrayed as supreme over humans and possessed the capacity to manipulate the course of history.²¹⁷ Uytanlet arrives at a similar conclusion with respect to Jewish historical narratives with noted exceptions that Jewish historiography openly declared the

²¹³ Brodie, *The Crucial Bridge*, p. 95, '

²¹⁴ Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*.

²¹⁵ Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, p. 260.

²¹⁶ Herodotus, *Hist.*, 2:3, 'Now, for the stories which I heard about the gods, I am not desirous to relate them, saving only the names of the deities ...'

²¹⁷ Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, p. 33.

participation of gods, humans were moved by God's Spirit, and the history focused on God.²¹⁸ When analysing *Luke-Acts*, Uytanlet determines that the Lukan volumes show greater affinity with earlier Jewish history than its Greco-Roman counterparts. The confessional character of Jewish works manifests as the clearest dividing line between ancient Hellenistic and Jewish historians.²¹⁹

Perhaps the highlight of Uytanlet's analysis is his section evaluating Talbert's comparison of successions in *Luke-Acts* to those of philosophers in the work of Diogenes Laertius.²²⁰ Uytanlet identifies the use of parallels in the Jewish succession accounts of Moses-Joshua and Elijah-Elisha, and notes that the Greco-Roman narratives do not exhibit these types of parallel. Uytanlet demonstrates how parallels exist, not only between OT pericopae but also with *Luke-Acts*. An example of his analysis concerning the 'Ascension accounts' as a narrative center in the transfer of succession, illustrates the strategy he adopts.

First, Uytanlet notes similar language of ascension is present in both the Moses-Joshua and Elijah-Elisha accounts. Moses 'went up' (ἀνέβη) to the top of Pisgah at Mount Nebo (*Deut.* 34:1) and Elijah was 'taken up' (ἀνελήμφθη) by the chariot of fire (*2 Kgs.* 2:11). Second, the Lord is the active subject who brought Moses and Elijah to an unknown location. (*Deut.* 34:5-6; *2 Kgs.* 2:16-18). Finally, although the physical presence of the predecessors discontinues, the presence of God continues with the successors. The Lord promised Joshua his continuous presence (*Josh.* 1:5; cf. *Exod.* 3:12). Likewise, the presence of the Lord with Elisha is evident in the prophet's acts (*2 Kgs.* 2:14-15; cf. *1 Kgs.* 17:1).

²¹⁸ Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, p. 41-2.

²¹⁹ Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, p. 69, 'Luke evidently placed his writings alongside the works of earlier Jewish historians, particularly those in Israel's Scriptures, to show the continuity of God's work from creation with God's work in Luke's era. He is also in unison with these earlier Jewish historians in his declaration that the God of Israel is king. *Luke-Acts*, as a theological history, continues to recount the acts of the God of Israel and promote their understanding of Yahweh's acts. Hence, *Luke-Acts* is best seen as Jewish theological history.'

²²⁰ Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, pp. 89-133.

This same parallel pattern is repeated in the Lukan narrative. First, the language of ascension is present in Luke's account, (ἀνεφέρετο) (*Lk.* 24:51) and (ἀνελήμφθη) (*Acts* 1:2, 11). Second, the use of these passive ascension verbs may be seen as divine passives – God is the active participant who 'raises' Jesus to heaven; and third, although the physical presence of Jesus discontinues in *Acts*, God's presence and work continues through Jesus' successors.²²¹ Examples of similar succession parallels do not occur in the Greco-Roman succession narratives. When Luke structures his succession narrative similar to the Jewish historiographers' parallels, it leads Uytanlet to reflect: "like the Deuteronomistic historian, Luke employed parallels between the predecessors and the successors to present the succession from Jesus to Peter and Paul."²²²

In his third consideration – to what purpose ancient writers used narratives of migration or conquest, genealogies, and divine requirements for regency – Uytanlet explores the similarities that exist between Greco-Roman, Jewish and Lukan literature *vis-à-vis* these aspects. With respect to Greco-Roman narratives he notes that conquests and territorial expansion featured in historiographical discourses, the lineage of kings and rulers were traced to gods, and ethnic groups claimed legitimacy through genealogies.²²³ A similar conclusion is reached with Jewish history with the motifs of land, genealogy, and the personalisation of Yahweh in kings such as David, with the promise of a new rule to come.²²⁴ Ancient Jewish writings exhibited important similarities with their Hel-

²²¹ Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, pp. 121-2.

²²² Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, p. 156, 'Considering the literary features used in the narratives concerning Moses-Joshua and Elijah-Elisha to present succession and how Luke followed this pattern in presenting the continuation of task from Jesus to Peter and Paul in Acts, one can conclude that Luke-Acts can be viewed on the analogy of the two succession narratives found in Israel's Scriptures.'

²²³ Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, p. 178, 'With the gods as the chief orchestrator of history, by implication, earthly kingdoms became an extension of the kingdom of these gods or the deified ancient heroes, who required earthly regents to promulgate piety, promote peace, and execute their purposes', cf. M.M. Austin, 'Hellenistic Kings, War, and the Economy', *Classical Quarterly*, 36.2, 1986, pg 454, Austin argues that kingship, wars, and economy are inseparable issues as far as ancient Hellenistic history is concerned. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 1.75.3, 'It was under the compulsion of circumstances that we were driven to advance our empire to its present state, influenced chiefly by fear, then by honour, and lastly by self-interest as well.' Herodotus has three extended linear genealogies used to ascribe honor to oneself for belonging to a distinguished clan, *Histories*, 7.204.1, 8.131.2, 7.11.2.

²²⁴ The biblical records (e.g. *Jud.* 11:12-28) consistently appeal to Yahweh's promises to claim legitimate ownership of the land. James Sparks, highlights four themes in ancient society, army, land, wealth and gods – i. the inseparability of the people and land, ii. the importance of humility over military power, iii. rewards and retribution, iv. faithful-

lenistic counterparts with the added notion that ‘Yahweh’s reign, however, was not limited to a geo-political entity. Many Jewish writers acknowledge his reign over all the nations of the earth.’²²⁵

In *Luke-Acts*, Uytanlet reads that Luke’s ‘temporal markers’ of rulers – Herod, Augustus and Tiberius (*Lk.* 1:5; 2:1; 3:1) – are subtle claims that the territories controlled by these earthly rulers legitimately belong to the God of Israel and that expansion of this kingdom is evidenced in *Acts*.²²⁶ Luke’s genealogy and references to the baptism of Jesus, and the temptation and parables, establish Jesus as God’s ruler and position the Lukan narrative in the stream of Jewish ideological writing.²²⁷

Uytanlet’s study goes a long way to showing that Greco-Roman and Jewish historical narratives share a number of theological, literary, and ideological elements. He admits that he concentrates on one particular type of literary feature in Jewish writings, namely, the use of parallels to present succession and perhaps it should be also noted that the Jewish historians in his analysis really only include what Uytanlet describes as ‘earlier Jewish writings’ or those represented in the LXX canon. While his endeavour is not a detailed examination of genre in the style of Talbert, Burridge and Sterling, Uytanlet does show that an understanding of *Luke-Acts* is informed by comparison to its Jewish background within the larger Hellenistic milieu.

4.3.4 Luke’s Gospel as a ‘Stand-Alone’ Historical Monograph

The preceding discussion of *Luke* as ancient historiography has been almost inextricably linked to its recognition as a generic unit with the *Acts of the Apostles*. The subsequent discussion will consider the gospel as ‘stand-alone’ historiography. Early patristic estimations of the Gospels were that they were associated with historiography

ness of Yahweh, and v. the possibility of restoration, J.T. Sparks, *The Chronicler’s Genealogies: Towards and Understanding of 1 Chronicles 1-9*, AcBib, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, p. 207.

²²⁵ Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, p. 194.

²²⁶ Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, pp. 205, 240-52.

²²⁷ Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, p. 253.

although as noted this was probably less concerned with genre than reliability.²²⁸ Under a wide-ranging definition of historiography, this association generally continued until Schmidt's argument in 1919 that 'the chronological framework of the gospels is fictional'.²²⁹ Many academics of this period assumed that unless a work presented events accurately and reliably, it should not be classified as history. The gospels' concern was proclamatory, included miraculous events, and involved invention and imagination.

As noted, this position tended to be based on a nineteenth-century understanding of historiography and more recent insights present a differing outlook. Ultimately, whether the miracles or the imaginative aspects were actual historical events or not, does not automatically disqualify the gospels as being understood as historiography. It has also been established that genres are perhaps better understood as fluid and not fixed. The blurring of generic boundaries allows for previously held distinctions to be bent and various radial arms of similarity may emanate from a default prototype. Proceeding from this understanding of the nature of history and literary genres, the *Gospel of Luke* may be considered as a 'spoke' radiating from a historiographic hub.

In 2006, Eve-Marie Becker writing specifically on *Mark*, argued from one standpoint that the genre of *Mark* and the other canonical gospels is *sui generis* but from another perspective she argued that the gospels might be placed in the context of ancient historiography.²³⁰ Becker identified the *Gospel of Mark* as the beginning of Christian historiography. The author, as in *Luke*, used and edited historical sources – fulfilling the functions of a historian. Becker suggests the author of *Mark* was not just a transmitter, collector, or composer of traditions; neither was he only a theologian, in the sense of

²²⁸ Justin Martyr (2nd-century). Justin used the term *απομνημονεύματα* (memoirs) most probably to characterise the Gospels as historical sources. Origen (3rd-century) elaborated on the notion of Gospels as history when he used the term *ἱστορία* to refer to the works. Both Justin and Origen were less concerned with the literary nature of the gospels than in claiming historical reliability for the content.

²²⁹ K.L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu: Literarkritische Untersuchungen sur ältesten Jesus überlieferung*, Berlin: Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1919, p. 152, quoted in Collins, *Mark*, p. 34.

²³⁰ Eve-Marie Becker, *Das Markus-Evangelium im Rahmen antiker Historiographie*, WUNT 194, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006, pp. 50, 52 and pp. 400-401, cited in Collins, *Mark*, p. 34.

someone who reformulates and interprets tradition. Rather, the author and his work were ‘pre-historiographic’, in the sense that he took up traditions and sources and shaped them in an incipient historiographical manner.²³¹ Becker asserts: “*Mark* embeds ... traditions in a pre-historiographical, *i.e.* a narrative, account and, from here, prepares the Lukan approach to history-writing.”²³²

A brief refutation of the common objections to the gospels being historiography helps to establish the likelihood of them actually being so. One objection that is raised, is the *Kleinliteratur* (low literature) and *Hochliteratur* (high literature) distinction initiated by Schmidt.²³³ He asserted that the gospel genre was not “*Hochliteratur*, but *Kleinliteratur*; not the product of an individual author, but a folk-book; not biography, but cult legend.”²³⁴ An argument supporting this conclusion is that the authors are anonymous whereas the authors of *Hochliteratur* identify themselves. Collins notes however, that the Dtr is accepted as a historian but does not present himself or his purpose.²³⁵

A second line of reasoning against the gospels being *Hochliteratur* is their episodic style where the narrative comprises many smaller pieces of independent material suggesting different genres that are only unified through a chronological framework. This style however is also characteristic of Herodotus’ work and the historical books of the OT.²³⁶ If Herodotus and the Dtr are acknowledged to be writing historiography despite the episodic nature of their narratives then it follows that the gospels may likewise be perceived as historiography.

²³¹ Becker, *Das Markus-Evangelium*, pp. 401-7.

²³² E-M. Becker, ‘Earliest Christian literary activity: Investigating Authors, Genres and Audiences’, in E-M. Becker, T. Engberg-Pederson, M. Mueller, (eds.), *Mark and Paul: Part II: Comparative Essays for and Against Pauline Influence on Mark*, BZW, 199, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 2014, p. 104.

²³³ Burrige, *What are the Gospels?* p. 9, n. 15.

²³⁴ K.L. Schmidt, *The Place of the Gospels in the General History of Literature*, trans. B.R. McCane, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002, p. 27.

²³⁵ Collins, *Mark*, p. 41.

²³⁶ H.R. Immerwahr, *Form and Thought in Herodotus*, Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1966, p.7. Immerwahr describes the character of Herodotus’ Histories: ‘On the simplest level, Herodotus’ work is a prime example of the archaic parataxis, by which short individual items are placed in a row to build up larger compositions. In this manner, individual accounts, or parts thereof, are combined in Herodotus into larger pictures, like the pebbles in a mosaic.’ See also Van Seters, *In Search of History*, p. 258. Van Seters comments similarly in the context of the Dtr, ‘This redactional process – a mixture of free composition and the creation of redactional links between independent blocks of material of different types and genres – is the basis of historiography in Samuel and Kings.’

Another argument against the gospels being works of history is their ‘scope and subject’. Ancient works of history often address military and political affairs although this is far from being the case for all ancient historiography. The influence of historical personalities initiated a new kind of history. Xenophon’s use of the phrase, ‘the deeds of Jason’ illustrates a type of history that centered on a single person.²³⁷ Ancient historiography was not only concerned with wars but some histories concentrated on individuals. It is therefore reasonable to presume that *Luke* as a ‘stand-alone’ volume might be considered as a historiographic narrative.

This initiates a short discussion as to which type of ancient historiography *Luke*, as a ‘stand-alone’ volume, may align. It may be a form of biography, as suggested by Talbert or Burridge, equally it may conform to the historiographical genres suggested by Sterling, Balch, Brodie or Uytanlet, separate to the first volume of the *Luke-Acts* diptych. Still another type emerges that may be recognised as a ‘shorter’ historiography than the joint work. This is the form of the historical monograph or historical fiction monograph that finds parallels in Greco-Roman, Israelite and Jewish historiography, and specifically in the context of the present discussion, in the Jewish-Hellenistic literary corpus that emerged in the post-exilic period. Several scholars have canvassed the category of the historical monograph, particularly as it relates to *Acts*.²³⁸ The subsequent discussion will seek to preliminarily identify any associations between historical fiction monographs and the *Gospel of Luke*.

1 – Ancient Greco-Roman Historical Monographs

The concept of a historical monograph is a modern term which identifies a piece of writing, being of essay or book length, on a specific, often limited, subject and time pe-

²³⁷ *Hellenica*, 6.1.19.

²³⁸ H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, xl; M. Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*, trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979; D.W. Palmer, “Acts and the Ancient Historical Monograph,” B.W. Winter and A.D. Clarke (eds.), *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting: Vol. 1 Ancient Literary Setting*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 1-29; D.L. Bock, *Acts, BECNT*, Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007.

riod. While the word monograph derives from the Greek *μονός* and *γράφω*, in ancient historical writings the word *μονογραφία* does not exist to describe a mode of historical narrative. The notion exists though of a category of writing restricted to a specific period of time and to a limited subject.

The Roman historian Sallust's works, *The War with Catiline* and *The Jugurthine War* have been described as "monographs concerned with limited themes of special interest."²³⁹ Similarly Coelius Antipater's work on the Second Punic War, is classified as a monograph.²⁴⁰ Despite these recognitions, a precise definition of monograph is unclear. Is it simply a title to distinguish *The War with Catiline* and *The Jugurthine War* from Sallust's other works? A second issue is the length of the time covered in *The Jugurthine War* (13 years) and Coelius' *Second Punic War* (17 years in seven books).

A number of ancient historians identified a 'short, episodic' form of historiography. Polybius distinguished between his own 'universal' history (*Histories* was in 40 volumes) and the 'monographs' of other historians. He uses a number of phrases to identify such monographs. Sometimes they are episodic or 'particular' compositions (*ἐπὶ μέρους*, *Hist.* III 32:10).²⁴¹ More often, Polybius uses 'particular' as an adjective (*κατὰ μέρος*, *Hist.* I 4:7; IX 44:2; XVI 14:1).²⁴² They can refer to wars, actions, history or compositions. At the end of his introduction to Book VIII, *κατὰ μέρος*, is used adverbially to contrast 'universal and general history' (*τῆς τῶν κατὰ μέρος συντάξεως ... τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ κοινῆς ιστορίας*, *Hist.* VIII 2:1).²⁴³ In some sense, Polybius distinguishes

²³⁹ F.R.D. Goodyear, 'Sallust', in E.J. Kennedy and W.V. Clausen (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature, Vol. 2: Latin Literature*, Cambridge: University Press, 1982, p. 268.

²⁴⁰ A.H. McDonald, 'The Roman Historians', in M. Platnauer (ed.), *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1954, p. 391. 'Coelius Antipater in describing the Second Punic War established the historical monograph as a literary genre in Rome.'

²⁴¹ *Hist.* III 32.10, 'This, however, is not at all so, and I consider that my history differs to its advantage as much from the works on particular episodes as learning does from listening.' Polybius, LCL 137, p. 83.

²⁴² *Hist.* I 4.7, 'He indeed who believes that by studying isolated histories he can acquire a fairly just view of history as a whole, is, as it seems to me, much in the case of one, who, after having looked at the dismembered limbs of an animal once alive and beautiful, fancies he has been as good as an eyewitness of the creature itself in all its action and grace..' Polybius, LCL 128, p. 13.

²⁴³ *Hist.* XVIII 2.1, 'I consider that a statement I often made at the outset of this work thus receives confirmation from actual facts, I mean my assertion that it is impossible to get from writers who deal with particular episodes a general view of the whole process of history.' Polybius, LCL 138, p. 501.

between universal history and ‘particular’ history – an episodic history or monograph. Monographs that deal with a particular issue within a limited time period are contrasted with universal history which gives a more ‘learned’ or expanded view.

Sallust’s understanding of a historical monograph is introduced in *The War with Catiline* 4.2: “I determined to write, in detached portions (*carptim*) the transactions of the Roman people.” Where the word *carptim* alludes to the monograph, it would seem to follow Polybius’ sense. John T. Ramsey defines *carptim* as: “monographs or separate essays on a limited period rather than a continuous history of Rome from the foundation.”²⁴⁴ There is debate as to whether Sallust actually followed his plan of action to write a series of *carptim*, for only his works *The War with Catiline*, *The Jugurthine War*, and *Histories* are extant. Furthermore, in *The War with Catiline* much of the material is not ‘limited’ to a narrative of the conspiracy but includes material of an earlier history of Rome.²⁴⁵ Nevertheless, analogous to Polybius, Sallust distinguishes a mode of historiography that concentrates on a detached portion. Despite the length of his works, he exhibits a selective focus that is appropriate to a monograph.

Cicero’s concept of the monograph stems from his desire to have an account written about his role in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy. He does not wish to have a complete history written about his role, but a volume of a moderate size. In the correspondence he has with Atticus, Posidonius and Luceius to this end, he refers to his work variously as a sketch (*commentarius*),²⁴⁶ a book (*liber*),²⁴⁷ and a memorandum (ὑπόμνημα).²⁴⁸ Cicero envisages a mode of historical writing of limited length and

²⁴⁴ J.T. Ramsey (ed.), *Sallust's Bellum Catilina*, 2nd ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 67. cf. A.J. Woodman, ‘Theory and practice in ancient historiography’, *Bulletin of the Council of University Classics Departments*, 7, 1978, p. 73. Woodman translates Sallust, ‘I decided to write an historical monograph on a Roman theme.’

²⁴⁵ D.W. Palmer, ‘Acts and the Historical Monograph’, *Tyndale Bulletin*, 43.2, 1978, p. 382.

²⁴⁶ *Letters to Atticus*, 1.19.10, ‘I have sent you a copy of my account (*commentarius*) of my consulship in Greek.’ Cicero. *Letters to Atticus*, Vol. 1, LCL 7, (D. R. Shackleton Bailey, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999, p. 117.

²⁴⁷ *Letters to Atticus*, 21.2.1 ‘I felt very glad that I gave L. Cossinius the book (*liber*) I had written.’ Cicero, LCL 7, p. 125.

²⁴⁸ *Letters to Atticus*, 21.2.1 ‘However, Posidonius has already written to me from Rhodes that when he read this memoir (ὑπόμνημα) of mine, which I had sent him with the idea that he might compose something more elaborate

scope that could be a separate volume ‘as many of Greek writers’ had done.²⁴⁹

Diodorus Siculus directs the reader to the work of Ephorus described as ‘history by category’ (κατὰ γένος), concentrating on one theatre of action in each book.²⁵⁰ While Polybius elsewhere identifies Ephorus as the ‘first universal historian’,²⁵¹ it is debated if he actually was.²⁵² What he did do though was write historical accounts in shorter episodes. He adopted a system of topical arrangement of his material and in this manner, broke from the style of Thucydides. Thucydides had written in chronological order, but Ephorus wrote topically. Charles Fornara notes:

Ephorus’s system of topical organisation within narrow chronological limits became the norm for Greek writers thereafter ... [and] had its effect on the Latins, who allowed themselves a certain flexibility in order to satisfy the desire for topical unity.²⁵³

While not suggesting that all Greco-Roman historiography post-Ephorus falls into the category of historical monographs, the identification of shorter, topical ‘units’ supports the suggestion that monographs were acknowledged amongst ancient historiographers.

on the same theme, so far from being stimulated to composition he was effectively frightened away. Cicero, LCL 7, p. 127.

²⁴⁹ *Ad Familiares*, V 12.2 ‘Would you prefer to weave my affairs along with those of the rest of the period into a single narrative, or might you not rather follow many Greek precedents, as Callisthenes with the Phocian War, Timaeus with the War of Pyrrhus, and Polybius with that of Numantia, all of whom detached their accounts of these particular wars from their continuous histories?’ Cicero, LCL 205, p. 157. cf. G. Weaire, ‘The internal evidence of the letter itself suggests that Cicero is proposing a new type of historical monograph. The only Greek predecessors which he can cite at *Fam* 5.12.2 wrote works on full-scale foreign wars. He apparently could not offer Lucceius a clear example of such a history devoted to an episode of civil strife. Cicero *Ad Familiares* 5.12: A New Kind of Monograph? – ResearchGate. accessed, 5.5.2015 @ http://www.researchgate.net/publication/256006224_Cicero_Ad_Familiares_5.12_A_New_Kind_of_Monograph

²⁵⁰ *The Library of History* V 4:1, ‘Ephorus, on the other hand, in the universal history which he composed has achieved success, not alone in the style of his composition, but also as regards the arrangement of his work; for each one of his Books is so constructed as to embrace events which fall under a single topic.’ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, Vol. 3, LCL 340, (C. H. Oldfather, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939, p. 99. cf. B. Sheridan, ‘Diodorus’ Reading of Polybius’ Universalism’, in P. Liddel and A. Fear, eds., *Historiae Mundi: Studies in Universal History*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010, pp. 41-55, ‘Diodorus, V 4:1, praises Ephorus for the arrangement of his material because Diodorus tells the reader Ephorus wrote history κατὰ γένος.

²⁵¹ *Hist.*, V 33:1, ‘I am not indeed unaware that several other writers make the same boast as myself, that they write general history and have undertaken a vaster task than any predecessor. Now, while paying all due deference to Ephorus, the first and only writer who really undertook a general history, I will avoid criticizing at length or mentioning by name any of the others, and will simply say thus much, that certain writers of history in my own times after giving an account of the war between Rome and Carthage in three or four pages, maintain that they write universal history.’ Polybius, LCL 160, p. 87.

²⁵² J. Tully, ‘Ephorus, Polybius, and τὰ καθόλου γράφειν: Why and How to Read Ephorus and his Role in Greek Historiography without Reference to ‘Universal History’, *Centre for Hellenic Studies*, Harvard University, accessed online 6/5/2015 @ <http://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/5845>. ‘No ancient author approached Ephorus as a practitioner of a specific sub-genre of History which they shared to the exclusion of other contemporary approaches to history, let alone as a ‘Universal Historian’ in any of the senses in which the phrase has been understood in modern scholarship.’

²⁵³ C.W. Fornara, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, p. 45.

In the ancient Greco-Roman tradition the notion of a sub-genre of historiography that was monographic may be perceived in the terminology used to describe a limited, episodic, and particular historical narrative. However, consensus amongst scholars that historical monographs are actually a genre is not assumed. Pervo notes while ‘monograph’ may be quite acceptable as a description for *Luke*, it lacks sufficient specificity.²⁵⁴ Alan Bale suggests that the monograph is not really a historical genre at all and there is actually a crossover between novel and monograph. The monograph is better described as a format than a genre.²⁵⁵ He cites Emilio Gabba: “in the same climate of paradoxographical literature the ‘novel’ is born and develops; the novel in antiquity is in fact a form of history.”²⁵⁶

While Bale’s and Pervo’s conclusions concern *Acts* more so than *Luke*, their argument against the historical monograph as a genre are essentially the same for the gospel. A difficulty in seeking ‘specificity’ is the lack of extant Greek or Latin historical monographs. Darryl Palmer notes that, “no Greek or Latin monographs in the narrower sense survive from the period before Sallust [and] the same may be said for the period between Sallust and the composition of *Acts*.”²⁵⁷ While there is mention of the existence of ‘limited, episodic and particular historical narratives,’²⁵⁸ the best extant Greco-Roman monographs in the period prior to the writing of *Luke*, are Sallust’s works.

The War with Catiline and *The Jugurthine War* exhibit the characteristics of a historical monograph. They comprise a single volume, cover a limited historical period, focus on one theme, and to a significant extent, focus on one person – Catiline in the former and Marius in the latter. The *Gospel of Luke* similarly consists of a separate vol-

²⁵⁴ Pervo, ‘Claims upon the Genre (s) of Luke and Acts’, p.131; also, Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, p. 6, n.35.

²⁵⁵ A. Bale, *Genre and Narrative Coherence in the Acts of the Apostles*, London: Bloomsbury, 2015, p. 59.

²⁵⁶ E. Gabba, ‘Literature’, in M.H. Crawford, (ed.), *Sources for Ancient History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, p.15.

²⁵⁷ D.W. Palmer, ‘Acts and the Historical Monograph’, *Tyndale Bulletin*, 43, 2, 1992. p. 385. Palmer notes the works of Philinus (3rd-century B.C.E.) on the First Punic War exists in at least two books; the length of Dellius’ (1st-century B.C.E.) writing on the Parthian War is unknown, as is Crito’s (2nd-Century C.E.) on Trajan’s *Dacian War*.

²⁵⁸ Polybius mentioned 14 ‘examples of such contemporary writers of particular histories’ cf. F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1957-79, Vol 1, pp. 41-4, but the evidence of the works is unclear.

ume, covering a limited chronological period, a restricted geographical focus, and a consistent focus on one theme and one person – Jesus of Nazareth. While this brief comparison, at the outset, lacks ‘specificity’ the possibility that *Luke* might be regarded as a short historical monograph should not be dismissed out of hand.

Another reason not to discount the historical monograph as a literary genre concerns an understanding of genre. Prototype theory where ‘genres have indeterminate boundaries and can be extended to include marginal or atypical examples as opposed to fixed sets of texts belonging equally to a genre,’ anticipates a *genera proxima* between Pervo’s ‘novel’ and Palmer’s ‘monograph.’ In a climate of paradoxographical literature it is to be expected that specificity will be difficult to discern and genres will overlap.

2 – *Israelite and Jewish Historical Fiction Novels*

The overlap between Pervo’s ‘novel’ and Palmer’s ‘monograph’ presents an occasion to consider Israelite and Jewish historiographical narratives that may fall into these categories. Gabba’s observation that, ‘the novel in antiquity is in fact a form of history’ does not completely address the genre of Jewish texts that exhibited fictional elements, yet were often received as history, but it does provide a point of access to investigate the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fictional monograph as a historiographic genre. Such endeavour is not without difficulties and while Lawrence Wills’ suggests that the “full range of Jewish fictions belong to the broader spectrum of ancient fiction” and share a common genre,²⁵⁹ Sara Raup Johnson concludes that the evidence on closer examination reveals a variety of genres and “the attempt to classify the broad range of Jewish ‘fictions’ according to a single generic model is self-defeating and must be abandoned.”²⁶⁰ Despite Johnson’s despair, the prospect of recognising a broad generic pattern in the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monographs is possible when it is accepted that boundaries may eventually be blurred.

²⁵⁹ L.M. Wills, *The Jewish Novel in the Ancient World*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995, p. 7.

²⁶⁰ S.R. Johnson, *Historical Fictions and Hellenistic Jewish Identity*, Berkeley: UCP, 2004, p. 5.

Unlike the Greeks and Romans, there are few preserved instances of Israelite reflection on the nature of historiography and its methodology. Proceeding from a definition that “history is the intellectual form in which a civilisation renders account to itself of its past,” Van Seters proposes a number of measures for identifying historical writing in ancient Israel.²⁶¹ First, any explanation of the genre as the result of an accidental accumulation of tradition is unsatisfactory. History writing may be a literary expression of existing traditions but the occasion of literary accumulation shows an awareness of a historical process. Historiography provides an occasion for new meaning, new authority, and new legitimisation of traditional forms. These new narratives then become part of, a society’s “stream of tradition.”²⁶² In the post-exilic period, a corpus of literary works emerged that bore similarities and became part of the Jewish-Hellenistic mythos.

Second, historical writing is not simply the accurate recording of past events, but considers the reason for recalling the past and the significance given to past events. It examines the causes of present conditions and in Israelite historiography these causes are primarily moral – who is responsible for a certain state of affairs.²⁶³ A feature of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph is the underlying supernatural causality that was characteristic of the cultural group. Third, historiography is national or corporate in character. Merely reporting the deeds of a king or person may only be biographical unless viewed as part of a national history.²⁶⁴ Again, the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monographs were concerned with corporate history – whether it was an ideological perspective or a more overt confirmation of dynasty as found in *2 Maccabees*.

Applying these criteria, it is evident that some of the historical fiction monographs simulate and manipulate the traditions of contemporary Jewish-Hellenistic historiography (*3 Maccabees*, *2 Maccabees*, and *Greek Esther*). Others draw upon the historical

²⁶¹ Van Seters, *In Search of History*, p. 4.

²⁶² Van Seters, *In Search of History*, pp. 3-4

²⁶³ Van Seters, *In Search of History*, p. 5.

²⁶⁴ Van Seters, *In Search of History*, p. 5.

traditions of the Bible and the historical accounts of the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian conquests (*Esther*, *Daniel*, *Judith* and *Tobit*).²⁶⁵ Each of these short texts is a single, self-contained volume, cover a limited historical period, and focus on one theme, and often on one person. The authors of each monograph have used historical ‘fiction’ to ‘deliberately reshape the past in service of the present’.²⁶⁶ As a body of literature that exhibit similar characteristics and features it is not implausible to consider this grouping as a historiographic sub-genre.

The following discussion will give a brief analysis of *Esther* as an example of Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction.²⁶⁷ *Esther* intimates that it is relating an authentic account of an episode in Jewish history and under that guise, and despite the fantastic elements that appear, it may be considered to be a historical monograph. The format of the discussion will follow Johnson. First, in identifying how the author of *Esther* has deliberately fashioned legendary or fictional material into the semblance of historical narrative; and second, in seeking to understand the purpose of the misrepresentation.²⁶⁸

Esther is set in the court of Ahasueras (Hebrew) or Artaxerxes (Greek) “who ruled over one hundred twenty-seven provinces from India to Ethiopia” (*Esth.* 1:1).²⁶⁹ The story is established as realistically historic through reference to precise dates in the reign of Artaxerxes (*Esth.* A1, 1:3, 2:16, 3:7 et.al.); geographical details such as the location of Susa (*Esth.* 1:2, 5-6); and references to official records such as royal chronicles and edicts (*Esth.* 1:22, 2:23, 3:12, 6:1, et.al.). Additionally, the author resonates with other historical biblical narratives through the use of ‘and it came to pass’ (Καὶ ἐγένετο) which opens *Joshua*, *Judges* and *1 and 2 Samuel*. The narrative closes with an invitation to the reader to consult with the “Book of the Chronicles of the Kings and of the

²⁶⁵ Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, p. 9.

²⁶⁶ Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, p. 6.

²⁶⁷ *Judith* and *Tobit* will be discussed in Ch. 6.

²⁶⁸ Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, p. 11.

²⁶⁹ The discussion recognises the existence of 3 main texts for *Esther*, the Masoretic, the Alpha-Text, and the LXX. It is not presumed however that each text bears the same generic qualities.

Medes and Persians” in a similar way that *1 and 2 Kings* refer to the “Book of the Acts of Solomon” and the “Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel.”²⁷⁰ The author of *Esther* uses a number of devices to create a believable historical setting for the monograph.²⁷¹

Yet despite these attempts to place the story into a historical setting, much of the narrative contains legendary aspects such as the concept of a loyal Jewish noble who saves the king from his enemies, or the king who discovers his mistake at the last minute. There are also a number of historical inconsistencies such as Mordecai’s age (over 123 years old);²⁷² the identity of Xerxes’ wife from the seventh to twelfth year of his reign is Amestris not Esther (Xerxes was absent in Greece in 480 B.C.E. when Esther came to court);²⁷³ and the exact origin of the Festival of Purim.²⁷⁴

The purpose of the historical misrepresentation in *Esther* appears to be in order to demonstrate that the Jews hold an important place in the court of foreign kings and that persecution is transient. In one sense it is similar to Sterling’s recognition of ‘an effort to establish the identity of the group within the setting of the larger world.’ The use of historical detail and sources seeks to establish the veracity of the account. The historical inconsistencies need not be perceived as a hindrance to the narrative because the ideological principle of the story is a moral vindication. The story reinforces an ideology ‘and history is not fact but metaphor.’²⁷⁵ When located in the framework of Van Se-

²⁷⁰ Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, p. 20, n. 41.

²⁷¹ D.J. Clines, *The Esther Scroll*, JSOT Supplement Series, 30, Sheffield: JSOT, 1984, p. 22, Clines notes, ‘No part of the Old Testament story is more overtly oriented towards the practice of keeping written records of events and decisions.’

²⁷² Mordecai was taken into exile in 597 B.C.E. (*Esth.* 2:5) but was still alive in 474 B.C.E. (*Esth.* 3:7)

²⁷³ Herodotus, *Histories*, 7:114, ‘To bury alive is a Persian custom; I have heard that when Xerxes’ wife Amestris attained to old age she buried fourteen sons of notable Persians, as a thank-offering on her own behalf to the fabled god of the nether world.’ Herodotus, *The Histories*, Vol. 3, LCL 119, (A. D. Godley, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922, p. 417., *Histories* 9:112 ‘But in the meantime, while Xerxes talked with his brother, Amestris sent for Xerxes’ guards and used Masistes’ wife very cruelly; she cut off the woman’s breasts and threw them to dogs, and her nose and ears and lips likewise, and cut out her tongue, and sent her home thus cruelly used.’ Herodotus, *The Histories*, Vol. 4, LCL 120, (A. D. Godley, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925, p. 291.

²⁷⁴ The word *pur* is not native to Hebrew but is derived from the Babylonian word *puru*. There are various explanations of Purim ranging from a Babylonian myth or rituals of the Persian New Year. See Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, p. 20, n. 45.

²⁷⁵ Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, p. 44.

ters' criteria, Esther resembles a written narrative that becomes part of a Jewish-Hellenistic mythos. Second, significance is given to the moral ideology of past events more so than accurate recording, and third, the story is nationalistic in character and reinforces Jewish identity.

The presence, implicit or explicit, of historical incongruities in an invoked historical setting, as evidenced in the *Esther* monograph, does not necessarily signify that one is moving from historiography into fiction. It can be understood as a deliberate attempt by the authors to manipulate historical details in order to convey a particular message and as has been noted, may generally conform to the notion that 'historiography can be reliable or unreliable, accurate in some ways, inaccurate in others, [and] written according to various different conventions of literary representation of what happened'. Whether or not the post-exilic novels are to be understood as a specific genre of Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monographs depends on the manner in which the nature of literary genres are perceived.

That *Luke* bears similarities to this group of post-exilic historical fictions may be preliminarily determined by applying Van Seters' criteria and the stages undertaken by Johnson. This comparison will establish a basis from which to engage in a closer investigation of *Luke* as 'stand-alone' historical monograph in the Israelite Jewish tradition, and specifically as aligned to the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph. First, Luke shows an awareness of a historical process and is not simply an accidental collector of traditions. This may be seen in his prologue and manner in which he engages with his sources. He accounts for change by providing a basis for new meaning, new authority, and new legitimation for traditional forms. *Luke* is written for, and becomes part of, early-Christianity's emerging 'stream of tradition.' Second, Luke does not simply record past events, but deliberately considers the reason for recalling the past and the significance given to past events. He examines the causes of present conditions

and identifies them as primarily moral through the use of supernatural causality.

Third, Lukan historiography is corporate in character and the reporting of the deeds of Jesus may be viewed as part of a 'salvation history.' Luke deliberately fashions 'fantastic material' into the semblance of historical narrative. He manipulates his material for the purpose of creating a credible and persuasive narrative. Finally, *Luke* may be understood as a deliberate attempt by its author to manipulate 'historical' details in order to convey a particular message.

Summary

Short historical monographs are located in both the Greco-Roman and Jewish-Hellenistic literary traditions. In Greco-Roman literature, historical narratives of a limited, episodic and particular nature may be distinguished as historical monographs. The Jewish-Hellenistic novels are similarly short, single-focused volumes that cover a limited time period, and focus on one theme. They often tend to employ fiction to reshape the past in service of an ideological purpose. The significant number of texts that share these characteristics may permit them to be understood as a historiographic sub-genre that emanates from the default prototype of history writing.

4.4 Chapter Conclusions

The preceding discussion has sought to give an overview of scholarly opinion concerning the genres of the *Gospel of Luke*. The diverse nature of the conclusions may hint at either an unresolvable generic question or the genius of the Lukan author in synthesising various literary genres. Such diversity illustrates the ambiguity of determining genre according to a characteristics model, and facilitates the consideration of a prototype model that understands a number of similar literary types appear in *Luke* and the author has bent and blended these genres to suit his purpose.

The discussion commenced with an acknowledgement that the genre of *Luke* is linked to the question of unity with *Acts*. It was concluded that where a basis for narra-

tive unity was reasonable, genre unity is not necessarily an *a priori* assumption. The difficulty in classifying *Luke* and *Acts* as ‘belonging’ to the same genre tends to confuse rather than clarify. The position of viewing the Gospel as a ‘stand-alone’ work was adopted for the purpose of the present discussion.

Consideration was given to the proposal that the ‘gospel’ is *sui generis*, but it was noted that ‘gospel’ as a ‘new’ form needed to have derived its meaning from the surrounding genres, ideologies, and narrative environments in which it developed and this probably had not happened by the time *Luke* was composed. A survey of hypotheses looking at the similarities between contemporaneous narrative forms that may have informed *Luke* was undertaken. The first comparison addressed Greco-Roman biography proposals. Talbert, sought to establish the genre of *Luke* by identifying similar features and functions between the Lukan narrative and Greco-Roman biography. He arrived at the conclusion that *Luke* shaped his work by employing aspects of the genre of philosophical biographies and by emulating this literary type, he endeavoured to defend Christianity. Burridge established ancient narrative genres are ‘mixed’ with flexible boundaries and consequently, βίος is a ‘spectrum or band of literature positioned between history at one extreme and encomium at the other.’ He concluded there were a sufficient number of shared features to establish that *Luke* may be aligned to the genre of ancient Greco-Roman βίος.

The discussion proceeded to consider three hypotheses that posit the *Gospel of Luke* in the stream of Greco-Roman historiography. Aune’s hypothesis proceeded from the contention that *Luke-Acts* share a genre unity and therefore *Luke* cannot be an ancient biography for it belongs with *Acts*, and *Acts* cannot be forced into a biographical mode. Aune found examples of general history in Polybius and Diodorus Siculus but also in the ‘nationalistic’ Hellenistic historians. He argued these historians and their writings fitted the nature of *Luke-Acts*.

Balch proposed the genre most similar to *Luke-Acts* is Greek political historiography, especially that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in *Roman Antiquities*. An evolution in Balch's position saw him later seek to identify a generic overlap of history and biography which perhaps stemmed from the presumption of *Luke-Acts* unity. Sterling's consideration of apologetic historiography emphasised the nationalistic quality of Hellenistic Jewish historians and he understood their works provided an apology and self-definition for the ethnic groups from which they derived. He concluded the author of *Luke* shared the same outlook as the writers of the genre of ancient apologetic historiography through belonging to a subgroup within the larger Greco-Roman world.

The next focus considered the studies of Brodie and Uytanlet in a comparison of ancient Israelite and Jewish historiographic models to the *Gospel of Luke*. Brodie argued that Luke used the Elijah-Elisha narrative to create a form of prophetic biography based on the ancient practice of *imitatio* and *emulatio*. This led him to assert that Luke's narrative practices should also be viewed within this context. Whilst not directly attempting to determine the genre of Luke's diptych, Uytanlet's analysis proceeded from the stream of scholars seeking to correct a perceived investigative imbalance concentrating on Greco-Roman literary traditions. He compared literary strategies employed within Greco-Roman, Jewish, and Lukan narratives and concluded *Luke-Acts* exhibits greater affinities with earlier Jewish writings.

The final stage of this chapter was an analysis of the *Gospel of Luke* as 'stand-alone' historiography. The analysis considered the genre of historical monographs in the Greco-Roman and Israelite-Jewish contexts. The Greco-Roman historical monographs were identified as narratives comprising a single volume, covering a limited historical period, focussing on one theme and one person. The *Gospel of Luke* was seen to align to these criteria and therefore could be positioned as a historical monograph.

A final analysis of Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction novels proceeded by way of an amalgamation of Van Seters features for identifying historical writing in ancient Israel, and Johnson's procedures to identify how post-exilic authors deliberately fashioned legendary or fictional material into the semblance of historical narrative. It was determined that the significant number of texts exhibiting the characteristics of a historical fiction novel may permit this corpus to be understood as a historiographic sub-genre. It was preliminarily established that *Luke* has similarities to the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction novel and the possibility of pursuing a closer investigation into *Luke* as 'stand-alone' historical monograph in this tradition is warranted.

The 'genre' of the *Gospel of Luke* may be better construed as 'genres' of the *Gospel of Luke*. The narrative may be understood as a synthesis of many different literary types. For readers wishing to be 'established' in the early-Christian movement, echoes of the oral gospel they had previously heard proclaimed would have been experienced. For readers suffused in the Greco-Roman cultural world, the narrative forms of biography and historiography would have been familiar. For those raised in the traditions of ancient Israelite-Jewish culture but presently living in the Hellenistic environment, reverberations of past stories and historiographical motifs would have been recognised.

Chapter 5. The Genres of *Second Maccabees*

2 Maccabees is a refreshing example of a text that muddles the water and breaks the stereotypes.

George Nickelsburg, 2005

5.1 ‘Never let the truth get in the way of a good story’

Samuel Clemens is often credited with the adage, ‘Never let the truth get in the way of a good story’ or maybe it is just an old Fleet Street motto, or it possibly derived from the pen of Hunter Thompson.¹ The irony is that perhaps we can never be certain of who first coined the phrase. The evidence points to an interview between Clemens and Rudyard Kipling in 1889. Towards the end of the interview, the following conversation transpired:

Clemens: ‘Personally, I never care for fiction or story-books. What I like to read about are facts and statistics of any kind. ... I was reading an article about ‘Mathematics.’ ... That mathematical fellow believed in his facts. So do I. Get your facts first, and’ – the voice dies away to a distant almost inaudible drone – ‘then you can distort ‘em as much as you please.’²

‘Get the facts first and then you can distort ‘em as much as you please’. For many this maxim might be applied to the Second Maccabean narrative. Written in the post-exilic period, possibly in the second or first-century B.C.E., *2 Maccabees* has often endured the ignominy of being an unreliable historical source.³ Historical source documents are assembled alongside fanciful images of handsome angels, mounted on golden-bridled horses, whipping their adversaries into a paralysed stupor. There is intrigue, deception, and skullduggery amidst a call to celebrate the holiness of God and his liberation of the Temple. It is replete with epiphanies, miraculous deliverances, grotesque descriptions of martyrdom, and historical errors that have often relegated the narrative to the shelves of fiction.

¹ J. A. Kottler, *Stories we've heard, stories we've told: Life changing narratives in therapy and everyday life*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2015, p. 179.

² S.F. Fishkin, (ed.), *The Mark Twain Anthology: Great Writers on His Life and Work*, Library of America, 2010, p. 76.

³ J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, Berlin: Reimer, 1904, p.248, ‘We find details about this only in 2 Maccabees, a book that often turns out to be untrustworthy in those passages where we can check it and therefore deserves mistrust even where we can't check it.’

However, this presumption has been challenged by more recent scholarship. Daniel Schwartz points out the presumption of unreliability derived from three errors; (i) the psychological fallacy that leads us to think if one book (*1 Maccabees*) is accurate the other is not; (ii) *2 Maccabees* was composed several decades after *1 Maccabees*, and (iii) the Second Maccabean reports of supernatural and miraculous events indicates the author was not beholden to historical truth.⁴ As the previous discussion on the nature of historiography has shown, such distinctions do not necessarily disqualify a work from being regarded as a historical account.

If the psychological fallacy is avoided, the chronology is revised, and the inevitable blurring of ‘fact’ and ‘fiction’ is recognised, then there is room to reopen the discussion about the historiography of *2 Maccabees*. It is undeniable that *2 Maccabees* is a good story with embellishments and dramatic effects. It toys with historical veracity through supernatural causality and chronological manipulations. It is an exciting read but it also resembles a short historical monograph that concentrates on a single focus. It is set in a context that may suggest it belongs to a corpus of Jewish-Hellenistic literature and more specifically to a genre of historical fiction monographs.

5.1.1 The Historical Context

The historical background to *1* and *2 Maccabees* is the Jewish revolt against Antiochus IV. It is the story underpinning the Jewish festival of Hanukkah (τῆς σκηνοπηγίας τοῦ Χασελεῦ). According to the conventional storyline, based on the Maccabean accounts and Josephus’ *Jewish Wars*, Onias III was the last high priest in Jerusalem belonging to the Oniad dynasty. In 175 B.C.E., his brother Jason promised to pay provincial temple taxes at a higher rate if Antiochus IV, who had just assumed the Seleucid throne, chose him as high priest. This was done and Jason ousted Onias.

⁴ Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, pp. 38-39.

The newly appointed high priest agreed to pay even more tax if the king granted him permission to establish a *gymnasion* in Jerusalem, and to found a *polis* in the Greek tradition. Antiochus IV agreed but three years later, Menelaus overthrew Jason. When Antiochus led a military campaign in Egypt in 168 B.C.E. Jason tried to wrest back power in Jerusalem, and civil war broke out between his supporters and those of Menelaus. Assuming that the Jews were revolting against his rule, Antiochus IV attacked Jerusalem on his return from Egypt.⁵

A program of military and political repression ensued with the fortress of Akra built to oversee the Temple, and the settling of a colony of foreign mercenaries in Jerusalem. The Jews lost political autonomy, and they were made subjects of the *polis*. This overhaul of the administrative *status quo* had dire religious consequences. The Judeans were compelled to give up their traditional customs and take part in introduced Greek religious rites. The banning of Judean religious practices, which has historically been remembered as religious persecution, sparked a popular revolt against the Seleucids and their local supporters. The Maccabean brothers, Judas, Jonathan, and Simon, successively led the Jewish rebels. *2 Maccabees* records that Judas Maccabeus liberated the city of Jerusalem, and purified the Temple, and the longer version in *1 Maccabees* notes that Simon founded the Hasmonean dynasty.⁶

5.1.2 Chapter Structure

The present chapter will propose that *2 Maccabees* may be construed as Jewish-Hellenistic historiography and in particular may align to an emerging corpus of historical fiction monographs. First, a survey will be undertaken of scholarly opinion as to the genre of *2 Maccabees*. The study will consider the commonly suggested genres and literary *topoi* of the narrative. The analysis will discuss the proposals that *2 Maccabees*

⁵ There is conflict here between the accounts of *1 Maccabees* and *2 Maccabees*.

⁶ S. Honigman, 'Religious Persecution or High Taxes? The Causes of the Maccabean Revolt against Antiochus IV', at *The Bible and Interpretation*, accessed 16th June, 2015, @ <http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/2014/10/hon388014.shtml>.

belongs to a propaganda literary type (Temple, anti-Hasmonean, and ‘Idyllic’ Jerusalem), an epiphanic tale, or a festal letter. The historiographic genres of ‘tragic’ history, didactic history, and dynastic history will then be examined. Particular attention will be given to the studies undertaken by Jonathon Goldstein, Robert Doran, Jan van Henten, Daniel Schwartz, and Sylvie Honigman.⁷

The discussion will proceed to briefly investigate the genre of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph and consider the aspects of *2 Maccabees* that may align to this category. Attention will be given to the proposals of Lawrence Wills and Sara Johnson.⁸ It will be preliminarily established that *2 Maccabees* embraces generic features of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph both in form and historiographic methodology. *2 Maccabees* attempts to recount the reality of the past even if this included traits of historical fiction such as historical errors, chronological manipulation of sources, and the use of supernatural causality.

5.2 The Narrative Genres of *Second Maccabees*

While not receiving the same degree of investigation as the *Gospel of Luke*, *2 Maccabees* has nevertheless undergone thorough scholarly analysis in an effort to determine its literary character. The book does not conform neatly to a generic pigeonhole but freely flits from genre to genre. The result is a blend of literary styles that continually push at the boundaries of genre classification. George Nickelsburg notes:

For a world of scholarship that (necessarily) creates tidy categories and distinctions in order to bring some order to the chaotic array of evidence that comes to us from the ancient world, *2 Maccabees* is a refreshing example of a text that muddles the water and breaks the stereotypes.⁹

⁷ J. A. Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, AB 41a, New York: Doubleday, 1983; R. Doran, ‘2 Maccabees and ‘Tragic History’, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 01/1979, Volume 50, pp.107-14; idem, *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Character of 2 Maccabees*, CBQMS 12, Washington: CBA, 1981; idem., *2 Maccabees*, Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 2012; J. Van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees*, JSJSup 57, Leiden: Brill, 1997; D. R. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, CEJL, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008; S. Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes: The Books of the Maccabees and the Judean Revolt*, Berkley: UCP, 2014.

⁸ Wills, *The Jewish Novel*; Johnson, *Historical Fictions*.

⁹ G. W. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005, p. 109.

The author portrays hellenisation as harmful, but allows for the existence of ‘good’ Gentiles and adopts *koine* Greek as his language of composition. He writes from within a patriarchal culture, but the dominant figure in his narrative is a matriarch who urges her sons to die noble deaths. He writes in the idiom of Greek and Hebrew literary genres, but there is no consensus as to the overall literary character of his work. The author of *2 Maccabees* blends genres, blurs fact and fiction, and reshapes the past to comment upon and inform contemporary experiences and concepts of identity.

5.2.1 *Second Maccabees* as Propaganda Literature

Propaganda narratives pursue an ideological goal ranging from mere eulogy to forceful arguments that may involve deliberate misrepresentation. Many ancient historiographic texts were written as propaganda, *i.e.*, the deliberate attempt to influence the readers in a specific direction. The *Weidner Chronicle* (ancient Mesopotamia) is propagandistic when it urges its readers to provide for the Esagil cult in order to avoid the fate of their predecessors.¹⁰ Similarly, the writer of the *Assyrian Synchronistic History* only refers to Assyrian victories, in what appears to be an attempt to bolster Assyrian spirit.¹¹

That the biblical stories are similar to this style of propagandistic narrative is unmistakable. The Hebrew Bible and the LXX are ideological texts with Mario Liverani observing: “It cannot be denied that the OT as a whole can be considered as a huge propagandistic work and that many texts or passages constitutive of the OT (or embedded in it) display a more or less clear propagandistic purpose, both in the political and religious field.¹² An example from the biblical narrative occurs in *2 Sam.* 3.¹³ The propagandistic

¹⁰ A.K. Grayson, *Assyria and Babylonia Chronicles*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000, p. 43. ‘The whole point of the narrative is to illustrate that those rulers who neglected or insulted Marduk or failed to provide fish offering for the temple Esagil had an unhappy end while those who did concern themselves with these matters fared well ... the text is a blatant piece of propaganda written as an admonition to future monarchs to pay heed to Babylon.’

¹¹ Grayson, *Assyria and Babylonia Chronicles*, p. 51, ‘That the author of the Synchronistic History was biased in favour of the Assyrians is evident from his conclusion: ‘May the praises of Assyria be lauded forever ...’ To illustrate Assyria’s superiority he makes an arbitrary selection of the facts, omitting those events in which Assyria suffers disgrace and including those in which Babylonia is humiliated. The document is replete with examples of the defeat and humiliation of the Babylonians at the hands of the Assyrians but no mention is ever made of an Assyrian setback.

¹² M. Liverani, ‘Propaganda’, D.N. Freedman, (ed.), *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 5, London: Doubleday, 1992, p. 475.

nature of this pericope seeks to legitimise the kingship of David in the mind of the reader. Yet while not denying that the alteration of facts may occur, the use of propaganda does not preclude such narratives from having historical worth. Liverani further notes that propaganda does not necessarily involve falsehood or forgery, but it is “more interested in effectiveness than correctness.”¹⁴ Propaganda may have historical value and ‘relativistic’ history may be used to advance a particular point of view.¹⁵

The notion of propaganda implies, however, a need to convince. Questions that follow in the present context are; what circumstances in the Maccabean era may have precipitated a ‘need to convince’, and what particular message may that have been? There are a number of suggestions as to what specific propagandistic concern is present in 2 *Maccabees*. Three positions will be considered in the subsequent discussion; (i) Temple propaganda; (ii) anti-Hasmonean propaganda; and (iii) ‘Idyllic Jerusalem’ propaganda.

1 – Temple Propaganda

Prior to exploring the notion of Temple propaganda, a brief excursus into the background of the Second Temple period is beneficial. In the Second Temple era, the Temple of Jerusalem was the centre around which Jewish identity was organised. It was the hub of religious life keeping the Jewish people together spiritually following war, desolation and exile. Josef Zsengellér uses the term ‘monotemplism’ to expand this theology – there is only one chosen place of Yahweh and that is Jerusalem.¹⁶ The reality is that the theory of monotemplism was never achieved in practice. There was an Ele-

¹³ M. Chavalas, ‘Genealogical History as ‘Charter’: A Study of Old Babylonians Period Historiography and the Old Testament’, A.R. Millard, et al., (eds.), *Faith, Tradition, and History: Old Testament Historiography in Its Near Eastern Context*, Winona Lakes: Eisenbrauns, 1994, p. 125, ‘The intent of the author ... was to answer the charge of wrongdoing, with an attempt to demonstrate David’s innocence in the series of the events that led to his succession. The narrative of David’s rise promulgates a political point of view supported by a theological interpretation of events. David’s accession to the throne is portrayed as lawful because he was loyal to Saul’s line and because Yahweh supported him; he also had hereditary legitimacy. ... By virtue of the fact that he married Saul’s daughter Michal, he could claim the throne through the right of Michal’s inheritance. Thus it was important ... to demand her return after their separation. David also brought Saul’s relatives to his palace for political reasons.’

¹⁴ Liverani, ‘Propaganda’, p. 476.

¹⁵ Chavalas, ‘Genealogical History as ‘Charter’, p. 107.

¹⁶ J. Zsengellér, ‘Maccabees and Temple Propaganda’, G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér (eds.), *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology*, SJSJ, 118, Leiden: Brill, 2005, p. 182. Monotemplism is the phenomenon when a religious community accepts only one place (temple) for the worship of its deity.

phantine temple in Egypt during the time of the Assyrian and Persian conquests, a temple on Mount Gerizim most probably built during the Persian period, a possible temple in Arak el-Emir (Transjordan), and in Leontopolis.¹⁷

Zsengellér suggests that the Maccabean revolt intended to remedy this multi-temple crisis, and by implication the crises of theology, through “use of the sword on the one hand and later by pen on the other.”¹⁸ He sees the Maccabean narratives as promoting this latter solution.¹⁹ Shaye Cohen pursues this line of inquiry when he asks: “To what extent did the Jews of the Second Temple period regard the Temple as illegitimate or blemished?”²⁰ At the consecration of the Second Temple there had been no sacred cloud and no sacred fire. The rabbis observed: “The second temple lacked five things found in the first; the sacred fire, the ark, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the oil for anointing, and the Holy Spirit.”²¹ *Ezra* 3:12 recounts, “many of the priests and Levites and heads of families, old people who had seen the first house on its foundations, wept with a loud voice when they saw this house ...”.

However, the destruction of the abode of Yahweh, the Temple of Jerusalem, did not necessarily mean the dissolution of his earthly presence. Yahweh was still with his people and theologies were modified to make the catastrophe of the exile understandable. It is against this background that Doran suggests the message of *2 Maccabees* re-

¹⁷ The time period of Jewish colony at Elephantine is disputed but they were made up of Semitic soldiers taken there from 671 B.C.E. The temple is mentioned in the Elephantine papyri, ‘Now our forefathers built this temple in the fortress of Elephantine back in the days of the kingdom of Egypt, and when Cambyses came to Egypt he found it built. They (the Persians) knocked down all the temples of the gods of Egypt, but no one did any damage to this temple.’ The Samaritans built a temple at Mt. Gerazim probably in the middle of 5th century B.C.E. It was destroyed by either John Hyrcanus in the 2nd century B.C.E. (Josephus) or by Simeon the Just (Talmud). The Tobiads built a Qasr at Arak el-Emir in the 3rd-century B.C.E. which may have served as a temple, cf. C. McCown, ‘The ;Araq el-Emir and the Tobiads’, *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 20,3, 1957, p. 74. According Josephus’ account in the *Antiquities* the temple at Leontopolis was built by a son of the murdered Onias III who in 2nd-century B.C.E. requested Ptolemy VI to allow him to build a sanctuary in Egypt similar to the one at Jerusalem, where he would employ Levites and priests of his own clan

¹⁸ Zsengellér, ‘Maccabees and Temple Propaganda’, p. 183.

¹⁹ Zsengellér, ‘Maccabees and Temple Propaganda’, p. 183, ‘They are the ideological and theological works presenting the ‘history’ of the first part of this epoch. In presenting this story the writers follow the biblical pattern of Judges in the military campaigns and the pattern of David and Solomon in reaching the main religious or theological goal, the restoration and rededication of the centre of cult and theology, the temple.’

²⁰ S.J. Cohen, ‘The Temple and the Synagogue’, W. Horbury, W.D. Davies and J. Study, (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 308.

²¹ Cohen, ‘The Temple and the Synagogue’, p. 308; *Y. Ta’anit* 2.1 65a; *b. Yoma* 21b.

lates to the restoration of a sacred city or altar through the efforts of a patron deity:

What emerges from the literary analysis of 2 Maccabees? First and foremost is the Deuteronomic theme that the invincible God of the Jews protects his temple and his people only when they are loyal to him and good. ... The author of the epitome insists on keeping Jewish ways intact, and stresses that his heroes speak Hebrew. His whole work is Temple-oriented. The epitome, in this sense, calls for a re-dedication to the cultural values of Judaism.²²

Doran develops his Temple hypothesis by way of a structural analysis of *2 Maccabees*. In the second prefixed letter, Doran notes that the citations “refract and heighten the rich, colorful tapestry of tradition associated with the installation of the Temple.”²³ He divides the narrative into three parts, (i) the repulse of Heliodorus (3:1-40); (ii) the profanation of the Temple and its renewal (4:1-10:9); and (iii) the defense of the Temple (10:10-15:36).

In the repulse of Heliodorus, Doran suggests the emphasis is not on the miraculous healing of the beaten Seleucidan legate, but on the propaganda aspect when the two young men commission Heliodorus to proclaim the greatness of Israel’s God: “And see that you, who have been flogged by heaven, report to all people the majestic power of God” (3:34a). Parallels to the theme of Temple propaganda may be found in the *Lindian Chronicle* where the enemy is forced to proclaim the greatness of the deity.²⁴ Other instances of this post-battle propagandistic proclamation occur in *2 Macc.* 8:36, 9:17 and in the defeat of Nikanor (*2 Macc.* 15:29).

When the author retells the stories of the battle of Judas, the demise of Antiochus IV, and the Temple restoration in 8:1-10:9, Doran discerns the emphases of the narrative lie “not on military maneuvers, nor on tactics, nor on where the battle took place, nor how long the battle took” but in “the help of God, the question of booty, and the fate of

²² Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, pp. 111-2.

²³ Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 9.

²⁴ J.L. Shaya, ‘The Lindos Stele and the Lost Treasures of Athena’, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 2002, p. 107, ‘Datis himself broke camp in order to do the tasks that lay before [him], making a pact of friendship with the besieged and declaring besides that the gods guarded these men.’ Similar praise is mentioned in the story of Zeus Panamaros, recorded on stone in 40 B.C.E. at his sanctuary outside the city of Stratonikeia in Karia. ‘On the following day, when the enemy attacked again, he surrounded them with a thick mist and a storm of continuous thunder and lightning ... the enemy, in the end, praised the god; many soldiers deserted shouting, ‘Great is Zeus Panamaros!’

Nicanor.”²⁵ The emphasis is on the intervention of God on Israel’s behalf: Judas and his forces implore God’s help (8:14), Judas calls on his troops to trust in the Almighty God (8:18), the holy scroll is read and the watchword is ‘Divine Help’ (Θεοῦ βοήθειας) (8:23), the troops honour the Sabbath and care for the orphans and widows (8:25-26), and Nicanor confesses the power of the Lord (8:36).

The propagandistic portrayal of divine assistance is iterated in the account of the humiliation and demise of Antiochus IV (Ch. 9), and in the re-dedication of the Temple (10:1-9). The narrative structure from *2 Macc.* 8:1-10:9 reinforces the Temple propaganda motif, which differs significantly from the report in *1 Maccabees*. The pericope groups the first (according to the epitomist) battle victory, the death of the antagonist at the hand of God, and the restoration of the Temple. Doran notes:

It is appropriate that Antiochus, the main opponent of the Jews and the chief obstacle to the restoration of the temple, should die by God’s hand before the restoration. In true gratitude, the Jews establish a festival to commemorate this unexpected deliverance.²⁶

In Doran’s final division (*2 Macc.* 10:10-15:36), following the restoration of the Temple, the narrative recounts the repulse of further attacks. The author comes to the final campaign against the holy Temple and its territory in 14:1-15:36 after recounting numerous battles in which the protection of God is evident in various degrees: against the Idumeans (10:14-23), Timothy (10:24-38), Lysias (11:1-14, 13:19-27), Joppa and Jamnia (12:3-9), the Arabs (12:10-12), Caspin (12:13-16), Ephron (12:27-28); and Gorgias (12:32-37). The final battle is depicted as a clash between the God of Israel and his enemies (*2 Macc.* 15:27).

Doran’s three-fold structure is based on the identification of assaults on the Jerusalem Temple and its subsequent defense. In the first assault, the enemy was repulsed because the laws of God were observed. In the second assault, the sins of the people result in punishment but eventual deliverance is achieved through God’s mercy and the Tem-

²⁵ Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 56.

²⁶ Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, pp. 62-3.

ple is restored. In the third assault, the hand of God is manifest in turning away numerous attacks and the Temple remains in the hands of the Jews. Doran concludes: “the concern is to glorify the defense of the Temple and its territory by its patron deity.”²⁷

In Doran’s estimation the circumstances that precipitated this message are twofold. There appears to be encouragement for the readers to “hold in high regard the ancestral traditions of the Jews and to follow them.”²⁸ The need for this encouragement was to warn against the full acceptance of Hellenistic culture as condemned in *2 Macc.* 4:13-15. The second set of circumstances was the desire for the Jews to live peaceably as good citizens in the Gentile community. Doran perceives that the opening address of Antiochus IV’s final letter to the Jews in *2 Macc.* 9:19 ff underlines this theme – “to the well-deserving Jews, the citizens, much greeting, good health and prosperity.”

Zsengellér also notes a theological presentation of the Temple in *2 Maccabees* but alters Doran’s emphasis. Whereas Doran’s Temple propaganda proposal implies the legitimacy of the Jerusalem Temple, Zsengellér contends “the writer of the epitome was not strictly monotemplistic.”²⁹ He proposes the epitomist modifies the theological concept of the Temple that exists in Deuteronomy. The Temple was the earthly abode of God (15:32) but the exile caused a crisis in this theology when the Temple was destroyed. In an effort to resolve this dilemma, the epitomist applies the deuteronomic pattern of ‘sin/departure of God’s presence/reconciliation’ to his own situation. Zsengellér contends *2 Macc.* 5:19-20, announces a revised theological perspective, which did not imply the Jerusalem Temple as the sole legitimate location. The author declares the location of the Temple is not as important as the election of the people.³⁰

²⁷ Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 75.

²⁸ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 12.

²⁹ Zsengellér, ‘Maccabees and Temple Propaganda’, p. 187.

³⁰ *2 Macc.* 5:19-20, ‘But the Lord did not choose the nation for the sake of the place, but the place for the sake of the nation ... the place shared in the misfortunes that befell the nation and afterward participated in its benefits, and what was forsaken in the wrath of the Almighty was restored again in all its glory when the great Lord became reconciled.’

Zsengellér maintains that the expression of polytemplistic theology permits a better understanding of the theological position presented in *2 Macc.* 6:12-17, where religious activity and faithfulness to God continues without a Temple. The martyrdoms, celebration of festivals in caves, and circumcisions present religious life without a Temple. Zsengellér considers the Maccabean understanding of the office of high priest, or the absence of one, supports the notion of ‘modified’ Temple propaganda. Onias is presented as the high priest in *2 Macc.* 3:2 but when he fled to Daphne he was replaced by Jason and then a non-priestly offspring Menelaus became the high priest. Menelaus’ tenure as high priest was fraught with wickedness and following his death the text does not mention any active high priest took his place. Despite this high-priestly vacancy, the “cult and the temple [functioned] without the active participation of a high priest.”³¹

A third aspect Zsengellér alludes to is the epitomist’s mention of the Temple at Mount Gerizim without condemnation (5:22 and 6:2). The Temple at Gerizim is cited alongside the Temple at Jerusalem and is equally singled out for desecration and renaming. The monotemplistic ideology of books like *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* co-existed with a polytemplistic reality. *2 Maccabees* fails to present hostility between the two communities although an account in Josephus describes a quarrel before the king of Egypt.³² This position requires Zsengellér to date the epitome prior to the first affixed letter, which bears the specific date of 124 B.C.E. during the reign of John Hyrcanus who destroyed the Gerizim temple in 128 B.C.E.³³ Zsengellér also perceives, akin to Doran, that *2 Maccabees* could not be a writ of propaganda against the temple of Elephantine,

³¹ Zsengellér, ‘Maccabees and Temple Propaganda’, p. 186.

³² F. Dexinger, ‘Limits of Tolerance in Judaism’, in E.P. Sanders, (ed.), *Jewish and Christian Self Definition*, Leiden: Brill, 1981, p. 100-101. Dexinger notes ‘the erection of the Samaritan Temple and the Samaritan schism are two quite separate questions, and the one may not have synchronised with the other.’ cf. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 13:3.4, ‘Now it came to pass that the Alexandrian Jews, and those Samaritans who paid their worship to the temple that was built in the days of Alexander at Mount Gerizim, did now make a sedition one against another, and disputed about their temples before Ptolemy himself; the Jews saying that, according to the laws of Moses, the temple was to be built at Jerusalem; and the Samaritans saying that it was to be built at Gerizim.’

³³ Zsengellér, ‘Maccabees and Temple Propaganda’, p. 187.

since Gerizim would have been condemned as well.³⁴ He concludes *2 Macc.* 2:19-15:9, gives evidence of a special case of Temple propaganda that “proclaims the holiness of the temple, but is dependent on the holiness of the people. The temple can be and remains holy only if the people of Israel remain holy.”³⁵

From the preceding discussion it can be seen that one ideological motivation underpinning *2 Maccabees* is demonstrably Temple propaganda. Doran’s structural analysis organised around assaults against the Temple, the repulse of the enemy through obedience and the manifestations of God, and the eventual liberation of the Temple and celebration, gives evidence of a particular narrative pattern. This pattern derives from a concern to glorify the defense of the Temple by its patron deity with Zsengellér adding the holiness of the Temple is dependent on the holiness of the people of Israel.

2 – Anti-Hasmonean Propaganda

As noted in Ch. 2, Nickelsburg and Goldstein, advance the hypothesis that *2 Maccabees* is anti-Hasmonean propaganda. *1 Maccabees* is construed as promoting the legitimacy of the Hasmonean dynasty whereas *2 Maccabees* is perceived to avoid this. The different foci are understood as pro-Hasmonean propaganda and anti-Hasmonean propaganda respectively. The rival positions are understood to have derived from antagonism between the pious Jews (Ἀσιδαῖοι) and the Hasmoneans. This conflict is presented as an explanation why *2 Maccabees* ignores the Hasmoneans and the real heroes are the Hasidic martyrs: Eleazar, the mother, her seven sons, and Razis.³⁶

³⁴ Zsengellér, ‘Maccabees and Temple Propaganda’, p. 187. cf. R. Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 11, ‘I see no evidence of polemic against the temple at Leontopolis.’ cf. O. Murray, ‘Aristeas and Ptolemaic Kingship’, *JTS*, 18, 1967, pp. 365-6. Murray perceives that the story of Onias III’s death in *2 Macc* 4:30-38 is shaped by anti-Leontopolis propaganda. ‘*2 Maccabees* mentions the death of Onias III ... it tends by this claim to diminish the importance and orthodoxy of Leontopolis.’ One of the difficulties is who founded the Temple. In *Jewish Wars*, Josephus claims it was founded by Onias III (1.31) but in *Antiquities* (12:387) he records it was founded by a son of Onias, after the death of Onias III.

³⁵ Zsengellér, ‘Maccabees and Temple Propaganda’, p. 186.

³⁶ G. W. Nickelsburg, ‘1 and 2 Maccabees – Same Story, Different Meaning’, *Concordia Theological Monthly*, 42, 8, 1971, p. 525, Nickelsburg concludes, ‘[The author of *2 Maccabees*] intends to confute the kind of interpretation of 2nd-century history expressed in *1 Maccabees*. He does so by asserting the heroism and redemptive activity of the Hasidic martyrs, enlisting Judas into their ranks and ignoring the accomplishments of the later Hasmoneans.’

The anti-Hasmonean propaganda proposal originates arises from an observation that in the instances when *2 Maccabees* contradicts *1 Maccabees*, the motivation is to question the pro-Hasmonean history of the first tome. This anti-Hasmonean propaganda may be comprehended in four foci; (i) the presumed dates of writing and cultural milieu of the respective books, (ii) modification of the narrative to challenge the First Maccabean account; (iii) omission of references to Hasmonean achievements; and (iv) doctrinal differences concerning the prophecies of Daniel 11 and the resurrection of the dead.

These differences have been explored more fully in Ch. 2 and a summary of these will suffice at this juncture. First, anti-Hasmonean focus of *2 Maccabees* presumes that its author knew of the earlier work and therefore *2 Maccabees* appeared later. Second, *2 Maccabees* is seen to represent the pious Jews more positively than in *1 Maccabees*, and third, the Second Maccabean narrative is understood to omit many Hasmonean family achievements and to focus on Judas.

The fourth focus highlighting anti-Hasmonean propaganda in *2 Maccabees* is the explicit and implicit mention of doctrinal differences. *1 Maccabees* has been noted for its lack of miracles, supernatural intervention, and prophesy. The author of *1 Maccabees* does not highlight that the prophecies in *Daniel* 11 are fulfilled. In fact the authors of both texts approach the *Daniel* prophecies from different perspectives and record the events of Antiochus IV contrarily. Some points may be noted; (i) *1 Maccabees* only records one Antiochian campaign against Egypt whereas *2 Maccabees* mentions a second campaign; (ii) *2 Maccabees* does not mention the ‘Abomination of Desolation’ whereas *1 Maccabees* does; (iii) *1 Maccabees* implies that Antiochus IV was always antagonistic towards the Jews, but *2 Maccabees* indicates Antiochus IV was welcomed to Jerusalem and his revenge wrought upon Onias’ assassin belies a compassionate side to his character (4:35-38). Additionally, the timeline of *Daniel* prophecies in Chapter

11, which indicate two visits of Antiochus IV to Jerusalem, do not seem to accord with the *First Maccabean* account of a single violation of the Temple.

To explain these discrepancies, Goldstein proposes that the author of *I Maccabees* “welcomed the opportunity to show that the two visits of Antiochus IV to Jerusalem implied by *Dan.* 11:28 and 30 could not be reconciled with the single violation of the temple.”³⁷ He wrote to “expose the falsity of Daniel” whenever he could.³⁸ The motivation Goldstein perceives for this approach is the author’s doctrinal position that “prophecy had ceased; the seer of *Daniel* was a fraud.”³⁹ This presumably concurs with the overall tenor of a sober historiography that excludes supernatural intervention and prophecies. On the other hand, Jason the Cyrene and the epitomist are understood to have “believed in the veracity of Daniel, so much so, that [they] frequently follow the seer’s prophesies against all other sources.”⁴⁰

In addition to the disparities in approaching Daniel’s prophecies, Goldstein also highlights the doctrinal variances in how both Maccabean authors approached the resurrection of the dead. The post-Exilic period was a brewing period for the doctrine of the afterlife and the resurrection theology reflected in *Dan.* 12. The political backdrop was the persecutions of Antiochus IV and the death of the pious Jews who were obedient to the Torah. The dilemma this enigma posed was resolved in resurrection theology.⁴¹ The author of *I Maccabees* appears to reject this belief.⁴² A reason given for this rejection is that the Hasmoneans, who had to rouse pious Jews to rebellion, needed to condemn any teaching that made resistance to opposition palatable. This mindset may also be perceived in the First Maccabean silence on the value of martyrdom. In contrast to

³⁷ Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, p. 49.

³⁸ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 64.

³⁹ Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, p. 48.

⁴⁰ Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, p. 48.

⁴¹ G.W. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and early Christianity*, Cambridge: Harvard Divinity School, p. 32 ff.

⁴² Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, p. 12, Goldstein notes, ‘He does not allude to [resurrection or immortality] even where a believer could hardly have avoided doing so (2:62-64).’

this silence, the epitomist emphasises there will be a resurrection of the dead and highlights that “the merit of the martyrs purchased at the mercy of God.”⁴³

Much of what Goldstein identifies as evidence of anti-Hasmonean propaganda in *2 Maccabees* has been countered with differing explanations. Schwartz notes that the assumed anti-Hasmonean reference disparaging Simon in *2 Macc.* 10:20 may not be “polemicizing against the Hasmoneans or Simon, [the epitomist] simply ignored them.”⁴⁴ Likewise the author of *4 Maccabees* relates basically the same martyrdom stories as *2 Maccabees* but is silent about any kind of resurrection. Does this silence mean the Fourth Maccabean author is protesting the theological style of the epitomist? Goldstein’s speculation that the author of *1 Maccabees* omitted references to the resurrection because he needed to condemn teaching that made resistance to opposition palatable is tenuous. Since Goldstein’s work appeared, scholars such as Sylvie Honigman and Malka Zeiger-Simkovich have proposed that *2 Maccabees* is actually pro-Hasmonean in its outlook. Honigman suggests both Maccabean narratives present pro-dynastic (Hasmonean) history.⁴⁵ In her work examining Greek influence on *2 Maccabees*, Malka Zeiger-Simkovich concludes that *2 Maccabees* is a retelling of Hasmonean history.⁴⁶ Honigman’s proposal will be considered in more detail subsequently.

3 – ‘Idyllic Jerusalem’ Propaganda

Schwartz proposes a third propagandistic focus in the epitomist’s narrative. Rather than perceiving prominence in Temple or anti-Hasmonean propaganda, Schwartz identifies a special interest in the restoration of an ‘Idyllic’ Jerusalem.⁴⁷ Undergirding

⁴³ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 55.

⁴⁴ Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, p. 384.

⁴⁵ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests*, p. 183, ‘Contrary to the prevailing opinion, 1 and 2 Maccabees are parallel and complementary works. Their similarities do not result merely from the fact that they tell the same story, nor from their use of common sources; actually, their parallels concern their very narrative structure, which is put at the service of the same political message.’

⁴⁶ M. Zeiger-Simkovich, ‘Greek Influence on the Composition of 2 Maccabees’, *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, 42, 2011, p. 293, ‘2 Maccabees is not necessarily intended as a refutation of the “Hasmonean propagandist’s” 1 Maccabees, but is a retelling of Hasmonean history which emphasizes religious themes familiar to a diasporan audience.’

⁴⁷ Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, p. 3, ‘The focus upon the city of Jerusalem is clearly indicated by the brackets that surround the story: it begins ... with an idyllic municipal “once upon a time” at 3:1 ... and it ends with an unambiguous

Schwartz's position is his reasoning that the received text of Second Maccabees comprises an original narrative that has been adapted to include a section on the celebration of τῆς σκηνοπηγίας τοῦ Χασελεῦ (10:1-8) and the addition of the two letters.

Through a word study of the occurrences of πόλις and πολιτεία, Schwartz illustrates that Jerusalem is a continuing focus of the narrative. Chapter 3:1 commences with the city: "While the holy city (τῆς ἁγίας ... πόλεως) was inhabited in unbroken peace and the laws were strictly observed because of the piety of the high priest Onias ..." When problems first arise in the narrative, they concern the "market supervision in the city" (v.4). In Ch. 4:2, Onias is identified as the "benefactor of the city." Jason's reform in 4:9-11 changed the city's status and πολιτεία. Ch. 5 opens with an apparition in the sky above Jerusalem (v.2) and Jason is blamed for attacking the city (τὴν πόλιν) and killing his fellow citizens (τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἰδίων) (5:6). Ch. 6 also opens with Antiochus IV's decrees prohibiting the Jews to "conduct their civil behaviour (πολιτεύεσθαι)" (v.1). In Ch. 8 the city figures prominently alongside the Temple terrorisation: "the ruined city" (v.3); and the "torture of the city" (v.17). Antiochus IV's threats and promises focus on the city in Ch. 9, and in Ch. 10 the Jews commence their campaigns from the city and this is repeated in Ch. 12. Chapter 11:2-3 indicates the new Seleucid invasion is primarily a threat to the city "He intended to make the city a home for Greeks." In 15:37, the book concludes because the city returned to Hebrew hands "from that time the city has been ruled by the Hebrews (τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων)."

Schwartz further notes two festivals are enjoined in the Second Maccabean account: τῆς σκηνοπηγίας τοῦ Χασελεῦ was to be celebrated following the demise of Antiochus IV and the purification of the Temple (2 Macc. 10:5-8). Nicanor's Day was to be celebrated following the demise of Nicanor and establishment of stable Jewish rule in Jeru-

statement of cause an effect at 15:37: 'Since the affairs concerning Nicanor turned out this way, and ever since the city was overtaken by the Hebrews it has been in their hands, here too will I conclude this account'. One cannot imagine a clearer indication of the work's subject: the book is about Jerusalem, and so the restoration of an idyllic situation there completes the circle that began at 3:1 and thus completes the book.'

salem (2 *Macc.* 15:36). He argues that 2 *Maccabees* was written originally to only highlight the latter festival.⁴⁸

His argument derives from an observation that the τῆς σκηνοπηγίας τοῦ Χασελεῦ reference in 10:1-8 resembles a later insertion made by the same Jerusalemites who prefixed the letters to the narrative.⁴⁹ Schwartz finds positive support that 2 *Maccabees* was meant to foster celebration of Nicanor's Day in two quarters. First, the injunction to celebrate comes at the end of the book which *prima facie* means that it was the author's intended objective.⁵⁰ This positioning concurs with similar festival exhortations in *Esth.* 9:26-32 and 3 *Macc.* 7:18-19. Second, the arrangement of the Second Maccabean narrative points to Nicanor's central status, *viz.*, the first campaign and the last concern. He suggests that the purpose of 2 *Maccabees* in its final form may be best viewed in two planes: an original narrative with a Nicanor's Day focus that centred on the city of Jerusalem, and an expanded book, through insertions and affixing of letters, with a Hanukkah focus that centres on the Temple.⁵¹

Summary

The case for 2 *Maccabees* to be categorised as a propaganda narrative is supported by the themes that may be identified in the text. The proposals of Doran, Zsengellér, and Schwartz concentrate on narrative structure and they seek to draw links between the patterns that they observe. For Doran the patterns concern the redemption of the Tem-

⁴⁸ J. Schwartz, 'Once More on the Nicanor Gate', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 62, 1991, pp. 272-3. Nicanor's Day was celebrated in the days of Josephus (*Ant.* 12:412) and J. Schwartz notes the chief purpose of the original festival had been to celebrate the return on Judas to Jerusalem and his saving the Temple from danger and defilement.

⁴⁹ Schwartz, 2 *Maccabees*, pp. 8-9, Schwartz argues for this insertion from the following bases: 10:1-8 separates Antiochus IV's death (end of Ch. 9) from the summary of the event in Ch. 10:9; the derogatory tone it uses to refer to the Gentiles; the precedence it gives the Temple over the city and interest in cultic details; its lack of concern with Dionysiac associations; and its simplistic Greek style in distinction to the remainder of the narrative. The Jerusalemites needed this insertion to justify the epistolary calls to celebrate the τῆς σκηνοπηγίας τοῦ Χασελεῦ which otherwise is not mentioned in the author's abridgement.

⁵⁰ The *prima facie* principle that a book's end is the best indication of the author's objective arises from an assessment that the 'ending not only conclude stories, but they resolve tensions that were developed in the body ... the final words are likely to be a distillation of the author's controlling concept.' cf. J.B. Tyson, 'The Jewish Public in Luke-Acts', *New Testament Studies*, 30, 4, 1984. p. 582.

⁵¹ Schwartz, 2 *Maccabees*, p. 14, '[2 Maccabees] was originally composed as a history of the trials of tribulations of Jerusalem under Antiochus Epiphanies, including the institutionalized Hellenization initiated by Jason at the outset of Antiochus' reign, that king's decrees against Judaism, and Judas Maccabaeus' wars down to his victory over Nicanor in the spring of 161. ... the book culminates in the holiday celebrating that victory – Nicanor's Day.'

ple by its patron deity. This emphasis is driven by a need for the Jews to live peaceably within the Hellenistic culture but not at the expense of sacrificing their own identity. Zsengellér notes the Temple focus goes hand in hand with the holiness of the people.

Goldstein and Nickelsburg propose the content and themes of *2 Maccabees* suggest that it is anti-Hasmonean propaganda that seeks to ‘re-write’ the account of *1 Maccabees*. It was seen however that this proposal is based on an assumption that *1 Maccabees* is pro-Hasmonean and may be countered at a number of points. Schwartz identifies an original narrative that centres on the city of Jerusalem and Nicanor’s Day. The ‘Idyllic’ Jerusalem focus highlights the redemption of the city from the hand of Antiochus IV and the celebration of that restoration. At one level, *2 Maccabees* gives evidence of aligning to a propaganda narrative whatever that particular endorsement may be. There are certainly elements in the text that advance a particular agenda and perhaps this was the driving concern of the epitomist.

The designation that *2 Maccabees* is Temple, Anti-Hasmonean, or ‘Idyllic’ Jerusalem propaganda also brings about an assumption that *2 Maccabees* is theological history predicated by the author’s personal insights, as opposed to an attempt at valid historiography. Honigman notes: “[This] has hindered fruitful interaction between biblical scholars and historians.”⁵² By using the propaganda nomenclature it changes the manner in which scholars apprehend the work’s subject matter and purpose – propaganda presupposes a tampering with historical veracity and gives a different perspective to interpretation. Honigman notes: “This same tacit perspective affects two recent comprehensive commentaries on *2 Maccabees* [Schwartz and Doran].”⁵³

Whether such manipulated historiography can be regarded as suspect with respect to veracity has of course been the discussion of Ch. 2 in the present work. It was argued

⁵² Honigman, *Tales of High Priests*, p. 34.

⁵³ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests*, p. 66.

that ancient history writing was equivocal with respect to muddling fact and fiction, and in the manipulation of previous historiography. This ambiguity and tension allows for an appreciation of the nature of Maccabean historiography whether it is nominated as being theological or not. It is nevertheless constrained by the relativistic nature of the ancient Greco-Roman and Israelite-Jewish historiographic backgrounds. These cultural milieux were favourable and conducive to the emergence of the Jewish-Hellenistic historic fiction monograph, which openly engaged in the amalgamation of fact and fiction while at the same time presuming that ‘truth’ or ‘reliability’ in recording the past was a primary goal.

5.2.2 *Second Maccabees* as an ‘Epiphanies of God’ Narrative

Linked with the notion of propaganda literature and an accompanying agenda, is the proposal by Doran that *2 Maccabees* may be aligned to the *topos* of epiphanic narratives. Epiphanies may be defined as tangible events in which a supernatural being or force is perceived to act.⁵⁴ Such events assume a prominent position in the structure of the narrative of *2 Maccabees*. It is mentioned in the prologue at 2:21-22:

... appearances that came from heaven (τὰς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γενομένας ἐπιφανείας) to those who behaved themselves manfully for Judaism so that though few in number, they seized the whole land and pursued the barbarian hordes and regained possession of the temple famous throughout the world and liberated the city and re-established the laws about to be abolished.

As noted by Andrew Lau: “the Epitomist has employed the plural ἐπιφανείας as a succinct marker to specify the content of the narrative and thus to anticipate the principal role of God’s ἐπιφανεια in the subsequent narratives.”⁵⁵ The Second Maccabean narrative is subsequently enclosed between epiphanic events. The first major event of the narrative (3:1-40) is the epiphanic strike against Heliodorus at Jerusalem. The final battle is won through an epiphany of God (15:27). While Doran rejects the notion of

⁵⁴ Reports of epiphanies in the Greco-Roman world have been extensively documented by F. Pfister, ‘Epiphanie’, PWSup 4 (1924), pp. 277-8. Pfister notes three uses of the Greek word, ἐπιφανεια, (i) ‘the personal, visible appearance of a superhuman being to an awake person,’ (ii) an appearance in a dream, and (iii) the manifestation of a God in general.’ A historical overview of Mediterranean epiphanies is also given in R.L. Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, New York: Knopf, 1987, pp. 102-67.

⁵⁵ A. Y. Lau, *Manifest in the Flesh: the Epiphany Christology of the Pastoral Epistles*, WUNT 2, 86, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1996, p. 192.

an ‘epiphanic history’ genre, he proposes that a cluster of “temple-territory threatened / epiphanic deliverance / rejoicing-praising” *topoi* existed. The determination that 2 *Maccabees* may align with this *topoi* of epiphanic narratives finds its roots in the Greek and Hebrew concepts of marvelous stories; those tales of marvels and extraordinary events, which Polybius derides.⁵⁶ Polybius lumped epiphanic tales into a ‘marvelous’ category and generally avoided reference to them. This conclusion is based on the observation that Polybius ignores any reference to the divine help given to the people of Delphi in repelling the Gauls in 279 B.C.E., but in the description of the battle given by Pausanias, Apollo participates in securing victory.⁵⁷

In the Polybian version, the ‘marvelous’ is replaced by an emphasis on the moral endurance of the small group of defenders who turn back the invading force.⁵⁸ Despite Polybius’ apparent distaste for recording epiphanies, a number of ancient historians included these episodes in their narratives and gave them credence. Herodotus parallels the aforementioned epiphanic example of Pausanias in the context of Apollo’s defence of the city against raiding Persians⁵⁹ and parallels may also be found in Hellenistic de-

⁵⁶ F. W. Walbank, ‘History and Tragedy’, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 9,2, 1960, p. 216. Polybius does not want stories which contain ‘the marvellous, and the monstrous ... as well as the trivial, the meretricious and the sentimental – night scenes, detailed descriptions of clothing, love-interest, and the almost human behaviour of animals.’

⁵⁷ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, X 23:2 ‘Brennus and his army were now faced by the Greeks who had mustered at Delphi, and soon portents boding no good to the barbarians were sent by the god For the whole ground occupied by the Gallic army was shaken violently most of the day, with continuous thunder and lightning. The thunder both terrified the Gauls and prevented them hearing their orders, while the bolts from heaven set on fire not only those whom they struck but also their neighbors, themselves and their armour alike. Then there were seen by them ghosts of the heroes Hyperochus, Laodocus and Pyrrhus; according to some a fourth appeared, Phylacus, a local hero of Delphi.’ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Vol. 4, LCL 297, (W.H.S. Jones, trans.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935, pp. 499-501.

⁵⁸ Polybius, *Hist.*, 2:35.7-9, ‘The writers who chronicled and handed down to us the story of the Persian invasion of Greece and the attack of the Gauls have made no small contribution to the struggle of the Hellenes for their common liberty. For there is no one whom hosts of men or abundance of arms or vast resources could frighten into abandoning his last hope ... if he kept before his eyes what part the unexpected played in those events, and bore in mind how many myriads of men, what determined courage and what armaments were brought to nought by the resolve and power of those who faced the danger with intelligence and coolness.’ Polybius, LCL 128, p. 361.

⁵⁹ Herodotus, *Hist.*, 8:37, ‘Now when the foreigners drew nigh in their coming and could see the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, saw certain sacred arms, that no man might touch without sacrilege, brought out of the chamber within and laid before the shrine. So he went to tell the Delphians of this miracle; but when the foreigners came with all speed near to the temple of Athene Pronaea, they were visited by miracles yet greater than the aforesaid. Marvellous indeed it is, that weapons of war should of their own motion appear lying outside before the shrine; but the visitation which followed upon that was more wondrous than aught else ever seen. For when the foreigners were near in their coming to the temple of Athene Pronaea, there were they smitten by thunderbolts from heaven, and two peaks brake off from Parnassus and came rushing among them with a mighty noise and overwhelmed many of them; and from the temple of Athene there was heard a shout and a cry of triumph.’ Herodotus, LCL 120, pp. 35-7.

scriptions of epiphanic combatants.⁶⁰

An epiphanic *topos* also recurs within biblical historiography, which records numerous instances of divine ‘helpers’, ‘voices’ and ‘manifestations’ – Abraham’s companions at Mambre (*Gen.* 18:1-3); the wrestler of Jacob (*Gen.* 32:22-30); the burning bush (*Ex.* 3:1-2); and the people of Israel in the wilderness (*Ex.* 13:21-22). ‘The Song of Deborah’ in *Judg.* 5 records a manifestation of God leading his people to victory and a manifestation of a man with a drawn sword appears to Joshua prior to the battle of Jericho (*Josh.* 5:13-15). An angel is sent against David when he takes a census (*1 Chr* 21:16), and an angel of the Lord routs the Assyrians and repulses Sennacherib (*2 Chr* 32:20-22).⁶¹ The author of *Daniel* tells of a fourth person in the furnace along Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego (*Dan.* 3:24-25) and the author of *Tobit* records the angel Raphael coming to heal Tobit (*Tob.* 2:16-17).

While more detailed descriptions occur in revelatory visions than in battle scenes, the *topos* of epiphanic tales is evident in biblical historiography. The notion of God as the rescuing warrior of his people is fundamental to the biblical tradition although the Israelite authors tended to avoid identifying the intervening beings as gods. It is almost certain that the author of *2 Maccabees* was informed by this literary milieu. Lau notes:

The belief in the verity of such religious sentiment is definitely shared by the Epitomist; neither would it be foreign to the Jews, the reality of God is firmly rooted in the history of the Jewish nation and in fact is fundamental to Judaism.⁶²

There are four occasions where divine help is dramatically depicted in *2 Maccabees* and it is to these descriptions and Greek literary echoes that we now turn.

⁶⁰ W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War: Religion*, Vol. III, Berkley: University of California Press, 1979, pp. 11-46. Pritchett collects forty-nine examples of military epiphanies alone. In these cases, the god, goddess, or hero usually appeared at a moment of crisis, offering encouraging words, providing instructions, fighting on behalf of a city or army, and protecting the faithful by working wonders, frequently through the weather.

⁶¹ Herodotus in *Hist.*, 2:141, also records Sennacherib being defeated by divinely dispatched field mice. ‘So when presently king Sennacherib came against Egypt ... the warrior Egyptians would not march against him. The priest, in this quandary, went into the temple shrine ... it seemed to him the god stood over him and told him to take heart, that he would come to no harm encountering the power of Arabia: “I shall send you champions,” said the god. So he trusted the vision ... and during the night [the enemy] were overrun by a horde of field mice that gnawed quivers and bows and the handles of shields, with the result that many were killed fleeing unarmed the next day.’ Herodotus, *The Histories*, Vol. 1, LCL 117, (A. D. Godley, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920. p. 447.

⁶² Lau, *Manifest in the Flesh*, p. 192.

5.2.2.1 Greek Epiphanic Echoes in *Second Maccabees*

1 – 2 *Macc.* 3:24-28⁶³

The epiphany in 2 *Macc.* 3:24-28 emphasises the strength and beauty of two young men, a horse with a golden harness, and a frightening rider that renders a stupor to the one to whom it appears. As well as identifying God as the author of the manifestation in a Greco-Roman style, the narrative abounds with vivid and detailed descriptions of the appearance and clothing both of the two young men and the horse, the rearing horse, and the excessiveness of the beating. As such, it might be construed as typical of the epiphanies in Greco-Roman literature.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus similarly describes the Dioscuri's appearance to help the Roman army at the Lake of Regillus.⁶⁴ Possibly writing contemporaneously, the epiphanic parallels between 2 *Maccabees* and Dionysius are quite striking – two young horsemen, far excelling in beauty and stature.⁶⁵ Plutarch similarly reports how 'two tall and beautiful men ... conjectured to be the Dioscuri' brought news to the Romans.⁶⁶ It appears the epiphanic description in 2 *Macc.* 3:24-28 reflects similarities and influences of the same *topos* that informed Greco-Roman reports of divine manifestations.

⁶³ 'But when he was present at the treasury with his bodyguards, then and there the Sovereign of spirits and of all authority caused so great a manifestation that all who had been so bold as to accompany him were astounded by the power of God and became faint with terror. For there appeared to them a magnificently caparisoned horse with a frightening rider it rushed furiously at Heliodorus and struck at him with its front hoofs. He who sat upon it was seen to have a full golden harness. Two young men also appeared to him, remarkably strong, gloriously beautiful and splendidly dressed, who stood on either side of him and flogged him continuously, inflicting many blows on him. When he suddenly fell to the ground and deep darkness came over him, they took him up, put him on a stretcher.'

⁶⁴ *Roman Antiquities*, VI 13:1-2, 'It is said that in this battle two men on horseback, far excelling in both beauty and stature those our human stock produces, and just growing their first beard, appeared to Postumius, the dictator, and to those arrayed about him, and charged at the head of the Roman horse, striking with their spears all the Latins they encountered and driving them headlong before them. And after the flight of the Latins and the capture of their camp, the battle having come to an end in the late afternoon, two youths are said to have appeared in the same manner in the Roman Forum attired in military garb, very tall and beautiful and of the same age, themselves retaining on their countenances as having come from a battle, the look of combatants, and the horses they led being all in a sweat.' Dionysius of Halicarnassus. LCL 357, p. 277.

⁶⁵ If one accepts that Dionysius lived around 60 B.C.E. – 7 C.E., then his works would have been contemporaneous with the accepted dates of 2 *Maccabees*, in the last 150 years B.C.E.

⁶⁶ *The Life of Aemilius*, 25, 'And when the Romans had conquered the Tarquins, who had taken the field against them with the Latins, two tall and beautiful men were seen at Rome a little while after, who brought direct tidings from the army. These were conjectured to be the Dioscuri.' Plutarch. *Lives*, Vol. 6, LCL 98, (B. Perrin, trans.), Loeb Classical Library 98, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918, p. 421. cf. Xenophon alludes to a similar nexus of ideas in the *Art of Horsemanship*, 11.6-8, 'This is the attitude in which artists represent the horses on which gods and heroes ride, and men who manage such horses gracefully have a magnificent appearance.' Xenophon, *of Horsemanship*, Vol. 7, LCL 183, (E.C. Marchant, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998, p. 355.

2 – 2 Macc. 5:2-4⁶⁷

The second manifestation appears to belong to the phenomenon of foretelling the future. In addition to the references made to Greek military terminology peppered throughout this pericope, it relates an epiphanic prodigy that finds parallels in Greco-Roman texts. In Pliny's (the Elder) *Natural Histories*, the Roman historian refers to premonitory signs that signalled the beginning of some great event.⁶⁸ Tacitus similarly mentions the recording of prodigies.⁶⁹ Portentous parallels are also found in the writings of Josephus. In *Jewish Wars* 6:5.3, he lists a number of portents that preceded the future destruction of Jerusalem; (i) "there was a star, resembling a sword, which stood over the city: and a comet, that continued a whole year"; (ii) "at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar, and the holy house, that it appeared to be bright day time"; and (iii) "the eastern gate of the inner [court of the] temple, which was of brass, and vastly heavy ... was seen to be opened of its own accord." The pericope of 2 Macc. 5:2-4 appears to resemble and reflect the epiphanic *topos* of premonitory signs in Greco-Roman texts that signal major military events.

3 – 2 Macc. 10:29-31⁷⁰

In the third epiphany, five heavenly figures on horses with golden bridles defend the Jews in battle. The *Iliad*, whilst of the epic genre, often mentions gods defending their

⁶⁷ 'And it happened that, for almost forty days there appeared over all the city golden-clad cavalry charging through the air in companies fully armed with lances and drawn daggers – troops of cavalry drawn up, attacks and counterattacks made on this side and on that brandishing of shields, massing of spears, hurling of missiles, the flash of golden trappings and armor of all kinds. ... Everyone prayed that the apparition might prove to have been a good omen.'

⁶⁸ Pliny, *Natural History*, 2.148, 'during the wars with the Cimbrians a noise of clanging armour and the sounding of a trumpet were heard from the sky, and that same thing happened frequently both before then and after. In the third consulship of Marius, the inhabitants of America and Tuder saw the spectacle of heavenly armies advancing from the east and the west to meet in battle those from the west being routed.' Pliny (the Elder), *Natural History*, Vol. 1, LCL 330, (H. Rackham, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938, p. 285.

⁶⁹ Tacitus, *Hist.*, 5:13, 'Prodigies had indeed occurred ... Contending hosts were seen meeting in the skies, arms flashed, and suddenly the temple was illumined with fire from the clouds. Of a sudden the doors of the shrine opened and a superhuman voice cried: 'The gods are departing': at the same moment the mighty stir of their going was heard. Few interpreted these omens as fearful; the majority firmly believed that their ancient priestly writings contained the prophecy that this was the very time when the East should grow strong and that men starting from Judea should possess the world.' Tacitus, *Historiae Books 4-5. Annals: Books 1-3*, Vol. 2, LCL 249, (C.H. Moore, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931 pp. 197-9.

⁷⁰ 'When the battle became fierce, there appeared to the enemy from heaven five illustrious men on horses with golden bridles, and they were leading the Judeans. Two of them took Makkabaios between them, and shielding him with their own suits of armor and weapons, they kept him unharmed. They showered arrows and thunderbolts on the enemy so that, confounded by blindness, they fled in complete disorder. Twenty thousand five hundred were slaughtered, besides six hundred cavalry.'

heroes and fighting with men: *Iliad* 13, describes the rescue of Nestor's son Antilochus as the Trojans attack the Greek ships, "Poseidon the earth-holder protected the son of Nestor even amid the many missiles" (13:554-555). *Iliad* 15 sees Apollo save Poulydamus from a spear thrust (15:521-522.); and *Iliad* 20 describes the intercession of Poseidon on behalf of Aeneas (20:302-308). The aspect of preserving heroes represents a positive assertion that the character will not simply survive a battle but will play a significant role in later events.⁷¹ This motif is repeated with Judas Maccabeus, who like the Greek hero, is preserved to fight another day.

Further parallels to divine interventions, particularly pertinent to 2 *Macc.* 10:29-31, are found in Herodotus' account of the defense of Delphi against the Persians. Thunderbolts come from the sky and two gigantic soldiers, identified as two local heroes, pursue the enemy.⁷² Doran and Goldstein make a significant observation between the Maccabean account and the Greco-Roman *topoi* concerning the word *κεραυνός* (thunderbolts or lightning).⁷³ Although in folk culture, God is often seen as sending a lightning to strike his foes, this action does not occur in the LXX. In *Job*, the natural phenomenon of lightning is attributed to God but not in a retributive strike. (*Job* 38:35) In *Wisdom of Solomon* God sent lightning as a warning to the Egyptians (*Wis.* 19:13), but in the 'Jewish' storm epiphanies *κεραυνός* is not used. This term relates most commonly to Zeus Keraunos, who hurls thunderbolts at his enemies.⁷⁴ The Greco-Roman pat-

⁷¹ J. Marks, 'Context as Hypertext: Divine Rescues in the *Iliad*', *Trends in Classics*, 2, 2, 2010, p. 303.

⁷² Herodotus, *Hist.*, 8:37-39 'When the foreigners came with all speed near to the temple of Athene Pronaea, they were visited by miracles yet greater than the aforesaid. Marvellous indeed it is, that weapons of war should of their own motion appear lying outside before the shrine; but the visitation which followed upon that was more wondrous than aught else ever seen. For when the foreigners were near in their coming to the temple of Athene Pronaea, there were they smitten by thunderbolts (*κεραυνοὶ*) from heaven, and two peaks brake off from Parnassus and came rushing among them with a mighty noise and overwhelmed many of them; and from the temple of Athene there was heard a shout and a cry of triumph. ... Those of the foreigners who returned said (as I have been told) that they had seen other signs of heaven's working besides the aforesaid: two men-at-arms of stature greater than human (they said) had followed hard after them, slaying and pursuing. These two, say the Delphians, were the native heroes Phylacus and Autonus, whose precincts are near the temple. Phylacus' by the road itself above the shrine of Athene Pronaea, and Autonus' near the Castalian spring, under the Hyampean peak.' Herodotus, LCL 120, pp. 35-7.

⁷³ Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 101; Goldstein, 2 *Maccabees*, p. 396.

⁷⁴ Homer, *Odyssey*, 23.330. 'Zeus, who thunders on high, struck his swift ship with a flaming thunderbolt, (*κεραυνῶ*).' Homer, *Odyssey*, Vol. 2, LCL 105, (A. T. Murray, trans., G. E. Dimock, rev.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919, p. 409. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 854-855. 'Then when Zeus had lifted up his strength and grasped his weapons, the thunder and lightning and the blazing thunderbolt (*κεραυνόν*), he struck him, leaping upon him

tern of divine helpers, the preservation by god of a hero to fight another day, and the use of *κρησυνός* in describing the actions of the god, may be construed as influencing the author of *2 Maccabees*.

4 – *2 Maccabees 11:8-11*⁷⁵

The fourth epiphanic example in *2 Macc.* 11:8-11 envisages a horseman appearing to lead Judas and his men into battle. This occurrence resonates with Joshua meeting the commander of the Lord's army but similar parallels to this epiphany are also found in the presence of the Discouri at the battle of Lake Regillus.⁷⁶ Plutarch further records that Theseus fought at the head of the Greeks against the barbarians: "In after times, however, the Athenians were moved to honor Theseus as a demigod, especially by the fact that many of those who fought at Marathon against the Medes thought they saw an apparition of Theseus in arms rushing on in front of them against the Barbarians."⁷⁷

In the preceding analysis it has been shown that there are parallels between the epiphanies in *2 Maccabees*, both with biblical examples and those from Greco-Roman narratives. In assessing the manner in which the author of *2 Maccabees* follows the epiphanic tale *topos*, Doran notes there is a shaping of the Greco-Roman epiphanies to a Jewish tradition; "Whereas in the Greco-Roman stories, it is the god himself or a hero who appears, in the Jewish narrative of *2 Maccabees*, it is always the angels or ministers of God who do his work for him."⁷⁸

The existence of epiphanic collections in the Greco-Roman world is confirmed by such examples as the *Lindian Chronicle*. In 99 B.C.E., the people of Lindos on the is-

from Olympus; and all around he scorched all the prodigious heads of the terrible monster. Hesiod, *Theogony. Works and Days. Testimonia*. LCL 57, (G. W. Most., trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 71-73.

⁷⁵ 'And there, while they were near Hierosolyma, a horseman appeared as their leader, in a white garment, brandishing weapons of gold. Together they all praised the merciful God and were strengthened in spirit, ready to assail not only humans but also the wildest animals or walls of iron. They advanced in battle order, having their heavenly ally, for the Lord had mercy on them. They hurled themselves like lions against the enemy and laid low eleven thousand of them and sixteen hundred cavalry and forced all the rest to flee.'

⁷⁶ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, VI 13.

⁷⁷ *Theseus*, 35. Plutarch, *Lives*, Vol. 1, LCL 46, (B. Perrin, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914, p. 83.

⁷⁸ Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 102.

land of Rhodes erected an inscription recording the dedications that had been made in their temple to Athena from the time it was built. The final part of the inscription narrates three epiphanies of Athena that occurred within the temple. The first epiphany is from the Persian Wars and concerns the defense of the city and its deliverance through an unusual shower of rain.⁷⁹ The second epiphany deals with the ordinances for ritual purification of the temple following a suicide by hanging that took place in the temple. The purification directions were given through a dream sequence to a priest.⁸⁰ The third manifestation is the appearance of Athena during the siege of the island by Demetrius in 305-304 B.C.E. advising the inhabitants to go to Ptolemy for help.⁸¹ The first two epiphanies in the *Lindian Chronicle* are supported by citations where the author of the *Lindian Chronicle* reports from whence he derived his information. Some eleven historians are cited as recording the epiphanies.⁸² Similarly the historian Syriacus of Chersonesus, is reported as writing up the epiphanies of the Maiden: “Heracleidas son of Parmenon proposed: since Syriacus son of Heracleidas, having carefully written up the epiphanies of the Maiden and read them out.”⁸³ The process of writing history that incorporated an epiphanic motif (temple-territory threatened / epiphanic deliverance / rejoicing-praising) appears to have been practiced amongst a number of ancient historians. This theme contributes to an understanding of the epitomist’s abridgment leading Doran to conclude: “2 *Maccabees* is a history characteristic of the Hellenistic period

⁷⁹ J.L. Shaya, ‘The Lindos Stele’, p. 107... ‘the Barbarians, having established a blockade, besieged them, until the Lindians, distressed because of the scarcity of water, thought to surrender the city to the enemy. At which time the goddess, appearing to one of the magistrates in a dream, encouraged him to take heed, since she herself would ask her father for the much needed water for them ... on the following day, when great darkness gathered over the acropolis, and much rain broke over its center, thus, unexpectedly, the besieged had abundant water, but the Persian force lacked (it).’

⁸⁰ Shaya, ‘The Lindos Stele and the Lost Treasures of Athena’, p. 108, ‘... the goddess, appearing to a priest in a dream, ordered him to be at ease about her, but to strip part of the roof above the statue and to let it be thus for three days and let it be cleaned by the baths of her father, then to repair the roof again just as it was before.’

⁸¹ Shaya, ‘The Lindos Stele and the Lost Treasures of Athena’, p. 109, ‘Kallikles ... thought that the goddess appearing in a dream, ordered him to announce to one of the prytaneis ... that he should write to King Ptolemaios and call on [him] to help the city, as she herself would lead and provide both victory and strength.’

⁸² Eudemos (Lindiakos), Ergias (Histories), Polykalos (Histories), Kieronimos (Heliaka), Myron (Praise of Rhodes), Timokritos (Chronography), Hieron (On Rhodes), Xenagoras (Chronography), Ariston (Chronography), Onomastos (Chronography), Aristonymos (Chronological Collection.)

⁸³ A. Feldherr and G. Hardy, *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Vol 1: Beginnings to AD 600*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 210.

which deals with the divine deliverance of Jerusalem and its territory from around 180 to 160 B.C.E. by its patron deity.”⁸⁴

Doran’s specific categorisation of *2 Maccabees* as a sub-genre of local history *viz.*, “epiphanies of the patron god/goddesses in defense of the city” in his 2002 commentary,⁸⁵ sees him move away somewhat from the theological nomenclature of Temple propaganda. In substance though, while his adoption of a new designation is apparent, his definition of subject and purpose of *2 Maccabees* remains the same. Doran declares:

The author intended to move his audience both to follow the ancestral traditions of the Jews by narrating how the ancestral God of the Jews had defended his temple in Jerusalem against attackers, and also to celebrate the new festivals in honor of this defense.⁸⁶

Second Maccabean historiography in Doran’s estimation appears to remain a ‘religious’ history with all the constituent questions of reliability. Once again, these questions when properly understood as reflecting the relativistic nature of ancient Greco-Roman and Israelite-Jewish historiographic backgrounds do not of necessity reduce the epitomist’s account to mere fiction.

5.2.3 *Second Maccabees* as Festal Letter

Festal letters were communications enjoining the recipients to keep particular feasts and in the context of *2 Maccabees* these feasts were celebrations associated with the epiphanic deliverance of the Temple, Jerusalem and the Jews.⁸⁷ Festivals were often instituted following divine deliverances and were a particularly “Jewish response to the challenge of maintaining a uniform religious calendar and enforcing a rigid moral code in the face of societal oppression.”⁸⁸ Momigliano and Doran note that Greco-Roman festivals were also celebrated after deliverances. Apollo was celebrated after the re-

⁸⁴ Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 104.

⁸⁵ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 6.

⁸⁶ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, pp. 3-4.

⁸⁷ Momigliano, ‘The Second Book of Maccabees’, p. 87, ‘In festal books history was written in order to explain, justify, and celebrate a religious ceremony or festival. Historiography was not only made to interpret the intervention of God in a set of events, but was used to justify the institutional re-enactment of the happy conclusion of these events in the form of a religious festival.’

⁸⁸ M. Whitters, ‘Some New Observations about Jewish Festal Letters’, *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, 2001, 32.3, p. 272.

pulse of the Gauls from Delphi. Plutarch recounts the annual sacrifice to *Zeus Eleutheros* after the victory over the Persians at Plataea.⁸⁹ The twins, Castor and Pollux were honored in an annual festival after delivering the Latins at the Lake of Regillus.⁹⁰

Ovid's *Fasti* has also been cited as an example of festal books. This incomplete work is structured as a series of eyewitness reports and interviews by the first-person vates (prophet bards) with Roman deities, who explain the origins of Roman holidays and associated customs.⁹¹ While Momigliano asserts that perhaps none of Greco-Roman festal books written pre-Christian era developed a theology of divine intervention or were used for public reading as evidenced in the Jewish examples, the existence of a genre with distinguishing features may still be discerned.⁹² Mark Whitters is of the opinion that there is a group of ancient festal letters that exhibit literary elements 'proper to a genre.'⁹³

Whitters draws on a precedent of festal letters found in *2 Chr* 30:1-9 to establish three purposes why they were employed. In this passage King Hezekiah sends letters to Ephraim and Manasseh that they "should come to the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, to keep the Passover to the Lord the God of Israel" (*2 Chr* 30:1). The purposes Whitters establishes for the composition of festal letters are; (i) to "consolidate or unify public opinion" especially in the case where an audience may be dispersed; (ii) they "in角度

⁸⁹ Plutarch, *Aristides*, 21.1, 'After this, there was a general assembly of the Hellenes, at which Aristides proposed a decree to the effect that deputies and delegates from all Hellas convene at Plataea every year, and that every fourth year festival games of deliverance be celebrated – the Eleutheria ... also that the Plataeans be set apart as inviolable and consecrate, that they might sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer in behalf of Hellas.' Plutarch, *Themistocles and Camillus. Aristides and Cato Major. Cimon and Lucullus*, Vol. 2, LCL 47, (B. Perrin, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914, p. 279.

⁹⁰ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, VI 13.4, 'Of this extraordinary and wonderful appearance of these gods there are many monuments at Rome, not only the temple of Castor and Pollux which the city erected in the Forum at the place where their apparitions had been seen, and the adjacent fountain, which bears the names of these gods and is to this day regarded as holy, but also the costly sacrifices which the people perform each year through their chief priests in the month called Quintilis, on the day known as the Ides, the day on which they gained this victory.' Dionysius of Halicarnassus. LCL 357, p. 279.

⁹¹ Momigliano, 'The Second Book of Maccabees', p. 87. 'Another example of an invitation to commemorate the deliverance of a temple or city can be found in the inscriptions of Magnesia on Maeander. These inscriptions indicate that envoys were sent to invite other Greek cities to commemorate the epiphany of Artemis Leucophryene that was instrumental in saving the city from a Gaulish incursion.'

⁹² Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 87. cf. D.H. *Roman Antiquities*, VI 13, where specific mention of a deliverance epiphany is suggested.

⁹³ Whitters, 'Jewish Festal Letters', p. 273.

rate or standardise public feasts”; and (iii) they “sound a call for appropriate festal preparation and repentance, usually expressed by prayer, fasting, and almsgiving.”⁹⁴

In addition to these purposes, Whitters identifies four literary elements associated with the genre: (i) the independence of the letter from the festal narrative; (ii) the reliance of the letter on the Jewish covenant/authority figures; (iii) the use of elevated speech; and (iv) the possible use of the festal letter as a liturgical reading.⁹⁵ An application of these criteria to an example of a Jewish festal letter (*Esth.* 9:20-32) will illustrate Whitters’ hypothesis.

Esther 9:20-32 records the account of one, or two letters depending on the Hebrew or Greek texts.⁹⁶ Following the MT, the purpose of this letter is to establish the feast of Purim, “Mordecai ... sent letters to all the Jews who were in all the provinces of King Ahasuerus, both near and far enjoining them that they should keep the fourteenth day of the month of Adar, and also the fifteenth day of the same month, year by year” (vv. 20-21). The text of the letter suggests there may have been some debate about the exact dates of the festival. The fourteenth and fifteenth days in Adar are emphasised and vv. 27-28 stress that these two days should be observed ‘at the time appointed’. The customs surrounding Purim involve almsgiving (9:22) and fasting (9:31). The purposes of the letter indicate it was a festal letter, *viz.*, (i) to consolidate opinion in the case of a dispersed audience; (ii) to standardise public feasts; and (iii) to enjoin fasting and almsgiving.

As to the literary features, Whitters notes that the letter sits apart from the festal narrative but is incorporated into the bigger story of the vindication of the Jews at Susa. Whitters identifies Esther and Mordecai as the traditional heroes. Mordecai is cast in

⁹⁴ Whitters, ‘Jewish Festal Letters’, p. 273.

⁹⁵ Whitters, ‘Jewish Festal Letters’, p. 273.

⁹⁶ Josephus only cites one letter, *Antiquities*, 11:6.13; but others, D.J.A. Clines, *The Esther Scroll*, JSOT 30, Sheffield: JSOT, 1984, p. 57 perceives two based on his translation of the Masoretic text. The MT reports at least one letter was distributed. LXX Esther says a letter, translated by the Jerusalem community was circulated among Egyptian Jews.

the role of Moses, the only other biblical figure associated with instituting religious feasts. Karen Jobes develops this understanding when she notes that the LXX version of *Esther* includes prayers of Esther and Mordecai before her audience with Ahasuerus. Mordecai pleads with God to deliver them as he had with their ancestors in Egypt. Mordecai and Esther “echo words and phrases from the Greek version of Moses’ prayer as he intercedes for God’s people in Deuteronomy 9:26-29.”⁹⁷

Whitters perceives the use of elevated speech in the letter through the application of a “somewhat sophisticated” literary style incorporating *Kunstsprosa*.⁹⁸ There is word play on Haman (9:24), alliteration and assonance (9:26-27), rhetorical repetition (9:28), and an example of ‘poetic automatism’ (9:22).⁹⁹ Although not expressly stated in the letter, the public reading of *Esther* constituted the defining ritual of the Purim festival in the rabbinic tradition by the second century C.E.¹⁰⁰ The *Esther* letter illustrates and conforms to Whitters’ criteria for distinguishing a festal letter. The same generic earmarks suggested by Whitters may be applied to the letters in *2 Maccabees*.

The two letters prefixed to *2 Maccabees* are associated with the feast of Hanukkah (τῆς σκηνοπηγίας τοῦ Χασελεῦ). Goldstein opines that the first of these letters (*2 Macc.* 1:1-9) is an ‘authentic festal letter sent out by Jewish authorities in Jerusalem.’¹⁰¹ The letter calls for Jews in Egypt to commemorate τῆς σκηνοπηγίας τοῦ Χασελεῦ. The se-

⁹⁷ K. Jobes, *Esther*, NAC, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999, p. 227, ‘The meta-message of what is implied by the Hebrew and amplified in its Greek translation is that both Esther and Mordecai were indispensable as God worked providently to fulfill his covenant to his people exiled for their sin in Persia. ... Together they accomplished what had previously been entrusted to the theocratic monarchy when God’s people lived within the borders of the Promised Land – successfully leading holy war, assuring the survival and safety of the covenant people, and exercising authority over the religious practices of the people.’

⁹⁸ V. Bers, ‘*Kunstsprosa*: Philosophy, History, Oratory’, in E.J. Bakker, (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, p.455. *Kunstsprosa*, is a style of composition established in the late 6th-century B.C.E. by early philosophers. It is characterised by the use of figures of speech, ‘poetic coloration’, and rhythm.

⁹⁹ Whitters, ‘Jewish Festal Letters’, p. 279. Poetic automatism occurs with the parallel word-pair, ‘day and month.’ The meaning is restricted to one of the words, in the case of 9:22 this is ‘day’ and ‘month’ takes this assumed meaning. cf. M. V. Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, 2nd ed., Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2010, p. 118, n. 5.

¹⁰⁰ *Megillat Taanit*, 12. The *Megillat Taanit* is a first century C.E. list of memorable days in Jewish history, which were kept as special days in the calendar, when fasting was not permitted. Most of the entries in it refer to events which happened between the second century B.C.E. and the first century C.E. They are arranged in twelve sections, according to the Jewish month in which they occurred. The list was written in Aramaic, and it was later greatly amplified by a Hebrew commentary or scholium, written in the 7th century C.E.

¹⁰¹ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 24.

cond letter (*2 Macc.* 1:10-2:18) iterates the request to celebrate the feast, but possibly for a different reason. Both of the letters are written to corporate audiences: “to their Judean brothers in Egypt” (1:1); and “to the Judeans in Egypt” (1:10). Both letters sound a call for covenant faithfulness, prayers and the keeping of the feast. (1:2-6; 2:1-3). The first letter speaks of a time of evil facing the Egyptian Jews and the need to keep the feast and the commandments: “And now see that you keep the days of the feast of tent pitching in the month of Cheseleu” (1:9). The second letter iterates the keeping of τῆς σκηνοπηγίας τοῦ Χασελεῦ because of its role in the continuing Jewish traditions of Temple purification.¹⁰²

At the outset it would appear that the Maccabean letters correspond to the purposes of festal letters. There is evidence of consolidation of public opinion, standardisation of feast dates, and a call for appropriate celebration.¹⁰³ The author of the letters shows himself to be an upholder of tradition, referring not only to the actions of God but also to the Israelite heroes of Moses, Solomon, David and Nehemiah. Perhaps the hero most obscure in this grouping is Nehemiah who emerges as a ‘new’ Hellenistic-styled leader.¹⁰⁴ As with *Esther*, the Maccabean letters rely on the Jewish covenant/authority figures. The received letters are prefixed to the following narrative but may still be classified as independent of the feast as *2 Maccabees* in its present form is a composite document again similar to *Esther*.

¹⁰² *2 Macc.* 1:18, ‘Since we intend to celebrate the purification of the temple on the twenty-fifth of Cheseleu, we thought it necessary to notify you in order that you also may celebrate it, as the feast of tent pitching and of the fire, given when Neemias, who built both the temple and offered sacrifices.’ and *2 Macc.* 2:16, ‘Since, therefore, we are about to celebrate the purification, we write to you. You would do well to keep the days too.’

¹⁰³ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 35, Doran writes: ‘[The first] letter therefore falls within the range of letters written to bring about participation in a festival. ... The letters of Hezekiah call the Israelites to celebrate the festival in Jerusalem (1 Chr 30:1); in the Greek tradition, envoys were sent from various cities to represent their city at the celebration in the city of the senders. In *Esther* both elements are combined: Mordecai enjoins the celebration, and the recipients accept the proposal to celebrate Purim in their own cities.’

¹⁰⁴ M. Haran, ‘Archives, Libraries, and the Order of the Biblical Books’, *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*, 22, 1993, p. 59. The attributes of pious leader, builder, and the founder of a library have been suggested as belonging to the traits of enlightened Hellenistic rulers. Haran notes, ‘the very assumption that Nehemiah founded a special library lacks any historical basis. It would appear that the author of *2 Maccabees* ... portrayed Nehemiah as an enlightened Hellenistic ruler of his own time. ... he attributed to Nehemiah a feature typical of one of the Ptolemaic kings, the founders and owners of the Alexandrian library.’

As to the criterion of elevated speech, the first letter appears to be a translation of a Hebrew or Aramaic text. The second letter is written in idiomatic Hellenistic Greek. The first letter does not appear to present any particular examples of elevated prose although the prayer in *2 Macc.* 1:3-4 resembles a prayer in the Jewish liturgy, *Kedusha de-Sidera*.¹⁰⁵ The second letter also contains material similar to rabbinic prayers.¹⁰⁶ Goldstein and Doran further note that the syntax of 1:18 is difficult in the Greek translation due the absence of some words in the text. Goldstein suggests a reason for these ellipses is that the Greek translation is a ‘literal’ rendering of an original Hebrew account which akin to *Esth.* 9:22 employs ‘poetic automatism’.¹⁰⁷

Whether the letters functioned as liturgical reading is also plausible especially in the circumstance of their being prefixed to the narrative. Goldstein suggests that some time after 78/77 B.C.E., it was possible that someone wished to give the Egyptian Jews a scroll with a narrative and festal letters for the Feast of Dedication analogous to the scroll of Esther for Purim. Hence, “Second Maccabees may be a liturgical text, even though Jason of Cyrene and his abridger had no intention of writing sacred scripture.”¹⁰⁸

Simkovich further develops the influence that the Greek festal letters and the corresponding festivals may have had upon the epitomist, contending that *2 Maccabees* is holiday-centered and seems to equate observance of these holidays with piety. She argues: “because the abridger and the audience of *2 Maccabees* are familiar with the festival-centred Greek calendar, the observance of Jewish holidays is offered as an alternative to Hellenism.”¹⁰⁹ Simkovich locates evidence for the epitomist’s concern with Jews celebrating Greek festivals in *2 Macc.* 6:6-7:

¹⁰⁵ Whitters, ‘Jewish Festal Letters’, p. 281.

¹⁰⁶ *2 Macc.* 1:24-29 ‘O Lord, Lord God, Creator of all things, you are awe-inspiring and strong and just and merciful; you alone are king and are kind; you alone are bountiful; you alone are just and almighty and everlasting. You rescue Israel from every evil; you chose the fathers and sanctified them. Accept this sacrifice on behalf of all your people Israel, and preserve your portion, and make it holy. Gather together our scattered people; set free those who are slaves among the nations; look on those who are rejected and despised, and let the nations know that you are our God. Punish those who oppress and are insolent with pride. Plant your people in your holy place, as Moses said.’

¹⁰⁷ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 172.

¹⁰⁸ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁹ Simkovich, ‘Greek Influence on 2 Maccabees’, p. 293.

People could neither keep the Sabbath nor observe their ancestral feasts nor so much as confess themselves to be Judeans. On the monthly celebration of the king's birthday, the Judeans were taken, under bitter constraint, to partake of the sacrifices, and when a feast of Dionysus was celebrated, they were compelled to wear wreathes of ivy and to walk in the procession in honor of Dionysus.

The context of this verse within the persecution of Antiochus hardly implies though that the Jews were celebrating the Greek holidays willingly and needed an alternative. Despite an apparent exegetical error, Simkovich correctly notes that *2 Maccabees* refers to the holiday of Tabernacles three times, the Pentecost once, and Purim once.

On the basis of the preceding analysis it is probable that *2 Maccabees* reflects the genre of festal letters in the prefixed epistles and in the wider narrative as a holiday-centre text. The letters were written to the wider community of Jews in Egypt to encourage their observance of τῆς σκηνοπηγίας τοῦ Χασελεῦ. The timing of the feast and the reasons for its celebration are highlighted especially as a continuation of the Jewish traditional festivals and perhaps as an alternative to the Rural Dionysia festival. The affixing of the letters to the narrative of Judas Maccabeus suggests a liturgical function and intimates their possible function as 'Temple Propaganda.'

Opposition to this specific genre determination is based on evidence to suggest that the letters were a later attachment to the central narrative and rather than setting the generic code, they have in fact been adjusted to fit the later narrative.¹¹⁰ Daniel Harrington notes that the letters are extraneous to the main story in *2 Maccabees* and indicate that the celebration of Hanukkah by Jews outside the land of Israel was controversial.¹¹¹ It remains unknown whether the letters were part of the original narrative and therefore directed its content and by implication its genre, or whether the letters were a later addition. Despite his conclusion that the letters are extraneous, Harrington still offers the suggestion: "It is possible that the epitome of Jason's work was sent along with this

¹¹⁰ V. Parker, 'The Letters in II Maccabees: Reflections on the Book's Composition,' *ZAW* 119, 2007, p. 388. Parker notes: 'There can be little doubt that these two letters have been secondarily attached to the main text.': Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 25-6, Goldstein believes the second letter circulated freely before it was incorporated into *2 Maccabees*.

¹¹¹ D.J. Harrington, *The Maccabean Revolt: Anatomy of a Biblical Revolution*, Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2009, p. 38.

letter from Jerusalem to Egypt. In fact, the epitome may even have been prepared for this specific occasion.”¹¹²

5.3 The Historiographic Genres of *Second Maccabees*

The preceding discussion has surveyed a number of generic and literary *topoi* that have been proposed for *2 Maccabees*, viz., a propagandistic narrative, an epiphanic tale, and a festal letter. While allusions have been made to the possible historiographic associations of these propositions, our discussion will now turn to consider possible relationships between *2 Maccabees* and commonly recognised historiographic genres.

5.3.1 *Second Maccabees* as ‘Tragic’ History

In 1900, Benedikt Neise attempted to demonstrate that *2 Maccabees* belonged in the stream of Hellenistic historiography, more specifically to the genre of ‘rhetorical’ historiography.¹¹³ He arrived at the conclusion that *2 Maccabees* is more valuable as a historical source than *1 Maccabees* and its use of miracles did not render it untrustworthy.¹¹⁴ Abel followed Neise’s determination of the historical value of *2 Maccabees* although he does not suggest superiority to *1 Maccabees*.¹¹⁵ John Bartlett declares the author “is writing the sort of history known to scholars as ‘pathetic history’; that is he is attempting to arouse the reader’s sympathy or dislike for the persons and causes he describes.”¹¹⁶ Collins suggests: “*2 Maccabees* is often described as ‘tragic’ or (rather infelicitously) ‘pathetic’ history writing because of its persistent appeal to the emotions.”¹¹⁷

The identification of a historiographic genre known as ‘pathetic’ history, or ‘tragic’ history as it is sometimes called, derives from a distinction drawn between ancient his-

¹¹² Harrington, *The Maccabean Revolt*, p. 38.

¹¹³ B. Niese, ‘Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher’, pp. 268-307, in R. Doran, ‘2 Maccabees and ‘Tragic History’, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 50,1,1979, p. 107.

¹¹⁴ S. Mathews, review of B. Neise, *Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher nebst Beiträgen zur Geschichte der makkabäischen Erhebung*, Berlin: Weidmann, 1900, in *The American Journal of Theology*, 5,4,1901, p. 775.

¹¹⁵ S. Zeitlin, review of *Les Livres des Maccabees* par R.P.F.-M. Abel, O.P. Paris, J. Gabalda et Cie, 1949, in *The Journal of Biblical Literature*, 72,2,1953, p. 133.

¹¹⁶ J.R. Bartlett, *The First and Second Books of the Maccabees*, p. 216.

¹¹⁷ J. Collins, *Daniel, First Maccabees, Second Maccabees*, p. 263.

toriographical styles. ‘Pragmatic’ historiography sought to present the reader with facts and ‘dramatic’ or ‘pathetic’ history sought to impress the reader and arouse emotions.¹¹⁸ An embryonic echo of this distinction has been identified in Polybius’ criticism of so-called ‘tragic’ historians described as “ones like a tragic poet.”¹¹⁹ Such historians, including Phylarchus, described events in tragic colour.¹²⁰ According to Polybius, ‘tragic’ historians are those who apply skills of poetic tragedians to the manner in which they write history. By association, he recognises ‘tragic history’ as a historiographical style, but a style that he apparently does not support.

Frank Walbank groups Polybius’ criticisms of ‘tragic’ historians under three aspects.¹²¹ First, Polybius criticises the ‘tragic historians’ for relating mythical elements in history rather than historical ‘facts’.¹²² Second, Polybius disregards Phylarchus’ description of the Cleomenic war and adjudges his intentions as seeking to “arouse the pity and attention of his readers.” The desire of historians to amaze, leads to an exaggeration of the events rather than reporting exactly what happened, the latter being what Polybius understood as the proper purpose of history. Third, Polybius criticises those historians who described Hannibal’s journey across the Alps for their introduction of

¹¹⁸ F. Parente, ‘The Impotence of Titus, or Flavius Josephus’ *Bellum Judaicum* as an Example of ‘Pathetic’ Historiography’, in J. Sievers and G. Lembi, (eds.), *Josephus and Jewish History in Flavian Rome and Beyond*, Leiden: Brill, 2005, p. 45, “pragmatic’ historiography which seeks to present the reader with the facts as they really happened and relies heavily on documents; and ‘dramatic’ or ‘pathetic’ historiography which seeks to present facts in tragic or dramatic terms, even to the detriment of their veracity, in order to impress the reader and to arouse particular psychological reactions.’

¹¹⁹ Polybius, *Hist.*, II 56, ‘Let us consider the nature and use of history. A historical author should not try to thrill his readers by such exaggerated pictures, nor should he, like a tragic poet, try to imagine the probable utterances of his characters or reckon up all the consequences probably incidental to the occurrences with which he deals, but simply record what really happened and what really was said, however commonplace. For the object of tragedy is not the same as that of history but quite the opposite. The tragic poet should thrill and charm his audience for the moment by the verisimilitude of the words he puts into his characters’ mouths, but it is the task of the historian to instruct and convince for all time serious students by the truth of the facts and the speeches he narrates, since in the one case it is the probable that takes precedence, even if it be untrue, the purpose being to create illusion in spectators, in the other it is the truth, the purpose being to confer benefit on learners.’ Polybius, LCL 128, pp. 415-7.

¹²⁰ K. Sacks, *Polybius on the Writing of History*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, pp. 144-145.

¹²¹ F.W. Walbank, ‘A Polybian Experiment’, pp. 57. Walbank notes three rubrics as (1) inaccuracy, (2) sensationalism, and (3) neglect of underlying causes. Cf. Polybius, *Histories*, II 16:14; II 6:1-2; III 48:8; VII 7:2.

¹²² Polybius, *Hist.* II 16, ‘The other tales the Greeks tell about this river, I mean touching Phaëthon and his fall and the weeping poplar trees and the black clothing of the inhabitants near the river, who, they say, still dress thus in mourning for Phaëthon, and all matter of a tragic nature and similar to this legend, may be left aside for the present, detailed treatment of such things not suiting very well the character of my introduction.’ Polybius, LCL 128, pp. 307-9.

supernatural causality (*deus ex machina*).¹²³ Polybius denounces the introduction of a ‘supernatural’ agency as an apparatus of the tragedians to bring the plot to a conclusion rather than seeking human ‘cause and effect’. In *Histories*, VII 7, a similar accusation is leveled against the ‘tragic’ historians for introducing much that is marvelous.¹²⁴

Polybius’ criticisms provide important clues towards an ancient understanding of tragic history, although the polemic nature of his assessment may suggest caution in accepting all he addresses. The aspects of ‘tragic’ history in Polybius’ critique may be summarised as: (i) ‘tragic’ history is concerned, not so much with factual knowledge, as with the arousing of emotions; (ii) in order to arouse emotions, ‘tragic’ history employs sensationalism and dramatic description; and (iii) rather than seeking human causes and effects, ‘tragic’ history often employs ‘supernatural machinery’. Ironically, Polybius appears to sometimes employ the style of ‘tragic’ history despite censuring others for this tendency. A noted example is his description of Philip V of Macedon in *Histories* XXIII 10-16. Describing the final events in Philip’s life, Polybius allows himself to suggest that a ‘supernatural agency’ was responsible for his demise.¹²⁵ Polybius includes a supernatural influence rather than human ‘cause and effect’ and employs emotional descriptions of Phillip’s actions.¹²⁶ The ancient Greek historian’s conscious use of theatrical terminology and the dramatic casting of Philip’s last years, sug-

¹²³ Polybius, *Hist.* III 48, ‘The natural consequence is that they get into the same difficulties as tragic dramatists all of whom, to bring their dramas to a close, require a *deus ex machina*, as the data they choose on which to found their plots are false and contrary to reasonable probability. These writers are necessarily in the same strait and invent apparitions of heroes and gods, since the beginnings on which they build are false and improbable; for how is it possible to finish conformably to reason what has been begun in defiance of it?’ Polybius, LCL 137, pp. 127-9.

¹²⁴ ‘Some of the historians who have described the fall of Hieronymus have written at great length and in terms of mysterious solemnity. They tell us of prodigies preceding his coming to the throne, and of the misfortunes of Syracuse. They describe in dramatic language the cruelty of his character and the impiety of his actions; and crown all with the sudden and terrible nature of the circumstances attending his fall. One would think from their description that neither Phalaris, nor Apollodorus, nor any other tyrant was ever fiercer than he.’ Polybius, LCL 138, p. 459.

¹²⁵ Polybius, *Hist.* XXIII 10, ‘This year witnessed the first outbreak of terrible misfortunes for King Philip and the whole of Macedonia, an event fully worthy of attention and careful record. For it was now that Fortune, as if she meant to punish him at one and the same time for all the wicked and criminal acts he had committed in his life, sent to haunt him a host of the furies, tormentors and avenging spirits of his victims, phantoms that never leaving him by day and by night, tortured him so terribly up to the day of his death that all men acknowledged that, as the proverb says, ‘Justice has an eye’ and we who are but men should never scorn her.’ Polybius, LCL 160, p. 473-5.

¹²⁶ Walbank, ‘A Polybian Experiment’, p. 64, Walbank defends Polybius on the basis that, “[he] makes no attempt to involve the reader emotionally in the development of the situation, as ... Phylarchus did in his description of the capture of Mantinea. Nor are the curses and furies, the supernatural machinery, sensational in the way that Phylarchus was sensational.”

gests he is at least, to some degree, emulating the style of the ‘tragic’ historians.

1 – *Dramatic Description*

A cursory reading of *2 Maccabees* would suggest that in a broad sense, the volume aligns to the genre or style of ‘tragic’ historiography. For instances of emotive and vivid style one only needs to recall the description of the righteous mothers in *2 Macc.* 6:10: “For example, two women were brought in for having circumcised their children. They publicly paraded them around the city with their babies hanging at their breasts and then hurled them down headlong from the wall.” In *1 Macc.* 1:60-61, the same events are mentioned but without the epitomist’s details: “And the women who had circumcised their children they put to death according to the ordinance, and they hung the babies from their necks and put to death their families and those who circumcised them.” The differences in the two texts highlight the use of more embellished language in the Second Maccabean account. The elucidative phrases ‘publicly paraded’, ‘hanging at their breasts’ and ‘hurled them down headlong from the wall’ are vivid.

The discourse on the righteous martyrs in *2 Macc.* 7:1-38 is another example of narrative replete with drama:

The king fell into a rage and ordered to have frying-pans and cauldrons heated. These were heated immediately, and he ordered that the tongue of their spokesman be cut out and that they scalp him and cut off his hands and feet, while the rest of the brothers and the mother looked on. When he was utterly helpless, the king ordered them to take him to the fire, still breathing, and to fry him in a pan. The smoke from the frying-pan spread widely, but the brothers and their mother encouraged one another to die nobly. (*2 Macc.* 7:3-5)

Doran notes that the language of the righteous martyrs’ narrative is evidence that the epitomist is not simply providing a summary of Jason’s work. In this recount the author “gives full rein to emotional rhetoric, as he had done in the initial narrative about Heliodorus.”¹²⁷ The description of the torture is extremely dehumanising: first the tongue, the means of communication is removed, then the scalping and finally his limbs are cut off,

¹²⁷ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 164.

“so that he is like a slab of meat when fried.”¹²⁸ The pathos of the event is melodramatically heightened by the mention that his mother and brothers are watching.

The particularly dramatic and vivid language describing Razis’ suicide in *2 Macc.* 14:41-46 is another example seeking to elicit an emotional response:

Being surrounded, he fell upon his own rapier, preferring to die nobly rather than to fall into the hands of sinners and suffer outrages unworthy of his noble birth. But in the heat of the struggle he did not hit exactly, and while the masses were now rushing in ... he courageously ran up on the wall, and in a manly manner, threw himself down into the masses. But as they quickly drew back, a space opened and he fell in the middle of the empty space. Still alive and aflame with anger, he rose, and though his blood gushed forth and his wounds were severe, he ran through the crowd, and standing upon a steep rock with his blood already completely drained from him, he tore out his entrails, took them in both hands and hurled them at the crowd, calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to give them back to him again.

That the author draws out the details of Razis’ death is an understatement and it is written to create the fullest emotional effect. Doran comments: “Razis’ final actions, standing on a steep rock and throwing his entrails, are made for theater.”¹²⁹ Schwartz remarks: “his blood flowing like a fountain [is] an excellent example of ‘pathetic’ historiography.”¹³⁰ The sentence encompassing vv. 45-46, includes ten participles or participle phrases (ὑπάρχων, πεπυρωμένος, ἐξαναστὰς, δυσχερῶν, κρουνηδόν, διελθῶν, στὰς, γινόμενος, προβαλῶν) that build in a crescendo of heightened action before the main verb ἐνέσεισε (hurled). Throughout *2 Maccabees* the epitomist’s phraseology is dramatic, vivid and sensational and it appears to conform to the style of ‘tragic’ history.

2 – ‘Supernatural Machinery’

In addition to dramatic language, the epitomist also employs aspects of ‘supernatural machinery’ to explain human events. Antiochus IV’s arrogance and excesses inaugurate the prayers of the persecuted (*2 Macc.* 7:14, 16-17, 18, 19, 31, 38). These supplications result in his downfall. Antiochus IV did not understand his role as an instrument of God’s punishment of Israel and his death results from this arrogance (*2 Macc.* 9:8-2).

¹²⁸ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 156.

¹²⁹ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 284.

¹³⁰ Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, p. 490.

The martyrdom of Eleazar and the seven sons (2 *Macc.* 6-7) are commonly seen as a turning point in the narrative. The deaths precipitated the subsequent victories of Judas and his men. However, the emphasis in the story is not necessarily placed on the human causes and effects. Judas' prayer in 8:2-4 does not mention the martyrdoms¹³¹ and as Daniel McCellan comments: "If these events were really the impetus for Judas' descent from the mountains and return to battle, he seems rather indifferent to them."¹³² The role of intercessory prayer seems to be the catalyst for the turn of events. 'Supernatural machinery' is employed as the reason for the historical outcomes. This is similar to other descriptions in Jewish-Hellenistic literature. Prayers of the righteous affect human events in *1 Maccabees* 3, *Daniel* 9, *1 Enoch* 47 and *Baruch* 2-5.¹³³

Similarly, Nicanor's downfall is the result of supernatural intervention. His actions in threatening the Temple (2 *Macc.* 14:32-33) and arrogance in challenging the Sovereign in heaven: "I am a sovereign also, on earth, and I order you to take up arms and finish the king's business" (2 *Macc.* 15:1-5), resulted in his demise.¹³⁴ In 2 *Maccabees* the author expressly demonstrates how the enemies of the Jews turn wicked and are punished by God. Just as Antiochus IV who is originally cast as being as morally neutral, becomes God's instrument, turns arrogant, and is punished, so Nicanor is shown to favour the Jews at the start, turns arrogant and is divinely castigated. The author explains this turn of events in the context of supernatural intervention. The cause and ef-

¹³¹ 'They implored the Lord to look upon the people who were oppressed by all and to have pity on the shrine that had been profaned by the impious, to have mercy on the city that was being destroyed and about to be leveled to the ground and to hearken to the blood that cried out to him, to remember also the lawless slaughter of the innocent babies and the blasphemies committed against his name and to show his hatred of evil.

¹³² D. McCellan, 'A Reevaluation of the Structure and Function of 2 Maccabees 7 and its Text-critical Implications', *Studia Antiqua*, 7.1, 2009, p. 86.

¹³³ M. Zeiger-Simkovich, 'Greek Influence on 2 Maccabees', p.293. Simkovich argues that while the prayers in 2 Maccabees suggest a borrowing from biblical precedent they are more likely influenced by Greek drama and the genre of *mimos*.

¹³⁴ 2 *Macc.* 15:22-29, 'He called upon him in this manner: 'O Master, you sent your angel in the time of King Hezekias of Judea, and he killed fully one hundred eighty-five thousand in the camp of Sennachereim. So now, O Sovereign of the heavens, send a good angel before us to inspire terror and trembling. By the might of your arm may those who come with blasphemy against your holy people be struck down.' With these words he ended. Nicanor and his troops advanced with trumpets and battle cries, but Judas and his troops met the enemy with invocation and prayers. So, fighting with their hands and praying to God in their hearts, they laid low no less than thirty-five thousand and were greatly gladdened by God's manifestation. When the action was over and they were leaving with joy, they recognized Nicanor, lying dead, in full armor. ... and they blessed the sovereign in the language of the fathers.'

fect sequence in *2 Maccabees* is analogous to Fortune's intervention in the downfall of Philip V in Polybius' account. In the former, God acts against the arrogance of Antiochus IV and in the latter; Fortune avenges the transgressions of Philip's youth.¹³⁵ In Polybius' instance of tragic historiography, the Greek historian adopts a moralistic stance and introduces 'supernatural machinery' to explain Philip's demise. Similarly, the author of *2 Maccabees* assumes a moralistic view and considers Antiochus is but an instrument in the hands of the supernatural.¹³⁶

These examples of 'supernatural machinery' further underscore the reasons why *2 Maccabees* may be construed as belonging to a genre of 'tragic' history but does the use of such language necessarily imply a disregard of veracity? Many of those who propose that *2 Maccabees* belongs to a genre of 'tragic' history find support for an implied indifference towards historical faithfulness in the epitomist's prologue. It is helpful to explore the accusation of historical unfaithfulness often leveled at the epitomist.

3 – *A claim to historical faithfulness or not?*

In the explanatory prologue to his work, the author of *2 Maccabees* explains that he is writing an epitome of a much longer work and expresses a desire to "attempt to [write] concisely in one composition" (2:23b). In the explanatory preface he outlines the purpose for his abridgement: "For considering the flood of figures involved and the difficulty there is for those who wish to enter upon the narratives of history because of the mass of material we have aimed to please those who wish to read (ψυχαγωγία), to make it easy for those who are inclined to memorise (εύκοπία), and to profit all those who happen to read this (ὠφέλεια)" (2:24-25).

¹³⁵ R. Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 91. Doran notes further allusions between Philip's story and that of Antiochus. In Philip V, Theoxena, her husband and children commit suicide and this focused the hatred of the people against Philip. Similarly, the deaths of Eleazar, Razis and the mother and seven sons, changes God to act mercifully. It has been noted though that God's actions were perhaps more influenced by the prayers of Judas.

¹³⁶ *2 Macc.* 5:15-17, 'Not content with this, Antiochus dared to enter the most holy temple in all the world, guided by Menelaus, who had become a traitor both to the laws and to his country, taking the sacred vessels with his polluted hands and pulling down with profane hands the votive offerings that other kings had made to enhance the glory and honor of the place. Antiochus was elated in spirit and did not perceive that the Lord was angered for a little while because of the sins of those who lived in the city and that this was the reason he was disregarding the place.'

Scholarly interpretation of the Maccabean prologue generally proceeds in two directions. There are those who perceive it relates to the immediate context of abridgement (giving reasons for it), and those who perceive the prologue refers to the overall nature of the work as tragic history. Translations of this text illustrate the differing comprehensions of what the author was seeking to do with Jason's work. Goldstein translates:

His work is a sea of words, and the sheer mass of the material is formidable to anyone who wishes to plunge into the historical narrative. Perceiving these obstacles, we have set ourselves the goals of providing entertainment for lovers of literature, a clear and memorable style for pursuers of wisdom, and edification for all who look into this book.¹³⁷

Schwartz translates the pericope:

For having seen the confused mass of numbers and how difficult it is for those who wish to encompass the narratives of history, due to the plethora of material, we have given consideration to arousing the imagination of those who read (the story), to making it easier for those who take pleasure in memorizing, and to the profit of all readers.¹³⁸

These translations of τὸ γύμα τῶν ἀριθμῶν entertain the possibility that the author shows a disdain for facts and figures (ἀριθμῶν), and is more concerned with 'providing entertainment' and 'arousing the imagination'.¹³⁹ Doran objects to these paraphrases and subsequent interpretations. He contends that *2 Maccabees* does not belong to 'tragic' history in the sense of a historiographical subgenre and an implied disregard for truth. He proposes the following translation of 2:24-25:

For, as we considered the profusion of lines and, because of the mass of the material, the difficulty present to those wanting to involve themselves in the history's stories, we devised persuasiveness for those who like to read, ease for those who work hard so as to recollect from memory, and usefulness for all who read [it].¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 189.

¹³⁸ Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, p. 170.

¹³⁹ In his defence Goldstein considers that while the author of *2 Maccabees* seems to have followed the popular stylistic and narrative patterns of Greek works of history known as 'pathetic history', he defends the notion that popular historians' vivid portrayals of atrocities and heroism necessarily meant they could not give a faithful outline. He notes: 'The writer of a Greek popular history was free to show where his sympathies lay, to give exaggerated statistics, and to include minute descriptions of tortures and to compose sensational speeches of martyrs with no witness could have supported to report. Within the framework of the literary license allowed to such writers of history, it was still possible for them to give a faithful outline of the general course of events', p. 20-1; cf. R.P.F.-M. Abel, O.P. *Les Livres des Maccabees*, Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1949, Abel suggests that the phrases anticipate the author is going to avoid the dullness of a chronicle and choose interesting events to write about (Il évitera la sécheresse d'une chronique en faisant un choix de faits intéressants qu'il présentera avec tous les agréments d'une narration littéraire.); W.H. Brownlee, 'Maccabees, Books of', in G.A. Buttrick (ed.), *IDB*, Vol. 3, New York: Abingdon, 1962, p. 207, Brownlee, views the author as '[describing] his process as one of omitting tedious and uninteresting matters and embellishing the material appropriated in order to improve its literary style.'

¹⁴⁰ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 65.

Doran argues that τὸ χύμα τῶν ἀριθμῶν may simply mean that Jason’s work has a great number of lines and the following phrase τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ὕλης (an abundance of subject matter) implies a lengthy treatment contained in five books (πέντε βιβλίων).¹⁴¹ Ancient books were counted in the number of lines called στίχοι. In the Herculanean papyri of the first-century B.C.E., the term ἀριθμῶν is used to express a number of lines.¹⁴² Doran adduces that χύμα may also be better understood in the immediate context as referring to a quantitative measure rather than a ‘confused mass’, ‘sea’ or ‘flood’.¹⁴³ This leads him to the translation ‘a large number of lines [that existed in Jason’s works]’ and that the epitomist has simply undertaken to solve the problem by reducing the number of these lines rather than disregarding historical statistics.

The Maccabean author subsequently proceeds to give three aims of his writing; (i) ‘to please those who wish to read (ψυχαγωγία)’, (ii) ‘to make it easy for those who are inclined to memorise (εὐκοπία)’, and (iii) ‘to profit all those who happen to read this (ὠφέλεια).’ Loveday Alexander describes the author’s purpose as a “seductive cocktail of ‘entertainment’, ‘ease’ and ‘usefulness’ ... a neat expression of the ‘profit with delight’ *topos*.”¹⁴⁴ According to Pervo, “the twin goals of pleasure and instruction were taken for granted in material designed to enlighten the common folk.”¹⁴⁵ Doran notes the pairing was a common perception in ancient historiography: “that history should be both pleasurable and useful was a rhetorical *topos* found in authors like Polybius, Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Josephus, Lucian, and Cassius Dio.”¹⁴⁶

An examination of some classical texts demonstrates that the pairing of ‘pleasure and

¹⁴¹ Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p.77.

¹⁴² Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 77.

¹⁴³ Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 78. Doran notes that χύμα appears in 2nd century C.E. papyri as a quantity of wine for sale and is equivalent to μέτρον. The other use in the LXX is in 1 Kings 5:9 (4:29) χύμα καρδιάς ὡς ἡ ἄμμος ἢ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν where it refers to the ‘largeness’ or ‘overflow of heart’.

¹⁴⁴ Alexander, *Preface to Luke’s Gospel*, p. 149. R. Pervo coined the phrase ‘Profit with Delight’ as the punning title for his work on the ancient novel.

¹⁴⁵ Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, p. 13.

¹⁴⁶ Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 79.

profit' was a *topos* used by the ancients. Isocrates distinguishes between discourses, which gave good advice, and those that introduced 'stories and fables, which are as popular as games and contests'.¹⁴⁷ Polybius highlights a similar distinction:

For since there are two objects, improvement and pleasure, which those who wish to study any subject either by the use of their ears or of their eyes, should keep before them, and since this is especially true of the study of history, a too generous treatment of sensational events contributes to neither.¹⁴⁸

Diodorus Siculus also refers to the *topos* when expressing his stylistic intentions.¹⁴⁹

The context in which the ancients used this pairing seems to suggest though that this form of writing for 'pleasure' was not appreciated as 'good history' and Josephus and Thucydides show disdain for such a practice.¹⁵⁰ This objection appears to derive from the connection of the word ψυχαγωγία with rhetoric as Plato suggested: "Is not rhetoric in its entire nature an art which leads (ψυχαγωγία) the soul by means of words?"¹⁵¹ The epitomist's use of a word that is normally associated rhetoric and persuasion is not necessarily to be understood as demeaning the historical nature of a narrative. It was noted

¹⁴⁷ *Ad. Nicoclem*, 48-49, 'This much, however, is clear, that those who aim to write anything in verse or prose which will make a popular appeal should seek out, not the most profitable discourses, but those which most abound in fictions (τοὺς μυθωδεστάτους); for the ear delights in these just as the eye delights in games and contests. Wherefore we may well admire the poet Homer and the first inventors of tragedy, seeing that they, with true insight into human nature, have embodied both kinds of pleasure in their poetry; for Homer has dressed the contests and battles of the demigods in myths, while the tragic poets have rendered the myths in the form of contests and action, so that they are presented, not to our ears alone, but to our eyes as well. With such models, then, before us, it is evident that those who desire to command the attention of their hearers must abstain from admonition and advice, and must say the kind of things which they see are most pleasing to the crowd.' Isocrates, *To Demonicus. To Nicocles. Nicocles or the Cyprians. Panegyricus. To Philip. Archidamus*, LCL 209, (G. Norlin, trans.), Loeb Classical Library 209. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. 67-9.

¹⁴⁸ Polybius, *Histories*, 15.36.3, Polybius, LCL 159, p. 619.

¹⁴⁹ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 30.15, 'It is our aim in emphasising these and similar events to provide an accurate estimate of the causes of success and failure. We both apportion praise to those whose conduct of affairs is excellent, and denounce those whose management is faulty. We bring into clear view the principles, both good and bad, by which men live and act, and by rendering a proper account of each we direct the minds of our readers to the emulation of what is good; at the same time, to the best of our ability we make history fruitful and useful to all men, since a bare narrative of naval battles, military engagements, and legislation too, is no better than so much fiction. (emphasis mine) Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, Vol. 9, LCL 409, (F. R. Walton, trans.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957, p. 299.

¹⁵⁰ Josephus, *Antiquities*, 14:2-3, 'For while the relation and recording of events that are unknown to most people because of their antiquity require charm of exposition, such as is imparted by the choice of words and their proper arrangement and by whatever else contributes elegance to the narrative, in order that readers may receive such information with a certain degree of gratification and pleasure, nevertheless what historians should make their chief aim is to be accurate and hold everything else of less importance than speaking the truth to those who must rely upon them in matters of which they themselves have no knowledge.' Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, LCL 489, p. 3; Thucydides, *Hist.* I 22:4, 'And it may well be that the absence of the fabulous from my narrative will seem less pleasing to the ear; but whoever shall wish to have a clear view both of the events which have happened and of those which will some day, in all human probability, happen again in the same or a similar way – for these to adjudge my history profitable will be enough for me. And, indeed, it has been composed, not as a prize-essay to be heard for the moment, but as a possession for all time.' Thucydides, LCL 108, pp. 39-41.

¹⁵¹ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 261A, *Plato, Euthyphro. Apology. Crito. Phaedo. Phaedrus*, LCL 36, (H.N. Fowler, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914, pp. 517-9.

in Ch. 2 that Cicero exhorted history writers to have an orator's voice and suggested that persuasion is an important aspect of historiography. Clare Rothschild notes:

Ancient historiography never prohibited logical application of literary principles derived from rhetoric. ... Historians availed themselves of rhetoric to the extent necessary for the accomplishment of the goal of their work – the facts about took place with their significance.¹⁵²

That the Maccabean author uses a *topos* that was employed by ancient historians appears to be well founded. His unabashed endorsement of this methodology may put him at odds with the sterner path of Thucydides and Josephus but it suggests that he was honest about his methodology rather than writing one thing in theory and engaging in another in practice. It hints at a perceived interest and desire on the part of the epitomist to be engaging in historiography. However, in the context of the Maccabean narrative, it is debated from whence the pleasure or interest derives. Does the pleasure originate from the vivid language and style of the narrative – the fabulous ‘tales of the battles of gods and heroes’ or does the pleasure simply stem from the brevity of the account?

For those who seek to determine the Maccabean genre as ‘tragic’ history, the pleasure is primarily understood to derive from the vivid narrative. The epitome is written in such a way as to make the reading experience pleasurable. Alternatively, Doran suggests that the pleasure derives simply from the brevity of the narrative.¹⁵³ Doran's position appears to be supported by the immediate context of the prologue. If one accepts that τὸ χύμα τῶν ἀριθμῶν is better translated as ‘number of lines’, then a background of brevity has already been expressed. Further acknowledgement that brevity is what the author had in mind, may be seen in the second aim of the epitomist, that the short work should be considered as an *aide-mémoire* – ‘to make it easy for those who are inclined to memorise (εὐκοπία).’ Ancient historians also refer to this sense of brevity to assist in memorisation. In his introduction to Book XVI, Diodorus Siculus' writes:

¹⁵² C. Rothschild, *Luke-Acts and the Rhetoric of History*, p. 11.

¹⁵³ Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 79, ‘the author of the epitome is going to give his readers pleasure by writing a short history. ... he will silence the complaints of those who find the abundance of material in histories tiresome.’

In all systematic historical treatises, it behooves the historian to include in his books actions of states or kings which are complete in themselves from beginning to end; for so I conceive history to become most easy to remember and most intelligible to the reader.

While not strictly addressing history, Aristotle in the context of tragedy, also wrote of the need for brevity as an *aide-mémoire*: “So just as with our bodies and with animals beauty requires magnitude, but magnitude that allows coherent perception, likewise plots require length, but length that can be coherently remembered.”¹⁵⁴ In Doran’s assessment, the epitomist is assisting his readers by “not burying their memories in too much detail.”¹⁵⁵

Doran’s seeks further support that the prologue focuses on brevity, as opposed to disregarding historical veracity and vivid language, in the ensuing verses of the Maccabean prologue, vv. 28-31. These verses concentrate on the ‘art’ of abbreviation. The author posits three ‘long-short’ images to illustrate the work of an abridger. The first contrast is made between ‘exact details’ and ‘general descriptions’ (v. 28). The presumption is that accounts which record ‘exact details’ are longer than those that only record ‘general descriptions.’ This need not necessarily be the case but it is supported by the idea of the epitome in ancient thought. Diogenes Laertius’ comments concerning Epicurus’ epitomes, allude to shorter and more concise works that are not given to details.¹⁵⁶ The second comparison takes up the metaphor of a builder and painter. The builder must ‘pay attention to the whole construction’ but the painter ‘has to consider only what is suitable for its adornment’ (v. 29). Doran previously understood the author’s distinction was not about adding the ornaments of good style to an original work, but rather in “contrasting

¹⁵⁴ *Poetics*, 7.1. (1451a). Aristotle, LCL 199, pp. 55-7. Doran does note that Aristotle is referring to poetry and not history. In 23.1 (1459a) Aristotle states, ‘Its structures should not be like histories, which require an exposition not of a single action but of a single period, with all the events (in their contingent relationships) that happened to one person or more during it.’ Aristotle, LCL 199, p. 117.

¹⁵⁵ Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 80.

¹⁵⁶ Diogenes Laërtius, *Lives*, 10.35, ‘For those who are unable to study carefully all my physical writings or to go into the longer treatises at all, I have myself prepared an epitome (ἐπιτομήν) of the whole system, Herodotus, to preserve in the memory enough of the principal doctrines, to the end that on every occasion they may be able to aid themselves on the most important points, so far as they take up the study of Physics. Those who have made some advance in the survey of the entire system ought to fix in their minds under the principal headings an elementary outline of the whole treatment of the subject. For a comprehensive view is often required, the details but seldom.’ Diogenes Laërtius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, Vol. 2, LCL 185, (R.D. Hicks, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925, pp. 565-7.

a full exposition of facts versus a selective presentation.”¹⁵⁷ Lucian compares the way a historian works to that of a sculptor who fashions and reshapes the material of his craft. Events have to be arranged properly, and written in as fine a style as possible.¹⁵⁸ The imagery behind the historian as a painter or sculptor is of someone who ‘adorns’ or ‘sets [events] forth in the most lucid fashion’. Doran later adopts this understanding and acknowledges: “the contrast here suggests that the author thinks of himself as making the narrative come alive, rather than remain drab and dull.”¹⁵⁹

The third comparison is between ‘inquiring into particulars by the original historian’ on the part of Jason, and ‘making a paraphrase’ (μετάφρασιν ποιουμένω, vv. 30-31) on the part of the abridger. While μετάφρασις does not necessarily have a connotation of length, Doran suggests the context demands shortness. He summarises his position:

In the whole prologue, then, the author is concerned with size, with contrasting the burdensome length of Jason’s work with his own short compass. No conclusions should be drawn about the qualities of the respective works, either that Jason’s was dull or a chronicle of events, or that the epitome is a rhetorical exercise with no concern for history.¹⁶⁰

Doran’s argument is quite sound, and it is possible that the author’s prologue was simply written to explain why he was writing a *shortened* work, but as has been noted, the distinction between adorning and the original may equally suggest elaboration. Similarly, being confronted with a ‘confused mass of numbers’ and ‘mass of material’, the abridger’s ‘excision of historical details’ and preference for μετάφρασιν ποιουμένω may be construed as a disregard for veracity. Yet, as is often the case with historical prologues, what authors declare is their intention and what they eventually write can be two different things.

¹⁵⁷ R. Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 81.

¹⁵⁸ Lucian, *Hist. Cons.* 51, ‘In brief, we must consider that the writer of history should be like Phidias or Praxiteles or Alcamenes or one of the other sculptors ... their material was before them, put into their hands by Eleans or Athenians or Argives, and they confined themselves to fashioning it, sawing the ivory, polishing, glueing, aligning it, setting it off with the gold, and their art lay in handling their material properly. The task of the historian is similar: to give a fine arrangement to events and illuminate them as vividly as possible. And when a man who has heard him thinks thereafter that he is actually seeing what is being described and then praises him—then it is that the work of our Phidias of history is perfect and has received its proper praise.’ Lucian, LCL 430, p. 65.

¹⁵⁹ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 72. It appears Doran has modified his previous (*Temple Propaganda*) assertion in his later (2012) work. In the former work he declares, ‘the author is not using the image to state that he is polishing up the work of Jason or that he is adding to it the ornaments of good style.’

¹⁶⁰ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 81.

Summary

A determination that aspects of *2 Maccabees* conform to a genre of ‘tragic’ history, may be justified from the Maccabean narrative and prologue. The epitomist uses an emotive style and presents scenes in a vivid manner, which may or may not disregard historical veracity. He employs the use of ‘supernatural machinery’ to explain events and seeks to arouse psychological and behavioural changes as a consequence. It is also construed by some that the epitomist hints at a disregard for veracity in his prologue.

Objections to this classification, particularly from Doran and Doohee Lee, are based less on the content and nature of *2 Maccabees* and more on the understanding of whether ‘tragic’ history can be regarded as a historiographical subgenre or if it is simply a literary style. Martha Himmelfarb notes that except for *2 Maccabees* all other supposed examples of ancient ‘tragic’ history survive only in fragments.¹⁶¹ It is difficult to classify a genre where the instances of a genre are few and far between. Lee notes from the outset that the stylistic characteristics of ‘tragic’ history are found equally among the so-called political historians as well.¹⁶² This has been noted in the case of Polybius, where a ‘political’ historian engages in ‘tragic’ historiography, but whether this necessarily excludes the determination of a historiographical subgenre is debatable. Working from the understanding of prototype theory, it is to be expected that ‘tragic’ history and other ancient historiographic genres may crossover, intersect, and boundaries may be blurred.

Doran’s objection to the classification of ‘tragic’ history is along the same lines as Lee’s. Undergirding his position is an assessment that Polybius’ polemic against ‘tragic’ historiography should not be understood as a formula to classify a genre but simply “an attack on the inappropriate use of emotional rhetoric.”¹⁶³ He disagrees with scholarship that “explains the narrative incongruence in *2 Maccabees* as a consequence of its

¹⁶¹ M. Himmelfarb, *Between Temple and Torah: Essays on Priests, Scribes, and Visionaries in the Second Temple Period and Beyond*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013, p. 201.

¹⁶² D. Lee, *Luke-Acts and ‘Tragic History’*, WUZNT 2, 346, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013, p. 5.

¹⁶³ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 3.

belonging to ‘tragic history’.”¹⁶⁴ Rather than seek to specify a historiographical genre for the work, Doran seeks to identify a narrative purpose, which he proposes is Temple propaganda.

A resistance to situate *2 Maccabees* within a genre of ‘tragic’ history may also stem from the problems inherent in seeking to identify genre according to categorisation. Locating a text within a ‘singular allegiance’ is debated when seeking to identify literary genre.¹⁶⁵ Approaching genre through the lens of prototype theory shifts the model from seeking to determine genre based on self-contained categories, to an understanding of genres as being less exact and perhaps even conflicted. It eliminates what often seems to be some artificiality or incongruity in placing texts into generic categories.¹⁶⁶

Prototype theory permits an understanding of ancient historiographical genres that facilitates the conception of what genres were available to and popular with the ancient authors, whether they be typical or atypical, partial or complete, examples of a literary type. It has the advantage of clarifying how texts can belong to the same ‘club’, despite the diversity that may appear among them. From the overarching genre of historiography, the radial arm of ‘tragic’ history emanates and includes narratives, complete or in part, which resemble the emotive and pathetic style.

5.3.2 *Second Maccabees* as Didactic History

Another historiographic genre proposal for *2 Maccabees* is that located in the work of Jan Willem van Henten. In his study of *2 and 4 Maccabees*, van Henten locates an attempt at didactic historiography in the martyrdom accounts with regards to belief and behaviour: ‘[The epitomist] seems to have aimed for a history which entertained and

¹⁶⁴ Doran, ‘2 Maccabees and ‘Tragic History’, pp. 110-12, ‘Citing the example of the epitomist’s report on the death of a certain Timothy in *2 Macc.* 10:37, but then his apparent reappearance in 12:2, Doran argues that this disregard for veracity is not necessarily the result of the epitomist being a ‘tragic’ historian. Instead he argues that it is a result of the author’s intention to structure the events in a certain fashion: “to show how battles were not started by the Jews, but were forced on them. The Jews are good citizens, and only fight to defend what is rightfully theirs – a part of the propaganda which runs throughout *2 Maccabees*.’

¹⁶⁵ B. Wright III, ‘Joining the Club: A Suggestion about Genre in Early Jewish Texts,’ *Dead Sea Discoveries*, 17, 3, 2010. p.292.

¹⁶⁶ Wright III, ‘Joining the Club’, pp. 302-303.

uplifted the reader by means of anecdotal and didactic historiography.’¹⁶⁷ The martyrdoms of Eleazar, the mother and her seven sons, and Razis are perceived to be exemplars for proper conduct under the threat of persecution.¹⁶⁸ Didactic history, similar to didactic poetry or didactic fables, has as its primary concern a desire to instruct, teach or edify.

Van Henten’s hypothesis proceeds from the prologue where the purpose of *ὠφέλεια* (edification) is announced. The prologue anticipates the kind of history the reader should expect and this comprises a didactic aspect. Additionally, the specific introduction to the martyrdom stories in *2 Macc.* 6:12-17 also suggests a purpose to instruct:

Now I urge those who read this book not to be depressed by such calamities, but to recognise that these punishments were designed not to destroy but to discipline our people. In fact, it is a sign of great kindness not to let the impious alone for long but to punish them immediately. For in the case of the other nations the Lord waits patiently to punish them until they have reached the full measure of their sins, but he does not deal in this way with us in order that he may not take vengeance on us afterward, when our sins have reached their height. Therefore he never withdraws his mercy from us. While he disciplines us with calamities, he does not forsake his own people.

This authorial comment serving as an introduction to the martyrdom narrative, seeks to explain the theodicy of a benevolent God who punishes those he loves, so as to allow atonement for their sins. It possibly reflects the thought in *Ps.* 94:12-13 and *Wisdom* 12.¹⁶⁹ In van Henten’s estimation this comment “confirms the didactic purpose of the history of *2 Maccabees*. It indicates the grotesque stories about the martyrs are meant to edify the Jewish people.”¹⁷⁰ The comment is similar to the reflective passages in *2*

¹⁶⁷ J.W. van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees*, JSJSup 57, Leiden: Brill, 1997, p. 25. It should be noted that van Henten does not specifically use the term Didactic history as an overriding description for the genre of *2 Macc.* He uses the term Liberation history which will be analysed in the subsequent section of the present work. That being said, van Henten does highlight: ‘the didactic purpose of *2 Maccabees* elucidates the author’s motivation for his detailed descriptions of the [martyrs’] deaths.’ p. 25.

¹⁶⁸ van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*, p. 212, ‘... readers could have oriented themselves concerning their own attitude to life and their Jewish identity by looking at the depiction of the martyrs in their extreme situation. ... The readers of *2* and *4 Maccabees* could identify themselves with the martyrs and thus know what had to be done in religious and political matters, although they were probably not in the extreme situation as the martyrs and Razis were.’

¹⁶⁹ ‘Happy are those whom you discipline, O Lord, and whom you teach out of your law, giving them respite from days of trouble, until a pit is dug for the wicked.’ (*Ps.* 94:12-13); ‘For your immortal spirit is in all things. Therefore you correct little by little those who trespass, and you remind and warn them of the things through which they sin, so that they may be freed from wickedness and put their trust in you, O Lord.’ (*Wis.* 12)

¹⁷⁰ van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*, p. 24.

Macc. 4:17, “It is no light thing to show impiety to the divine laws – a fact that later events will make clear”. Van Henten adjudges:

[The epitomist] did not focus on an accurate reproduction of the events, but on the significance of the past for contemporary Jewish politics, religion, morality and self-understanding. ... The stories of the deaths of Eleazar, the seven brothers and their mother and Razis all fit very well into the edifying history of 2 Maccabees. The didactic purpose of 2 Maccabees elucidates the author’s motivation for his detailed descriptions of these deaths.¹⁷¹

As with Doran and Schwartz, van Henten refers to the structure of the historical narrative in *2 Maccabees* to enlighten his hypothesis. He perceives a pattern of six sequential events: (i) betrayal of Judaism by individual Jews in leading positions (4:7-5:10; 14:1-11); (ii) attack on the Temple, city and Jewish people by the king or general (5:11-6:11; 14:11-36); (iii) absolute loyalty to the Jewish God and Jewish religious practice on the part of the martyrs and Razis (6:18-7:42; 14:37-46); (iv) deliverance of the Temple, city and Jewish state under the guidance of Judas Maccabeus with the help of God (8:1-36; 15:1-28); (v) vengeance against the enemies of the Jews (9:1-18; 15:28-35); and (vi) the founding of a feast to commemorate the deliverance and thanks to God – Chislev 25 and Adar 13 (10:5-8; 15:36).¹⁷²

The martyrdoms are central to this structure. The first and second sequences portray a betrayal of Judaism by high-ranking Jews, followed by attacks on the Temple, city and people by outside rulers. The fourth and fifth sequences depict deliverance of the Temple, city and Jewish state by Judas and God, followed by vengeance against the enemies of the Jews. The final and sixth sequence has the inauguration of the two feasts. Set between the betrayal and deliverance sequences are the martyrdoms. Van Henten posits: “the structure of the narrative suggests that the unconditional loyalty of the Maccabean martyrs to the Lord and his laws culminating in their self-sacrifice made the successful war of liberation possible.”¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*, p. 25.

¹⁷² van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*, p. 26.

¹⁷³ van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*, p. 155.

As a central component to *2 Maccabees*, van Henten posits that the martyr narratives fulfil two representative functions – religious and political. As to the religious function, van Henten suggests: “Jewish religion, loyalty to Jewish institutions as well as perceptions of Jewish identity are at stake.”¹⁷⁴ In the focus of Jewish religion, the martyrdoms highlight the aspects of faithfulness to God and the law, the suffering of the people, and the effectiveness of their deaths. Their faithfulness is connected to traditions in the Hebrew bible and post-exilic Jewish literature (*Job* 1:22; *Sir.* 44:20, *Dan.* 3:16-18, 6:23). The mother and sons are seen as representative of the Jewish people. Their suffering is envisaged as a punishment from God, but nowhere are their individual sins mentioned. The speech of the last son refers to the effective, redemptive function of their deaths.¹⁷⁵ The martyrs’ statements are didactic and underline this function of the narrative.¹⁷⁶

The second, or political, focus of the martyrdoms emphasises the Jewish way of life and presents the martyrs as exemplary figures of the Jewish people and as restorers of Jewish polity. Throughout the Maccabean narrative the epitomist describes Jerusalem as a *polis* but one that is unique with its own set of cultural values, norms, and way of life that delineates it from surrounding cultures. The martyrs, as exemplary figures, demonstrate this Jewish uniqueness. Just as the martyrs were representative of the Jewish people in their suffering, they are representative of the Jewish people in their values and attitudes.¹⁷⁷ Van Henten notes similarities between the death of Razis and that of Menoiceus in Euripides’ *Phoenisse*. Menoiceus attempts suicide with a sword and then leaps from the walls of Thebes to save his city.¹⁷⁸ While Menoiceus’ actions were seen as self-sacrifice, his death serves a narrative function similar to that of Razis.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*, p. 125.

¹⁷⁵ *2 Macc.* 7:37-38, ‘I, like my brothers, give up body and life for our ancestral laws, appealing to God to show mercy soon to our nation and by torments and plagues to make you acknowledge that he alone is God and through me and my brothers to bring to an end the wrath of the Almighty that has justly fallen on our whole nation.’

¹⁷⁶ van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*, pp. 187.

¹⁷⁷ van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*, pp. 268.

¹⁷⁸ Euripides, *Phoenisse*, 995-1100, ‘No, by Zeus enthroned among the stars and by Ares, god of slaughter, who established the Sown Men, rising out of the earth, as rulers of this land! I shall go now, take my stand upon the high

Van Henten's allusions to didactic history concentrate on the martyrdom accounts. The preceding analysis of these narrative sections reveals that they do serve a didactic purpose but as Honigman notes van Henten's analysis at this juncture tends to ignore major sections of *2 Maccabees*. His discussion really only refers to the section of the book from 4:7-10:9, despite the Razi references. Honigman proposes, "[van Henten's] hypothesis would be better applied to a *secondary* use of *2 Maccabees*."¹⁸⁰

5.3.3 *Second Maccabees* as Liberation History

As alluded to in the preceding discussion, van Henten more specifically refers to *2 Maccabees* as an example of liberation history. This view, akin somewhat to the proposal of Schwartz and Doran, suggests that the epitomist narrates a historical account of liberation of an important sanctuary or temple state. This proposal shares a narrative pattern with a number of Jewish histories from the Second Temple period, viz., *Judith*, *Esther*, *1* and *3 Maccabees*.¹⁸¹ The motif consists of the following elements:

1. A decree of a foreign king threatens the existence of the Jewish people.
2. A prayer by pious Jews precedes a turn for the better.
3. Direct or indirect intervention by God to save the Jews as a sign of his approval for the actions of the human saviours.
4. Revenge on the foreign attacker.
5. The celebration of the rescue in a national festival.¹⁸²

Proceeding from an analysis of the prologue, van Henten surmises that *2 Macc.* is presented as a readable and useful history intended to provide entertainment and benefit at the same time.¹⁸³ The history proper (*2 Macc.* 3:1-15:39) corresponds to the 'liberation history' pattern. First, the threatening decree of the foreign king is expressed in 2

battlements, slit my own throat above the deep black precinct of the serpent, the place the seer named, and set the city free. You have heard all I have to say. [I go in order to give the city the not ignoble gift of my death, and I shall free this land from plague. If each man were to take whatever useful thing he might do, examine it thoroughly, and contribute it to the common good, cities would have less trouble and prosper henceforth and forever.] Euripedes, *Phoenician Women*, Vol. 5, LCL 11, (D. Kovaks, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002, pp. 321-3.

¹⁷⁹ van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*, pp. 269, 'If one interprets the elaboration of the political significance of Eleazar, Razis and the mother with her seven sons in light of these parallels in non-Jewish sources, the Maccabean martyrs may well be considered saviours of the Jewish people.'

¹⁸⁰ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, p. 81.

¹⁸¹ J. W. van Henten, '2 Maccabees as a History of Liberation', M. Mor, A. Oppenheimer, J. Pastor, D. R. Schwartz, (eds.), *Jews and Gentiles in the Holy Land in the Days of the Second Temple, the Mishnah and the Talmud*, Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2003, p. 63.

¹⁸² Adapted from van Henten, '2 Maccabees as a History of Liberation', p. 63.

¹⁸³ van Henten, '2 Maccabees as a History of Liberation', p. 65.

Macc. 5:12, 24; 6:1-2, 6-9, 21. Second, the prayer of the pious Jews occurs in *2 Macc.* 7:37ff. Third, the direct intervention by God is found in *2 Macc.* 8 and 15:1-28. The revenge on the foreign attacker is mentioned in *2 Macc.* 9 and 15:28-35; and fifth, the celebration of the rescue is iterated in *2 Macc.* 10:5-8 and 15:36.

Van Henten notes: “The composition of the narrative structure of 2 Maccabees 3-15 seems to be fairly coherent. Its overall theme is the threat to and rescue of the Temple during the rule of four Seleucid kings.”¹⁸⁴ The structure is depicted in four divisions: (i) Seleukos IV’s time (*2 Macc.* 3:1-4:6); (ii) Antiochus Epiphanes IV’s time (4:7-10:9); (iii) Antiochus V Eupator’s time (10:10-13:26); and, (iv) Demetrios I (14:1-15:36). The crisis reaches a climax during the rule of Antiochus IV who succeeds in plundering and desecrating the Temple and oppressing the Jews. Here van Henten suggests that the martyrs seem to restore the people’s relationship to God and with the assistance of the Lord, Judas Maccabeus conducts a war of liberation.

In addition to these divisions and content, van Henten notes that the prefixed letters to *2 Macc.* reflect the last aspect of the ‘liberation history’ narratives by enjoining the inhabitants to participate in the celebratory festival of the liberation:

The formation of the call to participate in the festival corresponds closely to the phraseology of the descriptions of the purification, of the rededication of the Temple, and of the foundation of the feast in 2 Maccabees 10:1-8.¹⁸⁵

Van Henten’s hypothesis explains the relationship of the festal letters to the historical narrative which are closely linked. He concludes that *2 Macc.* 3-15 can be considered a history of liberation of the Jewish state from Seleucid oppression. This combination of the letters and a history of liberation can be understood against the background of non-Jewish traditions concerning the deliverance of a sanctuary or city-state.¹⁸⁶

Van Henten’s proposal has much to commend it. The suggestion that the narrative

¹⁸⁴ van Henten, ‘2 Maccabees as a History of Liberation’, p. 71.

¹⁸⁵ van Henten, ‘2 Maccabees as a History of Liberation’, p. 73.

¹⁸⁶ van Henten, ‘2 Maccabees as a History of Liberation’, pp. 85-6.

pattern of ‘liberation history’ provides the structure of the work finds support in some parts of the history in *2 Macc.* 3-15. Unfortunately, there are aspects of the Maccabean narrative that do not conform to this pattern, notably Heliodorus’ visit to Jerusalem in (3:1 – 4:6) and Antiochus V Eupator (10:10-13:26). Perhaps it would be better to describe the historiography of *2 Macc.* as liberation historie[s], because it contains two successive stories of liberation that culminate in a festival, interspersed with other accounts. The prefixed letter which van Henten commends as supporting the ‘liberation history’ motif, in fact only relates to the rescue from Antiochus Epiphanes IV.

5.3.4 *Second Maccabees* as Dynastic History

In her recent work, Honigman seeks to position *2 Maccabees* as dynastic history. This proposal aligns *2 Maccabees* with *1 Maccabees* in its nature and purpose and may be seen as a reversal of Goldstein’s position, which views *2 Maccabees* as anti-Hasmonean propaganda. Honigman proposes:

Far from being opposed in nature and purpose, these two Maccabees books are parallel works; despite their undeniable differences in narrative scope and style, both tell the founding myth of the Hasmonean dynasty. This, indeed, is what the story of the rededication of the temple altar by the Maccabees, the ancestors of the Hasmonean dynasty, is: a variant of the narrative pattern of the temple foundation (or refoundation) that, in the Judean political tradition, was instrumental to any claim to political legitimacy.¹⁸⁷

Honigman’s understanding proceeds from two premises. First, *2 Maccabees* was situated in an exact cultural environment which is reflected in its Greek Hellenistic historiographical *form*, with its *content* deriving from local literary traditions and intertextuality. Second, the socio-cultural environment of the ancient Near East in which *2 Maccabees* was written reflects the closeness of the deity and the reigning dynasty in temple institution, in particular, the foundation of temples as a royal prerogative. Against this background, in the context of dynastic history, *2 Maccabees* may be construed as an argument for dynastic legitimisation by way of temple foundation.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, p. 3.

¹⁸⁸ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, p. 69.

Honigman perceives that the emphasis on the Temple in *2 Maccabees* is less a religious expression and more an expression of political endorsement. A religious interpretation derives from the projection of modern semantic categories which link Temple references to religious archetypes rather than ancient Judahite/Judean criteria where Temple references are “actually a token of political side-taking.”¹⁸⁹ These Judahite/Judean traditions belong, not so much to temple liberation as in the case of Doran’s propaganda hypothesis, but to the foundation/refoundation of temples and the nexus of the king/dynasty that was involved in rebuilding.¹⁹⁰ A study of formal literary structure of temple-building accounts in the Semitic culture of Mesopotamia, the Ugarit, and Judah/Judea, reveals that they were devised as a “vehicle of royal ideology.”¹⁹¹

Honigman refers to the work of Victor Hurowitz who identified a six-part pattern in temple foundation/refoundation narratives; (i) the decision to build and divine approval, (ii) preparations (arrangements for workers and materials), (iii) description of the building, (iv) dedication, (v) prayer or blessing, (6) blessings and curses.¹⁹² The association of the king and temple is found in step 1 where the motif of victory over an enemy recurs in the narratives.¹⁹³ Royal legitimisation is further identified in the blessings of the king (steps 5 and 6), including promises of dynastic stability. In the Hebrew traditions this may be seen in the dedications of David and Solomon in *1 Kgs.* 9:3-5.¹⁹⁴

A third aspect is the association between temple building and the establishment of social order. Honigman iterates: “when placed in this context, the story of Antiochus

¹⁸⁹ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁰ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, p. 69, ‘No one needs the obvious to be explained, and in societies in which the existence and workings of God (or the gods) in human destiny is a matter of knowledge and not belief, divine righteousness *per se* was a nonissue.’

¹⁹¹ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, p. 96.

¹⁹² V. Hurowitz, *I Have Built You an Exalted House: Temple Building in the Bible in Light of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic Writings*, JSOT, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992.

¹⁹³ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, p. 103. n. 54-5. Honigman notes the instances of David and Solomon (*1 Kgs.* 5:3-5), Cyrus’ toppling of the Neo-Babylonian empire where ascribes his victory to Marduk and being chosen to rebuild the god’s temple.

¹⁹⁴ ‘I have consecrated this house that you have built, and put my name there forever; my eyes and my heart will be there for all time. As for you, if you will walk before me, as David your father walked, with integrity of heart and uprightness, doing according to all that I have commanded you, and keeping my statutes and my ordinances, then I will establish your royal throne over Israel forever.’

IV's desecration of the Temple of Jerusalem – and its subsequent purification and re-foundation related in *1* and *2 Maccabees* – emerges as the founding myth of the Hasmonean dynasty: that is, the event on which the dynasty based its legitimacy."¹⁹⁵

Honigman's hypothesis again proceeds from an analysis of the Second Maccabean narrative structure. She perceives the structure follows three primary elements: "three successive temple stories, four kings, and four high priests – all three threads brought together in the last period of time."¹⁹⁶ The first cycle (*Ideal State*) is the story of Heliodorus, dominated by Seleucus IV and Onias III (3:1-4:6). It follows the narrative pattern of Temple liberation. Under the high priest Onias III, kings honour the Temple, which is protected from the assault of Heliodorus.¹⁹⁷

The second and third cycles (*Disruption and Reconstruction*) incorporate two units (4:7-10:9 and 10:10-13:26), featuring Antiochus IV Epiphanes, his son Antiochus V Eupator, and Jason and Menelaos, wicked kings and high priests. The second cycle follows the narrative pattern of temple foundation and starts with disruption under Jason, Menelaos and Antiochus IV (4:7-5:26). In 5:27, Judas Maccabeus is introduced and this is perceived as a turning point when the Judeans engage in a process of reconciliation with God through the death of the martyrs and the actions of Judas (5:27-10:9). The third cycle continues the theme of reconstruction and sees the demise of Antiochus IV and the defeat of Antiochus V Eupator (10:10-13:26).

The fourth cycle (*Disruption and Reconstruction*) is Nicanor's Day (14:1-15:37a) built around Demetrius I and Alkimos. This cycle follows the narrative pattern of temple liberation and temple foundation. The malicious influence of Demetrius and Alkimos is corrected by the pious actions of Judas. As a result, in an analogous episode to Heliodorus, the Temple is saved from Nicanor. The final cycle (*Return to the Ideal*

¹⁹⁵ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, pp. 96-7.

¹⁹⁶ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, p. 68.

¹⁹⁷ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, pp. 152-4.

State) is contained in the last verse (15:37b), and refers to the Hasmonean period in which the dynasty fulfills the functions of king and high priest together. Honigman concludes: “the result is best regarded as a dynastic history that, like *1 Maccabees*, was written to champion the Hasmonean dynasty.”¹⁹⁸

One issue that this structure presents is that the history of the Hasmonean dynasty’s rise to power was not complete with the defeat of Nicanor. According to *1 Maccabees*, Nicanor’s defeat prompted Demetrius I to “again send Bacchides and Alcimus back against the land of Judah” (1 Macc. 9:1). He retook Jerusalem, defeated Judas’ army in an engagement where “finally Judas fell and the surviving Jews fled” (1 Macc. 9:18).

First Maccabees records:

It happened after the death of Judas, the lawless came forth in all the regions of Israel, and all those who worked injustice arose. In those days there was a very great famine, and the country deserted with them. And Bacchides selected the impious men and established them as masters of the country. And they sought out and investigated the friends of Judas and led them to Bacchides, and he retaliated against them and taunted them. (*1 Macc.* 9:23-27)

This can hardly be construed as a period of restored peace and the story seems to have a premature conclusion. The explanations for why the epitomist finished his account where he did are various. One suggestion is that this was where Jason’s work ended and so the epitomist was required to end his abridgment accordingly.¹⁹⁹ Goldstein suggests the epitomist chose to finish at this point and blames him for misleading his readers in an anti-Hasmonean gesture.²⁰⁰ Schwartz draws a similar conclusion when he writes: “[the author] should want to leave them with the impression that the ideal situation continues until his and their own day.”²⁰¹ Hermann Lichtenberger suggests that the author could not have Judas die on the battlefield as “death on the battlefield is the consequence of sin; or, even more precisely, of idolatry. Judas had nothing to do with

¹⁹⁸ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, p. 68.

¹⁹⁹ N. Hyldahl, ‘The Maccabean Rebellion and the Question of ‘Hellenization’, in P.Bilde et al’, (eds.), *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom*, Arhus: Arhus University Press, 1990, p. 201.

²⁰⁰ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 505, ‘If our author was aware [that Alcimus was still high priest] he concedes tacitly that Alcimus was a believing ‘Hebrew’.’

²⁰¹ Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, p. 504.

all that.”²⁰² Doran suggests the epitomist concludes where he does because “the feast of Nikanor has been inaugurated ... the epitome ... begins with the honour given to the Temple (3:1-2) and ends with the festival of the deliverance of the Temple.”²⁰³

For her part, Honigman proposes that the shorter time span for *2 Maccabees*, and by consequence the premature ending, is often construed as anti-Hasmonean but only if the work is read as a linear chronicle. If it is seen as a cyclical account, the length of time and ending is of secondary importance. She concludes: “*2 Maccabees* focuses on the founding myth of the dynasty, the refoundation of the temple, and is moreover concerned with asserting or reasserting that the Hasmoneans are legitimate heirs to Onias III.”²⁰⁴ In this comprehension, *2 Maccabees* may plausibly be determined to exhibit characteristics of dynastic history.

Honigman argues that *2 Maccabees* was written at the same time as *1 Maccabees* with both works seeking to validate the Hasmonean dynasty. She views *2 Maccabees* as a Hellenistic history written within a Jewish frame of reference. Honigman seeks to interpret the story within a cyclic narrative pattern and highlights the importance of royal identities to reinforce the Hasmonean founding myth. Her attempts, however, to move the history from a religious context (à la Doran, Goldstein and Schwartz), to a political context may fail to recognise the local religious factions that seem to undergird the Maccabean narratives. Boris Chrubasik suggests: “Should we [see] the Seleucid king’s strong presence on the local level as the most plausible scenario ... or continue to emphasise the tensions on a local level.”²⁰⁵ No doubt the political forces of the Seleucid kings impacted on Jerusalem and its inhabitants but it is not completely obvious that this was Jason’s (and the epitomist’s) primary purpose for writing.

²⁰² H. Lichtenberger, ‘The Untold End: 2 Maccabees and Acts’, in A. Houtman, A. de Jong, & M. Misset-van de Weg, (eds.), *Empsychoi Logoi – Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, Leiden: Brill, 2008, p. 402.

²⁰³ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 10.

²⁰⁴ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, p. 84.

²⁰⁵ B. Chrubasik, review of ‘Honigman (S), *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*’, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 135, 2015, p. 239.

5.3.5 *Second Maccabees* as Jewish-Hellenistic Historical Monograph

A final genre to be considered in the present discussion is that alluded to in Chapter 4, *viz.*, the historical monograph and novel, and specifically the sub-genre of Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction. As previously highlighted, what constitutes this literary type is indistinct. A number of points were, however, noted; (i) there is a crossover between the ancient historical monograph and a novel; (ii) an ancient historical monograph exhibits the characteristics of a single volume covering a limited historical period and focuses on one theme and to a significant extent, on a single person; (iii) the ‘ancient Greek novel’ is not a category taken from ancient writings but is a modern construct arising from the grouping of certain ancient writings on the basis of their distinctive treatment and ethos; (iv) a corpus of Jewish-Hellenistic writings emerged which bore similarities and became part of the Jewish-Hellenistic mythos; and (v) a number of these narratives used historical ‘fiction’ methodologies to reshape the past in service of the present.

As with the critiques of *2 Maccabees* as ‘tragic’ history, the determination of a genre of Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monographs includes a crossover, not just between monographs and novels, but also with other ancient historiographic genres. The use of ‘fiction’ methodologies may be construed to align closely with the practices of the ‘tragic’ historians. Both historiographic types suggest that historical errors and supernatural causality are distinguishing aspects. This is to be expected when the prototype model is employed to understand genre. Both ‘tragic’ history and Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monographs may be perceived to extend as spokes from a central historiographic hub. Wills suggests that similar to novels of any place or period, Jewish novels had a tendency to blend with other sorts of writings. He summarises:

The Jewish novel had a tendency to blend on all sides with other sorts of writings. It can be seen variously as a commentary on scripture or a vulgarization of history writing (as biblical scholars have consciously or unconsciously treated it), a continuation of the oral folktale into

the written medium, or an early version of the larger Greek novel. The exact contours and formal characteristics of the novel thus remain ambiguous. The lack of a term in the ancient world for the Jewish novel – or for the Greek and Roman novel – forces us to utilize, in place of any known ancient genre category, a hermeneutical model of our own naming that can explain the data before us.²⁰⁶

The immediate discussion will consider further aspects of the Jewish novel and how *2 Maccabees* may be seen to align with this ‘genre’. A second discussion will introduce the possibility that *2 Maccabees* may be further distinguished as historical fiction.

1 – *The Jewish Novel*

Between 200 B.C.E. and 100 B.C.E. Jewish writers, pre-dating their Greek counterparts by some two hundred years, wrote narratives that assembled themselves into a corpus of literature exhibiting similar characteristics and style.²⁰⁷ Wills argues that such literature resulted from a ‘novelistic impulse,’ the tendency to transfer oral stories to writing and to create new stories embellished with narrative devices characteristic of written prose.²⁰⁸ This impulse was realised due to the changing social conditions of the Hellenistic world, which saw the spread of literacy and the emergence of a “leisured entrepreneurial class”.²⁰⁹

Attempts to define the formal characteristics of the Jewish novel are constrained by the diversity of the texts and not least, the various backgrounds of the story materials. Nevertheless, there are some broad strokes of similarity that may be discerned. These similarities include; (i) vivid historical settings; (ii) adventurous and dramatic tone; (iii) a heightened interest in the emotions and interior lives of the characters; (iii) a predominance of female characters; and (iv) joyous conclusions. Jewish novels are highly entertaining prose narratives that tell the dramatic adventures of named but non-

²⁰⁶ Wills, *The Jewish Novel*, pp. 6-7.

²⁰⁷ The five extant ancient Greek novels are dated from the 1st century C.E. Chariton's *Callirhoe* (mid-1st century), Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* (early-2nd century), Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* (2nd century), Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesian Tale* (late-2nd century), and Heliodorus of Emesa's *Aethiopica* (third century).

²⁰⁸ Wills, *The Jewish Novel*, p. 5.

²⁰⁹ Wills, *The Jewish Novel*, p. 49.

‘canonical’ individuals of the ancient past.²¹⁰ The ethos that characterises these writings is the exploitation of new literate-culture techniques that entertain through emotional manipulation.²¹¹ Pervo adds to this description:

Jewish novelists did not invent their characters. They elaborated figures and events from myth, legend, Scripture and history. ... [they] sought to communicate desirable ideas and behaviour patterns through the medium of an interesting story. ... Novels could help the public deal with such perennial changes as liturgical change and new translations of Scripture. Characterization was a major instrument for edification. The leading figures are outstanding models of Jewish piety. They win because of, not in spite of, their fidelity to traditional observances and beliefs. God is on the side of the faithful, providence aids the righteous while punishing the wicked, and all ends well for those who follow the true path.²¹²

Texts considered representative of this genre include Greek *Daniel*, (including *Susanna* and *Bel and the Dragon*), *Tobit*, Greek *Esther*, *Judith*, and *Joseph and Aseneth*. *2 Maccabees* may also be seen to accord with many of these conventions.

First, as has been seen in the author’s prologue and in its use of dramatic effect, *2 Maccabees* seeks to be entertaining.²¹³ Second, the narrative has a vivid historical setting, positioned against the Maccabean revolt. Third, the text displays heightened interest in the emotions and interior lives of the characters as depicted in the reflections of Antiochus and Nicanor (*2 Macc.* 4:37-38; 15:1-5) as well as in the self-reflections of the author (*2 Macc.* 6:12-17).

Fourth, attention is also given to female characters although these are not as developed as in *Susanna*, *Esther*, *Judith*, and *Joseph and Aseneth*. Sara Parks locates some fourteen references to women in *2 Maccabees* although the instance that is singled out is the positive portrayal of the martyred mother in 7:5-41.²¹⁴ Parks argues this portrayal is at the crux of the work and the author “highly praises the mother for her righteous

²¹⁰ Wills, *The Jewish Novel*, p. 212.

²¹¹ Wills, *The Jewish Novel*, p. 213.

²¹² Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, pp. 120-1. It is almost as if Pervo is seeking to categorise *2 Maccabees* at this instance, as his definition so closely aligns with the structure and emphases in the book.

²¹³ M. Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture*, New York: Norton, 1972, pp. 126-127, Hadas iterates the combination of entertainment and historiography found in Second Maccabees: ‘The program of Hellenistic historiography could not be more succinctly expressed than by the words (of the preface) psychagogia (pleasure), eukopia (ease), and ophelia (edification) – with the inevitable concomitant of indifference to historical fact.’

²¹⁴ S. Parks, ‘The Role of Women in 1 and 2 Maccabees’, unpublished dissertation, Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University, Montreal September 2005. Parks lists the following references in *2 Macc.* 3:10; 3:19-20; 4:30; 5:13, 24; 6:4, 10; 7:5-41; 8:28, 30; 12:3-4, 21; 14:25; 15:18.

actions and her Stoic ability to overcome her emotions, and even puts articulate and persuasive sermons in her mouth.”²¹⁵ While Parks correctly observes, “neither *1* nor *2 Maccabees* is a particularly rich text for women’s roles, the inclusion of the martyred mother as a significant female character commends *2 Maccabees* as a Jewish novel.

Fifth, the final criterion of a Jewish novel – the joyous conclusion – is also evident in the Maccabean narrative. The protagonists are defeated: Antiochus IV comes to the end of his life “by a most pitiable fate” (*2 Macc.* 9:28); Timothy is slain “while hiding in a cistern” (10:37); Menelaus died “without even a burial in the earth” (13:7); Nicanor is killed and his corpse is desecrated (15:28-36); all resulting in the restoration of Jerusalem which from that time “has been ruled by the Hebrews” (15:37). It may be construed that *2 Maccabees* generally exhibits features of the Jewish novel. It incorporates a vivid historical setting; it employs an adventurous, dramatic tone and language; it presents a heightened interest in the emotions and interior lives of the characters; it presents a prominent female character, and it closes with a joyous conclusion.

2 – *Historical Fiction*

The sub-genre of historical fiction may be broadly defined as “novelistic renderings of what were viewed as actual historical events from the recent past.”²¹⁶ The works that Mills includes in this sub-category are *The Tobiad Romance*, *The Royal Family of Adiabene*, *Third Maccabees* and *Second Maccabees*. That which distinguishes historical novels from other novels also indicates their similarities. Both literary types have a commitment to emotional experience, adventurous and dramatic tone, and joyous conclusions, but historical novels may be further distinguished from novels in four aspects.

²¹⁵ Parks, ‘The Role of Women’, p. 49-51, ‘The martyred mother is a hero in her own right. For instance, she is depicted as a theologian, waxing eloquent on the resurrection of the dead using language reminiscent of Greek philosophy. In *2 Maccabees* 7:22, her meditation on the mystery of life (“I do not know how you came into being in my womb. It was not I who gave you life and breath, nor I who set in order the elements within each of you”) uses a Greek term “elements” (στοιχεῖωσιν) first used in this sense by Plato. ... Her speech in 7:28 (“look at the heaven and the earth and see everything that is in them, and recognize that God did not make them out of things that existed”) may even represent the first mention in history of the creation *ex nihilo* doctrine (albeit in nascent form). ... She is “filled with a noble spirit” as well (*2 Macc.* 7:21).

²¹⁶ Wills, *The Jewish Novel*, p. 185.

These aspects may be construed from the work of Pervo: (i) historical fictions have chosen real subjects from the past who have some significance to Jewish history; (ii) historical novels are more mimetic than novels because they are endeavouring to recount the reality of the past even if this includes supernatural manifestations; (iii) they deliberately seek to reshape the past in service of the present even if it means misrepresenting ‘historical facts’; and (iv) the texts were generally received as history, being read in antiquity as historiography.²¹⁷

In the context of the present discussion, the application of the criteria for historical fiction monograph deserves a more detailed analysis, which will be undertaken in the subsequent chapter. At this juncture it will suffice to summarise how *2 Maccabees* might be aligned to this genre. First, the author generally chose real subjects from the past who had some significance to Jewish history – the rulers, generals, high priests and Judas Maccabeus. Second, the epitomist endeavoured to recount the reality of the past, even if this included supernatural manifestations.

Third, internal evidence shows that the author deliberately sought to reshape the past in service of the present even if it means misrepresenting ‘historical facts’ and the chronological manipulation of sources. Fourth, while the manner in which immediate and wider audience in the Hellenistic era received *2 Maccabees* is ultimately unknowable, there appears to be clear recognition of *2 Maccabean* martyrdom accounts in *4 Maccabees*, which tends towards a historical acceptance. On the basis of these aforementioned features, it may be preliminarily determined that *2 Maccabees* exhibits similarities to the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph which invites further investigation into this possibility.

²¹⁷ These criteria combine the ideas of L.Wills, *The Jewish Novel*, pp. 16-17; R. Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, p.120-121; S. R. Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, p. 6; and B. Wesseling, ‘The Audience of the Ancient Novels’, H. Hoffman (ed), *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel, Volume 1*, Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1988, pp. 67-68.

5.4 Chapter Conclusions

The preceding survey of scholarly opinion as to the genre of *2 Maccabees* has allowed us to step into the muddling of the waters and walk between the broken stereotypes of Jewish-Hellenistic literary *topoi* and historiography. It has revealed that *2 Maccabees* does not conform neatly to a generic pigeonhole but flits from genre to literary *topos*, from Greek literary styles to Hebrew motifs, and back again. The chapter commenced with a discussion of three proposals that view *2 Maccabees* as propagandist literature. It was determined that Temple propaganda is plausibly one of the ideological motivations underpinning *2 Maccabees*. Doran's structural analysis organised around assaults against the Temple; the repulse of the enemy through obedience coupled with the manifestations of God; and the eventual liberation of the Temple and ensuing celebration, gives evidence of a particular narrative pattern.

Goldstein's hypothesis where *2 Maccabees* resembles anti-Hasmonean propaganda essentially arises from differences in the foci between *1* and *2 Maccabees*. The anti-Hasmonean propaganda proposal was analysed under four aspects; (i) presumed dates of writing and cultural milieu of the respective books, (ii) modification of the narrative to challenge the First Maccabean account; (iii) omission of references to Hasmonian achievements; and (iv) doctrinal differences. It was established that the anti-Hasmonean hypothesis is at times tenuous and has been countered by more recent assessments of the narrative. The hypothesis of 'Idyllic' Jerusalem propaganda identifies the interest in *2 Maccabees* focuses on the restoration of Jerusalem. Schwartz observes the narrative is bracketed by an idyllic peaceful Jerusalem in *2 Macc.* 3:1 and the restoration of the city in *2 Macc.* 15:37. His proposal advocates that *2 Maccabees* was meant to foster celebration of Nicanor's Day and the restoration of Jerusalem.

A literary *topos* – epiphanies of God narratives was analysed. It was established that as well as similarities with Judeo-Israelite epiphanies, echoes of Greek epiphanic writ-

ings were also to be found in *2 Maccabees*. It was established that aspects of *2 Maccabees* might be construed as thematic historiography highlighting epiphanic assistance. A further discussion addressed the proposal linking the epitomist's narrative to the *topos* of festal letters. In *2 Maccabees* feasts celebrated the epiphanic deliverance of the Temple, Jerusalem, and the Jewish people. It was noted that *2 Maccabees* reflects the literary type of festal letters particularly in the prefixed epistles and in the wider narrative as a holiday-centred text.

The survey proceeded to consider proposals that *2 Maccabees* may bear similarities to a historiographic genre. It was concluded that aspects of *2 Maccabees* quite feasibly align to a genre of 'tragic' history. The epitomist uses an emotive style and presents scenes in a vivid manner, which may or may not disregard their historical veracity. He employs the use of supernatural activity to explain events and seeks to arouse psychological and behavioural changes as a consequence. The next discussion explored van Henten's hypothesis of didactic history, which concentrates on the martyrdom accounts. An analysis of these narrative sections revealed they do serve a didactic purpose but the argument tends to ignore major sections of *2 Maccabees*. It was established that this hypothesis may be better applied to a secondary use of the narrative. This discussion was followed by a consideration van Henten's proposal of liberation history and Honigman's proposal that *2 Maccabees* is dynastic history that legitimises the political status of the Hasmonean dynasty. Her hypothesis is organised around a structural of four cyclic stories that move from an ideal state, through two cycles of disruption and reconstruction, to a return to an ideal state. With this structure as a basis, Honigman construes *2 Maccabees* was written to champion the Hasmonean dynasty as rightful rulers through their association as 're-founders' of the Temple.

The final genre to be considered was the Jewish-Hellenistic novel or monograph. The sense that *2 Maccabees* might align to this literary category presents itself as a pos-

sible generic determination. The Jewish-Hellenistic novel may be perceived as a radial arm of the prototype of Greek historiography in the Hellenistic period and stands in the stream of Judeo-Israelite historiography that elevates heroes, envisages the active hand of God, elevates the Temple, Jerusalem, pious living, and the celebration of festivals. The likely positioning of *2 Maccabees* as a Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph arises from observations that may be drawn from the preceding survey; (i) the author's declaration in his prologue that his abridgement seeks to provide a short, monographic historical account focusing on the exploits of Judas Maccabeus; and (ii) the use of historiographic methodologies including errors and the reshaping of historical events, the chronological manipulation of sources, and the overt inclusion of supernatural machinery.

Whether *2 Maccabees* may be determined to align to the genres, styles, or *topoi* of propaganda, epiphanies, festal letter, tragic history, didactic history, dynastic history, historical fiction, or a fascinating eclectic blend of all of the above; the overarching sense is that the epitomist has shaped his narrative to represent the past in service of the present. The author's subordination of the 'fabula' to his 'story' employs the methodology of paraphrasing, in a 'seductive cocktail of entertainment, ease, and usefulness.' Historical veracity may be sacrificed at times in order to emphasise a didactic point or propagandistic perspective but at other times it appears that epitomist's reshaping may be simply to season the narrative.

Chapter 6. *Luke* and the Jewish-Hellenistic Historical Fiction Monograph

*[Luke] is concerned to give a vivid, dramatic and psychological account ...
This corresponds to his ideal of a 'solemn' historiography which he shares with
numerous historians of the Hellenistic period, not least the author of 2 Maccabees.
Martin Hengel, 1995*

6.1 Parallel Evolution

A number of social commentators have drawn attention to the biblical themes and references in J. K. Rowling's novel, *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*. Lisa Miller commented in *Newsweek* that when Harry dies and comes back to life to save humankind, it is like Christ. She notes the title of the chapter in which this occurs is 'King's Cross' and asks if there is a possible allusion to Christ's cross. In Chapter 16, 'Godric's Hollow', Harry finds his parents' tombstone where an epitaph is inscribed, 'The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death' (*I Cor.* 15:26). On another tombstone he reads, 'Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also' (*Matt.* 6:21). When questioned about these allusions, Rowling answered: " [the religious parallels have] always been obvious. But I never wanted to talk too openly about it because I thought it might show people who just wanted the story, where we were going."¹ While references to biblical texts and biblical themes may occur in *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*, it would be dangerous to suggest that Rowling's intention was to parallel the Christian story. Some may suggest that it is nonsensical (or even heretical) to draw from these narrative allusions that Rowling's novel is modeled on the Bible.

In a similar vein, it may be considered speculative to seek to discover parallels between ancient narratives. We seldom know the mind of the authors and the clues that may be offered in the text can be construed or misconstrued in a variety of ways. Readers must be aware that recurring allusions, quotations, and themes need not necessarily indicate dependence of one text on another. Similarities may also be the consequence

¹ S. Adler, *Harry Potter Author J.K. Rowling opens up about books' Christian Imagery*, MTV News, 2007. Accessed online 19.5.2015, @ <http://www.mtv.com/news/1572107/harry-potter-author-jk-rowling-opens-up-about-books-christian-imagery/>

of parallel evolution where the socio-cultural milieu from which two texts emerge results in equivalent features. By the same token, it can be instructive and illuminating to unearth justifiable similarities that contribute to a further understanding. With this precautionary attitude in mind, we now approach the task of comparing *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* and possible similarities to the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph.

6.1.1 Lukan and Maccabean Parallels

From time to time across Lukan scholarship, comments and asides have been articulated about possible correlations between the deuterocanonical book of *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*. Correlations have been suggested at the level of language, genre, traditions and historiography. Cadbury noted in passing, only to dismiss the significance, that *Luke-Acts* shares more common vocabulary with *2 Maccabees* than *Mark*.² Yet despite Cadbury's dismissal of any association between *Luke-Acts* and *2 Maccabees* at a linguistic level, William Clarke's contemporaneous analysis of *Luke*, *Acts*, and *Hebrews* with the Maccabean text, revealed that thirty-five per cent of vocabulary in *2 Maccabees* and forty-three per cent of vocabulary in *3 Maccabees* recurs in *Luke*.³

More recently, David Allen proposed ancient evidence points to Antioch as the centre of religious interest in the Maccabees and that Luke was associated with the church in Antioch.⁴ While it may be a minority opinion, Solomon Zeitlin suggests that Antiochus IV pursued his policy of Hellenisation outside of Judea with indications that the Jews of Antioch were also persecuted.⁵ It should be noted that while the martyrdom

² H.J. Cadbury, *The style and literary method of Luke*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920, p. 7. '[Mark and Second Maccabees] are of about the same size. Mark we know was not only read by Luke but was made the chief source of his Gospel and in places copied verbatim; Second Maccabees may not even have been known to [Luke]. Yet according to the following figures, both in this general vocabulary and in the words peculiar to him, Luke has more in common with Second Maccabees than with Mark.'

³ W.K.L. Clarke, 'The Use of the Septuagint in Acts', *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles*, (ed.), F.J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, London: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 2:74-5, Clarke notes, 'these figures suggest that Luke may have read 2 and 3 Maccabees before writing Acts. ... It was no doubt known to the author of Hebrews who belonged to the same literary circles as Luke.'

⁴ D. Allen, *Lukan Authorship of Hebrews*, Nashville: B&H Publishing Group, 2010, p. 91.

⁵ S. Zeitlin, *The Second Book of Maccabees*, (trans.), S. Tedesche, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954, p. 17. Zeitlin notes: 'We must recall that the story of the martyrdom of the seven brothers originated in Antioch and this tale must truly reflect some persecution against the Jews in Antioch.'; S.A. Cummins, *Paul and the Crucified Christ in Antioch: Maccabean martyrdom and Galatians 1 and 2*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 84-5, C.E.

stories were popular in Antioch, there is little contemporaneous evidence that actual persecutions took place.

Pervo suggests possible generic connections between *2 Maccabees* and *Luke-Acts* noting the “style and content of *Acts* urge the consideration of Jewish prototypes. *Second Maccabees*, with its dramatic scenes, stunning miracles, and edifying message, offers an obvious basis for comparison.”⁶ Palmer adds: “The history of an incipient religious movement is an unprecedented subject for an ancient monograph. But the way has been prepared by the religious content of the Hellenistic Jewish historical monographs.”⁷ While Sterling does not specifically consider *2 Maccabees* in his work on apologetic history due to its ‘narrow scope’, he nevertheless suggests, “I think *II Maccabees* might be an important work to compare with *Luke-Acts*.”⁸

Detlev Dormeyer suggests, “Luke takes up the pathetic historiography in a dramatic episodic style which is parallel to *2 Maccabees*.”⁹ Martin Hengel also draws links between *Luke-Acts* and *2 Maccabees*, particularly in the manner in which Luke approaches historiography. Hengel notes: “[Luke] is concerned to give a vivid, dramatic and psychological account ... This corresponds to his ideal of a ‘solemn’ historiography which he shares with numerous historians of the Hellenistic period, not least the author of *2 Maccabees*.”¹⁰

texts that connect the Maccabean martyrs with Antioch – a medieval Judaeo-Arabic Text *Farag-Book of Nissim Ibn Shahin of Kairowan*, an Arabic text *Codex Vaticanus 286*, connects an Antiochean church built on the gravesite of the Maccabean martyrs, 6th-century Byzantine chronographer Malalas records a local tradition that Demetrius I allowed Judas Maccabeus to bury those who had been martyred in a synagogue in Antioch, a Syriac martyr calendar (412 C.E) refers to ‘those that were interred at Antioch, who were the sons of Shamuni mentioned in the Maccabees, Chrysostom, and Gregory of Nazianzus refers to the Christian basilica in Antioch which revered the Maccabean martyrs and venerated tombs in Antioch.

⁶ Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, p. 7.

⁷ Palmer, ‘Acts and the Ancient Historical Monograph’, in Winter and Clarke, p. 29. Palmer notes the monographs of *1 Esdras* and *1* and *2 Maccabees* in this context.

⁸ Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, p. 387, cf. Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, pp. 8-9. Doran notes that the discovery of the νεφθαα (naphtha) mentioned in 1:36 aligns with Sterling’s apologetic criterion of the πρώτη εὐρεῖται. Artapanus claimed Moses had invented ships etc., Abraham was the discoverer of astrology. Here *2 Macc.* declared Nehemiah and the companions are discoverers of νεφθαα and give it its name.

⁹ D. Dormeyer, *The New Testament Among the Writings of Antiquity*, (trans.) R. Kossov, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998, p. 243.

¹⁰ M. Hengel, ‘The Geography of Palestine’ in R. Bauckham, (ed.), *The Books of Acts in its Palestinian Setting*, Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1995, p. 44.

These scholarly assessments intimate the possibility that *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* may share common features. Previously in Ch. 3, an analysis was undertaken of Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monographs that emerged during the Hellenistic period and it was suggested that *Luke* as a ‘stand-alone’ historical monograph might have parallels in this tradition. Ch. 4 highlighted the genres of *2 Maccabees* and established that it also might have parallels with the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph. These recognitions anticipate that *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* may stand together in a literary tradition.

6.1.2 Chapter Structure

The present chapter will propose that *Luke*, as a ‘stand-alone’ volume, qualifies as an ancient historiographic narrative and it exhibits generic aspects and historiographic methodologies characteristic of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph that might also be identified in *2 Maccabees*. It will be argued that by employing the form of a short, singled focused narrative, the author of *Luke* engages with the historic setting of the Roman Empire and presents real subjects from the past. The Gospel focuses on one theme and subject, and seeks to recount the reality of the past even if this included a muddling of fact and fiction.

The chapter will commence with a general conversation concerning the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph and attempt to define this literary type. Included in this definition will be a discussion that seeks to establish disambiguation criteria that sets *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* apart from the biographical genre. The subsequent discussion will proceed to analyse the narratives of *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* under the headings of structure and style. An analysis of structural features will compare *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* with the formal aspects of the historical monograph.

The discussion will then move to a consideration of stylistic and methodological features identified in the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph under two main

subsections, *viz.*, (i) pretensions to historiography and the reception of the narratives as historiography; and (ii) the muddling of fact and fiction through the misrepresentation of historic facts, chronological manipulations, and supernatural causality. The stylistic analysis will commence by considering Lukan and Maccabean pretensions to historiography and will incorporate an exegesis of the respective narrative prefaces and a comparison with Ancient Greco-Roman historical prologues. The reception of both narratives as historiography by their immediate audiences will also be addressed.

The analysis of methodological features concerning the blurring of fact and fiction will proceed in four directions. First, a historical continuum model will be presented and a *tertium quid* comparing Luke and 2 Maccabees to the Jewish novels *Tobit* and *Judith* will be undertaken to discern if *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* may exhibit specific similarities that distinguish them from other Jewish-Hellenistic novels. This wider frame of reference will establish the significance and extent of Lukan and Maccabean parallels.

Second, there will be an evaluation of the historical errors in *2 Maccabees* (the Heliodorus episode, Onias III, the martyrdoms, and the identity of Timothy); and the historical errors in *Luke* (Quinirius census, errors in Lk. 3, and the genealogy). Third, there will be an analysis of chronological manipulations in both narratives. In *2 Maccabees* this will concentrate on the letters in Ch. 11, and in *Luke* it will focus on the Lukan manipulation of his Markan source and include a study of Jesus' anointing by the woman with the alabaster vase. A fourth examination will address Maccabean and Lukan use of supernatural causality. This will cover the use of prayers and epiphanic manifestations in *2 Maccabees*; and miracles, prayers, and epiphanic manifestations in *Luke*.

It will be shown that *Luke* exhibits generic aspects and historiographic methodologies characteristic of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph that are also found in *2 Maccabees*. As such, Lukan historiography may be construed to follow in the evolving tradition of Israelite-Jewish historiography and reflects a Hellenistic blend

of fiction and non-fiction that was acceptable to the author and received as historiography by its audience.

6.2 Characteristics of the Jewish-Hellenistic Historical Fiction Monograph

The Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph was not a term employed by the ancients but derives from modern terminology. It is a term used to distinguish a particular form of historiography that emerged in the Hellenistic period and represents a blend of two ancient literary types. The first type is that of the ancient historical monograph. The second type is the Israelite and Jewish historical fictional novel. A crossover is recognised between the ancient novel and the historical monograph and this leads to the present proposal that the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph may be construed as a literary category.

Such a genre does not fit neatly into categories with rigid boundaries. In Ch. 3, it was determined that the perception of genres under the prototype theory means that types may be understood as possessing indeterminate boundaries as opposed to being fixed groupings. The anticipation of a *genera proxima* operates under this comprehension and the concept of historical monograph and historical fiction may be construed as radial arms emanating from the hub of historiographic narratives with degrees of overlap and blending. Working from this understanding, it is possible to determine distinguishing features of a particular literary type in ancient historiography without implying that all such examples necessarily bear the same characteristics.

In Ch. 4, it was further noted that ancient historical monographs are shorter narratives comprising a separate volume, covering a limited chronological period with a restricted geographical area, and a consistent focus on one theme and person. Within this literary type, a sub-genre of the historical novel may be further distinguished. Wills suggested the ancient novel, which included historical fiction, had a tendency to blend

on all sides with other sorts of writings¹¹ yet despite this haziness, a corpus of literature could be identified that exhibited similar characteristics and style. Wills and Pervo determined the genre as prose narratives that tell dramatic stories of named individuals incorporating vivid historical settings, heightened emotions, and joyous conclusions.

The historical fiction monograph exhibits additional features that Pervo identifies under four headings, *viz.*, (i) the choice of real historical subjects from the past; (ii) an endeavour to recount the reality of the past even if this includes historical errors and supernatural manifestations; (iii) a deliberate reshaping of the past in service of the present; and (iv) a general reception as being historiography. In the context of the present discussion these features have been modified to include a further aspect, *viz.*, the pretension by the author that they were writing historiography. The Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph may therefore be defined as:

A short historiographic narrative that exists in a separate volume, covers a limited chronological period and restricted geographical area, and has a consistent focus on one theme and person. It professes to be historiography and is often received as such. It centers on real historical subjects and endeavours to recount the reality of the past even if this includes historical errors, chronological manipulations, and supernatural causality.

At this point it is important to note that there is a fundamental distinction in the understanding of historical fiction. On the one hand there is fiction that makes use of a historical character, and on the other hand a work of history with fictitious flourishes. It is the latter of these distinctions with which the present discussion is concerned. Such works seek to communicate past events and despite the muddling of fact and fiction, they do not seek to place before the reader an invented account simply for entertainment even if it seeks to edify or instruct.

A crossover between genres is to be expected but similarities between the types within the genre are also evident. In the present discussion where broad paint strokes capture similarities between texts such as *Tobit*, *Judith*, *2 Maccabees*, and *Luke*, it may be

¹¹ Wills, *The Jewish Novel*, p. 6-7.

further determined that more distinct parallels exist between two or more of the narratives. It is proposed that *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* display specific similarities that set them apart from other historical fictions such as *Judith* and *Tobit*.

6.3 The Structural Features of the *Gospel of Luke* and *Second Maccabees*

Historical monographs comprise a single volume, cover a limited historical period, are concerned with a restricted geographical area, focus on one theme, and to a significant extent, focus on one person. In the Jewish-Hellenistic historiographic corpus a number of works have been identified as aligning to this category including *Second Maccabees*. The *Gospel of Luke* similarly consists of a separate volume, covering a limited chronological period of the recent past, a restricted geographical area, and a consistent focus on one theme and one person – Jesus of Nazareth.

6.3.1 The Structural Features of *Second Maccabees*

The abridgement of Jason of Cyrene's history in *2 Maccabees* reduces Jason's five volumes to a size that may be perceived as a historical monograph. Whereas *1 Maccabees* may be compared in length to the biblical history accounts, *2 Maccabees* (approx. 16,430 words) is shorter and falls between the length of the Israelite history books and the Jewish novels.¹² It is a single, self-contained volume that does not need another work to either precede or complete it. The narrative has its own beginning and its own conclusion and stands alone as a historical monograph. *2 Maccabees* also covers a limited historical period and geographical setting. It relates the events in Judea from 175 B.C.E. when Heliodorus comes to Jerusalem to confiscate money from the Temple, to the defeat of Nicanor at the hand of Judas Maccabeus in 164 B.C.E.

¹² *1 Maccabees* is roughly 23,230 words in length, cf., *1 Sam.* (25,800 words); *2 Sam.* (21,300 words); *1 Kgs.* (25,300 words); *2 Kgs.* (24,250 words) but *2 Maccabees* is roughly 16,430 words. cf. Greek *Esther* (5900 words); *Judith* (9800 words); *Tobit* (7300 words); *Joseph and Aseneth* (5900 words); *3 Maccabees* (5700 words). The length of the Dtr histories may be combined, *1 Sam.* + *2 Sam.* + *1 Kgs.* + *2 Kgs.* to amount to some 96,650 words. The shorter divisions are most probably due to the restrictions of the ancient scroll.

While there is debate as to which theme is most prominent in the work, *i.e.* restoration of the Temple, the ‘Idyllic’ Jerusalem, the epiphanies, or the foregrounding of Judas Maccabeus as a chosen leader, the narrative essentially focuses on a theme involving the restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem through the defeat of Seleucid forces by Judas Maccabeus and the hand of God. The single character focus is evident in a comparison with *1 Maccabees*. Whilst narrative of *1 Maccabees* recounts the heroism of the entire Hasmonean family, highlighting how the salvation of the Jewish people came through Mattathias' family, *2 Maccabees* tends to concentrate on one son – Judas Maccabeus. *1 Maccabees* also focuses on the new ‘Jewish’ state through a historiography that emulates biblical history but *2 Maccabees* expresses a singular theological focus – the ‘hand of God’ in liberating his people.

6.3.2 – The Structural Features of the *Gospel of Luke*

It was established in Ch. 4 that the *Gospel of Luke* might be analysed as a single volume, especially in relationship to genre. Palmer argues the case for considering *Acts* as a historical monograph: “Its length, scope, focus and formal features fit the pattern of a short historical monograph.”¹³ Under this comprehension, *Acts* is determined as separate to *Luke* for the purpose of determining its genre. Such separation consequently allows for *Luke* to also be treated as a separate, ‘stand-alone’ volume.¹⁴

The Gospel is approximately 19,500 words in length and this compares to the length of larger ‘stand-alone’ monographs such as *2 Maccabees*. The narrative of *Luke* includes a beginning and conclusion that frames the life of Jesus as a focus different to the extended *Luke-Acts* where the emphasis is on the life of Jesus and the early church. As well as its length, the *Gospel of Luke* bears other structural features of the historical monograph by covering a recent and limited chronological period, a restricted geo-

¹³ Palmer, ‘Ancient Historical Monograph’, p. 18.

¹⁴ This does not refute the idea that even as a joint work, *Luke-Acts* may be construed as a historical monograph. It does however present difficulties of a single focus shifting from Jesus to the early church and extends the geographic region beyond Galilee and Judea.

graphical focus, and a consistent focus on one theme and one person – Jesus of Nazareth. The time period of the Gospel is from 6-4 B.C.E. to around C.E. 30.¹⁵ It does not extend past these boundaries and relates the events of the recent past. The geographical focus is similarly limited. Commencing in Bethlehem of Judea,¹⁶ the Gospel moves to Nazareth and Galilee at the commencement of Jesus’ ministry (*Lk.* 3:1-9), thence to various locations in the travel narrative (*Lk.* 9:51-19:27), and concludes in Jerusalem with the joyous conclusion relating the resurrection of the hero. The topographical focus in the Gospel does not extend beyond the aforementioned borders.

The prologue to the Gospel explains that the author intends to relate an account of ‘the events that have been fulfilled among us.’ (περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων). While there is no biographical note in the prologue concerning the subject of the following narrative being Jesus of Nazareth, the subsequent account nevertheless foregrounds his ministry as the central focus of the book. Luke relates how God, through the activity of his son, accomplished the ‘decisive act of deliverance.’¹⁷ The author concentrates his attention on Jesus as the fulfilment of the plan of God. Darrell Bock notes, “Luke’s Gospel highlights the activity of a mighty and faithful God through Jesus, the Promised One who shows the way. God reveals himself, his elect one, his promise, and his plan through [Jesus].”¹⁸

Summary

Both *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* align to the structural features of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph. They are shorter, self-contained volumes of between 15,000 and 20,000 words in length. Neither work requires further volumes to complete or complement their narratives which are framed with distinct beginnings and conclu-

¹⁵ John’s ministry, *Lk.* 3:1-3 commenced in the seventeenth year of Tiberius which is dated at c. 29 C.E. Jesus ministry is roughly one year in length in the Synoptics so a date of around C.E. 30-31 for the death of Jesus is possible.

¹⁶ Or perhaps, Bethlehem of Galilee. cf. A. Oshri, ‘Where was Jesus born?’, *Archaeology*, 58, 2005, pp. 42-5.

¹⁷ Bovon, *Luke 1*, p. 5.

¹⁸ D. Bock, *Luke, Vol 1: 1:1-9:50*, BECNT, Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1994, p. 3.

sions. Both accounts address a narrow and recent chronological period and are located in a specific geographic region. They concentrate on a particular theme and on a specific person – Judas Maccabeus in *2 Maccabees* and Jesus of Nazareth in *Luke*. While numerous generic categories have been suggested for both volumes – ‘tragic’ history or propaganda or biography, it is evident that they also bear structural similarities consistent with the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph.

6.4 Stylistic Features of the Jewish-Hellenistic Historical Fiction Monograph

The following analysis of stylistic features of Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph will cover the aspects of historical fiction under two subsections; (i) pretensions to historiography and the reception of the narratives as historiography; and (ii) the muddling of fact and fiction through the misrepresentation of historic facts, chronological manipulations, and supernatural causality.

6.4.1 Historiographic Pretensions and Reception

A starting point of comparison between the historiographic methodologies of *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* is their prologues. What did the authors think they were writing and how would these prefaces be understood by their audiences? This section will seek to establish the purpose of historical prologues and how the Lukan and Maccabean prologues may be construed to conform to this purpose.

6.4.1.1 Prologues in Ancient Literature

Literary prologues or prefaces serve as an introduction to the work that follows. They may be modest primers simply comprising the name of an author or they may be expanded descriptions setting out the goals and intentions, which extend to an elucidation of the purposes and design of the treatise they seek to introduce. They establish a generic contract between the author and audience that indicates how a narrative should be received. Three general distinguishing aspects of a prologue may be discerned –

their brevity, their detachability from the remainder of the work, and their function as a label or explanation which might suggest the genre of the ensuing narration.¹⁹

Biblical narratives tend not to employ prefaces in the aforementioned manner. Most are brief introductions that simply state the name of the ‘narrator’ and the setting of the work. For example, *Amos* begins: ‘The words of Amos, who was among the shepherds of Tekoa, which he saw concerning Israel in the days of King Uzziah of Judah and in the days of King Jeroboam son of Joash of Israel, two years before the earthquake.’ (*Amos* 1:1) The post-exilic literature generally followed a similar pattern, as shown in *Tobit*: ‘The book of the acts of Tobit the son of Tobiel ... who in the days of Shalmaneser, king of the Assyrians, was taken into captivity from Thisbe, which is to the south of Kedesh Naphtali in Galilee above Asher.’ (*Tob.* 1:1-2)

It is when the Israelite-Jewish tradition begins to intersect with Hellenistic literature that prologues assume greater detail. The prologue of *2 Maccabees* 2:9-32 comprises some 474 words and the *Letter of Aristeas* includes an extensive preface of some 560 words. The Greek translator of Ben Sirach’s wisdom adds a lengthy preface to *Ecclesiasticus* and Josephus’ various works include prefaces that are clearly demarcated from the texts – *The Jewish Wars*, 1:1-16 is followed by a list of contents in 1:17-30. *Jewish Antiquities*, (1:1-26) and *Against Apion* volumes have shorter prefaces.

Ancient Greek literature used a variety of introductions. In rhetoric a προοίμιον (introduction) was primarily a preface to a speech where the orator gave an account of his case and an explanation of his subject.²⁰ In *Rhetoric*, Aristotle devotes two chapters to explain the importance of such prefaces (3:14-15).²¹ As oral expression transitioned

¹⁹ Alexander, *The Preface to Luke’s Gospel*, p. 14.

²⁰ Cicero, *De orat.* II 323, ‘For the Greeks advise us to use the opening passage narration of circumstances; for securing the attention of the judge and making him receptive ... they are easier in the introduction, because the audience are most attentive when they have the whole of the speech to look forward to, and also they are more receptive at the start, for statements made at the beginning, whether aimed at proof or at refutation, stand out clearer than those made in the middle of a case.’ Cicero, LCL 348, p. 443.

²¹ *Rhetorica* III 14, ‘The exordium is the beginning of a speech, as the prologue in poetry and the prelude in flute-playing; for all these are beginnings, and as it were a paving the way for what follows.’ Aristotle, LCL 193, p. 427.

to written text, prefaces often included an introduction of the author. In *Antidosis* 15:1, Isocrates notes the need for prefaces in those discourses which are to be read.²² Including a prologue became an established practice amongst Greek historians with prefaces characterising Greek historiography from the fifth-century B.C.E.²³

1 – Ancient Greco-Roman Historical Prefaces

Loveday Alexander notes three phases of Greek historical preface development – the pattern of Herodotus and Thucydides in the fifth-century B.C.E.; the influence of rhetoric in the fourth century onwards; and the later intrusions of the practical considerations of book production.²⁴ In the fifth-century an ‘author’s seal’ was applied to many types of literature and this is recognisable in the works of Herodotus and Thucydides.²⁵ The fourth-century annexation of historiography by the rhetoricians saw the innovation of composing prefaces for each work. This is discernable in the prefaces to Diodorus Siculus’ Books IV-XX.²⁶ Fourth-century prologues often employed a rhetorical opening style by using a saying or proposition to introduce the book’s subject. The third phase is characterised by the devices of summary and recapitulation, examples of which can be found in Diodorus’ I – III and may be related to an increase in book production.²⁷

As shown in the above examples, Alexander’s phases should not be considered as distinct periods and a variety of historical prologues were used in practice and across the ages. Despite this variety, some broad characteristics and recurring topics may be

²² *Antidosis* XV 1, ‘If the discourse which is now about to be read had been like the speeches which are produced either for the law-courts or for oratorical display, I should not, I suppose, have prefaced it by any explanation. Since, however, it is novel and different in character, it is necessary to begin by setting forth the reasons why I chose to write a discourse so unlike any other.’ Isocrates, LCL 229, p. 185.

²³ Alexander, *The Preface to Luke’s Gospel*, p. 20.

²⁴ Alexander, *The Preface to Luke’s Gospel*, p. 23.

²⁵ Thucydides, *Hist.* 1:1, ‘Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote the history of the war waged by the Peloponnesians and the Athenians against one another. He began the task at the very outset of the war, in the belief that it would be great and noteworthy above all the wars that had gone before.’ Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.1, ‘What Herodotus the Halicarnassian has learnt by inquiry is here set forth: in order that so the memory of the past may not be blotted out from among men by time, and that great and marvellous deeds done by Greeks and foreigners.’

²⁶ Diodorus Siculus XI 1:1, ‘The preceding Book, which is the tenth of our narrative, closed with the events of the year just before the crossing of Xerxes into Europe ... and in this Book we shall supply the further course of the history, beginning with the campaign of Xerxes against the Greeks.’ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, Vol. 4, LCL 375, (C. H. Oldfather, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946, p. 121.

²⁷ Diodorus Siculus I 5, ‘My book being complete, though the volumes are as yet unpublished, I wish as a preface to briefly outline the work as a whole.’ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, Vol. 1, LCL 279, (C. H. Oldfather, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933, pp. 19-21.

discerned in the Greek historical prefaces. A comparison of these findings with the prefaces of *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* will help to determine if through the use of such prologues the narratives may be positioned as works of historiography.

A characteristic of historical prologues was the inclusion of the author's name (often in third-person) or the use of authorial first person. It appears in Thucydides (I 1:1 and I 3:1), in Polybius (VI 2:1-7), and Diodorus (I 3:1) to cite a few of many instances. While too widespread to be considered a genre indicator alone, this usage does appear in numerous historical works. A second characteristic of a historical prologue is a dedication, a practice cited by Dionysius of Halicarnassus when he refers to predecessors who dedicate works to kings and princes (*Ant. Rom.* I 4:3). The first extant example of such a characteristic is the dedication of Josephus' *Antiquities* that appears at the end of *Vita*, 430: "But to thee, O Epaphroditus, thou most excellent of men! do I dedicate all this treatise of our Antiquities." Further evidence that such dedications existed may be drawn from ethno-historians such as Berossus and Manetho who, similar to Josephus, stood at the fringes of Greek historiography.²⁸

A third characteristic of the historical prologue was the mention or implication that the subject of the work is historical in nature. This appears in Herodotus' and Thucydides' prefaces and later historians augmented this feature to include a detailed scope and plan of the work.²⁹ Lucian notes a fourth characteristic – the length, which was to be proportionate to the overall extent of the work.³⁰ As to what was an appropriate length,

²⁸ Tatian preserves a testimony of Juba of Mauretania to the effect that Berossus 'drew up the history of the Chaldeans in three books for Antiochus.' *Address to the Greeks*, XXXVI. L. Alexander notes that Syncellus preserves the information that Manetho's account of Egyptian history was addressed to Ptolemy II Philadelphus. L. Alexander, 'The Preface to Acts and the Historians', in L. Alexander, *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles*, LNTS, 289, New York, T. & T. Clark International, 2005, p. 31.

²⁹ Josephus *JW*, I 19-20, 'I shall relate how Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, took Jerusalem by storm and, after holding it for three years and six months, was expelled from the country by the Hasmonaeans ...' Josephus, LCL 203, p. 11-13; see also *JW*, I 23, 'I shall next relate how, at the moment when the Jewish fortunes were on the decline, Nero's death occurred, and how Vespasian's advance upon Jerusalem was diverted by the call to imperial dignity ...' Josephus, LCL 203, p. 15.

³⁰ Lucian, *Hist. Cons.* 54, 'After the preface, long or short in proportion to the subject, should come an easy natural transition to the narrative; for the body of the history which remains is nothing from beginning to end but a long narrative.' Lucian, LCL 430, p. 67.

Lucian does not say, but prologue lengths do appear to be a concern of some authors.³¹ In *2 Maccabees* 2.32 and *The Letter of Aristeas* 8, both authors indicate they thought their relatively short prefaces were becoming too long.³² Lucian notes that a fifth characteristic of a prologue was the inclusion of a transition, “After the preface ... should come an easy natural transition to the narrative” (*Hist. Cons.* 55). The prologues to *2 Maccabees* and *The Letter of Aristeas* give examples of such a transition.

In addition to these formal characteristics, recurring topics may also be observed in historical prologues. One such topic was an announcement that the subject being addressed was of a lofty nature.³³ Another recurring theme was to note the value of the following history especially as measured against other branches of literature.³⁴ Agathias, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Josephus and Herodian all discuss the value of history and its concern with the truth.³⁵ Another common theme was to cite the author’s sources of information and the verification of the same.³⁶ Eyewitness (autopsy) authorial participation was often praised as desirable.

Polybius³⁷ and Josephus³⁸ enhance the status of their narratives by referring to their eyewitness qualifications. Byrskog proposes ancient people explored the past different-

³¹ Lengths of prologues, in the Teubner text as a point of comparison are Herodotus 3 pages, Thucydides 14 pages, Polybius 6½ pages, Diodorus 8 pages, Josephus *JW* 6 pages, Arrian *AA*. 1 page.

³² *2 Macc.* 2.32, ‘It is a foolish thing to make a long prologue to the history, and to abridge the history itself.’ *LetAris* 8, ‘that I may not weary you by too long an introduction, I will proceed to the substance of my narrative.’

³³ Polybius, *Hist.* I 2:1, ‘How striking and grand is the spectacle presented by the period with which I purpose to deal, will be most clearly apparent if we set beside and compare with the Roman dominion the most famous empires of the past, those which have formed the chief theme of historians.’ Polybius, LCL 128, p. 39.

³⁴ Thucydides, I 22:4 ‘whoever shall wish to have a clear view both of the events which have happened and of those which will some day, in all human probability, happen again in the same or a similar way—for these to adjudge my history profitable will be enough for me.’ Thucydides, LCL 108, p. 41.

³⁵ Agathias, *Hist.* I 4-5, 16-20; Dion. Halic. *Ant. Rom.* I 1:2, I 6:4-5; Josephus *BJ*, 1:13-16, Herodian, *Hist.* I 1.1.

³⁶ Dion. Halic. *Rom. Ant.* I 1:2 ‘I shall only show the reasons that induced me to undertake this work and give an accounting of the sources from which I gained the knowledge of the things I am going to relate.’ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, Vol. 1. LCL 319, (E. Cary, trans.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937, p. 3.

³⁷ Polybius, *Hist.* III 4:13, ‘About this latter, owing to the importance of the actions and the unexpected character of the events, and chiefly because I not only witnessed most but took part and even directed some, I was induced to write as if starting on a fresh work.’ Polybius, LCL 137, p. 13.

³⁸ Josephus, *AA* 10, ‘Surely they ought to recognize that it is the duty of one who promises to present his readers with actual facts first to obtain an exact knowledge of them himself, either through having been in close touch with the events, or by inquiry from those who knew them. That duty I consider myself to have amply fulfilled in both my works. In my *Antiquities*, as I said, I have given a translation of our sacred books; being a priest and of priestly ancestry, I am well versed in the philosophy of those writings. My qualification as historian of the war was that I had been an actor in many, and an eyewitness of most, of the events; in short, nothing whatever was said or done of which I was ignorant.’ Josephus, LCL 186, p. 185.

ly to modern people and one significant difference was the reliance of ancient historians upon eyewitness accounts, “the major Greek and Roman historians who comment on their own and/or others’ practice of inquiry and sources adhered to Heraclitus’ old dictum. Eyes were surer witnesses than ears.”³⁹ While autopsy could refer to aspects other than historical events, such as geographic details, the claim to being an eyewitness or relying upon eyewitnesses was made in many historical prologues.⁴⁰

Summary

Ancient historical prologues bore characteristics that may distinguish them from other prologue forms. These were the inclusion of the author’s name (often in third-person) or the use of authorial first person; the mention of a dedication; a statement about the subject of the work being of a historical nature; a length proportionate to the overall extent of the work; and the inclusion of a transition to the following narrative. Recurrent themes included highlighting the lofty nature of the subject and its concern with the truth; citing the author’s sources of information and the verification of the same with an emphasis on eyewitness testimony.

While the existence of these characteristics was not the exclusive domain of historiographic prologues, the recurrence of many of the characteristics and themes may serve as criteria against which to measure pretensions to historiography. The aforementioned benchmarks will be used to measure how the prologues of *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* may be conceived as historical prefaces and by implication if the following narratives may be construed as historiography.

³⁹ S. Byrskog, *History as Story*, p. 64.

⁴⁰ Alexander, *The Preface to Luke’s Gospel*, pp. 34-41; S. Byrskog, *History as Story*, pp. 48-91; see also, D. Earl, ‘Prologue-form’ in *Ancient Historiography*, *ANRW*, 1,2, 1972, p. 856, Earl notes that there were practical reasons why these features were present in prologues. The first sentences and paragraph performed a function of a title page and a list of contents that permitted a reader to understand what the fuller work was about, “History, epideictic oratory, philosophical dialogue, political treatise or whatever, your first sentence had to announce what you were writing.”

6.4.1.2 Disambiguating Criteria – Biography or Historiography⁴¹

The preceding discussion has briefly considered Greco-Roman historical prefaces and essentially presumed that the criteria used to demark these prefaces may be restricted to historiography. The evidence though points to an overlap of these criteria between Greco-Roman historiography and Greco-Roman βίος. Can *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* be distinguished from this latter genre? While no serious attempt has been made to align *2 Maccabees* to a biographical literary type the same cannot be said for *Luke*. As previously noted in Ch. 4, the *Gospel* has been construed to align to the genre of ancient Greco-Roman βίος. However, Burrige, Balch and Stanley Porter are correct in noting that a hard and fast distinction between historiography and biography is a “false disjunction since the two genres made use of so many of the same literary forms.”⁴² Burrige concludes: “Few of these ... 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.”⁴³

While this may be the case and overlapping of features is to be expected, particularly when a prototype approach to genre is embraced, it is nevertheless judicious to attempt to discern where the two genres may diverge. In the context of the present work, if the literary features of *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* may be found to align more closely to the broader genre of historiography as opposed to biography, then greater weight may be given to the determination that *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* belong to the former literary type as a consequence to the genre of the Jewish-Hellenistic Historical Fiction Monograph. Pitts explains the need for such genre demarcation in examining the figure used by Bur-

⁴¹ The author recognises and is appreciative of the contribution made by Dr. Andrew Pitts in his unpublished work, ‘The Genre of the Third Gospel and Greco-Roman Historiography: A Reconsideration’, to the thought and content of this present section.

⁴² A.W. Pitts, ‘Source Citation in Greek Historiography’, p. 377. Balch, ‘ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ’, p. 143; Burrige, *Gospels*, p. 275-9; S.E. Porter, ‘The Use of Authoritative Citations in Mark’s Gospel and Ancient Biography: A Study of P.Oxy. 1176’, in T.R. Hatina, (ed.), *Biblical Interpretation in Early Christian Gospels. Vol. 1: The Gospel of Mark*, LNTS 304, London: T&T Clark, 2006, p. 118.

⁴³ Burrige, *What are the Gospels*, p. 122.

ridge to explain the blending that occurs in ancient βίος. Burridge sought to illustrate that βίος was related to other Greco-Roman literary types (See Fig. 1). There is an overlap between such features of style, openings, size, length, and use of sources.⁴⁴

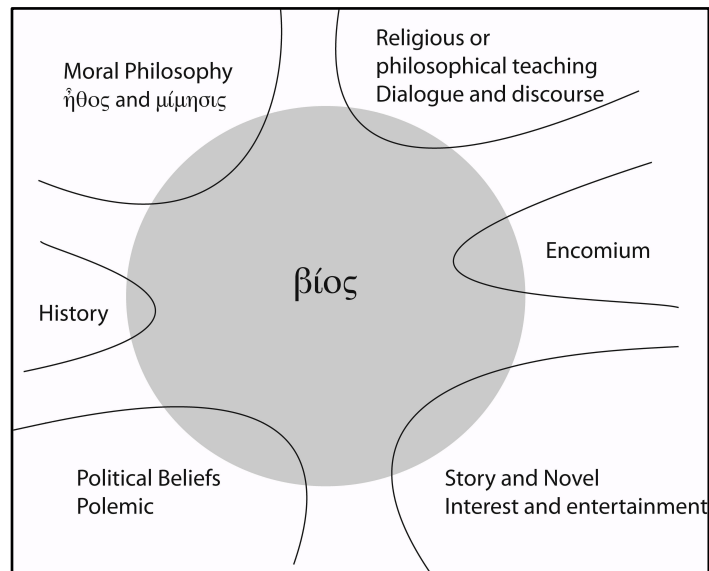


Figure 1.

Pitts rightly observes though that in Figure 1, Burridge does not account for the aspects which each type that do not overlap. This may be shown by highlighting the distinctive criteria for each related type. (See Fig. 2) The distinctive features of a genre may be analysed but another set of criteria is needed to disambiguate the overlapping literary characteristics of the various text types.⁴⁵

Through a comparison of a sample of Greco-Roman historiographic narratives (Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Hellenica*, Polybius, Josephus' *Antiquities*, and Appian's *Civil Wars*) with a sample of Greco-Roman βίος (Plutarch's *Lives*, Isocrates' *Evagoras*, Satyrus' *Life of Euripedes*, Xenophon's *Cyropedia*, and Diogenes Laërtius),⁴⁶ Pitts advances six disambiguation criteria that may be applied to βίος and historiography in order to demarcate these genres.

⁴⁴ Burridge, *What are the Gospels*, pp. 113-22.

⁴⁵ Pitts, 'The Genre of the Third Gospel', p. 3.

⁴⁶ Pitts, 'The Genre of the Third Gospel', pp. 11 ff.

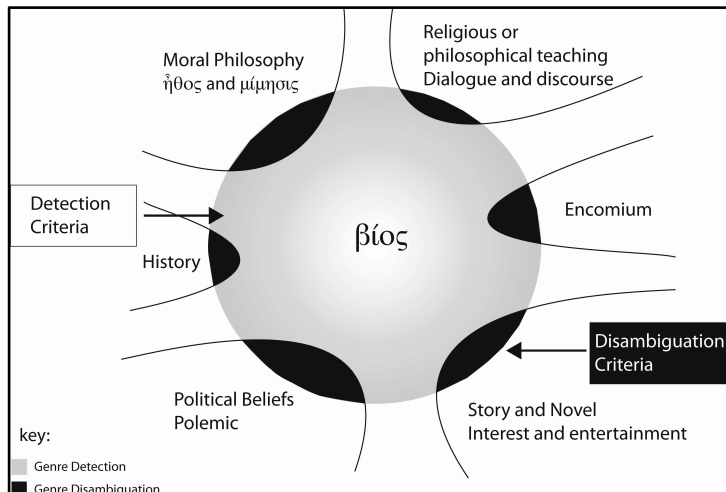


Figure 2

These comprise: (i) the relative length of prefaces in βίος and historiography; (ii) the particular language used in the preface; (iii) the attestation to events or participant orientations in the preface; (iv) the transition from preface to narrative; (v) the placement of family traditions in the narratives; and (vi) formula citation density in the narrative.

A preliminary demarcation between ancient βίος and historiography concerns the relative length of prefaces to the remainder of the narrative. Generally, prefaces in historiographic works are of a lesser relative length than βίος. (See Table 3.) It can be seen that apart from the atypical examples of Thucydides (2.32%)⁴⁷ and Plutarch's *Alexander-Caesar* (.03%), that the βίοι tend to have prefaces that are several times larger than historical prefaces relative to the overall length of the works. While preface length ratio might not be considered an absolute determinative criterion, Pitts notes: “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 work.”⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Dionysius of Halicarnassus notes in *De. Thuc.* 19-20 that Thucydides' introduction was considered excessive in length, ‘While omitting many important events, he nevertheless makes his introduction some five hundred lines long as he attempts to prove that prior to this war the Greeks achieved little, and nothing worthy to be compared with it. The actual facts were not like this, as many historical events show, nor do artistic principles dictate this degree of exaggeration (for the fact that it is larger than small objects does not automatically make a thing large: this is so only when it surpasses something large). Again, the introduction contains so many elaborate arguments to prove his proposition, that it has become a sort of history on its own. Dionysius of Halicarnassus. LCL 465, p. 513.

⁴⁸ Pitts, ‘The Genre of the Third Gospel’, p. 13.

Table 3. Preface Length Ratio in Historiography and βίος.⁴⁹

Ancient Work	Word Length	Preface Length	% against Entire Work
<i>Historiography</i>			
Herodotus	184,947	675	.36
Thucydides	150,173	3,498	2.32
Xenophon <i>Hellenica</i>	66,514	8	.01
Polybius	311,667	429	.13
Josephus <i>Antiquities</i>	305,870	1,086	.35
Appian <i>Civil Wars</i>	116,927	1,108	.94
Diodorus Siculus <i>Bibliotheca Historica</i>	419,934	1,385	.33
<i>βίος</i>			
Isocrates <i>Evagoras</i>	4,682	624	13.32
Xenophon <i>Cyropaedia</i>	79,283	607	.76
Plutarch <i>Alexander-Caesar</i>	36,237	138	.03
Plutarch <i>Demosthenes-Cicero</i>	19,196	590	3.07
Plutarch <i>Theseus-Romulus</i>	17,042	285	1.67
Diogenes Laërtius	109,777	1,796	1.63
Lucian <i>Demonax</i>	3,172	171	5.39
Tacitus <i>Life of Agricola</i>	6,789	387	5.7

A second demarcation between ancient βίος and historiography concerns an attestation to the genre of the narrative. When prefaces occur in a βίος they tend to attest to being a βίος but this is not always the case in historiographic narratives. Historical prefaces tend to be written in third person, include a discussion of sources, and give a statement of intent or outline of events to be considered.⁵⁰ These features are often also apparent in βίος but biographical prefaces tend to describe the ensuing work specifically as a βίος.⁵¹ For example, Plutarch's *Alexander* (x3), *Demosthenes* (x1) and *Theseus* (x1) as well as Diogenes and Lucian describe their work in the terms of βίος.⁵² While not all βίος employ βίος language, there is a tendency to follow this pattern in this literary genre.

A third disambiguating feature of Greco-Roman historiographic and βίος prefaces is the practice of focusing on a particular set of events rather than orientating the narrative

⁴⁹ Adapted from Pitts with additions, 'The Genre of the Third Gospel', p. 12.

⁵⁰ H. Cadbury, 'Commentary on the Preface of Luke', pp. 489-510. See later in the present work for a detailed examination of these features.

⁵¹ Pitts, 'The Genre of the Third Gospel', p. 14.

⁵² Plutarch, *Alex.* 1.1-3, 'Τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως βίον καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ... γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους, ... καὶ διὰ τούτων εἰδοποιεῖν τὸν ἐκάστου βίον, ἕασαντας ἑτέροις τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας.'; *Dem.* 3.1, 'ἰδὲ καὶ γράφοντες ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ, τῶν παραλλήλων βίων ὄντι πέπτω, περὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος.'; *Thes.* 1.1. 'οὕτως ἐμοὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν βίων τῶν παραλλήλων γραφήν.'

towards a singular participant.⁵³ In contrast, βίοι often formulate their preface attestation to a particular individual. Plutarch's *Alexander* opens with: "It is the life of Alexander the king, and of Caesar, who overthrew Pompey, that I am writing in this book, and the multitude of the deeds to be treated is so great that I shall make no other preface than to entreat my readers, in case I do not tell of all the famous actions of these men, nor even speak exhaustively at all in each particular case, but in epitome for the most part, not to complain. For it is not Histories that I am writing, but Lives (βίους)." ⁵⁴

A fourth distinguishing feature of historiographic narratives and βίοι is the inclusion of a transition between the preface and the body of the work that distinguishes between events and an individual participant. While transitions occur in both genre types, the focus of the transition varies. The historiographic preface transitions found in Herodotus, Thucydides, and Polybius do not concentrate on individuals.⁵⁵ Herodotus refers to, "The Persian learned men say that the Phoenicians were the cause of [the Persian War]." (*Hist.* 1.1). Thucydides transitions with the sentence: "The city of Epidamnus stands on the right of the entrance to the Ionic gulf. Its vicinity is inhabited by the Taulantians, an Illyrian people." (*Hist.* 1.24). Polybius introduced 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." (*Hist.* I 5.1)

Diverging from this concentration on events, βίοι consistently initiate their work with a mention of their subject. In those instances where a preface is not given, the opening lines tend to identify the participant. Plutarch's *Alexander* commences with "It is the life of Alexander the king" (*Alex.* 1.1). The βίος of Caesar begins with "The wife of Caesar was Cornelia" (*Caesar* 1.1). Diogenes Laërtius commences his βίος of *Thales* in a similar manner: "Herodotus, Duris, and Democritus are agreed that Thales was the

⁵³ See Herodotus, 1.1.10; Polybius 1.1.4; Thucydides 1.1.1,2; Xenophon *Anab.*, 2.1; 3.1.13; 4.8.27; 7.1.76; Herodian 1.1; Xenophon, *Hell.* 1.1; Josephus *Ant.*, 1.1.4-5.

⁵⁴ Plutarch, *Lives*, Vol. 7, *Demosthenes and Cicero. Alexander and Caesar*, LCL 99, (B. Perrin, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919, p. 223.

⁵⁵ See also Appian's *Civil Wars*, 1.7; Josephus' *Antiquities*, 1.27; Xenophon's *Hellenica*, 1.1.

son of Examyas and Cleobulina” (*Vit. Phil.* 1.22). In the absence of the participant’s name and the inclusion of events in a transition, it may be construed that the narrative might be expected to align to a historiographic genre.

A fourth criterion to discern the orientation of a particular narrative concerns the placement of family traditions. Both historiography and βίος often included genealogical information however a distinction that may be observed is that historiographic narratives often embed this information within the work rather than at the commencement. For example, Herodotus’ first mention of a family tradition occurs in Book 2 and Xenophon’s *Hellenica* includes his first significant genealogical mention in *Hell.* 6.3.2. Apian’s first mention of a family tradition in *Civil Wars* occurs at the end of his Chapter 2. Pitts notes: “Histories ... often include genealogies but they do not tend to initiate the body of their narrative with a genealogical formula or piece of family tradition.”⁵⁶

Such is not the generally the case with ancient βίος. The tendency, often in collected βίοι such as Plutarch’s *Live’s* is to introduce each individual βίος with a genealogical statement of origins. This also occurs in Tacitus’ *Agricola*:

Gnaeus Julius Agricola was a scion of the ancient and illustrious Roman colony of Forum Julii: each of his grandfathers was “Procurator of Caesar,” a noble equestrian office. His father, Julius Graecinus, reached the rank of Senator and was noted for his interest in rhetoric and philosophy; the same virtues earned for him the hatred of Gaius1 Caesar; in fact, he received orders to accuse Marcus Silanus, and, refusing, was put to death. His mother was Julia Procilla, a woman of rare virtue. (1.4)⁵⁷

Pitts suggests that biographical prefaces tend towards a formalized pattern, beginning with genealogical remarks as the first topic that is addressed.⁵⁸ Again, embedded family traditions appearing later in a narrative may be seen to be an indicator of the historiographic nature of the work.

⁵⁶ Pitts, ‘The Genre of the Third Gospel’, p. 21.

⁵⁷ Tacitus, *Agricola. Germania. Dialogue on Oratory*, LCL 35, (M. Hutton, W. Peterson, trans. R. M. Ogilvie, E. H. Warmington, Michael Winterbottom, rev.),. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914, pp. 31-3.

⁵⁸ See also, for examples, *Vit. Aes.* 1; *Vit. Arist.* 1; *Vit. Eur.* 1–2; *Vit. Pind.* 1; *Vit. Soph.* 1; Athanasius, *Vit. Ant.* 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.

A final demarcation between historiography and βίος is that identified by David Potter. This concerns the formula citation density within a narrative. Potter suggests that formula citation density appears to be more common in βίος than historiography.⁵⁹ Ancient historians cite several types of sources in their narratives, viz. (i) literary works where particularly later historians make reference to other historians; (ii) documentary sources – official and unofficial; (iii) religious authorities; (iv) muses; (v) nations, and (vi) anonymous sources. Their usage was less frequent though when compared to βίος. Pitts concludes: “Biographers were more free in the citation of their sources whereas authors of narrative history reserved them for specific purposes of validation.”⁶⁰ In Table 4 it can be seen that there is a distributional distinction between βίος and narrative history in terms of density of citation of sources.

Table 4. Density of Source Citations in Historiography and βίος.⁶¹

<i>Histories</i>	Herodotus	Thucydides	Xenophon <i>Hellenica</i>	Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i>	Polybius	Josephus <i>Antiquities</i>	Appian <i>Civil War</i>
<i>Citations</i>	281	43	29	45	187	120	85
<i>Word count</i>	189,947	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%
<i>βίος</i>	Xenophon <i>Cyrop.</i>	Satyrus <i>Euripedes</i>	Plutarch <i>Alexander</i>	Plutarch <i>Caesar</i>	Plutarch <i>Dem.</i>	Plutarch <i>Romulus</i>	Diogenes <i>Thales</i>
<i>Citations</i>	64	12	114	56	47	78	67
<i>Word count</i>	79,283	1,321	20,118	16,119	6,959	9,440	1,866
<i>Density</i>	0.24%	2.7%	1.7%	1.04%	2.02%	2.47%	10.77%

The average citation density for historiographic narratives in the above sample is 0.19%. The average citation density for βίος is 3.0%. While there may be atypical representation especially in the instance of Diogenes’ *Thales*, (10.77%), there appears to be a definite distinction in the way that βίος utilised citations. Potter observes:

In terms of form, perhaps the most important point is that [biography] 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 is 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.⁶²

⁵⁹ D. S. Potter, *Literary Texts and the Roman Historian*, London: Routledge, 1999, pp. 62-6.

⁶⁰ Pitts, ‘Source Citation in Greek Historiography’, p. 366.

⁶¹ Adapted from Pitts, ‘Source Citation in Historiography’, pp. 25-6.

⁶² Potter, *Literary Texts*, p. 67.

There must of necessity be a degree of flexibility in these results, for example in historiography with biographical material (Xenophon and Appian) there appears to be a higher density of citations but still these works do not reach the density level of citations in the sampled βίολ. Citation density appears to aid in disambiguating the two genres.

While the aforementioned generic features may be simply understood as the particular style of an individual ancient author, the commonality of these features evident in the overall *corpora* of historiographic and βίολ narratives may also be perceived as disambiguating criteria. An application of these criteria will be incorporated into the subsequent discussion.

6.4.1.3 The Second Maccabean Prologue

The earliest Greek-style preface in the LXX is recorded in *2 Maccabees* 2:19-32. The delayed appearance of the preface in the work is due to the inclusion of the two prefixed letters addressed to the Egyptian Jews. The prologue does however appear at the commencement of the narrative proper. It is a self-contained and detached unit and is separated by a transition statement from the remainder of the narrative (v. 32). The preface is some 474 words long compared to the Lukan preface of 42 words. Although the Maccabean narrative generally uses the third person, the prologue employs the first-person plural (vv. 23, 25, 27 and 32) and the first-person singular in v. 29.

The opening sentence of the preface (vv. 19-23) gives a detailed list of the contents of the subsequent narrative and concludes by noting that the character of the work is an epitome of a longer history written by Jason the Cyrene. The author's purpose is outlined as a mix of 'entertainment', 'ease' and 'usefulness' (vv. 24-25). Two metaphors follow where the author compares the work he has undertaken to the selfless labour of a host for his guests and the 'embellishment' undertaken by a house-decorator (vv. 26-29). These comparisons appear to serve as profession of modesty and perhaps to forestall criticism of the substance of his work which he iterates is an epitome (vv. 30-31).

The language and style of the prologue has been described as poetic in tone,⁶³ but nevertheless the author's scope and subject matter are clearly explained.

1 – Comparison of Maccabean Prologue to Greek Historical Prologues

(i) Verses 19-23.⁶⁴

The Maccabean prologue commences with a long sentence that explains the content of the narrative. The subject matter is historical in nature and describes the reclamation of the 'greatest' Temple from the barbarian hordes (τὰ βάρβαρα πλήθη) and its restoration, the liberation of the city, and the reestablishment of the laws. It is a David and Goliath motif and identifies the leading characters involved in this action, the heroes – Judas Maccabeus and his brothers, and the villains – Antiochus Epiphanes and his son Eupator.

The sentence affirms the kindness of the Lord (τοῦ Κυρίου μετὰ πάσης ἐπιεικείας ἰλέω) and the role of heavenly epiphanies, and concludes with the author explaining that he is writing an epitome of a much longer work (Ἰάσωνος τοῦ Κυρηναίου δεδηλωμένα διὰ πέντε βιβλίων). It expresses a desire to attempt to [write] concisely in one composition (πειρασόμεθα δι' ἑνὸς συντάγματος ἐπιτεμεῖν).

In this first sentence a number of the characteristics of the ancient historic prologue structure may be identified. First, although the author does not identify himself by name, the first-person plural is used in v. 23 – 'we shall attempt' (πειρασόμεθα). Second, the sentence implies that the work is historical in nature and summarises the subject matter of the subsequent narrative which clearly was set in the past and involves real historical characters. Third, the author underlines the lofty nature of his subject by

⁶³ Alexander, *Preface to Luke's Gospel*, p. 151.

⁶⁴ Τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαν τὸν Μακκαβαῖον καὶ τοὺς τούτου ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ μεγίστου καθαρισμὸν καὶ τὸν τοῦ βομοῦ ἐγκαινισμὸν ἔτι τε τοὺς πρὸς Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἐπιφανή καὶ τὸν τούτου υἱὸν Εὐπάτορα πολέμους καὶ τὰς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γενομένας ἐπιφανείας τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ φιλοτίμως ἀνδραγαθήσασιν, ὥστε τὴν ὅλην χώραν ὀλίγους ὄντας λεηλατεῖν καὶ τὰ βάρβαρα πλήθη διώκειν, καὶ τὸ περιβόητον καθ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην ἱερὸν ἀνακομισασθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθερώσαι καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας καταλύεσθαι νόμους ἐπανορθῶσαι, τοῦ κυρίου μετὰ πάσης ἐπιεικείας ἰλέω γενομένου αὐτοῖς, ὑπὸ Ἰάσωνος τοῦ Κυρηναίου δεδηλωμένα διὰ πέντε βιβλίων πειρασόμεθα δι' ἑνὸς συντάγματος ἐπιτεμεῖν.

noting that the story concerns the ‘greatest’ Temple famous throughout the world (τὸ περιβόητον καθ’ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην ἱερὸν), the reestablishment of the laws, and the kindness of the Lord in facilitating the restorations.

While perhaps engaging in hyperbole at this point, the intended Jewish audience of the history would certainly have recognised the significance of this subject matter and little else would have assumed greater prominence. Fourth, the epitomist cites his source of information – the five-volume work of Jason the Cyrene. The implication of comparing his epitome to Jason’s extensive history is that if his source was trustworthy then the epitome is trustworthy.

(ii) *Verses 24-25.*⁶⁵

In the second sentence of his prologue the epitomist gives reasons for his abridgement. Because of the flood of figures involved (τὸ χύμα τῶν ἀριθμῶν) and the mass of material involved in Jason’s history, the epitomist aims to please those who wish to be entertained (ἐφροντίσαμεν τοῖς μὲν βουλομένοις ἀναγινώσκειν ψυχαγωγίαν), to make it easy for those who are inclined to memorise (τοῖς δὲ φιλοφρονοῦσιν εἰς τὸ διὰ μνήμης ἀναλαβεῖν εὐκοπίαν), and to profit those who read for edification (πᾶσιν δὲ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὠφέλειαν).

As noted in Ch. 5, scholarly interpretation of this section of the prologue generally proceeds in two directions, (i) those who perceive the section relates to the immediate context (the prologue) and simply gives reasons for the abridgement; and (ii) those who perceive the section refers to the overall nature of the finished work. The immediate concern is whether the sentence reflects similarities with ancient historical prologues. The author links the aims of his writing – ‘to please those who wish to read (ψυχαγωγία)’; ‘to make it easy for those who are inclined to memorise (εὐκοπία)’; and

⁶⁵ συνορῶντες γὰρ τὸ χύμα τῶν ἀριθμῶν καὶ τὴν οὖσαν δυσχέρειαν τοῖς θέλουσιν εἰσκυκλεῖσθαι τοῖς τῆς ἱστορίας διηγήμασιν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ὕλης ἐφροντίσαμεν τοῖς μὲν βουλομένοις ἀναγινώσκειν ψυχαγωγίαν, τοῖς δὲ φιλοφρονοῦσιν εἰς τὸ διὰ μνήμης ἀναλαβεῖν εὐκοπίαν, πᾶσιν δὲ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὠφέλειαν.

‘to profit all those who happen to read this (ὠφέλεια).’ Alexander describes the author’s purpose as a “seductive cocktail of ‘entertainment’, ‘ease’ and ‘usefulness’ ... a neat expression of the ‘profit with delight’ *topos*.”⁶⁶ Doran notes these aims are conventional commonplaces of Hellenistic historiography; the pairing of ‘pleasure and profit’ and brevity as an *aide-memoire*.⁶⁷

These aspects were considered in Ch. 5 and will be summarised here. In the first practice (pleasure and profit), a consideration of classical texts demonstrates that this pairing was a *topos* used by ancient historians and hints a perceived interest and desire of the epitomist to be engaging in historiography. Ancient historians also highlighted the practice of brevity as an *aide-mémoire*. The epitomist’s suggestion that he is assisting his readers by not burying their memories in too much detail appears to reflect an ancient historiographic practice and supports the perception that the author of *2 Maccabees* understood he was writing history.

In the second sentence of the prologue a number of the characteristics of the ancient historic prologue structure may be identified. First, the first-person plural is used in v. 25 – ‘we have aimed to please’ (ἐφροντίσαμεν). Second, by employing the terminology of ‘profit and pleasure’ and brevity as an *aide-memoire*, the epitomist alludes to concepts that were also understood and used by ancient historians.

(iii) Verses 26-31.⁶⁸

In the third and fourth sentences of the prologue, the author continues to explain the style of his historiography by stressing the amount of effort and loss of sleep that is en-

⁶⁶ Alexander, *Preface to Luke’s Gospel*, p. 149. R. Pervo coined the phrase ‘Profit with Delight’.

⁶⁷ Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 79, ‘That history should be both pleasurable and useful was a rhetorical *topos* found in authors like Polybius, Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Josephus, Lucian, and Cassius Dio.’

⁶⁸ καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν τοῖς τὴν κακοπάθειαν ἐπιτετευμένοις τῆς ἐπιτομῆς οὐ ῥᾶδιον, ἰδρωτός δὲ καὶ ἀγρυπνίας τὸ πρᾶγμα, καθάπερ τῷ παρασκευάζοντι συμπόσιον καὶ ζητοῦντι τὴν ἐτέρων λυσιτέλειαν οὐκ εὐχερές, ὁμοῦς διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν εὐχαριστίαν ἠδέως τὴν κακοπάθειαν ὑπόισομεν τὸ μὲν διακριβὸν περὶ ἐκάστων τῷ συγγραφεὶ παραχωρήσαντες, τὸ δὲ ἐπιτορεύεσθαι τοῖς ὑπογραμμοῖς τῆς ἐπιτομῆς διαπονοῦντες. καθάπερ γὰρ τῆς καινῆς οἰκίας ἀρχιτέκτονι τῆς ὄλης καταβολῆς φροντιστέον, τῷ δὲ ἐγκαίειν καὶ Ζωγραφεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς διακόσμησιν ἐξεταστέον οὕτως δοκῶ καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμῶν. τὸ μὲν ἐμβατεύειν καὶ περιόρατον ποιεῖσθαι λόγων καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀρχηγέτη καθήκει· τὸ δὲ σύντομον τῆς λέξεως μεταδιώκειν καὶ τὸ ἐξεργαστικὸν τῆς πραγματείας παρατεῖσθαι τῷ τὴν μετάφρασιν ποιουμένῳ συγγραφεῖ.

tailed in the task of abbreviation. This statement may also be perceived as a preface-*topos*.⁶⁹ Polybius (XII 27:4-5)⁷⁰ and Diodorus Siculus (I 4:1)⁷¹ express similar sentiments about the endeavour required to investigate and write about historical events. Another appearance of the *topos* may be identified in the use of the word sleeplessness (ἀγρυπνίη) which Callimachus uses to describe the efforts of the poet Aratus.⁷²

The epitomist proceeds to give two metaphors to explain the work of an abbreviator. The first is an image of a host who prepares a banquet and the second is of a house decorator. Positioned between these two similes, is a further description of the epitomist's task. The sentences concentrate on the 'art' of abbreviation. A contrast is made between 'exact details' (διακριβοῦν) and 'general descriptions' (ὑπογραμμοῖς) (v. 28). The presumption is those narratives accounts which record 'exact details' are longer than those that only record 'general descriptions.' This need not necessarily be the case but it is supported by the idea of the epitome in ancient thought. The comments made by Diogenes Laertius' about Epicurus' epitomes, allude to shorter and more concise works that are not given to details.⁷³

The fifth sentence makes a comparison between 'inquiring into particulars by the original historian' in the case of Jason, and 'making a paraphrase' (vv. 30-31) in the case of the abridger. Whether this collection of images and explanation emphasise a disregard for historical veracity is debated. For some, the distinction the author makes between omitting exact details and the adornment or embellishment of an original his-

⁶⁹ Alexander, *Preface to Luke's Gospel*, p. 150.

⁷⁰ Polybius, *Hist.*, XII 27:4-5, 'Personal inquiry, on the contrary, requires severe labor and great expense, but is exceedingly valuable and is the most important part of history.' Polybius, LCL 159, p. 447.

⁷¹ Diodorus Siculus, I 4:1, 'And so we, appreciating that an undertaking of this nature, while most useful, would yet require much labour and time, have been engaged upon it for thirty years, and with much hardship and many dangers.' Diodorus Siculus, LCL 279, pp. 15-17.

⁷² A. Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics*, Princeton, 1995, p. 379. 'On one level, ἀγρυπνίης represents unremitting (i.e. sleepless) labour, at another it suggests that the astronomical poet works at night.'

⁷³ *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 10:35, 'For those who are unable to study carefully all my physical writings or to go into the longer treatises at all, I have myself prepared an epitome of the whole system, Herodotus, to preserve in the memory enough of the principal doctrines, to the end that on every occasion they may be able to aid themselves on the most important points, so far as they take up the study of Physics. Those who have made some advance in the survey of the entire system ought to fix in their minds under the principal headings an elementary outline of the whole treatment of the subject. For a comprehensive view is often required, the details but seldom.'

torical account hints at an admission that the narrative will be less than accurate. This hardly seems the case though when most ancient historians claim to be at least attempting to relate an account that is faithful to the past. Doran suggests the images and explanation do not describe the quality of the subsequent work but that rather they simply seek to explain the nature of an abridgment and the epitomist's explanation of how he approached this task.⁷⁴

The third to fifth sentences of the prologue may be interpreted as a continuation of the theme of the second sentence in describing the internal processes of abridgement. It may be construed that in this sense they continue to underline the way the epitomist is engaging with his sources and they replicate the characteristics of the historical prologue. The art of abridgement and an explanation of the processes this entailed, are concepts that were used by ancient historians in preface-*topoi*, describing the effort expended in recording history. Once again, the first-person plural is used in v. 27 – ‘we will endure’ (ὑπολοομεν) with the sole instance of a first-person singular in the prologue occurring in v. 29 – ‘such in my judgment’ (οὕτω δοκῶ).

(iv) Verse 32.⁷⁵

The final sentence of the prologue is a transition. Lucian encouraged the use of a transition from the prologue to narrative and a similar transition appears in *The Letter of Aristeas* 8: “But that I may not weary you by a too lengthy introduction, I will proceed at once to the substance of my narrative.” The sentence aligns to the features of a transition and an appropriate length of a preface, characteristic of historical prologues.

Summary

The Maccabean prologue exhibits a number of features and themes that have been

⁷⁴ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 81, ‘In the whole prologue, then, the author is concerned with size, with contrasting the burdensome length of Jason’s work with his own short compass. No conclusions should be drawn about the qualities of the respective works, either that Jason’s was dull or a chronicle of events, or that the epitome is a rhetorical exercise with no concern for history.’

⁷⁵ ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ἀρξώμεθα τῆς διηγήσεως τοῖς προειρημένοις τοσοῦτον ἐπιζεύξαντες· εὐήθεις γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρὸ τῆς ιστορίας πλεονάζειν, τὴν δὲ ιστορίαν ἐπιτεμεῖν.

identified as characteristic of a historical prologue. Despite the anonymity of the author, the prologue uses authorial first-person language while citing the identity of the author of its major source. The work states it is a record of past events based on real historical characters, places and attested historical events. It engages in historiographic *topoi* such as the ‘pleasure and profit’ motif, brevity as an *aide-memoire*, and the preface-*topos* describing the effort put into the composition of the work. The author underlines the lofty nature of the work by highlighting it as an account of the restoration of the ‘greatest’ Temple in the world.

The prologue includes a description of the subject matter – the reclamation of the Temple and Jerusalem from the barbarians, and the restoration of Jewish laws. It identifies the hero of the story – Judas Maccabeus; and the leading protagonist – Antiochus IV. In describing the form of the narrative (an epitome), the author claims authority and faithfulness for his work by citing the longer narrative he will be abridging. The prologue includes a transition which highlights the length of the preface in relation to the whole narrative.

As an initial step to identifying *2 Maccabees* as an example of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph, it may be concluded that the prologue accentuates a claim to historiography by exhibiting most of the features of the Greek historical prologues excluding a specific dedication. (The pre-fixed letters may be construed as identifying the recipients). By employing the features of a historical preface, the epitomist has positioned his audience to receive his narrative as historiography.

6.4.1.4 The Lukan Prologue

Luke is the only evangelist who uses a prologue and the suggestions for why he did this and what it may signify about his narrative are many. In 1899, Peter Corsen identified that a certain literary style implies a certain audience and initiated a quest into evaluating the sense of the Lukan preface. Many early scholars argued that the lan-

guage and *topoi* of the prologue placed it within the tradition of Greek historiography and Cadbury expounded on this in 1922.⁷⁶ Cadbury's work was essentially unchallenged until the mid-twentieth century when the arrival of Vernon Robbins' and Talbert's works on biography argued that the preface was biographical in nature.⁷⁷

Since this time debate as to the literary affinities of the preface have abounded. Terrence Callan iterated that the preface belongs to those of ancient histories with Sterling and Yamada, *et.al*, supporting this view.⁷⁸ They suggest that *Luke* is an example of historiography and subsequently interpret the preface from this position. An extensive study by Alexander argues that the preface more closely resembles those of the 'scientific tradition' and was directed to a targeted section of society rather than a wider public.⁷⁹ Robbins responded to the variegated nature of the proposals and investigated the preface in the light of Greco-Roman rhetorical strategies.⁸⁰ More recently, John Moles has proposed that the Lukan preface shows affinities with a Greek decree.⁸¹

As has been noted in Ch. 4, the eclectic mix of genres that might be identified in the *Gospel of Luke* defies simple classification. If this eventuality is evident in the narrative, it is to be expected that the prologue might be similarly construed.⁸² The multiple generic features that are noted in the preface regularly evoke new insights and perceptions. However, while it is important to recognise that while a word, phrase, or a collection of phrases coming together in a preface might be explained on one level, this does

⁷⁶ H. Cadbury, *Commentary on the Preface of Luke*, Appendix C, Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (ed.), *The Beginnings of Christianity: The Acts of the Apostles*, Vol I, ii. London, 1922, pp. 489-510.

⁷⁷ Talbert, *What is a Gospel?*; V. Robbins, 'Prefaces in Greco-Roman Biography and Luke-Acts', *SBLSP*, Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978, pp. 193-207.

⁷⁸ T. Callan, 'The Preface of Luke-Acts and Historiography', *NTS*, 31, 1985, pp. 576-581; Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, pp. 339-346; K. Yamada, 'A Rhetorical History: The Genre of the Acts of the Apostles', p. 237, n.14; S. Adams, 'Luke's Preface and It's Relationship to Greek Historiography: A Response to Loveday Alexander', *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism*, 3, 2006, pp. 177-191.

⁷⁹ Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel*. Alexander's term may be better defined to mean 'professionally-oriented writings' – literature written by and for networks of people in particular 'worlds'.

⁸⁰ V. Robbins, 'The Claims of the Prologues and Greco-Roman Rhetoric: The Prefaces to Luke and Acts in Light of Greco-Roman Rhetorical Strategies', D. Moessner, (ed.), *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy*, Harrisburg, Trinity Press International, 1999, pp. 63-83.

⁸¹ J. Moles, 'Luke's Preface: The Greek Decree, Classical Historiography and Christian Redefinitions', *NTS*, 57, 4, 2011, pp. 461-482.

⁸² Adams, 'Luke's Preface and It's Relationship to Greek Historiography', p. 191, 'It is important to say that during this time there was not a set criteria for determining a historical work, although there were certain typical characteristics. As a result, there was a spectrum of accepted styles in which a writer could work.'

not necessarily exclude it from operating on other levels. Provided that each explanation maintains sufficient sharpness and the whole does not end up without meaning, the possibility of differing interpretations is to be expected. Working from this comprehension, we can focus our attention on determining whether the Lukan preface shares similarities with ancient historical prologues by comparing it to the previously stated criteria. If this can be shown on one level, the proposal that *Luke* may be aligned to the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph is one step closer to being confirmed.

1 – Comparison of Lukan Prologue to Greek Historical Prologues

The Lukan preface consists of one sentence comprising three clauses. These three grammatical divisions will serve as an outline for the following analysis. The first clause (vv. 1-2) is an explanatory clause in which the author informs his addressee (Theophilus) of those who have gone before him in the history of the Gospel traditions. The second clause (v. 3) is the main clause of the preface where the author outlines his qualifications for writing the *Gospel of Luke*. The final clause (v. 4) is a purpose clause where the author informs Theophilus of his purpose in writing the subsequent narrative.

(i) Verses 1-2.⁸³

Luke's preface opens with a causal phrase that explains the reason why he wishes to write a narrative (διήγησις) that is elaborated in v. 4. Διήγησις is only used here in the New Testament although it has parallels in Jewish Hellenistic literature.⁸⁴ Lucian employs the term in reference to the historical narrative although it is not exclusive to this genre.⁸⁵ Luke gives a reference to his predecessors (πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν), noting that others have previously compiled an account (ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν) of the events about which he will be writing. It is not possible to discern who these authors may have

⁸³ Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου,

⁸⁴ Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel*, p. 111, notes it occurs in Ecclesiasticus, 2 Maccabees, 'Aristeas', Philo and Josephus.

⁸⁵ Lucian, *Hist. Cons.* 55, 'For all the body of the history is simply a long narrative. (ἅπαν γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς τὸ λοιπὸν σώμα τῆς ιστορίας διήγησις μακρὰ ἔστιν.)' Lucian, LCL 430, p. 67.

been but the authors of *Mark*, *Q* and *L* (special source) may have been among those to whom he was referring, especially when compared to later references in his narrative.

The manner in which Luke refers to his predecessors implies that he wished to add to their accounts or to supersede them, rather than simply complement them. Again, it is impossible to discover his intent conclusively from what he writes, but the need for another account may imply dissatisfaction with previous efforts. If Luke wished to add to previous material, clues as to what they may have omitted may be drawn from the immediate context of the prologue as well as in the subsequent narrative. In v. 3, Luke highlights he was going back to the beginning (ἀνωθεν) and this may refer to the story of Jesus' birth which is not given in *Mark*. Also in v. 3, the word πᾶσιν is used to describe Luke's work which may indicate that not 'everything' was previously spoken about. Additionally, the previous sources may not have been precise enough (ἀκριβῶς) for Luke, and may have lacked order (καθεξῆς).

The more immediate concern however is whether a reference to previous works finds parallels in ancient historical prefaces. In *Hist.* I 15:13, Polybius refers to the previous works of Philinus and Fabius and notes that he will need to rewrite their accounts.⁸⁶ Diodorus Siculus refers to the correction of previous historians⁸⁷ as does Josephus in the *Against Apion*.⁸⁸ The epitomist also refers to the previous work of Jason in his prologue (2 *Macc.* 2:23). These instances suggest that Luke's preface follows a *topos* evident, although not exclusive, in ancient historiographic narratives.

The first clause also alludes as to what is the author's subject matter – 'the events that have been fulfilled among us.' (περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων).

⁸⁶ Polybius, *Hist.*, I 15:13, 'We can trace indeed the same fault throughout the whole work of Philinus and alike through that of Fabius, as I shall show when occasion arises.' Polybius, LCL 128, p. 43.

⁸⁷ Diodorus Siculus, I 3:2, 'But when we turned our attention to the historians before our time, although we approved their purpose without reservation, yet we were far from feeling that their treatises had been composed so as to contribute to human welfare as much as might have been the case.' Diodorus Siculus, LCL 279, p. 13.

⁸⁸ Josephus, *AA*, 1:1, 'The first Greek philosophers to treat of celestial and divine subjects, such as Pherecydes of Syros, Pythagoras, and Thales, were, as the world unanimously admits, in their scanty productions the disciples of the Egyptians and Chaldaeans.' Josephus, LCL 186, pp. 169.

In this phrase, Luke sets out that both he and the previous narratives are giving an account of past events. The meaning of *πράγματα* encompasses ‘deed’, ‘thing’, ‘story’ and ‘events’ and is used by ancient historians which leads some to suggest that it was current in contemporaneous historiography.⁸⁹ However, such usage was not confined to this literary genre despite sweeping claims that it was.⁹⁰ Alexander suggests that the ancient historians preferred the expression ‘deeds’ (*πράξεις*), and for Greco-Roman historians the concern was more about deeds and men who did them rather than with events.⁹¹ Although we are not told the specific details of what Luke’s narrative is about, this phrase alludes to his subject matter. A statement about the historical nature of his narrative bears a resemblance to statements found in historical prefaces. To engage in a brief *tertium quid* at this point, the summary of contents in Luke’s prologue appear to be closer to a historical prologue than to the prologue of Hippocrates – “a statement and exposition of what the art (of medicine) is” (*Ancient Medicine* I) or, to the preface to a biography that specifies that it is the account of someone’s life as in Philo’s *Life of Moses*, “I purpose to write the life of Moses.”⁹²

In v. 2, the author seeks to verify the sources for his narrative. In this process he notes that previous sources had been attested to by eyewitnesses (*οἱ αὐτόπται*) and servants of the word (*ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου*) and he was doing the same. Just as Luke had alluded to the events he was recording without giving specific details, he provides similar lack of details in his sources by not citing the eyewitnesses. These pre-

⁸⁹ Dion. Halic, *Rom. Ant.*, I 7.4, ‘But it yet remains for me to say something also concerning the history itself, to what periods I limit it, what subjects I describe, and what form I give to the work.’ (*περὶ τῆς ἱστορίας αὐτῆς προειπεῖν, τίσι τε αὐτὴν περιλαμβάνω χρόνοις καὶ περὶ τίνων ποιῶμαι πραγμάτων τὴν διήγησιν καὶ ποταπὸν ἀποδίδωμι τὸ σχῆμα τῆ προαγματεῖα.*) Dionysius of Halicarnassus. LCL 319, p. 24-5.

⁹⁰ W.C. van Unnik, ‘Once more St. Luke’s prologue’, *Neotestamentica*, 7, 1963, p. 12. ‘Here we have the very word *πράγματα* which is always used by Greek historians to indicate the theme of their writings. There is no need to illustrate this usage by parallels, since almost every page of any historical writing will yield examples. So there is no question about the direction in which Luke wants us to look. He wished to be a historian, of course according to the standards of his time.’

⁹¹ Alexander, *The Preface to Luke’s Gospel*, p. 112.

⁹² See also J. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1997, p. 39 who writes, ‘Luke’s emphasis on ‘events’ directs our attention to historiographic rather than biographical interests – where the contributions of Jesus, Peter ... are related within larger narrative sequences whose interest transcends their individual needs.’

sumably included some of the disciples and Jesus' relatives. This omission may be construed as indicating his audience was a select group who would have understood who Luke was referring to, or perhaps an attempt not to alienate a wider readership.⁹³ To support his claim for accuracy, Luke notes that the eyewitnesses and servants had been from the beginning (ἀπ' ἀρχῆς). Such a claim to antiquity is often a feature of ancient historiography.⁹⁴ The ancient historical prologue characteristic of citing sources and seeking to verify them is paralleled in Luke's preface.

(ii) Verse 3.⁹⁵

V. 3 is the main clause of the prefatorial sentence. The clause commences with a first-person singular verb construction (ἔδοξε κάμοι), that similar to the occurrence of the first person plurals in vv. 1 and 2, aligns to a characteristic of the ancient historical prologue. Luke then expands upon the methodology he undertook to facilitate the writing of his narrative, viz. the 'investigation' or 'following' (παρηκολουθηκότι) of everything from the very first. Παρακολουθέω may be interpreted metaphorically or literally. In the former sense it means 'follow' or 'accompany'.⁹⁶ In the literal sense it means 'to investigate.' The verb is employed in ancient historiography and in *Vita 357*, Josephus accuses his rival of not being able to demonstrate he had been present at the events he is recording, nor did he inform himself carefully (παρακολουθήσας).⁹⁷ Josephus also employs παρακολουθέω in his explanation of how to write history in the *Against Apion*, and in comparison with Luke's usage, appears to underline a motif of offering

⁹³ Bovon, *Luke 1*, p. 21 supports the latter position.

⁹⁴ Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel*, p. 120 notes Manetho, Berossus, and Josephus AA, I. In AA, Josephus stresses the importance of going back to the beginning. Polybius also attests to the claim to eyewitness testimony by ancient historians, cf. Byrskog, *History as Story*, p. 64.

⁹⁵ ἔδοξε κάμοι παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, κρᾶτιστε Θεόφιλε'

⁹⁶ D. Moessner, 'Eyewitnesses, 'Informed Contemporaries' and 'Unknowing Inquirers': Josephus' Criteria for Authentic Historiography and the meaning of παρακολουθέω', *NT*, 38, 2, 1996, pp. 105-22. Moessner argues for the 'following' case and suggests that παρακολουθέω in Josephus corpus does not mean to 'go back over' anything.

⁹⁷ Josephus, *Vita 357*, 'I cannot, however, but wonder at your impudence in daring to assert that your narrative is to be preferred to that of all who have written on this subject, when you neither knew what happened in Galilee – for you were then at Berytusa with the king—nor acquainted yourself with all that the Romans endured or inflicted upon us at the siege of Jotapata; nor was it in your power to ascertain the part which I myself played in the siege, since all possible informants perished in that conflict.' (παρακολουθήσας) Josephus, *The Life*. LCL 186, pp. 131-3, cf. H. Cadbury, *Commentary on the Preface of Luke*, pp. 501-2, Cadbury notes occurrences in Demosthenes *De.cor*, 172; Josephus *Against Apion* 1:23 and *Jewish Wars*, 7:3; and Polybius IV 28:6.

one's credentials to suggest the present version may be 'better' than others. Whether the alternative position of Moessner, that παρακολουθέω does not specifically mean 'to investigate' and may be better construed to mean 'to follow' is accepted, the connotation remains that in the Josephean and Lukan use of the word, both authors were seeking to accentuate their qualifications to write. This was due to the careful 'investigation' or a close 'following' of events that they record.

A second aspect relating to historiography that may be identified in this clause concerns a description of the literary structure of Luke's narrative, *viz.* that it will be done in an orderly fashion (καθεξῆς). Orderliness in historical narratives belongs to the language of prologues⁹⁸ and is highlighted by Polybius in I 15:13.⁹⁹ A final aspect of the second clause is the dedication to Theophilus. Although recognised as not being a common feature of historical prologues,¹⁰⁰ dedications did occur in some historical prefaces as noted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and was a feature of the ethno-historians such as Berossus and Manetho.

In the second clause of Luke's preface, similarities to historical prologues are again discernable. Use is made of the first person and a dedication of the narrative is made to Theophilus. The clause continues with a historical *topos* of seeking to verify the sources that were highlighted in vv. 1-2. This confirmation derives from Luke's 'investigation' from the beginning of the events he is narrating, or alternatively his careful 'following' of the events for a long time.

(iii) Verse 4.¹⁰¹

The final dependent clause, centres on Theophilus who is addressed in second person. The subject of the narrative's purpose is revisited and it is stated that Luke's pur-

⁹⁸ Cadbury, *Commentary on the Preface of Luke*, pp. 504-5. Cadbury notes similar use in *Test. XII Patr.*; *Jud* 25.1; *Aristeas* 193; and *I Clem.* 37.3.

⁹⁹ Polybius, *Hist.* I 15:13, 'I will return to facts and attempt in a narrative that strictly follows the order of events to guide my readers by a short road to a true notion of this war.' Polybius, LCL 128, p. 43.

¹⁰⁰ Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel*, p. 27.

¹⁰¹ ἵνα ἐπιγνώσῃς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

pose for writing is in order that Theophilus may know the ‘truth’, ‘firmness’ or ‘certainty’ (τὴν ἀσφάλειαν) concerning the things about which he has been instructed. The use of ἀσφάλεια is attested to in historiographic and legal writings as an expression of the trustworthiness of information.¹⁰² In Xenophon (*Mem.* IV 6:15), the usage appears to signify the convincing nature of an argument.¹⁰³ The placement of ἀσφάλειαν at the end of the sentence can be seen as an intentional emphasis. This underlines a prominence in the Lukan prologue that the author is ultimately concerned with the veracity and certainty of his account which aligns to the aspirations of many of the ancient historians.

2 – Application of Disambiguation Criteria

In section 6.4.1.2, an attempt was made to determine disambiguation criteria that may distinguish ancient Greco-Roman βίος from historiography. The present section will seek to apply these criteria to *The Gospel Luke* to see whether *Luke* may be disambiguated from βίος. The first criterion considered the length of the preface relative to the narrative. The Lukan preface is 42 words and the length of the Gospel is about 19,500 words. This results in a 0.21% ratio of the stand-alone volume of *Luke*. This clearly indicates that *Luke* conforms to the range of ratios for historiographic works that was determined on average to be between 0.036% to 0.94%. Within the range of βίος prefaces (0.03% - 3.07%) *Luke* does not approach the overall average of βίος at 1.43%.

The second criterion concerned the lack of biographical attestation. *Luke* does not include biographical language within his preface – there is no mention of Jesus being the subject of the narrative. This being said, it cannot be simply concluded that Jesus

¹⁰² Cadbury, *Commentary on the Preface of Luke*, pp. 509.

¹⁰³ Xenophon, *Mem.* IV 6:15, ‘Accordingly, whenever he argued, he gained a greater measure of assent from his hearers than anyone I have known. He said that Homer gave Odysseus the credit of being a “no-risk speaker” because he had a way of leading the discussion from one acknowledged truth to another. (τοιγαροῦν πολὺ μάλιστα ὡν ἐγὼ οἶδα, ὅτε λέγοι, τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὁμολογούντας παρείχε. ἔφη δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρον τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ ἀναθεῖναι τὸ ἀσφαλῆ ῥήτορα εἶναι, ὡς ἱκανὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα διὰ τῶν δοκούντων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄγειν τοὺς λόγους.)’ Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, Vol. 4, LCL 168, (E.C. Marchant, O.J. Todd, trans. J. Henderson, rev.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013, pp. 362-363.

does not feature as the subject of the Gospel. The name Jesus occurs 88 times in *Luke*, or if variant readings are included, 100 times.¹⁰⁴ What the author declares in his preface, need not necessarily mean that the Gospel does not include βίος. The third criterion follows a similar conclusion. As previously noted, the preface attests to the ‘events that have been fulfilled among us (*Lk.* 1:1).’ This was seen to align with historiographic prefaces. Byrskog notes: “The use of the plural ... would be an odd way of referring simply to the life-story of one person.”¹⁰⁵

The fourth criterion concerns the use of an event-oriented transition. Pitts notes that after his preface, Luke begins the body of his narrative with a participant, Herod, who is not the focus of the narrative.¹⁰⁶ In fact the narrative does not focus on Jesus until Ch. 2. The author transitions from Herod, to Gabriel, to Mary, to Elizabeth, to Zachariah, before coming to the birth of Jesus. This is in contrast to βίος where the biographers tended to move into a focus on the subject, often giving a genealogy followed by a birth story.

The placement of family traditions and the birth story therefore also does not replicate the βίος pattern. In contrast to *Matthew*, the genealogy of Jesus does not occur until *Lk.* 3:23-38 and after the birth narrative. While there are various suggestions given to explain this later placement,¹⁰⁷ Pitts suggests: “Luke seems to be creating an event-orientated discourse and thus places his genealogical material much later in his account of Jesus’ deeds.”¹⁰⁸

The sixth disambiguation criterion takes us beyond the preface and transition and into the narrative. *Luke* employs, along with the Gospels, ancient historiography, and βίος, the use of formula citations. The most common source citation in the Gospels is

¹⁰⁴ A. Denaux, R. Corstjens, and H. Mardaga, *The Vocabulary of Luke*, Leuven: Peters, 2009, p. 299.

¹⁰⁵ Byrskog, *Story as History – History as Story*, p. 229.

¹⁰⁶ Pitts, ‘The Genre of the Third Gospel’, p. 30.

¹⁰⁷ Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, p. 156, sees it as an interruption. Fitzmeyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I-IX*, p. 488, sees it as a redaction of *Mark*.

¹⁰⁸ Pitts, ‘The Genre of the Third Gospel’, p. 32.

the use of Israel's scriptures. It has been noted though that Luke uses these more sparingly than the other Gospel authors. A breakdown of the density of these occurrences and can be added to the citation density in the ancient historiography and βίος samples as shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Density of Source Citations in the Gospels.¹⁰⁹

<i>Histories</i>	Herodotus	Thucydides	Xenophon <i>Hellenica</i>	Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i>	Polybius	Josephus <i>Antiquities</i>	Appian <i>Civil War</i>
<i>Citations</i>	281	43	29	45	187	120	85
<i>Word count</i>	189,947	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%
<i>βίος</i>	Xenophon <i>Cyrop.</i>	Satyrus <i>Euripedes</i>	Plutarch <i>Alexander</i>	Plutarch <i>Caesar</i>	Plutarch <i>Dem.</i>	Plutarch <i>Romulus</i>	Diogenes <i>Thales</i>
<i>Citations</i>	64	12	114	56	47	78	67
<i>Word count</i>	79,283	1,321	20,118	16,119	6,959	9,440	1,866
<i>Density</i>	0.24%	2.7%	1.7%	1.04%	2.02%	2.47%	10.77%
<i>Gospels</i>	Matthew	Mark		Luke	John		
<i>Citations</i>	54	17		15	25		
<i>Word count</i>	18,346	11,304		19,482	15,335		
<i>Density</i>	0.88%	0.45%		0.23%	0.48%		

It can be seen from this table that Lukan citation density is less than the other Gospels. Lukan density of 0.23% falls within the range of historiographic narratives, (0.08% - 0.23%) whereas *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *John* fall into the βίος range (0.68% - 10.77%).

Summary

The Lukan prologue exhibits a number of features and recurring themes that have been identified as characteristic of a historical prologue. Despite the author's anonymity, the prologue uses authorial first-person language throughout and includes a dedication to Theophilus. While not providing details (in the sense of mentioning specific persons and specific happenings) the prologue intimates that it is a record of past events and implies it is a historical narrative, as opposed to being for example, a medical or strictly biographical account.

¹⁰⁹ Adapted from Pitts, 'Genre of the Third Gospel', p. 25-6 and 34.

Parallel to ancient historical prologues, Luke alludes to the sources and procedures he employed in composing his narrative. He mentions the existence of previous works and by implication, perhaps his intention to produce a ‘better’ account with attention being given to investigation of the ‘facts’ that will be organised in an orderly fashion. Finally, Luke mentions the reliability and certainty of his work with an emphasis on eyewitness testimony. The length of the preface is quite short in comparison to other historical prologues and it does not include a transition. As an initial step to identifying *Luke* as aligning to the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph, the prologue may be construed, at least on one level, to be introducing a historiographic narrative. By employing a preface that resembles a historical preface, Luke’s audience is positioned to receive the subsequent narrative as historiography.

An application of disambiguation criteria to distinguish between Greco-Roman historiography and βίος revealed that the preface exhibited similarities of size and content that are found in historical prefaces. It was noted that the transition to the Lukan narrative did not focus on Jesus and that the genealogical placement and family resembled that of historiographies over the literary structure of βίος. A final analysis of citation density revealed that *Luke* was more closely aligned to the average density of historiography.

6.4.2 Reception of Narratives as Historiography

A valuable step in identifying whether a work is historiographic in nature is to seek to determine if it was received as such. As noted in Ch. 2, authorial intentions do not necessarily translate into what was eventually recorded, or how their works were received. Timaeus presumed he was writing an account of the past but Polybius who did not receive his work as historiography, maligned him. On the other hand, Lucian praised Timaeus and accepted him and by implication his work, as legitimate historiography. In Ch. 5, it was briefly highlighted that *2 Maccabees* was received as historiog-

raphy by its audience and it is to a more detailed examination of this reception, as well as the reception of *Luke*, that we now turn.

6.4.2.1 – Reception of *Second Maccabees*

The reception of *2 Maccabees* by its contemporary audience may be organised around three foci; readers, implied readers, and later readers. Berber Wesseling notes that the determination of ancient novels readership is complicated.¹¹⁰ While Wesseling is concerned particularly with ancient Greek novels, she notes that evidence for *first* reader reactions are completely lacking and the same may be inferred for the Jewish historical novels. However, a consideration of the social and cultural milieu in which works appeared might identify *implied* audiences.

Wills intimates that there was a “leisured entrepreneurial class” which precipitated the emergence of the novel genre. Our knowledge in this respect is very limited but by inference, the authorial prologue of *2 Maccabees* indicates that there were people in Hellenistic society who read historical discourses; sub-divided into those who read for pleasure, those who read to learn and memorise, and those who read for edification. Additionally, the appended letters to the abridgment encouraged the Jews of the Hasmonean period to read the book thereby implying there was an audience throughout the diaspora.

More concrete evidence as to how historical novels may have been regarded may be located through examining how *later* historians regarded the works. Wills notes in passing that Josephus did not take *Esther* or *Daniel* for fiction:

Although Josephus, a historian with educated Greco-Roman standards of historical writing ... includes the *Tobiad Romance*, and *Royal Family of Adiabene* in his *Antiquities*, in the same work he incorporates *Esther* (with most of the Greek additions) and *Daniel* (without the Greek additions.)¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ B. Wesseling, ‘The Audience of the Ancient Novels’, H. Hofmann, (ed.), *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*, Groningen: E. Forsten, 1, 1988, p. 67.

¹¹¹ Wills, *The Jewish Novel*, p. 186-7.

In fact, Josephus and Philo treated works as history that modern readers may perceive as obvious fiction.¹¹² *Daniel* also appears to have been read as history by the authors of *1, 3 and 4 Maccabees* (*1 Macc.* 2:59-60, *3 Macc.* 6:7; *4 Macc.* 16:3). Likewise, the instance of Jason of Cyrene mentioning the Day of Mordecai (Day of Purim) from *Esther* (*2 Macc.* 15:36) implies he read that work as a valid historical source.

As to the specific reception of *2 Maccabees*, Josephus' alterations to the epitomist's description of Onias III may indicate he disagreed with the Second Maccabean account, if he knew of it. In *JA* 12:5.255 ff. there are also strong allusions to the martyrs of *2 Macc.* 6-7. Schwartz suggests however: "Josephus seems clearly – given both what his books do include and what they do not include – not to have known *2 Maccabees*."¹¹³ This conclusion suggests that *2 Maccabees* was not part of the LXX that was available to Josephus. Goldstein disagrees with Schwartz and suggests that there are occasions in Josephus' works where he agrees with *2 Maccabees* against the *1 Maccabees*' record.

Goldstein's argument proceeds from a comparison of the martyrdom accounts in *1* and *2 Maccabees*, and Josephus. First, Goldstein notes similarities between Eleazar in *2 Macc.* 6:18-31 and the account of Mattathias in *1 Maccabees*. Goldstein suggests a possible substitution of the pious hero Eleazar, to contrast with the First Maccabean hero Mattathias, who was viewed as a teacher of wickedness.¹¹⁴ Both the epitomist and the author of *1 Maccabees* place the actions of an aged priest (*1 Macc.* 2:1-28; *2 Macc.* 6:18-31) between the details of the Antiochian persecution and the last stand of the martyrs. Both authors record the heroes' obstinate replies to the authorities and at the end of the parallel scenes, Eleazar dies a martyr's death calling for faithfulness to God, with Mattathias calling for those who are zealous to the Torah to follow him.¹¹⁵

¹¹² *Antiquities*, II:232-57; and Philo *Vit. Moses*, 1:4; 24.

¹¹³ Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, p. 86.

¹¹⁴ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 284, 'Eleazar and Mattathias can be shown to be counterparts, with just the parallels and contrasts one would expect in the heroes of the Hasmonean and anti-Hasmonean parties of pious Jews.'

¹¹⁵ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 284.

Building on this assumed parallel, Goldstein notes echoes of Second Maccabean vocabulary in the Josephean martyr accounts (*Ant.*, 12:255-256). Josephus' ὑπομένοντες (255) echoes ὑπομένοντας in *2 Macc.* 6:20; τιμωρίας (255) echoes τιμωρίαν in v. 26; and μαστιγούμενοι (256) echoes μαστιγούμενος in v. 30. Additionally, Mattathias' speech recorded in *Antiquities* 12:279-284¹¹⁶ is not a paraphrase of his farewell address in *1 Macc.* 2:49-68 but is more closely aligned to the martyred mother's final address in *2 Macc.* 7:27-29. Goldstein comprehends this preference of *2 Maccabees* over *1 Maccabees* shows acceptance of the Second Maccabean account as legitimate historiography.¹¹⁷ While Goldstein later retracted a number of the allusions he originally proposed between *2 Maccabees* and *Antiquities*, he still maintained that Josephus could be shown to have read the epitomist's account.¹¹⁸ In the final analysis, neither Schwartz nor Goldstein can be absolutely certain or not that *2 Maccabees* was known or received as history by Josephus.

Other instances of the historical reception of *2 Maccabees* may be found in references in *4 Maccabees*. These indicate the author knew of *2 Maccabees* and are less disputed. Schwartz maintains they leave little room for doubt that the Fourth Maccabean author was aware of the earlier work.¹¹⁹ *4 Maccabees* retells at length the story of the Second Maccabean martyrs and includes a version of the Heliodorus incident. Van

¹¹⁶ Josephus, *JA*, 12:279-284, 'I myself, my sons, am about to go the destined way, but my spirit I leave in your keeping, and I beg you not to be unworthy guardians of it, but to be mindful of the purpose of him who begot you and brought you up, and to preserve our country's customs and to restore our ancient form of government, which is in danger of passing away, and not to make common cause with those who are betraying it whether of their own will or through compulsion; but since you are my sons, I wish you to remain constant as such and to be superior to all force and compulsion, being so prepared in spirit as to die for the laws, if need be, and bearing this in mind, that when the Deity sees you so disposed, He will not forget you, but in admiration of your heroism will give them back to you again, and will restore to you your liberty, in which you shall live securely and in the enjoyment of your own customs. For though our bodies are mortal and subject to death, we can, through the memory of our deeds, attain the heights of immortality; it is this which I wish you to be in love with, and for its sake to pursue glory and undertake the greatest tasks and not shrink from giving up your lives for them. But most of all I urge you to be of one mind, and in whatever respect one of you is superior to the others, in that to yield to one another, and so make the best use of your several abilities. And since your brother Simon excels in understanding, look upon him as your father, and follow whatever counsel he gives you; but Maccabaeus you shall take as commander of the army because of his courage and strength, for he will avenge our nation and will punish our enemies. And also admit to your ranks the righteous and pious, and so increase their power.' Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, LCL 365. p. 143-7.

¹¹⁷ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 302, 'The likelihood that Josephus drew the amplifications ... from II 6:18-7:42 becomes a near certainty when we look at Josephus' revision ... of Mattathias' farewell address (I 2:49-64). Josephus replaces the blatant propaganda for the Hasmonean dynasty with the content of the words of the mother.'

¹¹⁸ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 549.

¹¹⁹ Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, p. 86.

Henten notes the following similarities. First, there is a similarity between the prehistory of the martyrdoms in 2 and 4 *Maccabees* as well as corresponding vocabulary.¹²⁰ Second, phrases occur in 4 *Maccabees* which are strikingly similar to formulations in 2 *Maccabees*.¹²¹ Third, the attempt to force Eleazar to eat ‘pretend’ pork is repeated with the same word ὑποκριθῆναι used in both texts.¹²² Fourth, the account of 4 *Macc.* 3:20-4:26 has much in common with the narrative in 2 *Macc.* 3:1-6:17; (i) the point of departure in 4 *Maccabees* is a state of peace just as in 2 *Maccabees*; (ii) Nicanor provides money for the temple; (iii) the harmonious existence of the Jews is disturbed by ‘modernism’; and (iv) an outsider attempts to seize funds from the temple.¹²³

If one accepts that 4 *Macc.* 3:20 – 4:26 used 2 *Macc.* 3:1-6:17 as a source, a clue to how the Fourth Maccabean author regarded his authority might be found in 4 *Macc.* 3:19: “The present occasion now invites us to a narrative (ἱστορίας) demonstration of temperate reason.” The author’s use of ἱστορίας suggests that the subsequent account aligned to a historical narrative even if this was not necessarily completely faithful to its source in all its details.¹²⁴ At this point, the term ἱστορίας should not be interpreted as ‘inquiry’, but instead as ‘history’, i.e., a written account of events. This apparent from what ἱστορίας is referring to, it is not an inquiry but a narrative.¹²⁵ It would appear that the author of 4 *Maccabees* accepted the story of 2 *Maccabees* as a historical account upon which to base his “narrative demonstration.” De Silva suggests that 4 *Macc.* abridges the historical backdrop of the Hellenising crisis to a bare minimum – just enough to provide an adequate setting for the martyrdoms.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ Van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*, p. 70.

¹²¹ Van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*, p. 71.

¹²² Van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*, p. 71.

¹²³ Van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*, p. 72.

¹²⁴ S.I. Thomas, ‘4 Maccabees’, G.A. Yee, H.R. Page Jr., M.J.M. Coombe (eds.), *The Old Testament and Apocrypha*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2014, pp 1107-18, p. 1110. Thomas suggests that ‘4 Maccabees is interested more in the mechanics of his ‘narrative demonstration’ than in historically accurate details.’

¹²⁵ See H.G.R. Liddell, R. Scott, and H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford: 1996, pp. 842. ἱστορίας II.

¹²⁶ D.A. DeSilva, *4 Maccabees*, New York: Bloomsbury: T&T Clark, 1998, p. 30, ‘Conflating characters and ignoring many developments was necessary so that the author could arrive at his subject briefly without wearying his audience. Changes in detail, such as the descriptions of the tortures, stem from the author’s inventiveness and the literary conventions of the period. Where artistic embellishments served to promote the ethical goal of the narrative. The

There are a number of modifications that *4 Maccabees* makes which may be understood as the author's shaping; (i) statements of the martyrs in *2 Maccabees* are often reformulated; (ii) the martyrs' direct speech in *2 Maccabees* is amplified as are the description of the tortures; (iii) Eleazar is presented both as a scribe and priest; (iv) the martyr mother and her youngest son throw themselves into the fire; and (v) the Temple taxation episode replaces Heliodorus with Apollonius, and Onias III with Simon. While such deviances may imply some degree of dissatisfaction of the later author with the historicity of his source, Van Henten suggests: "Differences like these can be best understood as adaptations of the source material from *2 Maccabees* by the author of *4 Maccabees* to adjust it to the discourse and the socio-cultural context of the primary readers."¹²⁷

In the case of *3 Maccabees* the evidence for knowledge of, and dependence on, *2 Maccabees*, is unclear. There is a similarity in vocabulary and *3 Maccabees* includes temple-invasion stories but the accounts are significantly different.¹²⁸ Schwartz notes: "[it] seems wiser to ascribe [the Second and Third Maccabean] similarities to a common cultural background, and perhaps to common traditions, than to literary dependence."¹²⁹ Philip Alexander suggests though that the author of *3 Maccabees* did use *2 Maccabees* and reacted to it.¹³⁰

author's freedom in handling even a biblical story (David's thirst in 2 Sam. 23.13-17; 1 Chron. 11.15-19; cf. 4 Macc. 3.6-16) should alert us to the considerable latitude he enjoyed with his sources.

¹²⁷ Van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*, p. 72.

¹²⁸ Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, p. 87. Schwartz notes some 40 common words in both books. The Temple-invasion story in 2 Macc. 3 with Onias III and Heliodorus has parallel characters in 3 Macc 1-2 of Simon and Ptolemy with the incumbent epiphanic 'punishment'.

¹²⁹ Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, p. 86.

¹³⁰ P. S. Alexander, '3 Maccabees, Hanukkah and Purim,' in A. Rapoport-Albert and G. Greenberg, (eds.), *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman* JSOTSup, 333, London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001. pp. 332-333, 'It has long been recognized that there are numerous echoes in 3 Maccabees of 2 Maccabees. ... One is the Heliodorus incident in 2 Maccabees. ... It may have been the appearance of 2 Maccabees in Egypt that provoked our author, either in a spirit of emulation or of opposition, to compose 3 Maccabees to glorify the fidelity to Torah of local Jewish heroes.' Alexander n.13 refers to the catalogue in C.W. Emmett, 'The Third Book of Maccabees' in R.H. Charles (ed.), *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 1, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, p. 156-157, Emmett lists the linguistic and narrative similarities between 2 and 3 Maccabees. These include motifs such as miraculous visions, the figure of Eleazar, and the incorporation of official documents.

Summary

Due to the scarcity of evidence it is difficult to determine how the immediate and wider audience in the Hellenistic era received *2 Maccabees*. The Josephean references to *2 Maccabees* are debatable as are references in *3 Maccabees*. However, there does appear to be clear recognition of the Second Maccabean martyrdom accounts in *4 Maccabees*. There are concerns though as to the disappearance of both *1* and *2 Maccabees* from Jewish literature that fall into the wider considerations of the repudiation of Jewish historiography following the destruction of the Second Temple, but these lay outside of the present discussion. As to the question of whether *2 Maccabees* was generally accepted in antiquity as historiography, the evidence suggests that in the case of *4 Maccabees* it was, but with the possibility of it being shaped to fit the present circumstances.

6.4.2.2 – Reception of *The Gospel of Luke*

As in the case of the reception of *2 Maccabees*, the Lukan audience may also be organised around three foci; readers, implied readers, and later readers. It may appear a simple task to identify the first reader of the Gospel – Theophilus. The issue is that the identity of this person is unknown and aside from a disputed reference in Pseudo-Clementines' *Recognitions*, there is nothing else recorded about him.¹³¹ Three main theories exist as to his identity. The first is the name represents a nonexistent individual or group.¹³² The second is Theophilus is a pseudonym for someone the author does not wish to name.¹³³ The third group of theories is Theophilus was an actual person to whom Luke was writing (or dedicating) his work. This person is variously speculated as being a high priest, a roman official, or a Jew from Alexandria.¹³⁴ In the context of

¹³¹ *Ps.-Clem. Rec.* 10.71, 'Theophilus, who was more distinguished than all the men of the city, with fiery enthusiasm consecrated the large basilica of his house as a church.' The debate is whether this is a contemporary reference or one that dates to the time of Luke's writing.

¹³² D. Allen, *Lukan Authorship of Hebrews*, 325. 'Cadbury was a chief proponent of this view.'

¹³³ Allen, *Lukan Authorship*, p. 326.

¹³⁴ Allen, *Lukan Authorship*, pp. 327-336, Allen argued for a high priest; the Roman official is based on the use of the word, 'excellent Theophilus; John Wesley in *Notes on The Gospel According to St Luke, 1:3* suggests, 'Theophilus (as the ancients inform us) was a person of eminent quality at Alexandria'; cf. Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel*, pp. 187-200, Alexander gives an extensive survey of the various opinions as to the identity of Theophilus.

the present discussion, there is even less known about how Theophilus actually received the Lukan narrative. There are no extant ancient references to this information.

Another first reader of *Luke* may be the author of *John*. If it is accepted that John wrote after Luke, it seems a natural corollary that John may have made use of the earlier volume but this is far from a foregone conclusion. Coincidences of language and details suggest that the author of *John* knew of the Lukan narrative with discernable correlations between the two works. For example, only *Luke* and *John* mention Mary and Martha (*Lk.* 10:38-42; *Jn.* 11:1-44); only *Luke* and *John* mention a disciple named Judas apart from Judas Iscariot (*Lk.* 6:16; *Jn.* 14:22); and only *Luke* and *John* refer to Annas (*Lk.* 3:2, *Jn.* 18:12-14).

In the Passion narrative only *Luke* and *John* refer to the possession of Judas by Satan (*Lk.* 22:3; *Jn.* 13:2,27), and only *Luke* and *John* mention the severing of Malchus' ear (*Lk.* 22:31; *Jn.* 18:10). At times *John* seems to agree with *Luke* in opposition to *Mark*; *Luke* and *John* predict Jesus' denial at the supper against *Mark* who records it happened prior to the meal (*Lk.* 22:54-62; *Jn.* 13:36-38; *Mk.* 14:27-31). The language of *John* is closer to *Luke* than *Mark* at this point. At the tomb, *Luke* and *John* have two angels against *Mark's* one (*Lk.* 24:4-7, *Jn.* 20:12, *Mk.* 16:5).¹³⁵

A particular point of comparison between *John* and *Luke* is Jesus' anointing at Bethany or Galilee. In this instance, John's account bears more similarities with *Mark* than *Luke* although John Bailey maintains the similarities between *Luke* and *John* "demonstrate[s] the fact that John knew Luke's Gospel."¹³⁶ For example, the agreement between the Gospels concerning the wiping of Jesus' feet and the anointing of his feet and not his head fits badly with the Johannine account and therefore is presumed to have

¹³⁵ C.K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text*, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956, p. 46.

¹³⁶ J.A. Bailey, *The Traditions Common to the Gospels of Luke and John*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1963, p.1.

been taken from *Luke*: “it is inexplicable that the salve would be wiped off by Mary – the whole point is that it should remain on his feet.”¹³⁷ (See Table 6)

Table 6. Major Points of Connection between Anointing Accounts
(**Bold = similarities, Italics = differences**)

	Mark	Luke	John
Woman	<i>anonymous</i>	<i>sinner</i>	<i>Mary</i>
Anoints Jesus	<i>head</i>	feet wipes with hair	feet wipes with hair
Setting	Bethany	<i>Galilee</i>	Bethany
Host	Simon	Simon	<i>Lazarus (?)</i>
Time	two days before Passover after entry to Jerusalem	ministry in Galilee	six days before Passover before entry to Jerusalem
Complaint	‘for this perfume have been sold for more than 300 denarii and given to the poor	<i>‘If this man were a prophet, he would have known ...for she is a sinner.’</i>	‘Why was this perfume not sold for more than 300 denarii and given to the poor
Rebuttal	‘Leave her’ ‘For you always have the poor with you ... but you will not always have me.’ ‘She has anointed my body beforehand for burial’	<i>You showed no hospitality, she has shown love.</i>	‘Leave her’ ‘The poor you always have with you, but you do not always have me.’ ‘that she might keep it for the day of my burial’

It is doubtless possible to ascribe the coincidences between *Luke* and *John* to a common oral tradition but it is equally plausible that the author of *John* had read *Luke*.¹³⁸ The changes that John made to *Luke* may also be variously construed. Implicit changes may have been made to correct a perceived historical error in the Lukan account and thus align to the feature of ancient historiography where the past could be rewritten to serve the present. Equally, the alterations may be understood to conform to the theological purpose of the author of John without any hint of historiographic judgment. In the absence of any overt declaration concerning the nature of Lukan historiography by John, it remains speculative how he may have received *Luke*.

¹³⁷ Bailey, *The Traditions Common to the Gospels of Luke and John*, pp. 2-4, Bailey suggests that redaction is the explanation for why John fails to mention other aspects of the Lukan account, ‘The fact that John does not take over the tears and footkissing from Luke is probably to be explained on the basis of the fact that these two elements belong to Luke’s portrait of the woman as a sinner: John suppressing this identification could not use them ... It may indeed be that John used Luke from memory here, and only two of the vivid details stuck in his mind ...’

¹³⁸ D.A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991, p. 51, Carson thinks that John had probably read Mark if not Luke; cf. A. Köstenberger, ‘John’s Transposition Theology: Retelling the Story of Jesus in a Different Key’, in M.F. Bird and J. Maston, *Earliest Christian history: History, literature, and theology: Essays from the Tyndale fellowship in honor of Martin Hengel*, WUNT 2. 320, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012, p. 197-201, Köstenberger believes that John drew on eyewitness recollections as well as *Mark* and *Luke*.

Seeking to determine the *implied* readership of *Luke* is also confounded by a sparsity of overt clues and by a variety of opinion. Luke Johnson summarises the general consensus that the *implied* readers were Greek-speaking and sufficiently acquainted with scriptural traditions to grasp the gist of Luke's allusions. His readers were presumably Christian and probably Gentiles.¹³⁹ As noted in Ch. 4, the readership was probably diverse and cosmopolitan. Evidence as to how this diversity of *implied* readers received the text as historiography is again almost non-existent and can only be surmised. Johnson suggests the story functions as a "kind of aetiological myth for the Gentile Christian Church" and it may be presumed that these readers would have accepted what was said as being historically accurate.¹⁴⁰ The Gospel describes historically known characters, places, and events that would have been known to the early readers and it is reasonable to think that they would have perceived the historiographic nature of the narrative.

Uncovering how later readers in the second century received *Luke* is also far from a straightforward task primarily because as Joseph Lienhard notes "few patristic commentaries on the Gospel According to Luke survive."¹⁴¹ The Fathers concentrated on *Matthew* and *John*, wrote little on *Luke*, and practically ignored *Mark*.¹⁴² Bovon conducted an extensive inquiry into the second-century texts that perhaps indicate knowledge of Luke's Gospel.¹⁴³ He separated those texts that refer to passages unique to Luke and those texts that appear to freely use a Lukan source. In the final analysis he concluded that the presence of *Luke* in the second century is "irregular".¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, p.3.

¹⁴⁰ L.T. Johnson, 'On Finding the Lukan Community: A Cautious Cautionary Essay', in L.T. Johnson, *Contested Issues in Christian Origins and the New Testament: Collected Essays*, NovTSup, 146; Leiden: Brill, 2013, p. 143.

¹⁴¹ J.T. Lienhard, (trans.), *The Homilies on Luke: Origin*, Washington: Catholic University Press, 1996, p. xxiv.

¹⁴² J.M. Creed, *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, London: MacMillan, 1930. Creed arrives at the conclusion that (i) *Matthew* and *John*, written by apostles, were the most popular; (ii) *Mark* dropped into the background; and (iii) *Luke* occupied an intermediate position.

¹⁴³ F. Bovon, 'The Reception and Use of the Gospel of Luke in the Second Century', in C.G. Bartholomew, J.B. Green, and A.C. Thiselton, *Reading Luke: Interpretation, Reflection, Formation*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005, pp. 383-389; cf. A.F. Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus: Looking for Luke in the Second Century*, WUNT 169, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.

¹⁴⁴ Bovon, 'The Reception and Use of the Gospel of Luke', p. 395, 'The epistles from Paul's disciples and bishops do not show any trace of it. What remains from early apologetical works is silent. Justin Martyr is the first apologist who demonstrates evidence of contact with Luke's Gospel and with Lukan traditions ... but most authors and apolo-

During the mid-second century, a tradition had been established in the early church identifying *Luke* and *Acts* as being authored by the same person. Irenaeus declared: “Luke also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the Gospel preached by him.”¹⁴⁵

The so-called ‘Anti-Marcionite Prologue’ stated:

Luke is a Syrian of Antioch, a doctor by profession, who was a disciple of apostles, and later followed Paul until his martyrdom. ... He, when the Gospels were already in existence – that according to Matthew written in Judaea, that according to Mark in Italy – impelled by the Holy Spirit wrote this whole Gospel in the regions of Achaea ... And afterwards the same Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles ...¹⁴⁶

Beyond this authorship tradition, patristic sources only briefly mention the significance of *Luke* and clues as to acceptance as historiography are even fewer. The Marcion controversy highlighted the Gospel, not for its importance but because Marcion chose to edit it. This could suggest that Marcion questioned the historicity of *Luke* but this is far from conclusive. His expunging of the first two chapters of *Luke* is more likely a rejection of their theology than their historicity.¹⁴⁷ While the Fathers attacked Marcion’s edition of *Luke*, they did not address the historiography of the Gospel *per se*.

An early example of exegesis concerning the *Gospel of Luke* is found in the works of Julius Africanus cited by Eusebius.¹⁴⁸ Africanus seeks to give an explanation for the divergent genealogies of Jesus in *Matthew* and *Luke*. He concludes that the gospels are true and there are no contradictions between the texts.¹⁴⁹ Whether this is an example of the reception of *Luke* as historiography is unclear. It hints more at the inerrancy of the Holy Writ which Africanus appears to advocate.

The only extant patristic works devoted specifically to *Luke* are Origen’s 39 homilies

gists, especially those who were educated and orthodox, suggest no knowledge of the Gospel of Luke until the middle of the second century.’

¹⁴⁵ *Against Heretics*, 3.1.1.

¹⁴⁶ R.G. Heard, ‘The Old Gospel Prologues’, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 6, 1955, p.7.

¹⁴⁷ Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, 4.6.2, ‘It is certain, also, that with this view he has erased everything that was contrary to his own opinion and made for the Creator, as if it had been interpolated by His advocates, whilst everything which agreed with his own opinion he has retained.’

¹⁴⁸ *Hist. Eccl.*, I 7:1-16.

¹⁴⁹ *Hist. Eccl.*, I 7:4, ‘Neither of the gospels is in error, for one reckons by nature, the other by law ... that the same persons are justly considered to belong ... at one time to the reputed fathers, at another to the actual fathers. ... both these accounts are strictly true and come down to Joseph with considerable intricacy indeed, yet quite accurately.’

most probably written between 233 - 244;¹⁵⁰ Ambrose's *Exposition of the Gospel According to Luke*, dated between 386 - 87; and Cyril of Alexandria's 156 homilies appearing between 429 - 444. The commentaries of Origen, Ambrose and Cyril of Alexandria approach the Gospel with a degree of critical analysis but their emphases were more pastoral than academic.¹⁵¹ This can be observed in a sample of Origen's analysis.

Origen understood that even the simplest narrative had to speak to the Christian: "When Luke writes, 'It happened in those days that an edict went out from Caesar Augustus, that the whole world should be registered. This was the first census made under Cyrinus, the governor of Syria.' Someone might say, 'Evangelist, how does this narrative help me?'"¹⁵² There is no discussion of the historicity of the Quirinius census by Origen at this point. The sermons and homilies of the Fathers were not the sophisticated and detailed argument of theologians addressing scholarly peers but were the conversation of a pastor or a bishop speaking to their congregations. In these conversations it appears that the historicity of *Luke* was accepted and this may also be supported in Origen's emphasis on a literal interpretation of *Luke*.

While much of Origen's interpretation of scripture is considered to be allegorical, his work on *Luke* actually presents a literal interpretation more readily than a symbolic one.¹⁵³ This is not to suggest that Origen accepted without question all that he was reading in the Gospel. In *Homily 28 (Lk. 3:23-28)* he notes discrepancies with the genealo-

¹⁵⁰ Lienhard notes that the date of Origen's *Homilies on Luke* must fall between Origen's move to Caesarea (probably in 233) and the *Commentary on Matthew* (244) which mentions the *Homilies on Luke*.

¹⁵¹ A. Just (ed) *Luke: Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, New Testament, 3*, (Intervarsity Press, Downers Grove, 2003) p. xvii, 'The early Fathers addressed theological controversies as pastors, not as academicians, even though their analyses were deeply theological. Their exposition of Scriptures demonstrated a pastoral concern for the salvation of their flock by confessing the Christian faith in its truth and purity and expressing in their interpretation the coherence of divine revelation with the apostolic kerygma. The historical and grammatical questions they faced were only a means towards the more important work of Christological interpretation that led them to preaching the gospel. Their exegesis of Luke is contained in sermons, theological treatises, pastoral letters and catechetical lectures and therefore is primarily theological and pastoral.'

¹⁵² *Homilies on Luke*, 11.6.

¹⁵³ A. Just, *Luke*, p. xxii. cf. Origen's commentary on Lk. 2:16, 'That was the manger of which the inspired prophet said, 'The ox knows his owner and the ass his master's manger.' The ox is a clean animal, the ass an unclean animal. 'The ass knows his master's manger.' The people of Israel did not know their Lord's manger, but an unclean animal from among the Gentiles did. Scripture says, 'Israel, indeed, did not know me, and my people did not understand me.' Let us understand this manger. Let us endeavour to recognise the Lord and to be worthy of knowing him, and of taking on not only his birth and the resurrection of his flesh, but also his celebrated second coming.' *Homily*, 13.7

gy of Jesus recorded in *Matthew*.¹⁵⁴ Yet while noting these differences Origen does not indulge in questions of historicity but refers to the Matthean account of Bathsheba to justify that Jesus came, “to take upon himself men’s sins.” (28.2)

This literal sense and by implication the acceptance of the historicity of *Luke*, is also evident in the work of Ambrose. In his prologue to *Luke – Exposition of the Holy Gospel According to St. Luke*, Ambrose suggests: “indeed it is historical (*est enim historicus*)” and he later declares: “holy Luke possessed a certain historical order (*historicum ordinem*)”.¹⁵⁵ In his expositions of scripture Ambrose employs a threefold methodology of interpretation – the literal, the moral, and the mystical. He gives special consideration to the mystical interpretation of OT passages such as the story of the building of the ark and the marriage of Isaac. The moral sense, though referred to throughout his writings, is more particularly sought out in his expositions of the Psalms. In Ambrose’s expositions on *Luke* he follows a more literal sense.¹⁵⁶ Ambrose did however recognise that Luke engaged in shaping his content for a particular purpose.¹⁵⁷

Cyril of Alexandria’s compilation of some 150 sermons on *Luke* follows the expository tradition of the Fathers that persisted in emphasising their doctrinal character.¹⁵⁸ An example of this doctrinal preaching occurs in Cyril’s commentary on the Sermon on the Plain when he addresses the injunction to ‘Love your enemies.’ His conclusions are both Christological and pastoral.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ *Homily*, 28.1, ‘The evangelists do not give the same account of his genealogy. This fact has disquieted some people very much.’

¹⁵⁵ Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* praef (CCL 14:1), ed. M. Adriaen, Turnhout: Brepols, 1957, and praef. 7 (CCL 14:3)

¹⁵⁶ P. Schaff and W. Wace, (eds) ‘Ambrose: Select Works and Letters’, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol X, accessed 31st May, 2001 at @ <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf210.iii.iv.html>

¹⁵⁷ Just, (ed) *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture*, pp. 1-2, ‘St. Luke kept a certain historical order and revealed to us miracles of the Lord, yet so that the history of his Gospel embraced the virtue of all wisdom. ... As compared with the other Gospels, we see greater zeal devoted to the description of the events than to the expression of rules of behaviour. ... The evangelist Luke does not give an unbiased, neutral narration but a persuasive, confessional one filled with christological meaning.’

¹⁵⁸ Just, *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture*, p. xxiv.

¹⁵⁹ Cyril of Alexandria, *A Commentary upon the Gospel According to St. Luke*, Part 1, R.P. Smith, (trans.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959, pp. 110-111, ‘And such was the conduct of Christ Himself above all others for our example: for while still hanging upon the precious cross, with the Jewish populace making Him their sport, He put up unto God the Father prayers in their behalf, saying, ‘Forgive them, for they know not what they do.’ Yea, and the blessed Stephen too, while the stones were smiting him, knelt down, and prayed, saying, ‘Lord, lay not this sin upon

Summary

The determination of how Luke was received as historiography is compounded by the paucity of extant evidence. The identity of the original ‘reader’ is unknown as is his reception of the work. References and alterations to *Luke* in the *Gospel of John* may be construed as dependence on a common oral source or as an attempt to correct a perceived historical error. The absence of any overt declaration by John leaves the question of historiographic reception open. Evidence of how the *implied* audience received the Lukan narrative is also ambiguous. While it is reasonable to think they would have received the text as historiography, there is no extant evidence to indicate this. The evidence of the Fathers is again ambiguous. There are instances where they questioned aspects of the Lukan narrative, such as the genealogy of Ch. 3, but they generally accepted a literal interpretation of the Gospel. If by this literal interpretation the implication is drawn that they also accepted the historicity of the Lukan narrative it may be supposed that the *Gospel of Luke* was accepted as historiography by the time of the second century church. Without evidence to the contrary it is reasonable to presume that Lukan readership received his narrative as a historical record.

Summary of Historical Pretensions and Reception

The preceding discussion has concerned 2 Maccabean and Lukan pretensions to historiography and their reception as such. It has revealed that the preface to *2 Maccabees* bears the characteristics of a historical prologue. It employs authorial first-person language and cites its major source. The preface foreshadows the subsequent work will be a narrative of past events based on real historical characters. The epitomist uses language found in Greco-Roman historiography such as; ‘pleasure and profit’ motive, brevity as an *aide-memoire*, and a preface-*topos* describing the effort put into the com-

them.’ And the blessed Paul also says, ‘being reproached we bless, being reviled we entreat’. The exhortation of the Lord therefore was necessary for the holy apostles, and most useful for us also, to oblige us to live rightly and admirably: for it is full of all philosophy.’

position of the work. The author underlines the lofty nature of his work by highlighting it as an account of the restoration of the 'greatest' Temple in the world.

Similarly, the Lukan prologue exhibits a number of features and recurring themes that have been identified as characteristic of a historical prologue. The prologue uses authorial first-person language and includes a dedication to Theophilus. It intimates that it is a record of past events and Luke alludes to the sources and procedures he employed in writing his account. He mentions the reliability and certainty of his work with an emphasis on eyewitness testimony. By using prefaces that resemble a historical preface, the authors position their readers to receive their narratives as historiography.

Due to the scarcity of evidence it is difficult to determine exactly how the immediate and wider audience received *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* as history. Josephean references to *2 Maccabees* are debatable as are references in *3 Maccabees*, however, there does appear to be clear recognition of Second Maccabean martyrdom accounts in *4 Maccabees*. As to the reception of *Luke*, the identity of the original 'reader' is unknown. The absence of any overt declaration by John as to the nature of *Luke* leaves the question of historiographic reception open. Reception evidence of the Fathers indicates instances where they questioned aspects of the Lukan narrative but it was noted that they generally accepted a literal interpretation of the Gospel. If by this literal interpretation the implication is drawn that they also accepted the historicity of the Lukan narrative it may be supposed that the *Gospel of Luke* was accepted as historiography by the time of the second century church.

On the basis of the aforementioned evidence it can be concluded that *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* conform to the stylistic features of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph both in respect of their pretensions to historiography and, as far as may be determined, their reception as historical accounts by their audiences.

6.5 Methodological Features – The Blurring of Fact and Fiction

Other characteristics of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph concern the methodological features of misrepresentating historical facts, the chronological manipulation of sources, and the inclusion of supernatural causality. All of these aspects ultimately concern the blurring of fact and fiction. At times the muddling is slight and might be attributed to honest historical errors made from ignorance. At other times the distortion is more deliberate and serves to manipulate and reshape events.

The Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph often reshaped the past through blurring the boundaries of fact and fiction. As has been identified, while ancient historians were often concerned theoretically with accuracy and the veracity of their accounts, in practice this was not always the case and it may be considered to be a particular feature of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph. In the monographs that emerged during the Hellenistic period among post-exilic Judaism, most frequently muddled the boundaries of fiction and non-fiction.¹⁶⁰ These narratives may be grouped into those that had little to no historical pretensions, and those that sought to be historical in character but were flexible with the past.

The acceptance or rejection of errors in historical fiction monographs may be understood in a number of ways. Wills suggests that historical errors are an “expected part of the experience of reading fiction”.¹⁶¹ Johnson concurs: “all the Jewish fictions contain a preponderant element of deliberate fiction (as opposed, say, to history, legend or myth).”¹⁶² The endeavour to determine how much fictitious content is a wilful reshaping of the past, or merely an honest mistake on behalf of the author, begins by seeking to discover authorial intent. What did an author suppose he was writing, and how far

¹⁶⁰ As previously noted, these may be divided into 2 broad categories; those that simulate and manipulate the traditions of contemporary Hellenistic historiography (*3 Maccabees* and *Greek Esther*), and those that draw upon other historical accounts be they Israelite, Babylonian, or Persian (*Esther*, *Daniel*, *Judith* and *Tobit*).

¹⁶¹ Wills, *The Jewish Novel*, p. 218-219, ‘The historical errors that appear in *Daniel* and the other novels – not minor inaccuracies but wild flights of mock history – doubtless arise from the nature of the genre as a source of amusement and correspond to a similar tendency in Greek novelistic literature.’

¹⁶² Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, p. 5.

was he prepared to shape his sources in order to convince his listeners or readers of this purpose?

Wills perceives ancient authors deliberately chose to include historical inaccuracies to signal to their audience that they were encountering fiction and their narratives were not to be taken seriously as truths about the past. It was akin to a generic sign between author and reader such as the idiomatic, ‘Once upon a time.’ He cites for example, the misrepresentation of Nabopolassar as Nebuchadnezzar in *Tobit* may have been excused as an honest historical mistake, but to place *Tobit* at the fall of Nineveh in Assyria is quite a different matter: “The spanning of centuries and recombination of monarchies contradict the sense of history that would have been known to literate Jews.”¹⁶³ Similarly, the merging of Babylonia and Assyria in *Judith* to arrive at “Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians” is construed as a deliberate authorial insertion of fictionality. Gideon Bohak cautions however, that “assuming gross historical errors to be deliberate signs of some ‘fictional mode’ would be a most perilous habit, for it would soon lead us to concede that all of ancient Jewish literature was written in that mode.”¹⁶⁴

Johnson proposes another explanation for the inclusion of inaccurate historical details. Rather than being a generic sign, she proposes that deliberate historical distortion “is used to serve the author’s ideological purpose undergirding the didactic lessons of the text. ... No matter how lighthearted the tone, fictions were employed consciously, thoughtfully, with a view to conveying and supporting the most serious messages.”¹⁶⁵ A third position is the simple admission that even good historians make honest mistakes (and bad historians make bigger ones.) Those writers, whose sole commitment is towards an edifying narrative with a total disregard for historical accuracy, may fall outside of the category of historical monographs as may be the case for *Tobit* and *Judith*.

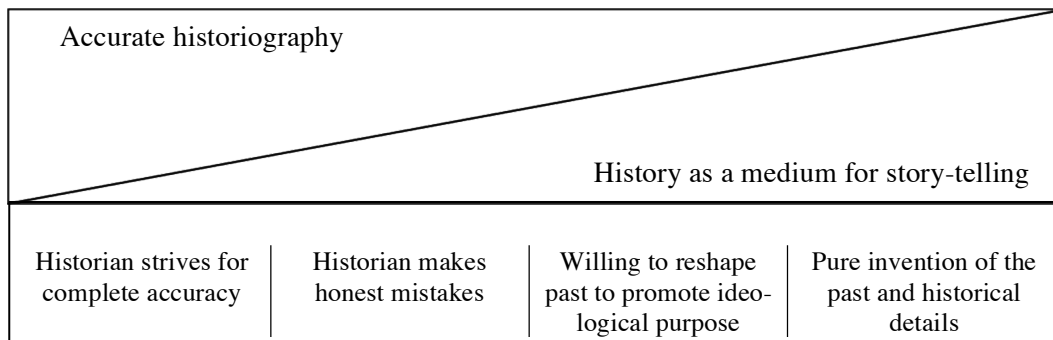
¹⁶³ Wills, *The Jewish Novel*, p. 219.

¹⁶⁴ G. Bohak, review of L. M. Wills, *The Jewish Novel*, in *Classical Philology*, 92, 1, 1997. p. 102.

¹⁶⁵ Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, p. 6.

As noted under the prototype theory of genre, a means to explain the reshaping of the past within the corpus of Jewish historical fictions is to position the authors and their narratives along a historiographical continuum. At the one end there are those writers who seek to engage in serious historiography (but make honest mistakes), in the middle are those who seek to engage in historiography but they are willing to shape historical events in order to promote an ideological message or didactic thrust, at the other end of the spectrum are those for whom historiography is simply a medium through which to tell a good story. Determining where to position the works of Jewish historical fictions along this continuum is complex but tentative conclusions may be discerned by considering how the authors manipulated ‘facts.’ This may be represented diagrammatically:

Historiographic Continuum Model



The present section will suggest that within the corpus of Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monographs, *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* bear similarities that may distinguish them from other Jewish novels but still views them as reshaping the past through the misrepresentation of historical facts, the chronological manipulation of sources, and the inclusion of supernatural causality. It will propose that *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* may be best positioned towards the centre of the proposed historical fiction continuum – amongst those who seek to engage in historiography but are willing to shape historical events in order to promote an ideological message or didactic thrust.

In order to be able to arrive at this conclusion a brief *tertium quid* (*Luke* is like X but it is more like Y) will be undertaken to consider works that may belong at the end of the ‘fact and fiction’ spectrum where the historiographical mode is simply a medium through which to tell a good story. (*Judith* and *Tobit* will be used to illustrate this position.) Examples of the muddling of fact and fiction in *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* will then be considered to illustrate how they may differ from *Judith* and *Tobit*.

6.5.1 *Judith* and *Tobit*

As texts that may fall into the category of Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph which have little to no historical pretensions, the narratives of *Judith* and *Tobit* will be briefly analysed to identify how; first, the authors have deliberately fashioned legendary or fictional material into the semblance of a historical narrative; and second, to seek to understand the purpose of their misrepresentation.

1 – *Judith*

The *Book of Judith* concerns a daring and beautiful Jewish widow who is upset with her fellow Jewish compatriots for not trusting God to deliver them from their foreign conquerors, Assyrians. Together with her servant, she goes to the camp of the enemy general, Holofernes, and charmingly promises him information on the Israelites. Granted access to his tent one night, she beheads Holofernes as he lies in a drunken state and takes his head back to her countrymen. The Assyrian army having lost their general, disperse and Israel is saved.

Over half of *Judith* is devoted to Holofernes’ invasion under Judith’s Nebuchadnezzar’s direction. The account is replete with obscure rulers, battle strategies and geographical allusions. The inclusion of this material in the narrative may be an attempt to situate Judith’s story in a historical setting but it is ironically this aspect that highlights the historical inaccuracies of the volume. Table 7 summarises the significant supposed historical errors in *Judith*.

Table 7. Significant Supposed Historical Errors in *Judith*.¹⁶⁶

Judith	Significant supposed historical errors
1:1-16	Nebuchanezzer was not King of Assyria
1:7	Persia was under Median Rule
1:12	List of people doesn't accord with 1:7-10
2:1-20	Chronological issues
2:4	Holofernes is unknown but Persian name
2:7	Persian allusions in earth and water
2:21-27	Geographical route is incorrect
2:28-3:10	Israelite cities are an anachronism
4:3	Temple has been destroyed but purified at the same time
4:4	United Israel is incorrect
4:6	Joachim was not high priest
5:1-6:21	Details of Abraham's departure differ from Genesis
7:3	Places and dates lend an air of reality but are mostly unknown
8:1-36	Genealogy of Judith is incomplete
12:15	Reclining while eating is anachronistic
16:10	Persian and Median references are anachronistic

According to the author of *Judith*, the story begins in the twelfth year of Nebuchanezzer who rules over the Assyrians at Nineveh. “It was the twelfth year of the reign of Nebuchanezzer, who ruled over the Assyrians from Nineveh” (*Jth.* 1:1).¹⁶⁷ This was shortly after the Jews returned from exile and built the Second Temple (*Jth.* 4:3, 5:19).

Nebuchanezzer however, was not the king of the Assyrians but of the Neo-Babylonians and in the second instance Cyrus of Persia restored the Jews to their homeland after 539 B.C.E. This ‘historical fantasy’ continues for seven chapters and while the author is adamant that the events took place after the exile,¹⁶⁸ he rolls the rulers Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar and Antiochus IV into one invented ruler – Nebuchadnezzar the Assyrian. This amalgamation of the rulers is paralleled by the location of the Jewish city – Bethulia, which has been described as “every Israelite city ever besieged and yet none of them.”¹⁶⁹

At first reading the mismatching of historical details in *Judith* appears to be a com-

¹⁶⁶ List is compiled from references in C.A. Moore, *Judith: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 40B, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1985.

¹⁶⁷ Ετους δωδεκάτου τῆς βασιλείας Ναβουχοδονοσορ, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀσσυρίων ἐν Νινευῆ.

¹⁶⁸ M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period*, 2nd ed., trans. John Bowden, Vol. 1, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974, p. 140. While set in the Persian period, Hengel et.al., maintain that the story emanated from the Hasmonean period. Hengel notes there is “a strong nationalistic colouring inspired by the Maccabean War of liberation”.

¹⁶⁹ Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, p. 28.

plete disregard for credible historiography. However there is a ‘connecting’ speech made by Achior (*Jth.* 5:5-21) which reveals the purpose of the author. The speech stands as a statement of an ideological Deuteronomistic view of history and relates an account of Jewish history that is faithful to the biblical record. It culminates in the declaration:

And as long as they did not sin in the sight of their God, good fortune was with them, for with them is a God who hates injustice. But when they revolted from the way which he had decreed for them, they were completely and utterly destroyed in numerous wars and taken into captive into a land not their own, and the shrine of their God was razed to the ground, and the cities were conquered by their enemies.

The purpose of the *Book of Judith* appears to be that the return from exile and rebuilding of the Temple represent a fresh start, and only if the Jews repeat the sins of the past will disaster beset them. Judith’s Nebuchadnezzar is an archetype of all the rulers who were used as instruments of God to punish Israel. Judith’s archetypical city of Bethulia is used in the same manner. Johnson remarks: “By combining the historical persecutors of the Jews into a single archetype, the author of *Judith* is able to retain the immediacy and force of a lesson drawn from past experience while communicating a moral that transcends literally historical time.”¹⁷⁰ The historical fantasies of Judith do need not be perceived as a hindrance to the narrative because the principle of the story is a reminder of the ideological Deuteronomistic outlook and not a strictly historical account. The story is used to reinforce an ideology and *Judith* and the narrative becomes part of a Jewish stream of tradition.

2 – *Tobit*

The *Book of Tobit* has a tenuous link to the historical monograph and perhaps may better be described as pure folklore and fable. *Tobit* is usually listed with the historical books after *Judith* and before *1 Maccabees*, although it is also associated with the wisdom literature as it contains numerous aphorisms similar to those found in the wisdom

¹⁷⁰ Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, p. 48.

books (cf. *Tob.* 4:3–19, 21; 12:6–10; 14:7, 9). Nevertheless, the book employs historical anchors and relates to the exilic setting akin to *Judith*.

A short summary of the story serves to illustrate the fantastical nature of the narrative. A wealthy Israelite Tobit, is deported to Nineveh around 722 B.C.E. but is blinded by sparrow excrement (*Tob.* 1:10,11). Due to his misfortune he begs God to let him die but he recalls a large sum he had deposited in Media and dispatches Tobiah his son, to collect it (*Tob.* 4:1-4). Meanwhile a young woman Sarah, residing in Media, is also praying for death, because she has lost seven husbands, each killed in turn on his wedding night by the demon Asmodeus (*Tob.* 3:7-15). God hearkens to their prayers and sends an angel Raphael, to aid them both (*Tob.* 3:16,17).

Raphael makes the trip to Media with Tobiah but on the way Tobiah is attacked by a large fish as he bathes in the river (*Tob.* 5:4, 5). Raphael orders him to seize it and to remove its gall, heart, and liver because they have medicinal uses. (*Tob.* 6:2-6) Later, at Raphael's urging, Tobiah weds Sarah, and uses the fish's heart and liver to drive Asmodeus from the bridal chamber (*Tob.* 6:10-18). On his return Tobiah rubs the fish's gall into his father's eyes and heals him (*Tob.* 11:11). Before his death, Tobit tells his son to leave Nineveh because God intends to destroy the city (*Tob.* 14:8). Tobiah buries his father and mother and with his family depart for Media (*Tob.* 14:12). Table 8 highlights the significant supposed historical errors in *Tobit*.

Table 8. Significant Supposed Historical Errors in *Tobit*.¹⁷¹

Tobit	Significant supposed historical errors
Tob. 1:2	Naphthali taken into exile by Tiglath Pileser III
Tob. 1:3-22	Sargon II was successor to Shalmaneser V
Tob. 1:4	Tobit did not witness Jeroboam's revolt cf. Tob. 14:2 Tobit dies when 112
Tob. 2:1	Reclining while eating is an anachronism
Tob. 5:6	Trek from Rages and Ecbatana is 185 miles
Tob. 6:1-5	Nineveh is east of the Tigris not west
Tob. 9:6	Trip time is given as 1 day when probably closer to 12 days
Tob. 14:15	Tobiah could not have seen the fall of Nineveh

¹⁷¹ List is compiled from references in C.A. Moore, *Tobit: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 40A, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1996.

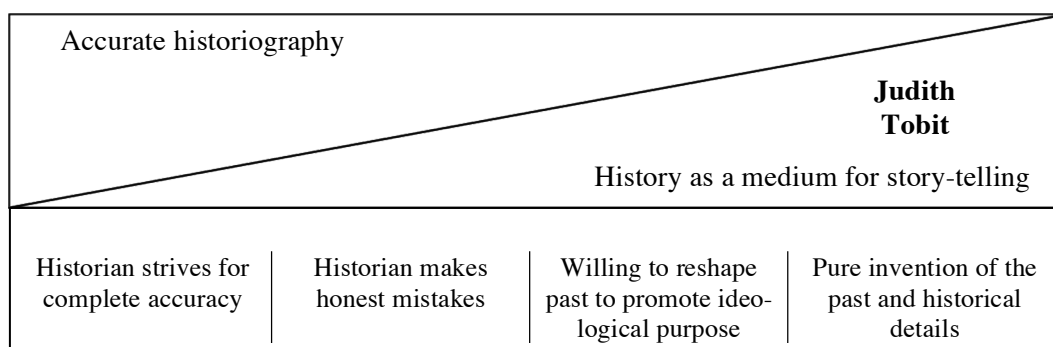
Despite the folkloric nature of these events, the author of *Tobit* sought to situate his account in the historical setting of the exile, during the time of Shalmaneser, Sennachrib and Esrhaddon (*Tob.* 1:2; 1:15; 1:21). Overall the history appears to be based on *2 Kgs.* 17-19 and 18:9-12, although with errors. The claim by Tobit to have witnessed the revolt of the northern tribes against Jerusalem is inaccurate as the revolt took place some two hundred years prior. Nebuchanezzar's apparent overthrow of Nineveh was actually accomplished by Nabolpolassar of Babylon before Nebuchanezzar came to power.

As with *Judith*, the author of *Tobit* manipulates historical events in order to communicate a moral ideology. The assertion by Tobit to have been a young man at the Jerusalem revolt underlies his singular faithfulness to Jerusalem when his countrymen sacrificed to Baal. Tobit's survival of the deportation further underscores his faithfulness to God. This faithfulness results in his prayers being answered, his healing, the marriage of his son, and eventual escape from destruction. *Tobit* conforms to a written narrative that becomes part of a Jewish stream of tradition where significance is given to the moral ideology of faithfulness to God more so than accurate recording.

Summary

The presence, implicit or explicit, of historical incongruities in an invoked historical setting, as evidenced in the monographs of *Judith* and *Tobit*, does not necessarily suggest that one is moving from historiography into fiction. However, the disregard for historical accuracy in *Judith* and *Tobit* suggests they may be best placed at the end of the historiographic spectrum as representative of narratives where the historiographical mode is simply a medium through which to tell a good story involving pure invention of historical details. The books may be seen to be an example of historical fiction where the author is writing fiction but makes use of a historical character. They may be located on the far right of the historiographic continuum as seen in the following diagram.

Historiographic Continuum Model



6.5.2 Historical Errors in *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*

As has been seen in the work on the prologues of *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*, the authors sought to position their narratives as works of historiography. Both books though also include historical errors but should they be categorised as the same degree of error in *Judith* and *Tobit*? While the reason for some errors may be construed as stemming from a similar ideological motivation to *Judith* and *Tobit*, they are not of the same type. The following analysis will highlight some of the instances of historical errors made in *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*. I will argue that these errors should not be put into the same category as those evidenced in *Judith* and *Tobit* but that *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* may be situated at a different point along the historiographic continuum.

6.5.2.1 Second Maccabean Errors

Where author intent is expressly stated, as is the case with *2 Maccabees*, the task of explaining the reshaping of the past becomes somewhat easier. The Maccabean prologue elaborates on the manner in which the epitomist intends to relate his abridgement. The ideas of pleasure, ease, and edification have been variously interpreted and understood and it has been determined that on the one hand, the listed intentions may simply refer to the immediate context where the epitomist explains the reason for his abridgement. On the other hand, it was noted that the abridger's excision of 'historical details' might be construed as a disregard for veracity.

As noted in Ch. 2, what authors may declare is their intention and what they eventually write can be two different things. The first question with regard to the blurring of ‘fact’ and ‘fiction’ in *2 Maccabees* is whether there are historical discrepancies in the narrative? If so, the next question is whether it is possible to discern if the author of *2 Maccabees* deliberately changed past events? A third question is why these changes might have been made? Table 9 lists the significant supposed historical errors in *2 Maccabees*.

Table 9. Significant supposed historical errors in *2 Maccabees*.

2 Maccabees	Significant Supposed Historical Errors
Ch. 3	Onias and Heliodorus incident
Ch. 4	Death of Onias
Ch. 6-7	Martyrdom Accounts
Chs. 8, 10 & 12	Identity of Timothy
Chs. 9 & 13	Identity of Phillip
Ch. 11	Letters

1 – Onias and the Heliodorus Incident

A prominent example of the epitomist’s reshaping of the past may be found in its account of the life and death of Onias III that is related in the Heliodorus episode. Onias is foregrounded as a central figure in the opening chapters of the narrative (Chs. 3-4) and perhaps his character and actions augur the later role of Judas Maccabeus. There are two significant historical anchors that may be found in the account of Onias. The first, is the encounter between Heliodorus and Onias found in *2 Macc.* 3:4-40; the second, is the account of Onias III’s death recorded in *2 Macc.* 4:33-38.

The opening words of the narrative in Ch. 3 credit Onias with the peace the Jews enjoyed before the accession of Antiochus IV (v.1).¹⁷² It is implied that the Seleucid kings’ respect and generous regard for the Temple was due to Onias’s demeanour. Simon’s attempts to control the city markets were thwarted by the high priest (3:5). The prayers of Onias thwarted the attempts of Heliodorus to plunder the Temple (3:21) and

¹⁷² ‘The holy city was inhabited in unbroken peace and the laws were strictly observed because of the piety of the high priest Onias and his hatred of wickedness.’

his prayers brought about his healing so that the epiphanic young men implored the restored Heliodorus to ‘be grateful to the high priest Onias since for his sake the Lord has granted you your life.’ (3:33) When Onias is murdered by an agent of Menelaus, both the Greeks at Antioch and Antiochus are ‘grieved at heart and filled with pity’, with Antiochus killing his murderer, Andronicus (4:33-38). Finally, in the book’s conclusion, (15:12-16), Onias appears to Judas in a vision before the battle against Nicanor, side by side with Jeremiah who presents Judas with a golden sword to strike down his enemies.

The importance of Onias to the Second Maccabean narrative is without doubt. He was a historical figure, (*Sir.* 50:1-21)¹⁷³ and yet he is not mentioned by the author of *I Maccabees* and scantily mentioned by Josephus, (*Ant.* XII 156-57, 223-25).¹⁷⁴ This paucity of information has resulted in the veracity of the events concerning Heliodorus being deemed suspect. The account appears to have derived from a popular legend that follows the pattern of a deity’s defense of his/her temple; the attackers approach, the defenders ask the deity for help, the deity responds, the attackers are repulsed, and the defenders rejoice.¹⁷⁵ A similar event is also recounted, but with different characters in *3 Macc.* 1:9-2:24. In the Third Maccabean account the antagonist involved is Ptolemy IV Philopator not Heliodorus. Hannah Cotton and Michael Wörrle sum up the quandary:

The historical framework ... is fraught with partisan sentiment, polemics and apologetics focusing on the feud between the high priest Onias III and Simon, who ... held a position in the Temple administration rather than in the royal service. The introduction ... depicts the completely calm atmosphere of a peaceful relationship between the king and the Jews, marked by goodwill and generosity on the part of Seleukos IV towards the Temple in Jerusalem. It is not easy to see how under such circumstances Simon should have thought it a good strategy for pursuing his interests in domestic politics to suggest that the king confiscate the Temple treasury; nor is there any sense in the king’s sudden volte-face from benefactor to robber, or his dispatch of no less a person than his own viceroy, to plunder the

¹⁷³ *Sir.* 50:1-21 ‘Simon son of Onias was the great priest.’

¹⁷⁴ Josephus, *JA* XII 225, ‘And death also came to his uncle Onias, who left the high priesthood to his son Simon.’ Josephus, LCL 365. p. 115, cf. F. Parente, ‘Onias III’ Death and the Founding of the Temple of Leontopolis’, M. Smith, (ed.), *Josephus and the history of the Greco-Roman period: Essays in memory of Morton Smith*, Leiden: Brill, 1994, pp. 69-98. Parente argues that the builder of the temple at Leontopolis is ‘unequivocally Onias III’. He quotes *Jewish Wars*, I.31-33, ‘But Onias, the high priest, fled to Ptolemy, and received a place from him in the Nomus of Heliopolis, where he built a city resembling Jerusalem, and a temple that was like its temple.’

¹⁷⁵ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 89. Doran notes there are many examples of this type of narrative – Babylonia, the repulse of Kuturnahunte, king of Ela, by Enlil and other gods; the defense of Dephi by Apollo against marauding Persians (Herodotus, 8.35-39); against the Gauls (Pausanias 10.3.2, Justin 24.8.3, Diodorus Siculus 22.9).

treasury and satisfy the royal greed – and all of this, only in the end to lose face by abandoning the plan at once after the first attempt had come to grief.¹⁷⁶

The implausibility of the events, coupled with the background legend and motifs underlying the Maccabean narrative, forms the basis for doubting the veracity of the abridgement. It seems to be a deliberate reshaping of the past to influence the present context. Yet while there remains a paucity of sources to discern the facts underlying the story, the recent appearance of the Heliodorus stele on the archaeological landscape may shed some new light on the historical setting behind the Onias' anecdote.¹⁷⁷

The Heliodorus stele appeared in 2007 and despite its unknown provenance Cotton and Wörrle published it with a separate article its authenticity by Yuval Goren.¹⁷⁸ Upon its publication, Dov Gera realised that it resembled three pieces of an inscription found by volunteers excavating in 2005 and 2006, within Cave 57 at Tell Maresha –the missing base of the Heliodorus stele.¹⁷⁹ Consequently, the entire inscription assumed a probable context – Cave 57 at Tell Maresha. The importance of the stele for the Onias' story is that it concerns a royal communiqué between Seleucus IV (the brother of Antiochus IV), his chief minister Heliodorus, and two other Seleucid officials, Dorymenes and Diophanes. In the inscription, Heliodorus is informed that a person named Olympiodorus has been appointed to be in charge of the temples of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia.¹⁸⁰ The stele apparently identifies a change made in Seleucid policy in 178 B.C.E.

¹⁷⁶ H.M. Cotton and M. Wörrle, 'Seleukos IV to Heliodorus. A New Dossier of Royal Correspondence from Israel', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 59, 2007, p. 202.

¹⁷⁷ The Heliodorus stele is also referred to as the Olympiodoros stele. In the present work, the designation Heliodorus stele has been adopted.

¹⁷⁸ Y. Goren, 'Scientific Examination of a Seleucid Limestone Stele,' *ZPE* 159, 2007, pp. 206-16.

¹⁷⁹ D. Gera, 'Olympiodorus, Heliodoros and the Temple of Koile and Phoinike', *ZPE*, 169, 2009, pp. 125-55.

¹⁸⁰ *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*: 57.1838, 'LETTER OF SELEUKOS IV TO HELIODOROS' accessed online 10th June, 2015 @ http://www.attalus.org/docs/other/seg57_1838.html. The text reads:

Dorymenes to Diophanes greetings. The copy of the letter handed over to us by Heliodoros who is in charge of the affairs is enclosed. You will do well therefore if you take care that everything is carried out according to the instructions. Year 134, 22nd day of Gorpiaios. ... Heliodoros to Dorymenes his brother greetings. The copy of the order by the king concerning Olympiodoros handed over to us is placed below. You will do well therefore if you follow the instructions. Year 134, (?) 23rd day of Gorpiaios. ... King Seleukos to Heliodoros his brother greetings. Taking the utmost consideration for the safety of our subjects, and thinking it to be of the greatest good for the affairs in our realm when those living in our kingdom manage their lives without fear, and at the same time realising that nothing can enjoy its fitting prosperity without the good will of the gods, from the outset we have made it our concern to ensure that the sanctuaries founded in the other satrapies receive the traditional honours with the care befitting them.

While the Heliodorus episode in *2 Maccabees* has been disregarded historically,¹⁸¹ the stele reveals the anecdote does have historical significance. It identifies an important change of Seleucid policy that occurred somewhere between 178 and 175 B.C.E. with the appointment of an external, foreign high priest to administer the temples of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. Understandably many Jews apparently perceived this appointment as an assault on the Temple. The appointment of Olympiodoros was part of an effort by Seleucus IV to raise money to fulfil the requirements of the Apameia treaty with Rome may be speculative but it is still plausible.¹⁸² It would appear there is some historical ‘fact’ behind the Heliodorus account and that it is not, as previously presumed, pure invention. In the Maccabean account the story has been shaped to fit the present situation; relating to a concern for the treasures in the Jewish temple, by incorporating the fantastic tale of the epiphanic horsemen, and by the apparent substitution of Olympiodoros by Heliodorus.¹⁸³

The Heliodorus Stele appears to clearly attest to Seleucus IV’s desire to involve himself in the affairs of the Koile Syria and Phoinike temples. While the exact date of the Heliodorus episode is not precisely defined in *2 Macc.*, (Tibor Grüll notes: “It could have happened at anytime during the twelve-year-long reign of Seleucus IV [187-175 B.C.]”), there is virtually no doubt that the Heliodorus mentioned in the stele and the

But since the affairs in Koile Syria and Phoinike stand in need of appointing someone to take care of these things, we thought that Olympiodoros will preside prudently over the orderly conduct of (?) associations, [he, who] has demonstrated his loyalty to us because of his attitude, from times gone by, as he had been raised with us and had gained for himself the best disposition in all things, he was, on the one hand, appointed chamberlain with reason, because he has proven himself worthy due to his longstanding loyalty, while on the other hand, he was justifiably introduced into the ranks of the first friends because of his love for us, having made the most assiduous demonstrations of loyalty while in such a [rank], and following the way that we are inclined to [increase] the honour of the gods in accordance with the [attitude] of our ancestors and the care of the temples in which we believed from [time gone by] . . .

¹⁸¹ Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 51, Doran initially called the Heliodorus episode in *2 Maccabees* ‘an isolated incident which does not influence further historical developments’; cf. D. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, p. 4, Schwartz suggests that as far as plot, were it removed ‘the Heliodorus story would never be missed.’

¹⁸² The Treaty of Apameia of 188 B.C.E. was peace treaty between the Roman Republic and Antiochus III. It took place after Roman victories in the battle of Thermopylae in 191, the Battle of Magnesia in 190, and after Roman and Rhodian naval victories over the Seleucid navy. In addition to other restrictions Antiochus was to pay for the cost of the present war, 500 talents first up, 2,500 more when the Senate ratified the treaty; and 12,000 for the next twelve years. Appian, *Syria*, 38-39.

¹⁸³ D. Gera, ‘Olympiodoros, Heliodoros and the Temple of Koile and Phoinike’, *ZPE*, 169, 2009, pp. 149.

Heliodorus of 2 Macc. is the same person.¹⁸⁴ Grüll argues that the 2 Macc. account happened in the earlier years of Seleucus IV's reign against Dov Gera's conclusion that Olympiodorus (on the stele) was replaced by Heliodorus in 2 Macc. Despite these contentions, an unconditional dismissive regard for the historicity of the Onias III and the Heliodorus episode is no longer sustainable.

2 – *The Death of Onias*

A second aspect of the Onias III's episode is the oft-deemed suspect account of his death in 2 Macc. 4:33-38. The epitomist records that after taking refuge at Daphne near Antioch, Onias was murdered by Andronicus, the king's deputy (4:31). When the king heard of the death, he was 'grieved at heart' and killed Andronicus (4:38). Johnson notes the event is "suspiciously reminiscent of the account given by Diodorus of the death of the young Antiochus, the ward of Antiochus IV."¹⁸⁵ Adding further to the confusion is Josephus records Onias III died a natural death with no mention of Andronicus (*Ant.* 12:237-39) but he himself often corrects his earlier account in *Jewish Wars*.¹⁸⁶ A third tradition is that Onias III fled to Egypt to found the temple at Leontopolis.¹⁸⁷ This confusion with parallel passages in Greek narratives and discrepancies in the Jewish accounts leads Johnson to assert: "The details given for the life and death of Onias III are thus almost purely fictional, but they have been intelligently and carefully integrated into the larger historical framework."¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ T. Grüll, 'The Date and Circumstances of the Heliodorus Affair: Considerations on the Seleucus IV Dossier from Maresha', *Acta Classica Univ. Scient. Debrecen.*, XLVI, 2010, p. 17.

¹⁸⁵ Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, p. 16; also, J. Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 238, 'Diodorus XXX 7:2 implies that a person named Andronikos, on behalf of Antiochus IV, did away with little Antiochus, the son of Seleucus IV, only to be executed in turn by Antiochus IV. ... It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the gentile sources and our passage are talking about the same Andronikos. Yet in the Gentile sources he is executed for murdering little Antiochus and in the Jewish sources for murdering Onias III'; also M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2003, p. 183, Hengel suggests that the description of Onias III in 2 Maccabees is 'hagiography'.

¹⁸⁶ Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, p. 57. Goldstein lists 11 changes he observes in Josephus' sketch of the Hasmonean history between *Jewish Wars* and *Antiquities*.

¹⁸⁷ Parente, 'Onias III' pp. 75. *JW* 1:31-33, 'But Onias, the high priest, fled to Ptolemy, and received a place from him in the Nomus of Heliopolis, where he built a city resembling Jerusalem, and a temple that was like its temple.'

¹⁸⁸ Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, p. 16.

There is no certainty of the historical ‘facts’ that may have underwritten this event and so with the qualifier that the Heliodorus stele may shed some light on aspects of the episode, the debate as to the author’s supposed disregard for veracity continues. The life of Onias III seems intended to praise a particular attitude; that of cooperation between Jews and Gentiles provided that no tenet of law is abrogated. His life provides an exemplar of how a Jew should live, in contrast to Simon, Jason and Menelaus.

3 – *The Martyrdom Accounts*

The martyrdom stories of Ch. 6:9-7:42 have also come under scrutiny.¹⁸⁹ The accounts bear the hallmarks of stories of noble deaths found in the Greco-Roman tradition. Peter Scaer notes the motif includes; (i) virtue and courage, (ii) willingness to die, (iii) death being beneficial to others; and (iv) dying victoriously.¹⁹⁰ Goldstein lists nine similarities between the martyrdom of Eleazar and Socrates death in Plato’s *Apology*.¹⁹¹ Schwartz observes that although the story seems to transpire in Jerusalem as it clearly has the king present, Antiochus was not in Judea at that time. Schwartz adds: “having the king rather than some underling play the antagonist is characteristic of folklore.”¹⁹² Doran pursues this line of inquiry when he asks, “When did the king come back to Jerusalem? In *2 Macc.* 6:1, the king had sent Geron to Jerusalem and so was presumably somewhere else.”¹⁹³ There is no change of scene between 6:10 and 7:42 and no mention of Antiochus coming to Jerusalem, neither the women nor her sons were in Antioch. The implication in *4 Macc.* 4:22-5:2, is that the events took place in Jerusalem.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, p. 299, ‘As for historicity: while there definitely were martyrs in the Antiochian persecutions (see *1 Macc.* 1:56-64; *Dan.* 11:32-33, *As. Mos.* 8), no one would claim that this story as such is anything more than a stylized didactic narrative, perhaps deriving, ultimately, from a historicization of *Jeremiah* 15:9, which refers to the unfortunate mother of seven who dies the same day they did.

¹⁹⁰ P. J. Scaer, *The Lukan Passion and the Praiseworthy Death*, Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005, pp. 79-89.

¹⁹¹ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 285. These include i. both heroes were elderly, ii. fear of death wasn’t an issue, iii. refusal to yield matched earlier life, iv. both reject ‘easier’ alternatives, v. both saw obedience as more important, vi. one could not escape divine punishment for wickedness, vii. both trusted in divine judges, viii. both made ‘offending’ speeches, and ix. both die as superlative examples to posterity.

¹⁹² Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, p. 299.

¹⁹³ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 165.

¹⁹⁴ ‘While he was waging war against Ptolemy in Egypt, he heard a rumour had spread about his death and that the Hierosolymites had celebrated with all possible joy. He marched against them speedily ... the tyrant Antiochus, sit-

Goldstein entertains the possibility that a number of Jewish stories may have been behind Jason of Cyrene's original account. Perhaps it was Jeremiah's account (*Jer.* 15:8-9); or a story of a family from Jerusalem carried off to Antioch (with the details of the transfer missing from epitomist's narrative); or a story of a family martyred in Jerusalem (with the movement of Antiochus from Antioch to Jerusalem missing).¹⁹⁵ Again, the actual location of the events is unknown. What is known is that there is a gap in the epitomist's account, which may be an oversight, or perhaps the deliberate reshaping of a past event, either to bring it into line with a Jerusalem focus, or to foreground Antiochus IV as the antagonist.¹⁹⁶

4 – *The Identity of Timothy*

While the Onias and martyrdom accounts possibly show authorial reshaping, in the next instance of historical error it seems there is simply a mistake in historical identity and chronology. This blunder concerns the identity of a person known as Timothy.¹⁹⁷ *2 Macc.* 10:37 reports the death of Timothy together with his brother Chaereas and Apollphanes but then he reappears at 12:2, "... some of the local governors, Timothy and Apollonious son of Gennaios, as well as Hieronymos and Demophone, and in addition to these Nikanor the governor of Cyprus, would not let them live quietly and in peace."

Throughout the First and Second Maccabean narratives, a Timothy appears in three battles. In *1 Maccabees*, a Timothy is involved in a battle near Jazar (*1 Macc.* 5:6) and then this same person appears in Upper Gilead but is routed (*1 Macc.* 5:11, 34, 37, 40). These events take place after the cleansing of the Temple (*1 Macc.* 5:1). In *2 Macc.* 8:30, 32, 9:3, a Timothy fights alongside Bacchides against Judas in an attack of

ting in state with his counselors on a certain high place and with his armed guards standing around him, ordered his body guards to drag in each and every Hebrew and to compel them to taste pork ...'

¹⁹⁵ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 298-299.

¹⁹⁶ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 164, 'That the author is not providing a simple summary of Jason of Cyrene's work becomes evident in his description of the martyrdoms. Here he gives full rein to emotional rhetoric, as he had done in the initial narrative about Heliodorus, and makes these stories the centerpiece of his narrative. The martyrs' sufferings will put a stop to the persecution and change God's wrath to mercy.'

¹⁹⁷ There is also the instance of the identity of Phillip. See Doran, *2 Maccabees*, pp. 10-11 for a fuller discussion of this person.

Nicanor but is defeated. This same Timothy fights against Judas near Gazara and is killed (2 *Macc.* 10:24). The epitomist notes this Timothy “had been defeated by the Jews before.” Later in 2 *Maccabees*, a Timothy is mentioned leading forces in Gilead (12:2, 10, 18-21, 24). In an attempt to answer this conundrum, there are a number of explanations; (i) there were two Timothys; (ii) the epitomist was confused; or (iii) the author changed the names of the battles – confusing Jazar with Gazara.

Goldstein argues for two Timothys. He draws a distinction between the term ‘phylarch’ a local chief, which he uses to distinguish the Timothy who was killed (1 *Macc.* 5:6-8, 2 *Macc.* 8:32, 10:37); and the ‘strategos’ Timothy, a high Seleucid official, who appears in 1 *Macc.* 5:11-14 and 2 *Macc.* 12:2, 10-31. Goldstein’s argument and translation is tenuous. He translates τὸν δὲ φυλάρχην τῶν περὶ Τιμόθεον ἀνεῖλον as: “of the two Timothei, they slew the phylarch (2 *Macc.* 8:32).”¹⁹⁸ There is no indication in this text that there were two Timothys and the translations “they killed Timothy’s phylarch”¹⁹⁹ or “they destroyed the tribal leader of those followers of Timothy”²⁰⁰ probably work much better.

The confusion in the Timothy accounts is often met by an attempt to reconstruct the historical order of the events to bring the Second Maccabean account into agreement with 1 *Macc.* with the mention of Timothy in 2 *Macc.* 8:32 being construed as a doublet reflecting the campaign mentioned in 2 *Mcc.* 12.²⁰¹ Doran suggests that the epitomist: “seems to enjoy having people of the same name in important positions”²⁰² and perhaps this may explain the reason for why the name Timothy recurs. Bezalel Bar-Kochva seeks to explain the existence of two Timothys by suggesting: “the ‘epitomist’ misunderstood the purpose of Jason of Cyrene. Bar-Kochva insists that there was only one

¹⁹⁸ Goldstein, 2 *Maccabees*, p. 340.

¹⁹⁹ Schwartz, 2 *Maccabees*, p. 322.

²⁰⁰ Doran, 2 *Maccabees*, p. 169.

²⁰¹ B. Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus: The Jewish Struggle against the Seleucids*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 510-12.

²⁰² Doran, 2 *Maccabees*, p. 11.

Timony who was an opponent of the Jews, Timothy, governor of Gilead.”²⁰³ It could also be a simple historical mistake on the part of the epitomist.

Summary

This selection of historical errors in *2 Maccabees* can be understood as either reshaping by the author or simple historical inaccuracies. The epitomist is attempting to abridge Jason’s volumes with the aim of edifying his readers. In the course of accomplishing this, he appears to reshape his sources and formulate his narrative to demonstrate the centrality of the temple and divine intervention. This summarising may explain to some extent the errors that may occur but despite Goldstein’s attempt to isolate the epitomist’s sources, it is impossible to discern what these sources were and how they were shaped.²⁰⁴ It would appear that the instance of Onias III and the Heliodorus incident is an example of the epitomist’s shaping the narrative but to regard the episode as mere fiction may need reconsideration in the light of the discovery of the Heliodorus stele. In the example of Onias III’s death, there are a number of opinions as to how the high priest died and it would seem this is another example of shaping the past to reinforce the status of Judas Maccabeus. The martyrdom accounts bear the hallmarks of reshaping, not just in the dramatic emphases but also in the foregrounding of Antiochus IV as the protagonist. The confusion surrounding Timothy (and Philip)²⁰⁵ may be seen as historical errors, either due to the reoccurrence of similar names or chronological misplacement.

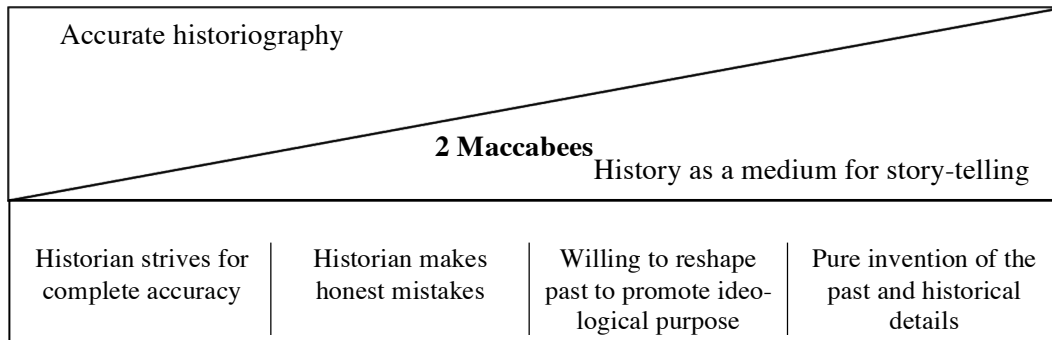
On the basis of the aforementioned examples, *2 Maccabees* may be located in the middle of the proposed historical fiction continuum: between those who make honest mistakes and those who seek to engage in historiography but are willing to shape historical events in order to promote an ideological message or didactic thrust.

²⁰³ Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus*, p. 511.

²⁰⁴ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, pp. 49-53. Goldstein identifies four sources for *2 Macc.*, (i) a common source shared with *1 Macc.*, (ii) a legendary source, (iii) Jason of Cyrene’s tome, and (iv) a Seleucid Chronicle.

²⁰⁵ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, pp. 10-11.

Historiographic Continuum Model



6.5.2.2 Lukan Errors

The occasions in the *Gospel of Luke*, where historical discrepancies have been noted may be grouped into two categories; i. those errors where evidence from extra-biblical sources are in conflict, and ii. those errors where *Luke* conflicts against the evidence of the other gospels. The former disagreements will be addressed in the present section, with the latter conflicts being discussed under chronological manipulations. Table 10 lists the significant supposed historical errors.

Table 10. Significant Supposed Historical Errors in *Luke*.

Luke	Significant Supposed Historical Errors
Ch. 2	Quirinius Census
Ch. 3:1-2	Pilate title
	Lysanius
	High priests – Annas and Caiaphas
Ch. 3	Genealogy

Some of the conflicts with extra-biblical sources include the details of the census in *Lk. 2:1-2*; the incorrect title given to Pontius Pilate (‘procurator’ instead of ‘prefect’) in *Lk. 3:1*; the Lukan assertion in *Lk. 3:1* that Lysanius was alive in C.E. 27 but that he had died around 36-34 B.C.E.; and the designation of two high priests (Annas and Caiaphas) in *Lk. 3:2*. In the following discussion, attention will focus on the details of the Quirinius census as an illustration of a historical error made by Luke in the course of his narrative, with notes on the perceived errors in *Luke 3*.

1 – The Roman Census – Lk. 2:1-5.²⁰⁶

The best known instance of a Lukan historical and chronological error concerns the dating of the Roman census mentioned in *Lk.* 2:1-5. If this pericope stood alone there would be no particular problem with the historical accuracy of the account. Augustus reigned from about 43 B.C.E. to C.E. 14 and Quirinius became legate of Syria in C.E. 6 and conducted a census of Judea (not Galilee) in C.E. 6-7. The birth of Jesus could then be placed during C.E. 6-7. However the chronological information in *Lk.* 2 does not stand by itself and when compared to *Lk.* 1:5, as well as extra-biblical Syrian and Roman accounts, historical inaccuracies become apparent. The authors of *Matthew* and *Luke* place the birth of Jesus during the reign of Herod the Great.²⁰⁷

In *Antiquities*, 17, Josephus records the date of the death of Herod shortly after an eclipse of the moon and a Passover when the rebel Matthias was executed.²⁰⁸ The traditional dating for such an astrological event was in 4 B.C.E.²⁰⁹ Recently this date has been revised to 1 C.E. by Bieke Mathieu. She argues that the most feasible and visible eclipse of the moon in that time period was on the 29 December 1 B.C.E.²¹⁰ As the date of Jesus' birth (prior to 1 B.C.E), this accords with the statement in *Lk.* 3:23 that Jesus was 'about thirty years of age' in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar (about C.E. 27 or 28). The historical anomaly is that a date of 4 – 1 B.C.E for the birth

²⁰⁶ Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐξῆλθεν δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. αὕτη ἀπογραφή πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου. καὶ ἐπορεύοντο πάντες ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν. Ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐκ πόλεως Ναζαρεθ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν εἰς πόλιν Δαυὶδ ἣτις καλεῖται Βηθλέεμ, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατρῴας Δαυὶδ, ἀπογράψασθαι σὺν Μαριὰμ τῇ ἐμνηστευμένῃ αὐτῷ, οὔσῃ ἐγκύφ.

²⁰⁷ *Matt.* 2:1, Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐν Βηθλέεμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐν ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἰδοὺ μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.; *Lk.* 1:5, Ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἱερεὺς τις ὀνόματι Ζαχαρίας ἐξ ἐφημερίας Ἀβιά, καὶ γυνὴ αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων Ἀαρῶν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς Ἐλισάβετ.

²⁰⁸ *Antiquities* 17:191, 'Having done this he died, on the fifth day after having his son Antipater killed. He had reigned for thirty-four years from the time when he had put Antigonus to death, and for thirty-seven years from the time when he had been appointed king by the Romans.' Josephus. *Jewish Antiquities*, Volume 7, LCL 410, (R. Marcus and A. Wikgren, trans.). Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 253.

²⁰⁹ M. Kudlek, and E. Mickler, *Solar and Lunar Eclipses of the Ancient Near East for 3000 B.C. to 0 with Maps*, AOATS 1. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1971, p.156. The eclipses of 3 BC were all invisible to the eye. In addition to 13th March 4 BC, the moon was eclipsed on 5 September 4 BC. This eclipse was partial and visible, but it occurred by day.

²¹⁰ B. Mahieu, *Between Rome and Jerusalem: Herod the Great and His Sons in Their Struggle for Recognition*, OLA 208, Louvain: Peeters Publishers and Department of Oriental Studies, 2012, pp. 290-1.

of Christ means that the time of the Quirinius census according to *Lk. 2:2* (C.E. 6-7) is some ten years before Quirinius was legate of Syria.

There are essentially three ways of dealing with this error in Luke's narrative. The first seeks to reorganise the Herodian chronology of *Lk. 1* to agree with the Quirinius census, *i.e.* to move the date of Herod's death forward to C.E. 6-7.²¹¹ The second is to reinterpret the Quirinius census chronology to agree with the Herod dating, *i.e.* to move the census back to 4-3 B.C.E.²¹² The third is to recognise that Luke's datings are confused and there may be no need to reconcile them when we acknowledge that often a blurring of fact and fiction occurs in ancient historical narratives.

Attempts to deal with the census dilemma by reorganising the Herod chronology are thwarted by the fixed nature of Herod the Great's reign based on Josephus' dating and that of other ancient chronologists. To counter this, J. Duncan Derrett suggests that *Luke* (and *Matthew*) did not actually mean Herod the Great when they were writing but were referring to Archelaus who ruled from 4 B.C.E. to C.E. 6. Some early church fathers also distinguish between the date of John the Baptist's birth (3-4 B.C.E.) and that of Jesus (C.E. 6-7).²¹³ These suggestions actually conflict with Luke's other items of chronological information as well as those in *Matthew*. For example, *Matthew* has Jesus return from Egypt when Herod dies and Archelaus was ruling over Judea (*Matt. 2:19-22*). In the light of the reliability of Herod's chronology and the historical difficulties encountered in altering this, most historians who seek to reconcile the dating dilemma, turn themselves to the possibility of re-dating the Quirinius census.

²¹¹ J.D. Derrett, 'Further Light on the Narratives of the Nativity', *Novum Testamentum*, 17, 1975, pp. 82-5; A.N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1963, p. 167.

²¹² W. Ramsey, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem? A Study on the Credibility of St. Luke*, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1898.

²¹³ Tertullian, *Adversus Judaeos* viii, citing 28 years after the death of Cleopatra, determines a date of ca. 2 B.C.E.; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* I 21 determines a date of 2 B.C.E based on 194 years before the death of Commodus; Irenaeus, *Against the Heretics* II xxii 6 implies a birth of ca., 10-7 B.C.E; Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist* I v 2, gives a date in the 42 year of Augustus which means 3-1 B.C.E.

Reorganising the Quirinius census presents a new set of historical difficulties. During the reign of Augustus, three censuses of Roman citizens took place, in 28 B.C.E., 8 B.C.E., and C.E. 13–14.²¹⁴ It should be noted that *lustrums* only counted Roman citizens. Apart from the Lukan account, Augustus is not recorded as taking a census of the ‘inhabited earth’ that included non-citizens. Other censuses organised by local officials for the purpose of taxation and military service were conducted of non-citizens in the provinces.²¹⁵ Luke’s suggestion of a ‘worldwide’ census ordered by Caesar Augustus during the time when Quirinius was legate of Syria does not accord with the chronology and the nature of such censuses as recorded in Roman historical records. It would appear that Luke’s account of a worldwide census conducted in Judea by Quirinius might be a description of a provincial census, and one undertaken when Quirinius was legate.

Before considering the historicity of a specific provincial census conducted under Quirinius, a general question of whether provincial censuses required people to return to their place of birth is pertinent. Since enrolment was primarily for taxation purposes, the general pattern of provincial censuses was to register people where they lived or in the nearby principal city of a district. A ‘corrupted’ Egyptian papyrus dated from C.E. 104, is understood to describe a proclamation ordering a temporary dweller back to his regular domicile for a census.²¹⁶ The implication is the regular domicile was where the person held his property and worked (the cultivation that concerns them). In attempts to

²¹⁴ These are attested to in the *Res Gestae divi Augusti*, ‘When I was consul the fifth time (29 BCE), I increased the number of patricians by order of the people and senate. I read the roll of the senate three times, and in my sixth consulate (28 B.C.E.) I made a census of the people with Marcus Agrippa as my colleague. I conducted a lustrum, after a forty-one year gap, in which lustrum were counted 4,063,000 heads of Roman citizens. Then again, with consular imperium I conducted a lustrum alone when Gaius Censorinus and Gaius Asinius were consuls (8 B.C.E.), in which lustrum were counted 4,233,000 heads of Roman citizens. And the third time, with consular imperium, I conducted a lustrum with my son Tiberius Caesar as colleague, when Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Appuleius were consuls (14 C.E.), in which lustrum were counted 4,937,000 of the heads of Roman citizens.’ CIL III, p. 774.

²¹⁵ Cicero, *Verrem*, 2:53, ‘And now it is worth our while to observe how censors were appointed in Sicily during his praetorship. For the censorship is, of all offices, the one which in Sicily the citizens take most care to entrust to the right man, because all Sicilians pay their annual tribute in proportion to their assessed wealth, and in making the assessment the censor is entrusted with complete power to value each property and fix the amount due. Consequently the community exercises the greatest care in selecting the person who is to be trusted so largely with its property, and on the other hand the competition for the office is especially keen in the community because of the great power conferred by it.’ Cicero, *The Verrine Orations: Against Caecilius. Against Verres*, Vol. 1. LCL 221, (L. H. G. Greenwood, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928, p. 433.

²¹⁶ T.C. Mitchell, *The Bible in the British Museum*, New York: Paulist Press, 2004, p. 111.

relate this practice to the Lukan text, there have been suggestions that Joseph had property in Bethlehem; but the accounts that he could not find a place for his sojourn in that city may tend to negate this. While the possibility exists that Romans officials may have adapted their practices to respect the attachment of the Jews to ancestral relationships, Luke's narrative is unique in this requirement among extant historical records.

Quirinius was a real historical character, a senator and consul, who later became a legate of Syria. Tacitus, Seutonius, and Dio Cassius, and Josephus all mention him.²¹⁷ His full name was Publius Sulpicius Quirinius and he died in C.E. 21. It was through his military conquests in Cilicia and elsewhere that Quirinius was exalted by the emperor to hold the office of governor in Syria in C.E. 6-7. Josephus records that Quirinius conducted a provincial census in C.E. 6-7 when Archelaus had been deposed and Judea came under direct Roman control.²¹⁸ The latter section of Josephus' account alludes to an uprising of Judas the Gaulonite who was probably the same person referred to in Acts 5:35-37. If the census in *Luke* was the one mentioned by Josephus and the *Acts of the Apostles*, it would most probably have taken place in C.E. 6-7.

The *Aemilius Secundus* inscription supports the fact that Quirinius undertook a census.²¹⁹ It records that Secundus served under Publius Sulpicius Quirinius when the latter

²¹⁷ Tacitus, *Annals* III 48, 'About the same time, he asked the senate to allow the death of Sulpicius Quirinius to be solemnized by a public funeral ... as an intrepid soldier and an active servant he won a consulate under the deified Augustus, and, a little later, by capturing the Homonadensian strongholds beyond the Cilician frontier, earned the insignia of triumph. After his appointment, again, as adviser to Gaius Caesar during his command in Armenia, he had shown himself no less attentive to Tiberius, who was then residing in Rhodes. This circumstance the emperor now disclosed in the senate, coupling a panegyric on his good offices to himself with a condemnation of Marcus Lollius ... In the rest of men, however, the memory of Quirinius awoke no enthusiasm, in view of his attempt (already noticed) to ruin Lepida, and the combination of meanness with exorbitant power which had marked his later days.' Tacitus, LCL 249, pp. 597-9.

²¹⁸ Josephus, *JA*, 18:1, 'Quirinius also visited Judaea, which had been annexed to Syria, in order to make an assessment of the property of the Jews and to liquidate the estate of Archelaus. Although the Jews were at first shocked to hear of the registration of property, they gradually condescended, yielding to the arguments of the high priest Joazar, the son of Boethus, to go no further in opposition. ... But a certain Judas, a Gaulamtee from a city named Gamala, who had enlisted the aid of Saddok, a Pharisee, threw himself into the cause of rebellion. They said that the assessment carried with it a status amounting to downright slavery, no less, and appealed to the nation to make a bid for independence.' Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, LCL 433, pp. 5-7.

²¹⁹ 'Quintus aemilius (son of Quintus) secundus of the palatine tribe, in the service of the divine Augustus, under Publius Sulpicius Quirinius the legate of Caesar in Syria, was decorated with [these] honors: Prefect of a cohort from the first august legion; Prefect of the second fleet; also conducted a census by order of Quirinius in the Apamene community of 117,000 citizens; also, when he was sent by Quirinius against the Ituraeans on Mount Lebanon he captured their citadel; and before he was in the army as officer in charge of works, he was delegated by the two consuls to run the treasury; and when he was living in a colony he served as quaestor, aedile twice, duumvir twice, and ponti-

was legate of Syria (some time during the reign of Augustus) and when in this command Secundus helped conduct a census of a Syrian city, Apamea. While supporting the ‘fact’ that Quirinius was governor of and conducted a census in Syria, no date is given in the inscription and it is presumed that it refers to the C.E. 6 - 7 census. Another issue with this date is that Luke’s account seems to presume that the census of Quirinius affected Galileans – Joseph lived in Nazareth of Galilee and Luke nominates Judas as a Galilean.²²⁰ In C.E. 6 - 7, Galilee was not under Quirinius’ direct supervision but was a tetrarchy ruled by Herod Antipas. If Quirinius was conducting a census of both Galilee and Judea then it raises the question whether Quirinius conducted an earlier census as legate before Judea and Galilee were separated in 4 B.C.E. According to Josephus the legates for Syria were –

29-25 B.C.E.	M. Tullius Cicero
24 B.C.E.?	Varro
23-13 B.C.E.	M. Vispanius Agrippa (died in 12 B.C.E.)
12-10 B.C.E.	Unknown
ca. 10 B.C.E.	M. Titius
9-6 B.C.E.	C. Sentius Saturninus
6-4 B.C.E.	P. Quinctilius Varus
4-1 B.C.E.	Unknown
1 B.C.E.-C.E. 4	Gaius Caesar (died in C.E. 4)
C.E. 4-6	L. Volusius Saturninus
C.E. 6	P. Sulpicius Quirinius
C.E. 7-10	Unknown
C.E. 10/11 – 17	Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus ²²¹

The two possible time periods for an earlier governorship by Quirinius would be before M. Titius (10 B.C.E.); or at the latest between Quirinius Varus and Gaius Caesar, (4 and 1 B.C.E.). No legate is nominated for these dates in Josephus’ accounts. The later date is made more difficult because Quirinius served as an adviser to Gaius Caesar and it would appear odd if he had previously served in the position of legate in the same region. What is known of Quirinius’ life is that he served as consul in 12 B.C.E. (Tacit-

fex. Quintus Aemilius Secundus, son of Quintus, of the Palatine tribe, having passed on, and Aemilia Chia, [his] freedwoman, have been laid to rest here. This monument no longer belongs to [his] heirs.’ CIL 6687 ILS 2683.

²²⁰ While Josephus identifies Judas in *Ant.* XVIII 1 as a Gaulonite, he also calls Judas a Galilean in four other instances: *Ant.* XVIII 1.6; XX 5.2; *Jewish Wars* II 8.1, 17.8.

²²¹ E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, Vol 1, New York: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 1973, pp. 254-257.

tus, *Annals*, III, 48), and that he was in Asia Minor sometime after 12 and before 6 B.C.E. leading the legions in war against the Homonadenses. He was in Syria as an advisor of Gaius Caesar before C.E. 4 but there is no mention of his being legate for the twenty years of his career from 12 B.C.E to C.E. 6.

Two inscriptions have been used to lend support to an earlier governorship by Quirinius. Ramsey, who actually located the second inscription,²²² speculates that Luke's account refers to an early census generally ordered by Augustus through Quirinius but undertaken by Herod.²²³ As to Luke's dating of a census with reference to Quirinius, Ramsey proposes that Quirinius was a governor of Syria over two time periods. He suggests his first tenure followed that of the Quintilus Varus in 3–1 B.C.E.

Ramsay draws this conclusion based on two inscriptions. The first of these is *Lapis Tiburtinus*, an inscription on a marble slab found in Tivoli. Composed after C.E. 14 the inscription describes an unnamed person who twice served as legate, the second time in Syria. However, there is no reference to the person's name and it could be any of the legates mentioned by the Roman historians.²²⁴ Most historians who are supporters of Lukan historicity do not generally see this as archaeological proof.²²⁵ Amongst other historical difficulties, Mahieu notes the following problems with the conclusion that Quirinius was in Syria in the period 4 - 1 B.C.E/ 1 C.E. First, the Quirinius victory over

²²² Ramsey's qualifications and conclusions have been questioned by his peers. *The Harvard Theological Review*, 10, 2, 1917, p. 211, 'The facts and arguments themselves are interesting but do not carry us as far as Ramsay thinks, and do not meet all the difficulties which have led many older scholars to question Luke's statements. It is Sir William's habit to present arguments in which gaps unfilled by positive evidence are supplied by assumptions; and readers can seldom, even with the best will in the world, share the author's confidence in his own power of divination. His views are always suggestive, but it ought to be recognized that they are often unproved, and hence can never be safely adopted without rigorous and independent scrutiny of the evidence. It would be unfortunate if they should become part of the common stock of popular and supposedly trustworthy biblical knowledge.'

²²³ W. Ramsey, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* p. 108, '[It was] tribal and Hebraic, not anti-national. It was wholly and utterly unconnected with any scheme of Roman taxation; and it was conducted by Herod on strictly tribal methods. It roused little indignation and no rebellion; and it therefore gave no reason for Josephus to notice it.'

²²⁴ *Lapis Tiburtinus*, 'King brought into the power of Augustus and the Roman people and senate for this honored with two victory celebrations for the same thing the triumphal decoration obtained the proconsulate of the province of Asia again of the deified Augustus Ayria and Ph[oenicia].' To whom this inscription refers is unknown and that it may be Quirinius is speculative based on the word – 'first' in Luke's Gospel. Even historians who are general supporters of Lukan historicity do not generally see this as archaeological proof. CIL 3613

²²⁵ A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963, p.164-66.

the Homonadenses was not so momentous as to merit two thanksgivings. Second, there is no other evidence that Quirinius was ever proconsul of Asia.²²⁶ Mathieu concludes:

Evidence for Quirinius's first Syrian governorship is missing. For geographic reasons, it is improbable that a legate from Syria would have intervened in the area of the Homonadenses. Moreover the times of the Homonadesian War is uncertain. Nothing justifies situating a legateship of Quirinius in 4 BC-1 BC/AD.²²⁷

Ramsay found the second inscription on a marble base in Antioch of Pisidia in 1912. In this inscription, Gaius Caristianus Fronto is described as serving as prefect for Quirinius and Servilius. Quirinius is identified as a chief magistrate (duumvir) but Servilius is not. Ramsay argues they were of equal status and Quirinius was therefore legate of Syria at the same time that Servilius was legate of Galatia during the Homonadensian War (pre-6 B.C.E.). Ramsey's interpretation goes beyond what the inscription actually says.²²⁸ The Antioch inscription does not show that Quirinius was governor of Syria and Ramsay's evidence does not prove that Quirinius had an earlier governorship in Syria. It is speculative and there is no extant archaeological or textual evidence that supports the case for Quirinius being legate in Syria prior to C.E. 6-7.

An earlier attempt to reconcile the dates of Jesus' birth suggests that Luke made a simple mistake in recording the name Quirinius. There is mention that "Saturninus was the governor at that time" and this accords with the record in Josephus and attempts to correct the Lukan text in 1:5 to read Saturninus (9-6 B.C.E.) rather than Quirinius. Support for this is drawn from the writings of Tertullian. In *Against Marcion* IV, 19:10 he writes: "At that time there were censuses that had been taken in Judea under Augustus by Sentius Saturninus, in which they might have enquired about Jesus' ancestry."

²²⁶ Mahieu, *Between Rome and Jerusalem*, p. 306.

²²⁷ Mahieu, *Between Rome and Jerusalem*, p. 306.

²²⁸ 'Gaius Carista[nius...] son of Gaius, Sergius Fronto Caesianus Jul[ius...] officer in charge of works, pontifex, priest, prefect of Publius Sulpicius Quirinius the duumvir, prefect of Marcus Servilius. By this man, the first of all [with a] public decree of the decemvirate council, the statue was set up.' W. Ramsay, *The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915, p. 285.

Tertullian's argument does not correct the dating of the Quirinius question but actually concerns an argument against Docetists.²²⁹

The arguments seeking to reconcile the information in *Luke* 1 and 2 are weak. There is no firm proof of a Roman census of Palestine under Quirinius during the reign of Herod the Great. If Jesus was born during, or at the end of, the reign of Herod the Great there is inaccuracy when Luke associates the birth with the single census conducted in C.E. 6 - 7 under Quirinius. It appears that Luke makes a historical error and reasons for his error are debated. Luke's mention of the Quirinius census on two occasions in his writings adds weight to the view that he had the same census in mind – it was a notorious census involving an uprising and presumably would have been well-known to his readers.

Ronald Syme suggests it was a simple case of confusion where Luke combined two events in Palestinian history – the death of Herod in 4 B.C.E. and the annexation of Judaea in C.E. 6. Both events led to disturbances and Luke put the two together.²³⁰ Raymond Brown suggests the association of the birth of Jesus with the census of Quirinius enabled Luke to explain why Joseph and Mary were in Bethlehem when the child was born and the reshaping of the events promoted the interests of Lukan theology by providing “a backdrop of world and Israelite history.”²³¹ The confusion in the Lukan account is frequently met by an attempt to reconcile the dates. This often involves speculation but in the context of the present discussion, the error serves as an example

²²⁹ Docetists believed that Jesus' physical body was an illusion, as was his crucifixion; and that Jesus only seemed to have a physical body and to physically die. Tertullian is arguing that Jesus had a human ancestry. It is interesting though that he does not use Quirinius as the dating 'instrument' of the Augustan census but alters it to Saturninus.

²³⁰ R. Syme, 'The Titulus Tiburtinus' *Vestigia: Akten des VI Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik*, 1972, Beiträge zue Alten Geschichte, 17, Munich: Beck, p. 600. 'Two striking events in Palestinian history would leave their marks in the minds of men. First, the end of Herod in 4 BC, second the annexation of Judaea in AD 6. Either might serve for approximate dating in a society not given to exact documentation. Each event, so it happened, led to disturbances. More serious were those in 4 BC, according to Josephus. Varus the legate of Syria had to intervene with the whole of his army. But the crisis of AD 6 was the more sharply remembered because Roman rule and taxation were imposed. Thus in Acts 5:37, the speech of the Pharisee Gamaliel: 'In the days of the census.'

²³¹ R. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, New York: Doubleday, 1993, p. 555.

of a reshaping of the past and a misrepresentation of ‘historic facts’ that is a feature of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph.

2 – *The Errors in Luke 3:1-2*.²³²

Ch. 3 commences with an elaborate chronological synchronism. While only the first phrase is needed to fix the date, the mention of other personalities follows the practice of other historians in emphasizing the political situation at the time.²³³ Unfortunately the extended synchronism raises possible errors. The first perceived error concerns a possible incorrect title given to Pontius Pilate – ‘procurator’ instead of ‘prefect’, in *Lk.* 3:1. The issue with the designation of Pilate at this point really derives from the manuscript evidence and may not have derived from Luke. In ms. D, the word ἐπιτροπεύοντος (procurator) is used to designate Pilate. While ἐπιτροπεύοντος agrees with the usual Latin term used to entitle Pilate,²³⁴ its use by Luke at this point is anachronistic (although it would possibly reflect the time period in which Luke was writing). The word procurator did not come into usage until around C.E. 46 after the reorganisation of Claudius. Prior to the reign of Claudius the term prefect was used; from Claudius to ca. C.E. 66 the term procurator was used; and from ca. C.E. 70 the term *legatus* was employed.²³⁵ In the Nestle-Aland text (27th ed.), the term ἡγεμονεύοντος (governor) is used with respect to Pilate and if the best manuscript evidence is preferred to ms. D, the problem with the designation tends to be removed. The generic title for someone holding a high office is ἡγεμονεύοντος with Josephus also using the word to describe Pilate.²³⁶

²³² Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ τετρααρχούντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρώδου, Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τετρααρχούντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας, καὶ Λυσανίου τῆς Ἀβιλιηνῆς τετρααρχούντος, ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἀννα καὶ Καϊάφα, ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Ζαχαρίου υἱὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.

²³³ Cf. Thucydides I 1:2, Polybius I 1:3 and Josephus, *Ant.* 18:106.

²³⁴ Tacitus *Annals* 15:44, 2 ‘Christus, the founder of the name, had undergone the death penalty in the reign of Tiberius, by sentence of the procurator Pontius Pilatus,’ Tacitus, *Annals*, Vol. 5, LCL 322, (J. Jackson, trans), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937, p. 283.

²³⁵ I. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, Carlisle: The Paternoster Press, 1978, p. 133.

²³⁶ Josephus, *JA*, 18:5, ‘But now Pilate, the procurator (ἡγεμὼν) of Judea, removed the army from Caesarea to Jerusalem.’ Josephus, LCL 433, p. 43.

A second perceived historical error is the suggestion that Lysanius was alive in C.E. 27, when he is presumed to have died around 36 - 34 B.C.E. In c. 36 B.C.E., Marc Anthony put Lysanius to death but it is impossible to know if this is the same person to whom Luke was referring.²³⁷ Josephus elsewhere alludes to ‘Aliba which had been the Lysanian tetrachy’ (*Ant.* 20:7) which seems to be a different Lysanius to the one executed by Anthony. An inscription found in a temple presumably dating from C.E. 14 - 29 mentions a Lysanius who was tetrarch around this time. However, there is no firm reason to date the inscription from this later period.²³⁸

The third error arises in the designation of two high priests (Annas and Caiaphas) in *Lk.* 3:2. Again it is difficult to say with certainty what Luke meant by the phrase: “the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas”. If he was suggesting that they were co-high priests this would present a blunder, because there was only one high priest at a time. The matter may have been solved if the plural ἄρχιερέων had been used. Proposals to remove the error are various. Bovon suggests that Luke connects both Annas and Caiaphas with the story of Jesus and considers them both to be a high priest at some time.²³⁹ Joseph Fitzmyer proposes: “Luke may simply be referring to a period when Palestinian Jewry was dominated by two powerful figures.”²⁴⁰

The existence of one historical error would probably not raise the ire of the critics but accrual of these presumed chronological errors suggests a lack of attention to historical detail. One is reminded of Polybius’ admonition: “When we find one or two false

²³⁷ Josephus, *JA*, 15:9, ‘That was why she continually prodded Antony to take away the possessions of others and give them to her. And when she passed through Syria with him, she thought of ways to get it into her possession. She therefore accused Lysanias, the son of Ptolemaeus, of bringing in the Parthians against the interests of the (Roman) government, and had him killed.’ Josephus, LCL 489, p. 301.

²³⁸ Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum 4521 reads, ‘For the salvation of the Au[gust] lords and of [all] their household Nymphaeus, free[dman] of Ea[gle] Lysanias tetrarch established this street and other things.’ It has been thought that the reference to August lords as a joint title was given only to the emperor Tiberius and his mother Livia, the widow of Augustus). If this analysis is correct, this reference would establish the date of the inscription to between C.E. 14 (when Tiberius began to reign) and C.E. 29 (when Livia died), and thus could not be interpreted as referring to the ruler executed by Mark Antony in 36 B.C.E. However, Livia received suitable honors while Augustus was still alive, such as ‘Benefactor Goddess’ (Θεα Εὐεργέτις) at a temple at Thassos, so there is no clear reason that ‘August Lords’ could not be Augustus and Livia.

²³⁹ Bovon, *Luke*, p. 120.

²⁴⁰ J. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX*, AB, New York: Doubleday, 1981, p.458.

statements in a book and they prove to be deliberate ones, it is evident that not a word written by such an author is any longer certain and reliable” (XII 25a:2). It would be extreme to apply such a dictum to *Luke* as the historical inaccuracies highlighted in *Lk.* 3:1-2 may be as considered as minor (if they are in fact errors) and appear to derive out of an attempt to be precise than deliberate mendacity. It is difficult to sustain, at least not as easily as perhaps in the case of the census manipulations, that the errors add anything to an ideological purpose. If any errors are perceived in the opening verses of *Lk.* 3, they do not carry with them any sense of authorial shaping for a particular purpose but they appear to be simply errors of historical judgment.

3 – *The Genealogy of Luke*

As noted in the discussion on the reception of *Luke* as historiography, one particular issue for the second-century readers surrounded the Lukan (and Matthean) genealogies of Jesus. While it was seen that Africanus and Origen were perhaps less concerned with the historicity of the lists and more concerned with inconsistencies between the Lukan and Matthean genealogies, there is a case for raising the question of the historical veracity of Luke’s genealogy. Is the Lukan list based on a historical record to which Luke is faithful, or is it a mere invention by Luke to advocate a theological purpose? Marcus Borg and Dominic Crossan perceive the lists to be pure invention: “Nowhere is it so clear as in these two genealogies [*Matthew* and *Luke*] that theological metaphor and symbolic parable rather than actual history and factual information create and dominate the Christmas stories.”²⁴¹ The underlying premise for Borg’s and Crossan’s assessment ultimately derives from the inconsistencies they find between the Matthean and Lukan lists. The inconsistency equates to inaccuracy. However, whether the differences amount to a disregard for historical veracity is not a straightforward conclusion.

²⁴¹ M. Borg and D. Crossan, *The First Christmas. What the Gospels Really Teach About Jesus’s Birth*, New York: HarperOne, 2007, p. 81.

That the Lukan genealogy differs significantly from the list in *Matthew* is undeniable. Some notable divergences are; (i) the Lukan genealogy is recorded in the opposite direction beginning from Jesus and working backwards; (ii) the Lukan list is longer than *Matthew* and reaches back to Adam; (iii) in the corresponding time periods of the genealogies, (Abraham to Joseph) *Luke* has 57 names in comparison to *Matthew's* 41; and (iv) in the genealogies from David to Jesus, the lists are almost totally contrary.

A number of suggestions have been given to explain the differences in the lists. The solution of Africanus proposed adoptive and physical descent through the notion of levirate marriage.²⁴² In the fifteenth century, Annius of Viterbo proposed that *Matthew* gave a genealogy of Joseph and *Luke* gives that of Mary.²⁴³ The most generally accepted current explanation is that *Matthew* records a legal line of descent from David stating who was the heir to the throne, but that *Luke* records the actual descendants of David.²⁴⁴ Ultimately, the problems raised by the two lists are ultimately insoluble based on the evidence which is presently available. Explanation for the marked divergences in the genealogies, especially from David to Joseph, is compounded by the lack of evidence from whence *Luke* may have derived his names. However, in the present context the object is to determine any instances of historical error in the Lukan genealogy. Is there a historical basis to the genealogy or is the list an example of a historical blunder?

Luke's list prior to David probably derives from the genealogies of the OT. Most of the names concur with previous genealogies. Vv. 36b-38 (Adam to Shem) corresponds with *Gen.* 5. Vv. 34-36a (Shem to Abraham) corresponds with LXX *Gen.* 11:10-32.²⁴⁵ In the time period between Abraham to David, the names have been taken from *1 Chr* and *Ruth*. This agreement with the OT suggests that there was some historical material

²⁴² Eusebius, *History of the Church*, 1:7

²⁴³ Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, p. 158.

²⁴⁴ F.F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles, The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary*, 3rd ed., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Leicester, 1990, p. 158.

²⁴⁵ Bovon, *Luke 1.*, p. 134, n. 7. Bovon notes that it has to be from the LXX because the name *Cainan* in *Luke's* list is only found in the LXX and not in the MT.

at the basis of Luke's genealogy. To admit that the list is a pure literary construction goes beyond this evidence.

The difficulty remains in determining if there is any source or materials that may have informed Luke regarding the names from David to Joseph. Bovon rightly remarks that this is unknown.²⁴⁶ The gap is the same for Matthew's list in the postexilic period. The identities of Jesus' nine ancestors from Abiud to Jacob in *Matt.* 1:13-15) are unidentifiable. With this lack of available evidence it becomes speculative to suggest if Luke was historically accurate or not in his genealogy. The divergences do not appear to derive from a reshaping of the Matthean account as there is nothing to suggest any significance in the names that Luke alters.

On the basis where it can be observed how Luke used the OT sources prior to the time of David, it is plausible to presume he may have applied the same standards of rigour with the names post-David. Richard Lenski notes: "It is not known how Luke secured his genealogy. Although we today cannot test its correctness in all details there is no reason for calling any of its items into question."²⁴⁷ Each of the genealogies was composed by a different person and for a different ideological purpose and while the divergence in their lists once again underscores the relativist notion of historiography, it is impossible to determine if Luke made historical errors in this instance.

Summary

This selection of historical errors in *Luke* may be understood as authorial reshaping and simple historical inaccuracies. The instance of the misdating of the Quirinus census is most likely an instance of authorial reshaping to foreground the birth of Jesus against a backdrop of world and Israelite history but to regard the episode as mere fiction is unfounded. The confusion surrounding the perceived historical errors in the personalities

²⁴⁶ Bovon, *Luke I.*, p. 134.

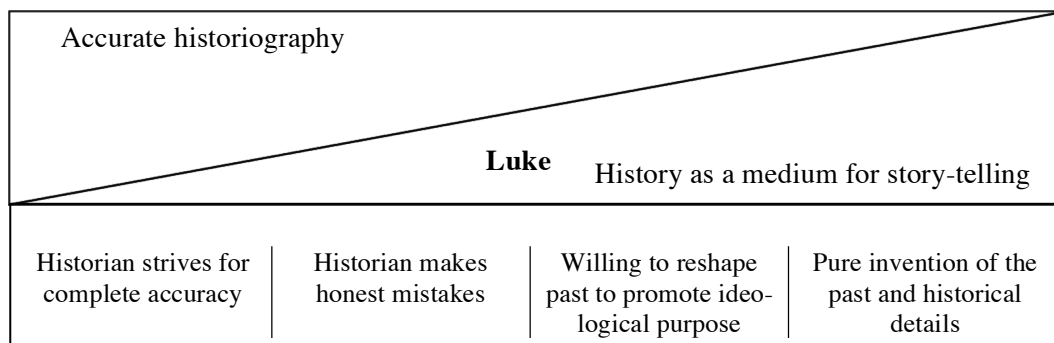
²⁴⁷ R.C.H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of Luke's Gospel*, Columbus: Wartburg, 1946, p. 221.

mentioned in *Lk.* 3:1 are minor. While they may serve to illustrate impreciseness on the part of author at this juncture, they should not be seen as deliberate mendacity.

As to perceived inaccuracies in the Lukan genealogy it was realised that owing to the lack of extant source material Luke may have accessed, any judgment on historical veracity was indeterminable. As far as Luke interacted with sources are available to analyse, the genealogy was found to be an accurate recount.

On the basis of the aforementioned mentioned examples, *Luke* may be located in the middle of the proposed historiographic fiction continuum: between those who make honest mistakes and those who seek to engage in historiography but are willing to shape historical events in order to promote an ideological message.

Historiographic Continuum Model



Summary of Historical Errors in 2 Maccabees and Luke

The historical errors in *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* may be perceived as being of a different nature to those made in *Tobit* and *Judith* in two areas, viz., (i) the density of the number of errors in each narrative, and (ii) in the significance and impact of the errors upon the ensuing historiography.

First, the density of the errors may be analysed as shown in Table 11. In this table the number of supposed historical errors that appear in the aforementioned works have been compared to the length of each work. It can be seen that in *Judith* and *Tobit* the ratios of error to length are 0.17% (*Judith*) and 0.11% (*Tobit*) whereas density of errors

in *2 Maccabees* (0.03%) and *Luke* (0.02%) are much lower. While not being a conclusive indicator of the degree of historical inaccuracies, these ratios allow a delineation to be drawn between the extent of the historical errors in *Judith* and *Tobit* when compared with *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*.

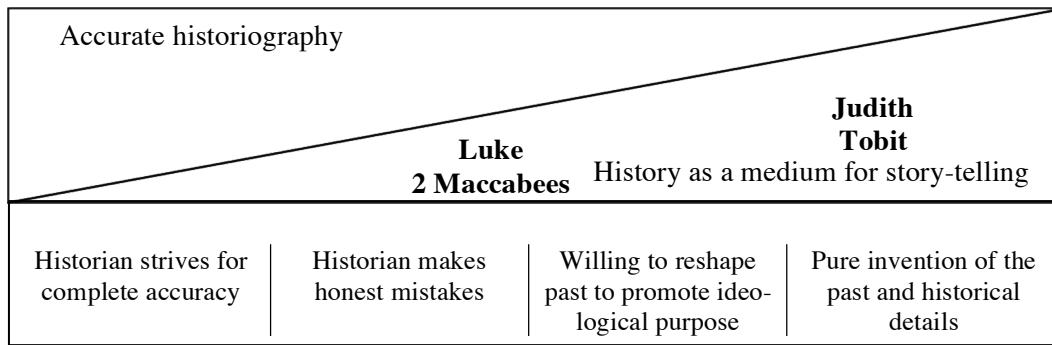
Table 11. Comparison of Density of Errors.

	Judith	Tobit	2 Maccabees	Luke
<i>Supposed historical errors</i>	16	8	6	5
<i>Word length</i>	9,200	7,000	16,430	19,500
<i>Relative density of errors</i>	0.17%	0.11%	0.03%	0.02%

Second, in relation to the significance and impact of the errors, it can be seen that the dating errors made in *Judith* do not simply concern a confusion in dates but also concern the misappropriation of historical characters. Whereas in *Luke*, Quirinius, Herod and Augustus are correctly identified, in *Judith* Nebuchadnezzar is misnamed and appears to be an invention. Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar and Antiochus IV are all rolled into one invented ruler – Nebuchanezzar the Assyrian. Similarly, the placement of Tobit as a witness to a revolt that occurred some two hundred years prior to his lifetime and the misnaming of Nebuchnezzar as Nabolpolasser in *Tobit* are significant errors. The epitomist's confusion surrounding the life of Onias, which may have a plausible explanation with the discovery of the Heliodorus stele, is a less obvious fiction. The historicity of the martyrdoms is not questioned as much as the location of the events.

On the basis of the aforementioned examples of comparison with external sources, *Luke* as with *2 Maccabees* may be seen to fall in the middle of a proposed historical fiction continuum – among those who seek to engage in historiography but are willing to shape historical events in order to promote an ideological message or didactic thrust. In this regard, as well as their pretensions to be writing a historical account, they can be considered to differ from the more fictitious accounts of *Judith* and *Tobit*.

Historiographic Continuum Model



6.5.3 Chronological Manipulations in *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*

A methodological feature of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph is chronological manipulation. This is evident in the works of *Tobit*, *Judith*, *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*. The chronological manipulation of history, *i.e.* the manipulation of time, when events took place, and what characters were involved, can raise questions of historical faithfulness both to the modern and ancient reader. While historiography often includes examples of anachronism, especially when it is transcribed years and possibly centuries after the events it records, the deliberate manipulation of events and time is more often considered inappropriate to serious historiography.²⁴⁸

However, history may be recorded in various ways, especially as it relates to chronology. Some history is recorded in a linear fashion and some history is recorded thematically, albeit while continuing to employ a chronological approach. Historiography may also be written in a cyclical manner through the presentation of successions, and emphases on recurring patterns often necessitated by ancient cultural perceptions of time. The presumption of a linear account of events is a concern to some commentators as they encounter chronological manipulations in *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*.

²⁴⁸ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Thucydides* 9, criticises the Greek historian for his non-chronological narrative pattern. 'What need I say further? The whole of the book is broken up in this way, and the continuity of the narrative is destroyed. Predictably, we wander here and there, and have difficulty in following the sequence of the events described, because our mind is confused by their separation and cannot easily or accurately recall the half-completed references which it has heard. But history should be presented as an uninterrupted sequence of events, particularly when it is concerned with a large number of them which are difficult to comprehend. It is clear that Thucydides's principle is wrong and ill-suited to history: for no subsequent historian divided up his narrative by summers and winters, but all followed the well-worn roads which lead to clarity.' Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Critical Essays: Ancient Orators. Lysias. Isocrates. Isaeus. Demosthenes. Thucydides*, Vol. 2, LCL 466, (S. Usher, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974, p. 485.

The present section will consider the nature of chronological manipulation in *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* particularly as it relates to their use of sources. It will proceed from a brief discussion of the understanding of chronological manipulation in ancient historiography and will then discuss how *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* employ chronological manipulation in their narratives. It is proposed that by employing a feature common in Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monographs that *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* might be seen to align with this literary type.

6.5.3.1 Chronological Manipulation in Ancient Historiography

The legitimacy of chronological manipulation in historiography may be recognised through a comprehension of how human perception of time is historically conditioned and differs from one society to another. Modern Western society tends to view time as something as abstract, objective and continuous.²⁴⁹ One opinion of ancient societies is that they often viewed time not as a continuum but a “succession of discrete cyclical units.”²⁵⁰ Units of days, years and groups of years defined the cycles. Rites, sacrifices and festivals punctuated the cycles and to keep account of the passing of the years, Greek and Romans appointed officials whose name was given to the year of their office. Counting the years meant counting the eponymous officials.²⁵¹

In monarchies, as occurred in Israelite historiography, time reckoning was made ac-

²⁴⁹ This does not mean though that moderns are not prepared to manipulate time and chronology. The chronological issues of dating Christmas as the birthday of Christ and the fixing of Easter time to the lunar cycle, are examples of chronological manipulation of time to reinforce cultural practices. cf. note 328, M. Beard, ‘Complex of times’.

²⁵⁰ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, p. 85. cf. M. Beard, ‘Complex of times: no more sheep on Romulus’ birthday’, in C. Ando (ed.), *Roman Religion*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003, pp. 273-279. Beard argues that one of the functions of the Roman ritual calendar was to define Roman history, which was done by evoking events from different chronological periods of the Roman past and arranging them in a meaningful sequence of time, but not a sequence defined by linear, narrative, history. She notes in Plutarch’s *Life of Romulus*, a shift in focus in the festival of the *Parilia* took place through historical time, ‘that Plutarch’s symbolic narrative is ... historical: that is, an early pastoral festival of the primitive Roman community became actively reinterpreted in the increasingly urban society of Rome into a festival of the city and its origin,’ p. 286.

²⁵¹ Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, II 2:1, Thucydides attempts to date the Theban attack on Plataea through a conundrum of multiple eponymic dating involving Spartan ephors, Athenian archons and Argive priestesses: ‘For fourteen years the thirty years’ truce which had been concluded after the capture of Euboea remained unbroken; but in the fifteenth year, when Chrysis was in the forty-eighth year of her priesthood at Argos, and Aenesias was ephor at Sparta, and Pythodorus had still four months to serve as archon at Athens, in the sixteenth month after the battle of Potidaea, at the opening of spring ...’ Thucydides, LCL 108, p. 259. cf. Diodorus, *Histories*, 11:1.2 ‘Calliades was archon in Athens, and the Romans made Spurius Cassius and Proculus Verginius Tricostus consuls, and the Eleians celebrated the seventy-fifth Olympiad, that in which Astylus of Syracuse won the ‘stadion.’ It was in this year that king Xerxes made his campaign against Greece.’ Diodorus Siculus, LCL 375, p. 120.

according to the reigning kings with successive reigns grouped into dynasties.²⁵² In addition, the ancient Judeans often dated the past in relation to the Temple. Josephus periodised Judean history according to the fate of the Temple distinguishing the period of Solomon's Temple, the period of destruction, the period of rebuilding, and the destruction by the Romans. While linear systems of time were emerging during the Hellenistic period, as evidenced by the Seleucid era dates cited in *2 Maccabees*, Honigman argues that "the author doubtless conceived of time as socially embedded and cyclical."²⁵³

Sara Japhet's studies on the construction of time in the Ezra-Nehemiah account, illustrates that other authors of the post-exilic period, also employed a pattern of chronological manipulation. Ezra-Nehemiah differs from Israelite historiography in that it lacks a systematic chronological framework. To explain this difference, Japhet explores the notion of the periodisation of history and recognises that this periodisation is "a tool for the reconstruction of the past."²⁵⁴ When Ezra-Nehemiah is studied from the perspective of periodisation, not only the chronology but also the composition becomes clear. Japhet observes: "Scholars wishing to determine the historical background and order of the events must do it on the basis of the unsystematic comments scattered through [Ezra-Nehemiah], comparing them with extra-biblical information derived from various sources."²⁵⁵ The motive behind such periodisation is identified as "straightforwardly ideological"²⁵⁶ and is indicative of the muddling of fact and fiction.²⁵⁷ The evidence in

²⁵² *2 Kgs.* 18: 9-10, 'In the fourth year of King Hezekiah, which was the seventh year of King Hoshea son of Elah of Israel, King Shalmaneser of Assyria came up against Samaria, besieged it, and at the end of three years, took it. In the sixth year of Hezekiah, which was the ninth year of King Hoshea of Israel, Samaria was taken.'

²⁵³ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, p. 86.

²⁵⁴ S. Japhet, 'Periodization between History and Ideology: The Neo-Babylonian Period in Biblical Historiography', S. Japhet, *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah: Collected Studies on the Restoration Period*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006, p. 353, citing M. Golden and P. Toohey, (eds.), *Inventing Ancient Culture: Historicism, Periodization, and the Ancient World*, London and New York: Routledge, 1997, p. 93.

²⁵⁵ S. Japhet, 'Composition and Chronology in the Book of Ezra and Nehemiah', S. Japhet, *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah*, p. 255.

²⁵⁶ S. Japhet, 'Periodization between History and Ideology II: Chronology and Ideology in Ezra-Nehemiah', S. Japhet, *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah*, p. 427.

²⁵⁷ Japhet, 'Periodization between History and Ideology II', p. 428, 'Periodization ... is the conveyor of the historian's message, from his own perspective and towards his own goals. It seems that a balanced conclusion is that no historical work is totally 'fact' or totally 'fiction' – in the same way that historical events themselves are not free from ideological components.', cf. S. Honigman, 'Cyclical Time and Catalogues: The Construction of Meaning in 1

Ezra-Nehemiah suggests that some ancient historians used the practice of chronological manipulation. Whether this was construed as acceptable historiography is debated.

Momigliano contends that a cyclical view of history was not a given amongst ancient historians and a chronological approach was more common: “History can be written in innumerable forms, but the Greeks chose a form which was accepted by the Romans and which was unlikely to lend itself to a cyclical view of history.”²⁵⁸ He considers this even more so to be the case with Israelite historians.²⁵⁹ It does not appear that Momigliano is including the historiography of Ezra-Nehemiah or the Maccabees in this summary where chronological manipulation is employed.

Luke Pitcher notes that in Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ criticisms of Thucydides, other ancient historians also preferred chronological narrative structures. Appian preferred to see history recorded in continuous engagements and not that which darted from place to place as it described events.²⁶⁰ However, these observations of ancient appreciation of chronological records do not necessarily imply that non-chronological historiography is *prima facie*, suspect, or that chronological manipulation did not take place.

The cyclical construct of history offered definite advantages to those who employed it: (i) it was efficient for smoothing out contradictions particularly to its contemporaneous audience; (ii) the cyclical construct erased chronological gaps; and (iii) instead of confusion, cyclical organisation led to meaningful reinforcement.²⁶¹ As noted by Japhet, chronological manipulation contributes to the blurring of fact and fiction. As a

Esdras’, L.S. Fried (ed.), *Was I Esdras First? An Investigation into the Priority and Nature of I Esdras*, SBL Ancient Israel and its Literature 7, 2011. pp. 191-208.

²⁵⁸ A. Momigliano, ‘Time in Ancient History’, *History and Theory*, 6, Beiheft 6: History and the Concept of Time, 1966, p. 14.

²⁵⁹ Momigliano, ‘Time in Ancient History’, p. 18, ‘The historical section of the Bible is a continuous narration from the creation of the world to about 400 B.C. ... in comparison with the ordinary Greek and Roman histories, even universal histories, the Biblical account is unique in its continuity.’

²⁶⁰ L. Pitcher, *Writing Ancient History*, London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2009, p. 129. Appian, *Proem*, 45-49, ‘The writing took me often from Carthage to the Iberians and from the Iberians to Sicily or Macedonia ... then again it led me to Carthage or Sicily, like a wanderer.’

²⁶¹ Honigman, ‘Cyclical Time and Catalogues’, p. 297-8.

characteristic of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph chronological manipulation was almost a given and contributed to the purpose of the narratives.

6.5.3.2 Chronological Manipulations in *Second Maccabees*

Many attempts to read *2 Maccabees* assume the notion of a linear chronicle. Nickelsburg points out that *1 Maccabees* covers the historical period of the Maccabean rebellion starting with the reasons for the rebellion down to the establishment of the Hasmonean dynasty.²⁶² He likewise determines that *2 Maccabees* deals with Judas Maccabeus' time alone and emphasises a Deuteronomistic view of history – blessing, sin, punishment, turning point, judgment and salvation.²⁶³ Yet even under this comprehension, the *2 Maccabean* account is still perceived to follow a linear chronology. The same can be said for Schwartz's notion of the "history of the city of Jerusalem" which proceeds in a linear fashion from peace to disruption to restoration.²⁶⁴

The reality is though, that *2 Maccabees* does not follow a strict chronological order and the author engages in the manipulation of time, when events took place, and what characters were involved. The epitomist manipulates events and times in order to promote and foreground his ideological stance. The author seems aware of the possibilities offered through the use of chronological manipulations that were present in post-exilic historiography and exploits it. Honigman suggests: "mere confirmations of past agreements could easily be transformed by our author into original decisions, without particularly compromising the (Greek) historiographical standards of reliability."²⁶⁵

As noted in Ch. 2 and again in Ch. 5, differences between the *2 Maccabees* and *1 Maccabees* accounts of the same time events may have been the result of the epitomist manipulating his 'earlier' source. As these changes have been considered in some detail

²⁶² G. Nickelsburg, '1 and 2 Maccabees – Same Story, Different Meaning', *Concordia Theological Monthly*, 42, 8, 1971, p. 518.

²⁶³ Nickelsburg, 'Same Story, Different Meaning', p. 522.

²⁶⁴ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, p. 66.

²⁶⁵ Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes*, pp. 86-7.

previously, the reader is directed to these chapters for information on this instance of manipulation. The present discussion will consider the instance of manipulation in 2 *Maccabees* 11.

1 - *The Letters of Chapter 11*

An instance of the chronological manipulation of sources in 2 *Maccabees* concerns the letters of Ch. 11. There are four variously dated letters cited by the epitomist to back up his version of events. The letters represent the first instance in 2 *Maccabees* where the epitomist has given precise dates in his narrative. The inclusion of the letters and dates seems to indicate a particular attempt to situate his narrative in a historical context and to support his ideological position. However, debate concerns the order in which the letters appear in 2 *Macc.* 11 and the actual order in which they were written.

The Second Maccabean order is: a first letter 11:16-21, passed between Lysias and the Judeans, purportedly dated to the first month 148 of the Seleucid Era (S.E.). This letter expresses that Lysias had sent a letter to the king (presumably Antiochus V in the abridger's account) and the king had agreed to promote Judean welfare. The second letter (no date) is the response from the king, identified as Antiochus V – “now that our father has gone onto the gods” (11:23), to Lysias and it expresses a desire that the Judeans be “of good cheer and turn happily to the conduct of their own affairs” (11:26). The third letter, as it sits in the epitomist's narrative, is from Antiochus IV to the senate of the Judeans (dated the sixth month 148 S.E.), expressing that they can return to “their own way of living and laws” (11:31). The fourth letter, bearing the same date as the third, is from Rome to the Judeans endorsing Lysias' concessions towards the Jews. The dates of the letters are deemed suspect, as they do not accord with the later content in 2 *Maccabees* and external evidence. Even in the order in which the epitomist records them, there appears to be chronological incongruity.

Various attempts have been made to explain the manipulation and according to Doran the first letter is better placed after Lysias' first expedition into Judea in March 164 B.C.E. prior to the death of Antiochus in December 164.²⁶⁶ The king referred to in the first letter is therefore actually Antiochus IV who is, according to the text of the letter, conciliatory towards the Judeans. The second letter was written after the death of Antiochus IV and the fourth letter (from the Romans) was written during the negotiations between Judas and Lysias. Goldstein²⁶⁷ and Schwartz²⁶⁸ come to a similar conclusion and recognise that the historical chronology of the epitomist's account does not accord either with *1 Maccabees* or external cuneiform evidence.

The question remains as to why the epitomist may have reordered the events? Throughout his narrative the author has sought to position Antiochus IV as the archvillain, who God judges, and it appears he adjusts the letters chronologically to achieve this purpose. Antiochus IV cannot be understood as relenting in his hatred of the Jews and conciliatory events that may have taken place in his lifetime while Antiochus V Eupator was co-regent, are therefore placed in the narrative after Antiochus IV's death.²⁶⁹

Summary

The historiographic practice of chronological manipulation, as far as it may be determined, is perhaps a clue to understanding the perceived blurring of fact and fiction in this instance of *2 Maccabees*. The reorganisation of names and the repositioning of the

²⁶⁶ The death of Antiochus IV is attested outside the Maccabean corpus in, (i) the Babylonian astronomical diaries, a collection of Babylonian cuneiform texts. D. Gera and W. Horowitz, 'Antiochus IV in Life and Death: Evidence from the Babylonian Astronomical Diaries', *JAOS*, 117, 1997, p. 249-252 note that the diary for 163 B.C.E. mentions a party that accompanied a king's corpse, identified as that of Antiochus IV, based on the text of the Babylonian King List, cf. (ii) A. Sachs and D.J. Wiseman, 'A Babylonian King List of the Hellenistic Period', *Iraq*, 16, 1954, p. 204, line 14 which reads, 'Year 148 S.E. the month of Kislev, it was heard that Antiochus the k[ing had died].

²⁶⁷ Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, p. 406. 'Jason's account here is based on the false assumption that the letter in vxx. 23-26 is nearly contemporary with the others'; and p. 61 'the expedition of Lysias, which ended in the negotiations of 148 S.E. must have preceded the death of Antiochus IV. Thus on the combining the evidence of the documents in II 11:16-38 with our knowledge of the true date of the death of Antiochus IV, we find the evidence proving the substantial correctness of the chronology present in First Maccabees.'

²⁶⁸ Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, p. 396-7. 'Although our author's placement of these letters ... bolster the conclusion that both Beth-Zur reports pertain to the period after Antiochus IV died, it is clear that our author was wrong. This is shown sufficiently by cuneiform evidence now available, which shows that Antiochus Epiphanes' death came more than half a year later.'

²⁶⁹ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, p. 225.

letters need not necessarily be perceived as inconsistencies, but rather as iterations of ideological emphases in the positioning of Antiochus IV as the protagonist. The epitomist's apparent flexibility in rearranging the dates of his supporting sources underlines the feature of blurring of fact and fiction that may be found in the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph.

6.5.3.3 Chronological Manipulations in *The Gospel of Luke*

As noted in the census of Quirinius, Luke engaged in chronological manipulations of external sources. Other examples of his chronological changes are to be found in the different timetable of events he gives in relation to the other gospels. The chronology of his narrative, which he desires to be an 'orderly' account, detracts from the timeline of *Mark* on numerous occasions. This may be simply understood that Luke was correcting the Markan order of events, but it might also be perceived as a shaping of the historical facts "into a schema to suit his purpose."²⁷⁰

A comparison of all the chronological differences between *Luke* and the other gospels is beyond the scope of the present discussion which is primarily concerned with illustrating that Luke engages in chronological manipulation of his sources. The general acceptance that Luke used the *Gospel of Mark* allows for a comparison to be made for differences at the level of these two gospels.²⁷¹ This section will briefly consider seven instances where Luke transposes the order of his earlier source, followed by a more detailed analysis of the differences between *Luke* and *Mark* in the account of Jesus' anointing by the woman with the alabaster vase.

1 – Lukan chronological manipulations of *Mark*

²⁷⁰ I.I. du Plessis, 'Once More: The Purpose of Luke's Prologue (Lk I 1-4)', *Novum Testamentum*, 16, 4, 1974, p. 270.

²⁷¹ *Matthew* is often construed as being composed contemporaneously with *Luke* so the dependence of *Luke* upon *Matthew* is less obvious in the context of the present discussion. Likewise, *John* it seems was written following *Luke* and any dependence would be assumed to have gone in the reverse. Q, most probably informed Luke but the details would also extend the present discussion beyond its parameters.

(i) *The Arrest of John the Baptist, Lk. 3:19-20 and Mk. 6:17-18.*²⁷²

Luke's source for John the Baptist's arrest and imprisonment is *Mk. 6:17-18* which Mark places after Jesus' renown spread throughout the region. Luke's transposition places the arrest before Jesus commenced his ministry. The apparent shift in the timing of the arrest may signal a concern on behalf of Luke to move John from the stage before introducing Jesus.²⁷³ The reason for Luke's movement of the arrest may not be only chronological manipulation. If it had been, it would have John imprisoned before the baptism of Jesus. In this latter explanation, the change may just be an authorial aside.

(ii) *Jesus' visit to Nazareth, Lk. 4:16-30 and Mk. 6:1-6.*²⁷⁴

In this parallel, Luke repositions Jesus' visit to Nazareth and the synagogue reading, to the start of his Galilean narrative but in *Mark* it appears much later.²⁷⁵ Luke's chronological manipulation of *Mark* at this juncture appears to serve an ideological purpose. Positioned at the commencement of Jesus' mission, the episode becomes a summary of Jesus' entire ministry, from his mission statement, an initial favorable reaction, his expulsion and an attempt to kill him. The transposition may be understood to set the scene for the other events in Jesus' ministry.²⁷⁶

²⁷² *Lk. 3:19-20*, ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ὁ τετραάρχης, ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἡρωδιάδος τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν ὁ Ἡρώδης, προσέθηκεν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πᾶσιν [καὶ] κατέκλεισεν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν φυλακῇ. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ βαπτισθῆναι ἅπαντα τὸν λαὸν καὶ Ἰησοῦ βαπτισθέντος καὶ προσευχομένου ἀνεφωχθῆναι τὸν οὐρανόν.; cf. *Mk. 6:17-18*, Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἀποστείλας ἐκράτησεν τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ διὰ Ἡρωδιάδα τὴν γυναῖκα Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐγάμησεν: ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὁ Ἰωάννης τῷ Ἡρώδῃ ὅτι Οὐκ ἔξεστίν σοι ἔχειν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.

²⁷³ Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, p.183.

²⁷⁴ *Lk. 4:16-30*, Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαρά, οὗ ἦν τεθραμμένος, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν, καὶ ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι ... Καὶ πάντες ἐμαρτύρουν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τῆς χάριτος τοῖς ἐκπορευομένοις ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγον, Οὐχὶ υἱὸς ἐστὶν Ἰωσήφ οὗτος; ...; cf. *Mk. 6:1-6*, Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ γενομένου σαββάτου ἤρξατο διδάσκειν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ: καὶ πολλοὶ ἀκούοντες ἐξεπλήσσοντο λέγοντες, Πόθεν τούτῳ ταῦτα, καὶ τίς ἡ σοφία ἢ δοθείσα τούτῳ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τοιαῦται διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ γινόμεναι; οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τέκτων, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς Μαρίας καὶ ἀδελφὸς Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσήφου καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ Σίμωνος; καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ ὧδε πρὸς ἡμᾶς; καὶ ἐσανδαλίζοντο ἐν αὐτῷ ...

²⁷⁵ In *Mark*, Jesus calls Peter, Andrew, James and John, then heals a man with unclean spirit, Jesus cleanses a leper, heals a paralytic, calls Levi, pronounces on fasting and the Sabbath, heals the man with the withered hand, addresses a multitude, appoint the 12, relates the parable of the sower, the lamp, the growing seed, the mustard seed, still a storm, heals the Gerasene demoniac, restored a girl to life, and heals a woman, prior to going to Nazareth.

²⁷⁶ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX*, p. 71, '[it serves] a programmatic purpose: it presents in capsule form the theme of fulfilment and symbolises the rejection that will mark the ministry as a whole.'

(iii) *The Call of the Four Disciples, Lk. 5:1-11 and Mk. 1:16-20.*²⁷⁷

The call of the four disciples in *Mk. 1* occurs at the commencement of Jesus' Galilean ministry but in *Lk. 5* the story follows the rejection of Jesus at Nazareth and specifically foregrounds the role of Peter. The Lukan chronological manipulation of *Mark* appears much more plausible as an accurate record of the events than his source. It depicts the disciples coming to Jesus after having observed his ministry and in particular the miracle of the great catch of fish.²⁷⁸

(iv) *The Appointment of the Twelve, Lk. 6:12-16, 17-19 and Mk. 3:7-19.*²⁷⁹

In transposing the appointment of the Twelve from *Mark's* chronology, Luke also inverts the Markan order to have the multitudes following Jesus after the appointing. Bovon suggests this is to facilitate the Q source material (Sermon on the Plain/Mount).²⁸⁰ The names of the Twelve concur apart from Thaddeus (*Mark*) and Judas, son of James (*Luke*).

(v) *Jesus' Real Relatives, Lk. 8:19-21 and Mk. 3:31-35.*²⁸¹

²⁷⁷ *Lk. 5:1-11*, ... ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου, οἳ ἦσαν κοινῶν τῷ Σίμωνι. καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Μὴ φοβοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωογρῶν. καὶ καταγαγόντες τὰ πλοῖα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀφέντες πάντα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.; cf. *Mk. 1:16-20*, Καὶ παράγων παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σίμωνος ἀμφιβάλλοντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ· ἦσαν γὰρ ἀλιεῖς. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι ἀλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀφέντες τὰ δίκτυα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ. Καὶ προβάς ὀλίγον εἶδεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καταρτίζοντας τὰ δίκτυα, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκάλεσεν αὐτούς. καὶ ἀφέντες τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν Ζεβεδαῖον ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ μετὰ τῶν μισθωτῶν ἀπῆλθον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ.

²⁷⁸ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX*, p. 71.

²⁷⁹ *Lk. 6:12-19*, ... καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡμέρα, προσεφώνησεν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν δώδεκα, οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν, Σίμωνα, ὃν καὶ ὠνόμασεν Πέτρον, καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Βαρθολομαῖον καὶ Μαθθαῖον καὶ Θωμᾶν καὶ Ἰάκωβον Ἀλφαίου καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν καλούμενον Ζηλωτὴν καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰσακαριώθ, ὃς ἐγένετο προδότης. ... Καὶ καταβάς μετ' αὐτῶν ἔστη ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ, καὶ ὄχλος πολὺς μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πλήθος πολὺ τοῦ λαοῦ ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τῆς παραλίου Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος ...; cf. *Mk. 3:7-19*, Καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ πολὺ πλήθος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας [ἠκολούθησεν]: καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ περὶ Τύρον καὶ Σιδῶνα, πλήθος πολὺ, ἀκούοντες ὅσα ἐποίει ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν ...[καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς δώδεκα.] καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ὄνομα τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρον, καὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰακώβου, καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὄνομα [τα] Βοανηργές, ὃ ἐστὶν Υἱοὶ Βροντῆς; καὶ Ἀνδρέαν καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Βαρθολομαῖον καὶ Μαθθαῖον καὶ Θωμᾶν καὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ἀλφαίου καὶ Θαδδαῖον καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν Καναναῖον καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰσακαριώθ, ὃς καὶ παρεδῶκεν αὐτόν.

²⁸⁰ Bovon, *Luke 1*, p. 206.

²⁸¹ *Lk. 8:19-21*, 'Παρεγένετο δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο συντυχεῖν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ὄχλον. ἀπηγγέλη δὲ αὐτῷ, Ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἐστήκασιν ἔξω ἰδεῖν θέλοντές σε. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς, Μήτηρ μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκούοντες καὶ ποιῶντες.; cf. *Mk. 3:31-35*, 'Καὶ ἔρχεται ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔξω στήκοντες ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτόν καλοῦντες αὐτόν. καὶ ἐκάθητο περὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλος, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Ἴδου ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου [καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαι σου] ἔξω ζητοῦσίν σε. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτοῖς λέγει,

Mark does not mention the Q material of the Sermon on the Plain/Mount that is recorded in *Luke*. The episode about Jesus' real relatives in *Mark* closely follows the choosing of the Twelve and while it also follows this event in *Luke*, there is a mass of material that separates the two episodes in the latter account. Additionally, the parable of the sower follows the 'real relatives' pericope in *Mark* but precedes the episode in *Luke*. Although Luke uses the Markan source he reshapes it to draw a connection between the parable of the sower and those who are his real relatives.²⁸² It appears this manipulation proceeds from a theological purpose.

Summary

While there are numerous other transpositions involving the word order and events of the Markan source by Luke, these examples serve to illustrate that Luke engaged in the chronological manipulation of his sources. At times the manipulation appears to simply give a logical perspective to Luke's account, as in the episode of the calling of the four fishermen. At other times, the changes in chronology underscore Luke's ideological message as in the episode of the synagogue proclamation. This flexibility with the details of his original source aligns with the chronological manipulation feature of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph.

2 – *The Woman with the Alabaster Vase*

In the NT there are only a few instances outside of the Passion narratives where the four canonical Gospels concur in parallel accounts. There are even fewer occurrences where a similar narrative is recorded with significantly divergent details in each of the four Gospels.²⁸³ One such episode is the analogous narratives of the 'Woman with an Alabaster Vase' accounts in *Mk.* 14:3-9, *Matt.* 26:6-13, *Lk.* 7:36-50 and *Jn.* 12:1-8. It is

Τίς ἐστὶν ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί [μου]; καὶ περιβλεψάμενος τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν κύκλω καθημένους λέγει, Ἴδε ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου. ὅς [γάρ] ἂν ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗτος ἀδελφός μου καὶ ἀδελφή καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν.'

²⁸² Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX*, p. 71, *Lk.* 8:15, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἵτινες ... ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον κατέχουσιν καὶ καρποφοροῦσιν ἐν ὑπομονῇ. cf. *Lk.* 8:21, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκούοντες καὶ ποιῶντες.

²⁸³ Cleansing of the Temple and Jesus' Anointing.

proposed that these accounts present a specific occasion where chronological manipulation by Luke of his Markan source may be discerned. While the macro-meaning is similar in each Gospel account, a comparison of the narratives reveals significant historical reshaping. A comparison of *Mk.* 14:3-9 and *Lk.* 7:36-50 will highlight these alterations.

(i) *Mark. 14:3-9*

Mk. 14:3-9 has been construed as serving two purposes within the *Gospel of Mark*. It forms a link between the ministry and passion of Jesus but it is also part of a frame for the Passion narrative.²⁸⁴ The structure of the passage is in three scenes. First, there is a narrative describing a woman's actions in anointing Jesus (v. 3). This is followed by an evaluation of this deed by 'some' persons (vv. 4-5). Third, there is a threefold evaluation of the deed by Jesus that entails: a rebuke and pronouncement (vv.6-7); an explanation of the symbolism of the anointing (v.8), and a concluding *logion* (v.9).

Verse 3.²⁸⁵

The setting of Mark's narrative in Bethany highlights three facets. First, the timing of the action is located close to the death of Jesus.²⁸⁶ Second, the setting designates the host for the meal, Σίμωνος τοῦ λεπροῦ, who is otherwise unknown.²⁸⁷ A third facet concerns the word κατακειμένου, (*Lit.* 'recline at table'). This word is normally associated with a more formal dinner or a symposium where teachers instructed their disciples.²⁸⁸ The general impression of the meal as recorded in *Mark* is that the elite of society, in-

²⁸⁴ E. Broadhead, 'Mark 14:1-9: A Gospel within a Gospel', *Paradigms*, 1, 1985, p.32. As a link, *Mk.* 14:1-9 stands as the final public act in Jesus' ministry and points towards Jesus' passion by showing the significance of the anointing. As a frame for the Passion narrative it provides 'the framework for a soteriological interpretation of Jesus' death.' R.E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah, Vol I*, Doubleday, New York, 1994, p. 38 and D. Priebe, 'The Woman who Anoints Jesus with Oil in Mark's Passion Narrative', 1989, *SBLA*, p.26.

²⁸⁵ Καὶ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος τοῦ λεπροῦ κατακειμένου αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν γυνὴ ἔχουσα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτελοῦς: συντρίψασα τὴν ἀλάβαστρον κατέχευεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς.

²⁸⁶ H. Hearon, 'The Story of 'the Woman who Anointed Jesus', as Social Memory; A Methodological Proposal for the Study of Tradition as Memory,' in A. Kirk and T. Thatcher, (eds) *Memory, Tradition and Text: Uses of the Past in Early Christianity*, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, 2005, p.110, 'we are prepared [by the author] to view the anointing in conjunction with burial.'

²⁸⁷ S. Yao, 'The Table Fellowship of Jesus with the Marginalized: A Radical Inclusiveness', *Journal of Asian Mission*, 3/1, 2001, p.33. Yao suggests the 'leper' designation has the effect of connecting Jesus with the marginalised.

²⁸⁸ J. Donahue, and D. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, 2002, p.386, and M. Sawicki, *Seeing the Lord, Resurrection and Early Christian Practices*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 1994, p.152.

cluding the Pharisees, were not in attendance. The woman remains anonymous and apparently she was not an invited guest as her late arrival is noted.²⁸⁹ The narrative does not suggest that the woman is unvirtuous although Corley suggests: “[the] service which [the woman] performs carries sexual connotations.”²⁹⁰ Despite these allusions, the author’s description of the scene tends to obscure, rather than emphasise any impropriety. Κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς is interpreted in a number of ways from being an act of sexual advance to an act of fellowship.²⁹¹ It appears that the narrator of Mark is “inviting readers to see Jesus as God’s Anointed at the same moment that we are invited see him as the one who is about to die (anointed beforehand for burial).”²⁹²

*Verses 4-5.*²⁹³

The second scene in Mark’s narrative is an indignant evaluation of the woman’s actions. It is impossible to discern who made this remark due to the non-disclosure of who was actually present at the meal but it is presumable that so close as the anointing was to the Passover, τινες would have included at least the disciples.²⁹⁴ France notes that ἀγανακτοῦντες πρὸς ἑαυτούς does not just express a silent (internal) response of the diners but that the woman actually heard what they uttered.²⁹⁵ In Mark’s narrative the complaint concerns the waste and cost of the nard.

*Verses 6-7.*²⁹⁶

Verses 6 and 7 begin Jesus’ threefold evaluation of the anointing that comprises a rebuke and two pronouncements. The rebuke – Τί αὐτῇ κόπους παρέχετε; (*Lit.* ‘Why do

²⁸⁹ France, *The Gospel of Mark*, p. 551.

²⁹⁰ Corley, *Private Women, Public Meals*, p.104.

²⁹¹ France, *The Gospel of Mark*, p.552, notes that ‘anointing the head with fragrant oil (or at least with the cheaper olive oil) was a familiar mark of festivity and of fellowship.’; Corley, *Private Women, Public Meals*, p.104, notes, ‘according to ancient Greek customs, anointings were regularly performed by wives for their husbands before and after sexual intercourse.’; C. Evans, *WBC Mark 8:27-16:20*, p. 360, ‘interprets the anointing is possibly reminiscent of 2 Kg. 9:6 and, citing C.E.B. Cranfield, suggests that while ‘it is not likely that the woman thought of herself as anointing the Messiah ... Mark doubtless intended his readers to recognise the messianic significance of her actions.’

²⁹² Hearon, ‘The Story of ‘the Woman who Anointed Jesus’, p. 111.

²⁹³ ἦσαν δέ τινες ἀγανακτοῦντες πρὸς ἑαυτούς, Εἰς τί ἡ ἀπώλεια αὐτῆ τοῦ μύρου γέγονεν; ἠδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ μύρον παραθῆναι ἐπάνω δηναρίων τριακοσίων καὶ δοθῆναι τοῖς πτωχοῖς: καὶ ἐνεβριμῶντο αὐτῇ.

²⁹⁴ A textual variant των μαθητων suggesting the disciples were present may enlighten the identity of τινες.

²⁹⁵ France, *The Gospel of Mark*, p. 553. France notes this is seen in the use of the dative αὐτῇ at the end of verse 5, as well as Jesus’ response in verse 6.

²⁹⁶ ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, Ἄφετε αὐτήν: τί αὐτῇ κόπους παρέχετε; καλὸν ἔργον ἠργάσατο ἐν ἐμοί. πάντοτε γὰρ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ὅταν θέλητε δύνασθε αὐτοῖς εὖ ποιῆσαι, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε.

you place burdens on her?) suggests an unjust charge has been brought against the woman.²⁹⁷ Jesus counters the accusation with *καλὸν ἔργον ἠργάσατο ἐν ἐμοί*. The grouping of *καλός* and *ἀγαθός* describes an ideal of gracious humanity.²⁹⁸ Some perceive *ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε* as the introduction to a Passion prediction.

*Verse 8.*²⁹⁹

In v. 8, Elliott notes: “Mark makes Jesus interpret the anointing not only with a comment on the treatment of the poor but, more importantly, with an acknowledgment that his body has been anointed for burial albeit two days prematurely.”³⁰⁰ This highlights the presumption that *Mk. 14:8* may be a ‘hindsight interpretation after [Jesus]’ death’.³⁰¹ This interpretation alludes to the theological purpose of the author. The woman was probably unaware that she was anointing Jesus as the Messiah, or for his burial, but the words attributed to Jesus, “gives her action meaning by relating it to his death, and by doing so he makes it part of his identity and part of the gospel.”³⁰²

*Verse 9.*³⁰³

The final verse of the pericope, directly links the anointing with the proclamation of the Gospel, *ὅπου ἐὰν κηρυχθῆ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον*, which suggests a retrospective interpretation.³⁰⁴ The woman’s deeds are to be remembered and Maunder suggests that the *Sitz im Leben* for *Mk. 14:9* “conforms to the early church context.”³⁰⁵ This suggests that much of vv. 8 and 9 reflect the author’s theological focus rather than the actual words of Jesus.

²⁹⁷ Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, p.387.

²⁹⁸ Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, p.387.

²⁹⁹ ὁ ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν: προέλαβεν μυρίσαι τὸ σῶμά μου εἰς τὸν ἐνταφιασμόν.

³⁰⁰ J. Elliott, ‘The Anointing of Jesus’, *The Expository Times*, 85,105, 1974, p.106.

³⁰¹ R.E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah, Vol II*, Doubleday, New York, 1994, p.1471. See also, B. Mack, *A Myth of Innocence*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1988, p.311, ‘The failure to anoint Jesus’ body either at the burial or at the tomb, then, left a motif free for another very interesting set of reflections. The story of the anointing was the result. ‘Anointing’ is what the story is about ... Since Jesus’ body will not be anointed at the burial, this is the only anointing Jesus’ body will receive.’

³⁰² D. Priebe, ‘The Unity of the Testaments’ *Word and World*, 3/3, 1983, p.267.

³⁰³ ἀμὴν δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅπου ἐὰν κηρυχθῆ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ὁ ἐποίησεν αὕτη λαληθήσεται εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς.

³⁰⁴ France, *The Gospel of Mark*, p. 555.

³⁰⁵ C. Maunder, ‘A Sitz im Leben for Mark 14:9’, *The Expository Times*, 99/78, 1987, p. 79.

Summary

Given the custom of anointing that existed in the Greco-Roman world, it is probable that the woman who visited Jesus did so in a manner that exhibited sexual overtones. She anoints his head with perfume from an alabaster vase. The author of *Mark* has taken this event and, through the use of specific vocabulary, has cast it as a messianic and funerary act. The words attributed to Jesus create a meaning for what the woman did. In contrast to those present, Jesus describes her actions as an ideal of gracious humanity, he intimates his impending death, and announces that her anonymous actions should stand as a memorial wherever the Gospel is proclaimed.

(ii) Luke 7:36-50

There is debate as to whether this pericope is the same event as that mentioned in *Mark* and this will be discussed subsequently. The Lukan account of the anointing takes place during Jesus' Galilean ministry. The structure of 7:36-50 is complex with a parable interleaved into the anointing anecdote thus making the narrative significantly longer than the companion story in *Mk.* 14 (273 words to 124 words). The present discussion will concentrate on the anointing and not on the parable although it can be perceived as an important aspect of the Lukan theological purpose.

Lk. 7:36-50 may be divided into four sections. The first, (36-39) is a recount of the anointing framed by the mention of the Pharisee in 36 and 39. Vv. 40-43, relate the parable. The third section, (44-48) retells the anointing followed by a declaration of forgiveness. Vv. 49-50 function as an epilogue that brings the pericope to completion.

Verses 36-39.³⁰⁶

V. 36 tells of an invitation for Jesus to dine at the house of a Pharisee. At the start of

³⁰⁶ Ἡρώτα δέ τις αὐτὸν τῶν Φαρισαίων ἵνα φάγη μετ' αὐτοῦ: καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Φαρισαίου κατεκλίθη, καὶ ἰδοὺ γυνὴ ἥτις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀμαρτωλὸς, καὶ ἐπιγνοῦσα ὅτι κατάκειται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Φαρισαίου, κομίσασα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου καὶ στάσα ὀπίσω παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ κλαίουσα, τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἤρξατο βρέχειν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς θοιξίν τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἐξέμασσε, καὶ κατεφίλει τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤλειφεν τῷ μύρῳ. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Φαρισαῖος ὁ καλέσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγων, Οὗτος εἰ ἦν προφήτης, ἐγίνωσκεν ἂν τίς καὶ ποταπὴ ἢ γυνὴ ἥτις ἄπεται αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἀμαρτωλὸς ἐστίν.

his retelling, the author of *Luke* does not give the identity of the Pharisee who invites Jesus (later he identifies him as Simon). The invitation foregrounds the Pharisee (the antagonist) in the narrative. No motive for the invitation is given, although verse 39 does reveal that the Pharisee may have regarded Jesus as a *προφήτης*. The meal may also have been a symposium as suggested by the use of teacher *διδάσκαλος* to identify Jesus in v. 40.³⁰⁷

While he was ‘at table’, *ἰδοὺ γυνὴ ἣτις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀμαρτωλός, καὶ ἐπιγνοῦσα ὅτι κατὰκειται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Φαρισαίου, κομίσασα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου*. As with the Pharisee, the woman is also unnamed but she was known in the city as a sinner. While no indication is given as to the sins the woman had committed, some scholars read *γυνὴ ἣτις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀμαρτωλός* as indicating that the woman was a prostitute but Fitzmyer notes: ‘it is at the most implied, not being said openly in the text.’³⁰⁸ *Ἐπιγνοῦσα* suggests the woman may have been a person who had previously encountered Jesus or simply a woman who had heard of Jesus’ renown.

V. 38 describes the woman’s actions, which entail her standing behind at his [Jesus’] feet and *κλαίουσα*. There is no indication why she was weeping with Elliott suggesting it was due to repentance,³⁰⁹ and Fitzmyer commenting that: “the sinful woman comes to Jesus as one already forgiven by God and seeking to pour out signs of love and gratitude (tears, kisses, perfume).”³¹⁰ The actions *ταῖς θριξίν τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἐξέμασσε* bears consideration. Charles Cosgrove notes the traditional interpretation of this act is that: “the woman’s gesture with her hair ... shows her to be a sexually promiscuous person.”³¹¹ In Luke’s account this meaning is foreshadowed by his designation of the

³⁰⁷ Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, p.386; and Sawicki, *Seeing the Lord*, p. 152.

³⁰⁸ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX*, p.689. B. Witherington, *Women and the Genesis of Christianity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 66 notes, ‘*She is most likely a prostitute.*’

³⁰⁹ Elliott, *The Anointing of Jesus*, p. 107.

³¹⁰ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX*, p. 687.

³¹¹ C. Cosgrove, ‘A Woman’s Unbound Hair in the Greco-Roman World, with Special Reference to the ‘Sinful Woman’ in Luke 7:36-50’, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 124/4, 2005, p.676. See, *ibid*, p. 691, ‘When a woman wears her hair unbound/unbinds her hair, this can be a sexually suggestive act, an expression of religious devotion, a

woman as *'known as a sinner in the city'* and iterated by the Pharisee's accusation: τίς καὶ ποταπή ἡ γυνὴ ἣτις ἄπτεται αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἁμαρτωλὸς ἐστίν. By repeating these phrases, Luke's narrative positions his audience to understand the woman's actions within a particular context.³¹²

*Verses 44-48.*³¹³

Following the parable, Luke has Jesus recast the events of the anointing in an explanation of the woman's actions. The retelling is cast as a comparison of the woman's deeds to those of Jesus' host. The first comparison is that of foot washing, εἰσηλθόν σου εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ὕδωρ μοι ἐπὶ πόδας οὐκ ἔδωκας: αὕτη δὲ τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἔβρεξέν μου τοὺς πόδας καὶ ταῖς θριξίν αὐτῆς ἐξέμαξεν. To provide water for guests to wash their feet is well attested in the NT (*Jn.* 13:13-14) although not a mandatory act.

In the second comparison, φίλημά μοι οὐκ ἔδωκας: αὕτη δὲ ἀφ' ἧς εἰσηλθὼν οὐ διέλιπεν καταφιλοῦσά μου τοὺς πόδας. The kiss of greeting was not mandatory, but an accepted form of salutation.³¹⁴ The third comparison relates the anointing, ἐλαίω τὴν κεφαλὴν μου οὐκ ἤλειψας: αὕτη δὲ μύρω ἤλειπεν τοὺς πόδας μου. An exegetical issue concerns where exactly Jesus was anointed – on his head or his feet.³¹⁵ All the actions of sinful woman; the weeping, the wiping and the anointing, take place at Jesus' feet. In these comparisons Jesus' appears to position the woman as a better host than Simon the Pharisee.

hairstyle for unmarried girls, a sign of mourning, a symbolic expression of distress or proleptic grief ... a hairstyle associated with conjury, a means of presenting oneself in a nature state in religious initiations, and a precaution against carrying demons or foreign objects into the waters of baptism.'

³¹² Corley, *Private Women, Public Meals*, p. 125, 'In Luke, given the setting, the description of the woman, and the fact that she anoints and fondles Jesus' feet, the erotic overtones of the story are obvious. Only slaves or prostitutes would perform such a function in the context of a meal.'

³¹³ καὶ στραφεὶς πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα τῷ Σίμωνι ἔφη, Βλέπεις ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα; εἰσηλθὼν σου εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ὕδωρ μοι ἐπὶ πόδας οὐκ ἔδωκας: αὕτη δὲ τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἔβρεξέν μου τοὺς πόδας καὶ ταῖς θριξίν αὐτῆς ἐξέμαξεν. φίλημά μοι οὐκ ἔδωκας: αὕτη δὲ ἀφ' ἧς εἰσηλθὼν οὐ διέλιπεν καταφιλοῦσά μου τοὺς πόδας. ἐλαίω τὴν κεφαλὴν μου οὐκ ἤλειψας: αὕτη δὲ μύρω ἤλειπεν τοὺς πόδας μου. οὐ χάριν λέγω σοι, ἀφέονται αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτῆς αἱ πολλάι, ὅτι ἠγάπησεν πολὺ: ᾧ δὲ ὀλίγον ἀφίεται, ὀλίγον ἀγαπᾷ.

³¹⁴ H. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, Vol I*, Beck'sche, Munich, 1926, pp.995-6, in Nolland, *WBC Luke 1:1-9:20*, e-book.

³¹⁵ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX*, p.691, suggests that the contrast is intentional with the point being that her action went beyond the washing of feet; Witherington, *Women and the Genesis of Christianity*, p.67, suggests that the anointing was on the feet means she was assuming a servant's position; J.A. Bailey, *The Traditions Common to the Gospels of Luke and John*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1963, pp.1f. 'points out that in Luke the anointing of the feet is important because of the theme of penitence.'

V. 47 presents its own set of exegetical issues with regards to the timing of the woman's forgiveness – prior to or following the anointing. What is at stake is whether the woman's love is the ground for her forgiveness (presently by Jesus) or whether her love is an expression flowing from her forgiveness (previously experienced)? The final phrase of verse 47, ᾧ δὲ ὀλίγον ἀφίεται, ὀλίγον ἀγαπᾷ: may shed light on the interpretation which is preferred. It reads as a logical conclusion to the understanding that the woman's loving actions are the result of being forgiven. She does not fit the pattern that little forgiveness means little love. Being forgiven much, she loves much.³¹⁶

*Verses 48-50.*³¹⁷

The aforementioned interpretation is borne out by the epilogue of vv. 48-50. Here, Jesus addresses the sinful woman directly and announces, Ἀφέωνταί σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. The Lukan author uses the same verb form for ἀφίημι as he does earlier but now it relates to the activity of Jesus, or at least is understood as such by his hearers, Τίς οὗτός ἐστιν ὃς καὶ ἁμαρτίας ἀφίησιν. Fitzmyer notes that this latter use of the verb attributes the activity of forgiveness to Jesus but explains it as a 'Lukan composition' that did not exist in the original story.³¹⁸ The final formula, Ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε: πορεύου εἰς εἰρήνην also appears in *Lk.* 8:48, 17:19 and 18:42. Here the author provides an explanation of the motive that moved the woman to seek Jesus in the first place – her faith.

Summary

In the Lukan account of the anointing, a woman of ill-repute washes Jesus' feet with her tears, wipes them with her hair, kisses, and anoints them with perfume from an alabaster vase while he dines at the house of Simon the Pharisee. The host perceives her

³¹⁶ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX*, p. 692 and J. Kilgallen, 'John the Baptist, the Sinful Woman, and the Pharisee,' *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 104/4, 1985, pp. 675-6. Fitzmyer and J. Kilgallen advance the reading that the sinful woman had already been forgiven prior to anointing Jesus. Exegetically this interpretation hinges on two main aspects. The first aspect is the perfect tense of the verb ἀφίημι in verse 47, ἀφέωνται αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτῆς αἱ πολλαί, ὅτι ἠγάπησεν πολὺ ᾧ δὲ ὀλίγον ἀφίεται, ὀλίγον ἀγαπᾷ. Fitzmyer interprets a theological passive is used in this instance implying that the woman is forgiven by God. Kilgallen translates the phrase as, 'Her sins, her many sins, have been forgiven her, and this can be known from the fact that she has loved [me] much.'

³¹⁷ εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῇ, Ἀφέωνταί σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. καὶ ἤρξαντο οἱ συνανακείμενοι λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, Τίς οὗτός ἐστιν ὃς καὶ ἁμαρτίας ἀφίησιν; εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, Ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε: πορεύου εἰς εἰρήνην.

³¹⁸ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX*, p. 687.

actions as immoral. Luke has taken this event and, through the insertion of a parable about two forgiven debtors, has Jesus interpret her actions as being replete with love in contrast to Simon's condescension. Her expressive love may flow from heart-felt gratitude at being forgiven, or be the grounds for forgiveness, but the story nevertheless combines prominent Lukan ideological themes of love and forgiveness and positions the Pharisee as the antagonist and Jesus as 'one who forgives sins.'

(iii) *Comparison of Mark and Luke.*

The changes that Luke makes to his Markan source provide an opportunity to analyse his use of chronological manipulation. (See Table 12 for a comparison.)

Table 12. Major Points of Connection between Mark and Luke
(**Bold type** = similarities, *Italics* = differences)

	Mark	Luke
Woman	<i>anonymous</i>	<i>sinner</i>
Anoints Jesus	head <i>alabaster vase of nard</i>	feet <i>alabaster vase of nard</i> weeps wipes with hair
Setting	Bethany <i>house</i> <i>meal</i>	Galilee <i>house</i> <i>meal</i>
Host	<i>Simon</i> leper	<i>Simon</i> Pharisee
Time	<i>two days before Passover</i>	<i>ministry in Galilee</i>
Objector	'some' disciples?	<i>Simon the Pharisee</i>
Complaint	<i>'Why has this waste of perfume occurred ... for this perfume might have been sold for more than 300 denarii and given to the poor'</i>	<i>'If this man were a prophet, he would have known who and what sort of woman this is who is touching him, for she is a sinner.'</i>
Rebuttal	<i>'Leave her'</i> <i>'For you always have the poor with you and you can do good to them whenever you wish but you will not always have me.'</i> <i>'She has anointed my body beforehand for burial'</i>	<i>Parable of Two Debtors</i> <i>You showed no hospitality, she has shown love.</i>
Reaction		<i>Can Jesus forgive sins?</i>
Response	<i>What she has done will be remembered</i>	<i>'Your faith has saved you. Go in peace.'</i>

A central question that arises when comparing the anointing parallels is whether the anointing recorded in *Luke* refers to the same episode in *Mark*. Some propose that the

Luke and Mark record two separate events.³¹⁹ Others conclude that the accounts refer to the same tradition.³²⁰ The complexity of the issues as to whether the accounts recall the same events is extensive with both verbatim agreements and significant disagreements occurring between the narratives.³²¹

Legault enumerates four positions as to how the Lukan changes to the *Gospel of Mark* may be understood. First, there is the conclusion that treats the scenes as distinct and infers that a number of women assumed the practice of anointing Jesus throughout his public ministry. Second, there is a view that Luke takes the Bethany scene and enhances it with colour and human interest. A third understanding is that Luke combined two traditions and redacted them in an attempt to protect Mary and the disciples from criticism. A fourth conclusion is that Luke made use of a confused oral tradition where details were juggled from one scene to another and some phrases were standardised.³²²

The conclusion that *Mark* was available to Luke as a written source implies that Luke would have known of the Bethanian account of the anointing. He either choose not to relate it in the same chronological sequence as his source, or he omitted it altogether. There are a number of possibilities why this may have been the case. Broomfield proposes, “Luke substituted for the Markan story another derived from a different source; or if the Proto-Lukan theory is correct, he did not incorporate the Markan story in his Gospel.”³²³ Fitzmyer suggests the story “derived from ‘L’ and it is almost certainly a conflated story, since, form-critically judged, it is made up of a pronouncement sto-

³¹⁹ Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, pp.450-52; Cranfield, *The Gospel According to Mark*, p. 414; Witherington, *Women and the Genesis of Christianity*, p. 108. Legault, An Application of the Form-Critique Method, p.143, Legault concludes, ‘We do not have to over-stress the differences in time and place ... the reason is more profound than this. The scenes are radically different ... the theme of the two narratives is completely different. The first scene, that in Galilee, results in the pardon of the anonymous sinner; the second, that in Bethany, exalts Mary’s generous action ... as anticipating his impending burial.’

³²⁰ C.H. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1963, p. 162-72; Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX*, p. 686; R. Holst, ‘The One Anointing of Jesus: Another Application of the Form-Critical Method’, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 95/3, 1976, p.435-46.; K. Corley *Private Women, Public Meals*, p.123; B. Mack, *A Myth of Innocence*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988, pp.199-203; M. Sawicki, *Seeing the Lord: Resurrection and Early Christian Practices*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994. pp. 149-63.

³²¹ Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, Vol I, p.78. Brown opines, ‘it is hard to find another passage that has so confounded theories of Gospel relationship.’

³²² Legault, ‘An Application of the Form-Critique Method’, pp. 142-4.

³²³ Broomfield, *John, Peter, and the Fourth Gospel*, p. 217.

ry and a parable ... that has come to him so in the tradition.'³²⁴

Another explanation of the relationship between the Gospels advances the position that Luke records more primitive aspects of the anointing than the Markan text.³²⁵ From the literary evidence it is unclear as to what extent *Luke's Gospel* relies upon the Markan text at this juncture. There appears to be a degree of reliance, for the gist of the account is clear, but details are varied. The position of the present dissertation suggests Luke engages in chronological manipulation. As noted, Luke freely engages in adjusting the timetable of his Markan source. This flexibility aligns to the historiographic methodology of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph. When literary dependence is the assumption from which one determines sameness, it is also reasonable to conclude that significant variants may indicate 'historical' manipulation.

In support of the conclusion that the Lukan account is an example of chronological manipulation the common narrative scheme with the Markan episodes are highlighted: Jesus is invited to a meal; a woman comes in and anoints Jesus; this gesture evokes a negative reaction; Jesus defends the accused woman; and recognises her actions are worthy of praise. There are verbal correspondences in the alabaster vase, the name of the host, the anointing, and the mention of money (Luke's parable).³²⁶ Where differences in details occur, these may be understood as an example of chronological manipulation to promote a Lukan ideology.

A summary of the changes will illustrate this latter conjecture. First, the change from Bethany to Galilee, both in setting and time, underscores Luke's shift away from Mark's purpose (to anoint Jesus for his burial), towards a purpose iterating the compassionate nature of Jesus in contrast to that of the Pharisees, as well as a confirmation of

³²⁴ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX*, p. 684.

³²⁵ Holst, *The One Anointing of Jesus*, p.442. Holst argues that the shift from the anointing of Jesus' head (Mark) to the anointing of Jesus' feet (Luke) is evidence of a Christological interpretation. He concludes, 'an anointing of the head more clearly glorifies Jesus because a king is anointed on the head, not the feet.'

³²⁶ Bovon, *Luke 1*, pp. 291-2.

his identity. Second, the change in identifying the host from leper to Pharisee, positions Jesus as a rival to the religious leaders of his day and sets the stage for the assertion that he is the one who has the power to forgive sins. Third, the portrayal of the woman as a sinner anticipates Jesus' power to forgive and confirms his identity. Fourth, the comparison of the woman's actions as better than those of the Pharisee accentuates Jesus' contention with the Pharisaic religiosity.

These changes to the Markan source and specifically the chronological shift in time and place, allow Luke to reshape the historicity of his source. Which of the two narratives is closer to the actual events of the past is unclear but the changes illustrate that Luke was willing to manipulate his written source in order to present a particular ideological position. As such, the woman with the alabaster vase episode is an instance of chronological manipulation.

Summary of Chronological Manipulation in 2 Maccabees and Luke

The practice of chronological manipulation of sources in order to present a particular ideology or didactic position has been identified as one of the methodological features of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monologue. The preceding discussion has sought to show that the authors of *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* employed this methodology in their narratives. The epitomist can be understood to have manipulated his source letters to emphasise the position of Antiochus IV as the archvillain in his narrative.

Luke manipulates his Markan literary source for a number of reasons, either as an aside or to improve the 'order' and logical flow of his narrative, but also to underscore an ideological message. If the instances of the anointings at Galilee and Bethany allude to the same historical episode, it illustrates that Luke chronologically manipulated his Markan source. Both the epitomist in *2 Maccabees* and the author of *Luke* were flexible with their sources and show a historiographic methodology that aligns them to the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fictional monograph.

When compared to the chronological manipulations in *Judith*, it can be observed that the changes made by the epitomist and Luke do not ultimately detract from the historicity of their narratives. In *Judith* the mismatching of details, especially in the amalgamation of the rulers and times, signals a disregard for credible historiography. Johnson's comment that the author of *Judith* combination of persons and places 'transcends literally historical time'³²⁷ is different to the manipulations in *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* which are still positioned in the time period of the authors' narratives.

6.5.4 Supernatural Causality in 2 Maccabees and Luke

A third methodological feature of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical monologue is the inclusion of supernatural machinery to explain causality. As noted, one of the criticisms that Polybius highlighted in his disdain of 'pathetic' or 'tragic' historians was the use of a *deus ex machina* rather than seeking human 'cause and effect' in the retelling of the past.³²⁸ Any historiographic methodology that ascribes causality to a supernatural agency, and by implication employs a 'marvelous' aspect, ultimately blurs the distinction between fact and fiction.

As noted previously in Ch. 2, one of the distinguishing features between the First and Second Maccabean accounts was the exclusion (*1 Macc.*), or the inclusion (*2 Macc.*) of supernatural causality in their narratives. Schwartz notes that *1 Macc.* differs from Old Israelite historiography and is closer aligned to the *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* in that it "no longer presents events in a supernatural light, and no longer allows God, following a specific plan and directing events in miraculous ways, to move in and out through the webs of natural causation."³²⁹ In contrast, *2 Macc.* openly engages in the methodology of supernatural causality, so much so that it was the presence of this feature that often

³²⁷ Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, p. 48.

³²⁸ Polybius criticises those historians who described Hannibal's journey across the Alps for their introduction of a *deus ex machina*: 'They are, in fact, in the same case as tragedians, who, beginning with an improbable and impossible plot, are obliged to bring in a *deus ex machina* to solve the difficulty and end the play. The absurd premises of these historians naturally require some such supernatural agency to help them out of the difficulty: an absurd beginning could only have an absurd ending.' (*Hist.* III 48) Polybius, LCL 137, pp. 127-9.

³²⁹ Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, p. 63.

relegated the epitomist's account to the realm of make-believe.³³⁰

While the inclusion of supernatural causality is not a criterion exclusive to historical fiction – supernatural causality also existed in biographies and Greco-Roman historiography. For instance, Plutarch's description of the birth of Alexander illustrates a use of supernatural causality in biography: "The night before that on which the marriage was consummated, the bride dreamed that there was a peal of thunder and that a thunder-bolt fell upon her womb, and that thereby much fire was kindled, which broke into flames that travelled all about, and then was extinguished."³³¹ Polybius' attribution of Fortune's role in the calamities that beset Phillip V, illustrates supernatural causality was also present in historiographic narratives.³³² For many ancient historians though the inclusion of divine orchestration, either to explain events or simply as a matter of course in the narrative, did not pose a particular problem. Historical credibility laid not so much in the veracity of the actual events that took place as in the ability of the reader to accept them as plausible.

Many of the authors of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph seem to fall into this latter category albeit to varying understandings of what 'plausible' meant. At one end of the spectrum, the experience of Tobiah and the folkloric nature of Raphael's intervention with the great fish might be perceived by some readers to stretch the boundaries of plausibility. At the other end of the spectrum, simply praying to a deity to defeat an enemy may not seem so implausible. The epitomist and Luke may be seen to employ this historiographic methodology. Both authors use supernatural causality to explain events and include supernatural manifestations as a matter of course in their narratives.

³³⁰ Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 'We find details about this only in 2 Maccabees, a book that often turns out to be untrustworthy in those passages where we can check it and therefore deserves mistrust even where we can't check it.'

³³¹ Plutarch, *Alex.*, LCL 99, p. 227.

³³² *Hist.*, XXIII 10:1-3, 'It was now that Fortune, as if she meant to punish him at one and the same time for all the wicked and criminal acts he had committed in his life, sent to haunt him a host of the furies, tormentors and avenging spirits of his victims, phantoms that never leaving him by day and by night. Polybius, LCL 160, p. 473.

The reason for this practice was not a deliberate attempt at mendacity but rather flowed from the perception of reality that the authors embraced. Their world and perception of truth was not limited to the rationalistic and to the visible and tangible but in the socio-religious milieu in which they lived and wrote, the existence of the supernatural and the natural were often one and the same. Even the inclusion of miracles as a criterion for fiction has been debated with the suggestion that it is simply ‘bad’ history.³³³

In the present section, instances of supernatural causality and supernatural manifestations appearing in *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* will be analysed to support the contention that the narratives align to this feature of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph.

6.5.4.1 Supernatural Causality in *Second Maccabees*

Instances of supernatural causality in *2 Maccabees* may be categorised in two specific areas. First, in the use of prayers. The Jews petition Yahweh to intervene in human events and direct the outcomes of everyday life. Second, in the express intervention of the supernatural through divine manifestations or epiphanies. Apart from these epiphanies there are few mentions of miraculous occurrences involving individuals. The following discussion will address supernatural causality in *2 Maccabees* under the aspects of prayers, and supernatural manifestations.

1 – Prayers

The supernatural orchestration of events through prayer is discernable on numerous occasions in *2 Maccabees*. As previously noted in Ch. 5, Antiochus IV’s arrogance and excesses inaugurate the prayers of the persecuted (*2 Macc.* 7:14, 16-17, 18, 19, 31, 38). These supplications guarantee his downfall. Antiochus IV did not understand his role as an instrument of God’s punishment of Israel and his death is a result of this arro-

³³³ Mills, *The Jewish Novel*, p. 186.

gance.³³⁴ The cause and effect sequence in *2 Maccabees* is analogous to Fortune's intervention in the downfall of Philip V in the Polybian account. In the former, God acts against the arrogance of Antiochus IV and in the latter; Fortune avenges the transgressions of Philip's youth.³³⁵ The Greek historian adopts a moralistic stance and introduces 'supernatural machinery' to explain Philip's demise. Similarly the author of *2 Maccabees* assumes a moralistic view and considers Antiochus to be an instrument in Yahweh's hand (*2 Macc.* 5:15-17). The martyrdom of Eleazar and the seven sons precipitated the subsequent victories of Judas and his men. However, the emphasis in the epitomist's narrative is not necessarily placed on the human causes and effects. Judas' prayer in *2 Macc.* 8:2-4 does not mention the martyrdoms and the role of intercessory prayer seems to be the catalyst for the turn of events.

Similarly, Nicanor's downfall is the result of supernatural intervention. His actions in threatening the Temple (*2 Macc.* 14:32-33) and arrogance in challenging the Sovereign in heaven resulted in his demise: "I am a sovereign also, on earth, and I order you to take up arms and finish the king's business" (*2 Macc.* 15:1-5).³³⁶ The epitomist expressly demonstrates how Nicanor became wicked and was punished by God. Just as Antiochus IV who is originally cast as being as morally neutral, becomes God's instru-

³³⁴ *2 Macc.* 9:8-12, "Thus he, who only a little while before had thought in his superhuman arrogance that he could command the waves of the sea and had imagined that he could weigh the high mountains in a balance, was brought down to earth and carried in a litter, making the power of God manifest to all, so that worms broke out of the unbeliever's eyes, and while he was still living in anguish and pain, his flesh rotted away, and because of his stench the whole army felt revulsion at the decay. Because of the unbearable oppressiveness of the stench no one was able to carry the man who a little while before had thought that he could touch the stars of heaven. Then it was that, broken in spirit, he began to lose much of his arrogance and to come to his senses under the divine scourge, for he was tortured with pain every moment. And when he could not endure his own stench, he uttered these words, "It is right to be subject to God and haughtily"."

³³⁵ Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, p. 91. Doran notes further allusions between Philip's story and that of Antiochus. In Philip V, Theoxena, her husband and children commit suicide and this focused the hatred of the people against Philip. Similarly, the deaths of Eleazar, Razis and the mother and seven sons, changes God to act mercifully. It has been noted though that God's actions were perhaps more influenced by the prayers of Judas.

³³⁶ *2 Macc.* 15:22-29, 'He called upon him in this manner: 'O Master, you sent your angel in the time of King Hezekias of Judea, and he killed fully one hundred eighty-five thousand in the camp of Sennachereim. So now, O Sovereign of the heavens, send a good angel before us to inspire terror and trembling. By the might of your arm may those who come with blasphemy against your holy people be struck down.' With these words he ended. Nicanor and his troops advanced with trumpets and battle cries, but Ioudas and his troops met the enemy with invocation and prayers. So, fighting with their hands and praying to God in their hearts, they laid low no less than thirty-five thousand and were greatly gladdened by God's manifestation. When the action was over and they were leaving with joy, they recognized Nicanor, lying dead, in full armor. Then there was shouting and tumult, and they blessed the sovereign in the language of the fathers.'

ment, turns arrogant, and is punished, so Nicanor is shown to favour the Jews at the start, turns arrogant, and is punished at the hands of the Almighty. Supernatural intervention is often portrayed as the cause of the historical outcomes in *2 Maccabees* and finds parallels throughout Jewish-Hellenistic literature (*1 Macc.* 3:42-54, *Dan.* 9, *1 Enoch* 47 and *Baruch* 2-5).³³⁷ A supernatural deity is perceived to be in control of people and their actions, and ultimately orchestrates the human events.

2 – Supernatural manifestations

An express use of supernatural machinery in *2 Maccabees* is the mention of supernatural manifestations. Such events assume a prominent position in the structure of the narrative. It is mentioned in the prologue at 2:21-22 and the narrative is enclosed between epiphanic events. The first major event of the narrative (3:1-40) is the epiphanic strike against Heliodorus at Jerusalem. The first victory in battle is won with the ‘Almighty as their ally’ (8:24). The victory in the final battle is gained through an epiphany of God (15:27). The epitomist’s use of epiphanies to explain causality almost certainly finds its roots in Greek and Hebrew concepts of marvelous and epiphanic combatants.³³⁸ There are four occasions where divine help is dramatically depicted in *2 Maccabees* (3:24-28; 5:2-4; 10:29-30; 11:8-1). These were analysed in depth in Ch. 5 and will be summarised here.

(i) *2 Macc.* 3:24-28.³³⁹

³³⁷ M. Zeiger-Simkovich, ‘Greek Influence on 2 Maccabees’, p. 293. Simkovich argues that while the prayers in 2 Maccabees suggest a borrowing from biblical precedent they are more likely influenced by Greek drama and the genre of *mimos*.

³³⁸ W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War: Religion*, Vol. III, Berkley: University of California Press, 1979, pp. 11-46. Pritchett collects forty-nine examples of military epiphanies alone. In these cases, the god, goddess, or hero usually appeared at a moment of crisis, offering encouraging words, providing instructions, fighting on behalf of a city or army, and protecting the faithful by working wonders, frequently through the weather.

³³⁹ αὐτόθι δὲ αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς δορυφόροις κατὰ τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον ἤδη παρόντος ὁ τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης ἐξουσίας δυνάστης ἐπιφάνειαν μεγάλην ἐποίησεν ὥστε πάντας τοὺς κατατολήσαντας συνελθεῖν καταπλαγέντας τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν εἰς ἔκλυσιν καὶ δειλίαν τραπήναι· ὥφθη γὰρ τις ἵππος αὐτοῖς φοβερόν ἔχων τὸν ἐπιβάτην καὶ καλλίστη σαγῆ διακεκοσμημένος, φερόμενος δὲ ῥύδην ἐνέσεισεν τῷ Ἡλιοδώρῳ τὰς ἐμπροσθίους ὀπλάς· ὁ δὲ ἐπκαθήμενος ἐφαίνετο χρυσὴν πανοπλίαν ἔχων. ἕτεροι δὲ δύο προσεφάνησαν αὐτῷ νεανίαι τῆ ῥώμῃ μὲν ἐκπρεπεῖς, κάλλιστοι δὲ τὴν δόξαν, διαπρεπεῖς δὲ τὴν περιβολήν, οἱ καὶ περιστάντες ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐμαστίγουν αὐτὸν ἀδιαλείπτως πολλὰς ἐπρριπτοῦντες αὐτῷ πληγὰς. ἄφνω δὲ πεσόντα πρὸς τὴν γῆν καὶ πολλῶ σκότει περιχυθέντα συναρπάσαντες καὶ εἰς φορεῖον ἐνθέντες τὸν ἄρτι μετὰ πολλῆς παραδρομῆς καὶ πάσης δορυφορίας εἰς τὸ προειρημένον εἰσελθόντα γαζοφυλάκιον ἔφερον ἀβοήθητον ἑαυτῷ καθεστῶτα φανερώς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δυναστείαν ἐπεγνώκατες.

The epiphany in 3:24-28 emphasises the strength and beauty of two young men, a horse with a golden harness, and a frightening rider that renders a stupor to the one to whom it appears. The narrative abounds with vivid and detailed descriptions of the appearance and clothing both of the two young men and the horse, the rearing horse, and the excessiveness of the beating. The episode might be construed as typical of the epiphanies in Greco-Roman literature. Dionysius of Halicarnassus in *Rom. Ant.* VI 13, describes the Dioscuri's appearance to help the Roman army at the Lake of Regillus. The epiphanic parallels between *2 Maccabees* and Dionysius are quite striking – two young horsemen, far excelling in beauty and stature.³⁴⁰ In both instances causality is ascribed to the epiphanic horsemen and the boundaries of fact and fiction are blurred.

(ii) *2 Macc. 5:2-4*.³⁴¹

The second manifestation described in *2 Macc. 5:2-4* is an apparition. In addition to the references made to Greek military terminology peppered throughout this pericope, it concerns an epiphanic prodigy that also finds parallels in Greco-Roman texts. In Pliny's *Natural Histories*, II 148, the Roman historian refers to premonitory signs that signalled the beginning of great events. Portentous parallels to *2 Maccabees* are also found in the writings of Josephus. In *Jewish Wars*, 6:5.3, Josephus also lists a number of portents that preceded the future destruction of Jerusalem. *2 Macc. 5:2-4* resembles the epiphanic *topoi* of premonitory signs in Greco-Roman texts that associated human events with supernatural intervention.

³⁴⁰ If one accepts that Dionysius lived around 60 B.C.E. – 7 C.E., then his works would have been contemporaneous with the accepted dates of *2 Maccabees*, in the last 150 years B.C.E. Other examples include, Plutarch *The Life of Aemilius*, 25, 'And when the Romans had conquered the Tarquins, who had taken the field against them with the Latins, two tall and beautiful men were seen at Rome a little while after, who brought direct tidings from the army. These were conjectured to be the Dioscuri.' Plutarch, LCL 98, p. 421. cf. Xenophon alludes to a similar nexus of ideas in the *Art of Horsemanship*, 11.6-8, 'This is the attitude in which artists represent the horses on which gods and heroes ride, and men who manage such horses gracefully have a magnificent appearance.' Xenophon, LCL 183, p. 355.

³⁴¹ συνέβη δὲ καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν σχεδὸν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα φαίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἀέρων τρέχοντας ἵππους διαχρύσους στολὰς ἔχοντας καὶ λόγχας σπειρηδὸν ἐξωπλισμένους καὶ μαχαιρῶν σπασμούς καὶ ἴλας ἵππων διατεταγμένας καὶ προσβολὰς γινομένας καὶ καταδρομὰς ἑκατέρων καὶ ἀσπίδων κινήσεις καὶ καμάκων πλήθη καὶ βελῶν βολὰς καὶ χρυσέων κόσμῳ ἐκλάμπεις καὶ παντοίους θωρακισμούς, διὸ πάντες ἠξίουσαν ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν γεγενῆσθαι.

(iii) *2 Macc. 10:29-31*.³⁴²

In the third epiphany, five heavenly figures on horses with golden bridles fight for the Jews and protect Judas. The motif of preserving heroes represents a positive assertion that the character will not simply survive a battle but will play a significant role in later events.³⁴³ Judas Maccabeus, similar to the Greek heroes, is preserved to fight another day. Further parallels to divine interventions are found in Herodotus's account of the defense of Delphi against the Persians (*Hist.* 8:37-39). Whichever motif informed the epitomist, he foregrounds the divine as the reason for the Judean victory.

(iv) *2 Macc. 11:8-11*.³⁴⁴

In the fourth example, a horseman appears and leads Judas and his men into battle. This resonates with Joshua meeting the commander of the Lord's army (*Josh.* 5:13-15) but similar parallels to this epiphany are also found in the presence of the *Discouri* at the battle of Lake Regillus. Plutarch also records that Theseus fought at the head of the Greeks against the barbarians. The epiphany in Judas' dream of the horseman and their heavenly ally lifts the spirits and encourages the Judeans to defeat their enemies.

Summary

In the aforementioned examples it is clear that the epitomist freely employs the feature of 'supernatural machinery' to explain human events. In some instances Judean petitions result in Yahweh orchestrating the outcomes of events. The author also freely intersperses supernatural manifestations into the text and they also underscore supernatural causality and contribute to a blurring of fact and fiction in the Maccabean narrative.

³⁴² γενομένης δὲ καρτερᾶς μάχης ἐφάνησαν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐφ' ἵππων χρυσοχαλίνων ἄνδρες πέντε διαπρεπεῖς, καὶ ἀφηγοῦμενοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἱ καὶ τὸν Μακκαβαῖον μέσον λαβόντες καὶ σκεπάζοντες ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πανοπλίαις ἄτρωτον διεφύλαττον, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους τοξεύματα καὶ κεραινοὺς ἐξεορρίπτουν, διὸ συγχυθέντες ἄορασίᾳ διεκόπτοντο ταραχῆς πεπληρωμένοι. κατεσφάγησαν δὲ δισμύριοι πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις, ἵππεις δὲ ἑξακόσιοι.

³⁴³ J. Marks, 'Context as Hypertext: Divine Rescues in the *Iliad*', *Trends in Classics*, 2,2, 2010, p. 303.

³⁴⁴ αὐτόθι δὲ πρὸς τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ὄντων ἐφάνη προηγουμένος αὐτῶν ἕφιππος ἐν λευκῇ ἐσθῆτι πανοπλίαν χρυσοῦν κραδαίνων. ὁμοῦ δὲ πάντες εὐλόγησαν τὸν ἐλεήμονα θεὸν καὶ ἐπερωσθήσαν ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπους, θήρας δὲ τοὺς ἀγριωτάτους καὶ σιδηρὰ τείχη τιτρώσκειν ὄντες ἔτοιμοι. προῆγον ἐν διασκευῇ τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ σύμμαχον ἔχοντες ἐλεήσαντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου. λεοντηδὸν δὲ ἐντινάξαντες εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους κατέστρωσαν αὐτῶν χιλίους πρὸς τοῖς μυρίοις, ἵππεις δὲ ἑξακοσίους πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις· τοὺς δὲ πάντας ἠνάγκασαν φεύγειν.

6.5.4.2 Supernatural Causality in *The Gospel of Luke*

It may seem superfluous to seek to locate reports of supernatural orchestration appearing in the *Gospel of Luke*. The overwhelming consensus is that the Gospel is a story about the Son of God with Jesus being the superlative sign of the divine acting in history. It is to be expected that the supernatural would be referenced in some way or another in the narrative. However, in the context of examining the historiographic nature of the Lukan narrative, the methodological feature of supernatural machinery is constituent to the process. The location of reports of supernatural causality is an important stage in the process of determining if *Luke* bears similarities with *2 Maccabees* and may be aligned to the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph. Luke's use of the supernatural may be considered at three levels. The first is the inclusion of miracles, the second is his matter of course use of prayer, and the third is his report of epiphanies.

1 – *Miracles*

Luke unapologetically attests to supernatural involvement in history through the miraculous. The narrative is replete with episodes describing divine intervention depicted in signs and wonders, healings, and exorcisms. As noted, Luke and the Maccabean author did not view nature as a closed, self-sufficient order, but rather as always open to the possibility of God's action. If miracles are to be understood as signs given by God, they are attributable to supernatural causality. In instances where it appears that physical laws are transcended; supernatural involvement is implicit. While some miracles need not have an element of transcending physical laws, such actions may still be portrayed as divine intervention. For example, in *Lk. 5:1-7* there does not have to be a suspension of a physical law to catch a multitude of fish but it is classified as a miracle.

In seeking to establish explicit references to the work of a supernatural agency the following classifications may be suggested in regard to the Lukan miracles; (i) miracles that are expressly connected in the narrative to supernatural causality; (ii) miracles that

drew amazement from the crowd; (iii) miracles that resulted from faith; (iv) miracles that were associated with teaching about the Sabbath; (v) miracles where the subject/s were enjoined to silence; and (vi) miracles where the supernatural events happened and no direct comment was made as to its origin. These categories are depicted in Table 13.

Table 13. Miracles in the Gospel of Luke

Supernatural causality expressly mentioned	Amazement expressed	Didactic Message		Silence enjoined	No narrative comment
		Result of faith	Sabbath teaching		
1:26-28 Virgin birth (epiphany) 5:17-20 Paralytic healed 7:11-17 Dead son raised 8:26-39 Gerasene exorcism 9:37-43 Exorcism of boy 11:14, 20 Mute exorcised 17:11-19 Leper healed 18:35-43 Blind healed Ch. 24 Resurrection (epiphany)	5:3-10 Great catch of fish 8:22-25 Calming of storm 8:49-56 Jairus' daughter raised Ch. 24 Resurrection (epiphany)	7:1-10 Servant healed 8:43-48 Bleeding woman healed 17:11-19 Leper healed 18:35-43 Blind healed	6:6-12 Withered hand healed 13:10-13 Cripple healed 14:1-6 Dropsy healing	4:33-37 Exorcisms 4:40 Crowd healings 5:12 Leper healing 8:49-56 Jairus' daughter raised	4:38-39 Peter's mother-in-law 6:17 Crowd healings 9:12-17 Feeding of 5,000 22:50-51 Severed ear restored

While every miracle attested to in *Luke* implies supernatural orchestration, in nine out of the twenty-four instances Luke explicitly associates the episode with divine intervention. Two of the nine are included in epiphanic appearances and the following analysis will consider the remaining seven.

(i) *Lk. 5:17-20, 26 – The Healing of the Paralytic.*³⁴⁵

This miracle story depicts Jesus acting under the power of the Lord to heal the paralytic and is a direct reference to a supernatural agency at work. Fitzmyer notes the phrase is a Lukan creation, and is a description of Yahweh's power in Jesus for the sake of curing people.³⁴⁶ Jesus is the channel through which the supernatural acts and Luke openly identifies supernatural causality at this point in his narrative. This is iterated in the comment of v. 26 that everyone was glorifying God (ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν).

³⁴⁵ Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν διδάσκων, καὶ ἦσαν καθήμενοι Φαρισαῖοι καὶ νομοδιδάσκαλοι οἱ ἦσαν ἐληλυθότες ἐκ πάσης κόμης τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ: καὶ δύναμις κυρίου ἦν εἰς τὸ ἰάσθαι αὐτόν ... καὶ ἕκστασις ἔλαβεν ἅπαντας καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν φόβου λέγοντες ὅτι Εἶδομεν παρὰδοξα σήμερον.

³⁴⁶ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I-IX*, p. 582.

*(ii) Lk. 7:11-17 – The Dead Son Raised to Life.*³⁴⁷

In the account of raising the boy to life in Nain, Luke again attributes the actions of Jesus to a supernatural agency. The response of the crowd is to praise God (ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν) with Luke adding the people's comment 'that God has come to help his people' (ὅτι Ἐπεσκέψατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ). The latter aside reflects the idea of *Lk.* 1:68 and 78, where God is depicted as visiting his people.

*(iii) Lk. 8:26-39 – The Gerasene Exorcism.*³⁴⁸

In the Gerasene exorcism there are two explicit mentions of the supernatural being active in the course of the miracle. The first derives from the lips of the 'unclean spirit' possessing the man, who identified Jesus as 'Son of the Most High God' (υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου). In this declaration, Luke implies that Jesus operates under the influence of the supernatural. This recognition is repeated in v. 39, when Jesus is reported as declaring God had performed the exorcism: σοὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός.

*(iv) 9:37-43 – An Exorcism of a Boy.*³⁴⁹

Following the exorcism of the boy after the Transfiguration, Luke again notes that the people recognised this action as deriving from God: ἐξεπλήσσαντο δὲ πάντες ἐπὶ τῇ μεγαλειότητι τοῦ θεοῦ. Behind the person of Jesus, the crowd sees God at work and Luke again employs the feature of supernatural orchestration of the events.

*(v) 11:14, 20 – Exorcism of the Mute.*³⁵⁰

In the exorcism of the mute demon an argument ensues between members of the

³⁴⁷ ... καὶ προσελθὼν ἤψατο τῆς σοροῦ, οἱ δὲ βαστάζοντες ἔστησαν, καὶ εἶπεν, Νεανίσκε, σοὶ λέγω, ἐγέρθητι. καὶ ἀνεκάθισεν ὁ νεκρὸς καὶ ἤρξατο λαλεῖν, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ. ἔλαβεν δὲ φόβος πάντας, καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν λέγοντες ὅτι Προφήτης μέγας ἠγέρθη ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ὅτι Ἐπεσκέψατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.

³⁴⁸ ... ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνακράξας προσέπεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ φωνῇ μεγάλη εἶπεν, Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου; δέομαί σου, μὴ με βασανίσῃς. ... ἐδεῖτο δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀφ' οὗ ἐξεληλύθει τὰ δαιμόνια εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ: ἀπέλυσεν δὲ αὐτὸν λέγων, Ὑπόστρεφε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου, καὶ διηγοῦ ὅσα σοὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός. καὶ ἀπῆλθεν καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν κηρύσσων ὅσα ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

³⁴⁹ ... ἔτι δὲ προσερχομένου αὐτοῦ ἔρρηξεν αὐτὸν τὸ δαιμόνιον καὶ συνεσπάραξεν: ἐπετίμησεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀκαθάρτῳ, καὶ ἰάσατο τὸν παῖδα καὶ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτὸν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐξεπλήσσαντο δὲ πάντες ἐπὶ τῇ μεγαλειότητι τοῦ θεοῦ.

³⁵⁰ v. 14, Καὶ ἦν ἐκβάλλων δαιμόνιον [καὶ αὐτὸ ἦν] κωφόν: ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐξεληθόντος ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός. καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι:; v. 20, εἰ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ [ἐγὼ] ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἐφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

crowd as to the source of the power that Jesus employs in his exorcisms. Jesus settles the contention by asserting that he casts out demons by the finger of God (δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ). The ‘finger of God’ may allude to the third plague in Exod. 8:15 (19E) where the magicians said to Pharaoh: ‘This is the finger of God!’ In both instances the anthropomorphism expresses supernatural orchestration of human events.

(vi) 17:11-19 – *The Healing of the Lepers*.³⁵¹

In the healing of the lepers, Luke twice alludes to the miracle as emanating from a supernatural source. The first comes from the lips of the grateful leper who returned, ‘praising God with a loud voice’ (μετὰ φωνῆς μεγάλης δοξάζων τὸν θεόν). The second, comes from the lips of Jesus, ‘Was none of them found to return and give praise to God’ (οὐχ εὐρέθησαν ὑποστρέψαντες δοῦναι δόξαν τῷ θεῷ). While the healing also mentions the role that the leper’s faith played in his healing, the evidence of supernatural intervention is nevertheless implied.

(vii) 18:35-43 – *The Healing of a Blind Beggar near Jericho*.³⁵²

Similar to the previous episode of the healing of the leper, this instance of supernatural causality comprises both the faith of the blind beggar and the activity of God. In v. 43, Luke iterates the recognition of a divine cause at the lips of the beggar: δοξάζων τὸν θεόν, as well as the crowd: αἶνον τῷ θεῷ. The response to the miracle intimates Luke perceived God was directing these healing events.

Summary

A pattern that emerges in the aforementioned miracles is the closing remarks that Luke attaches to each episode. In each instance (except 17:11-19), Luke ends the peric-

³⁵¹ ... εἷς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἰδὼν ὅτι ἰάθη, ὑπέστρεψεν μετὰ φωνῆς μεγάλης δοξάζων τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ· καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Σαμαρίτης. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, Οὐχὶ οἱ δέκα ἐκαθαρίσθησαν; οἱ δὲ ἐννέα ποῦ; οὐχ εὐρέθησαν ὑποστρέψαντες δοῦναι δόξαν τῷ θεῷ εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀλλογενὴς οὗτος; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἀναστάς πορεύου· ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε.

³⁵² ... Τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Κύριε, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω. καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἀνάβλεψον· ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε. καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψεν, καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ δοξάζων τὸν θεόν. καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἰδὼν ἔδωκεν αἶνον τῷ θεῷ.

ope with an annotation expressing the amazement of the person or the crowd (or both), and an acknowledgment that attributed the miracle to the supernatural. The manner in which the supernatural confirmation occurs is most often given through noting that the crowd praised God but also includes direct statements that Jesus was acting under the power of the Lord (5:17) or his actions were the ‘finger of God’ at work (11:20). Luke’s seemingly unaffected acknowledgement of supernatural causality in the miracles does not detract from the observation that this association aligns to the feature of supernatural machinery found in the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph.

2 – Prayers

Similar to the miracles, Luke’s use of supernatural machinery implicit in the act of prayer is also a matter of course. At the beginning of the Gospel (1:10) the people are recorded as ‘praying’ and the Gospel concludes (24:53) with the people ‘blessing God.’³⁵³ Luke’s use of prayer may be divided into a number of categories; the prayers of Jesus, prayers enjoining supernatural action, prayers in a didactic context, and prayers of thanksgiving and praise. (See Table 14)

Table 14. Prayers in the Gospel of Luke

Prayers of Jesus	Prayers enjoining supernatural action	Prayers in didactic context	Thanksgiving and Praise
3:21 Baptism (<i>epiphany</i>) 5:16 Withdrew to pray 6:12 Withdrew to pray 9:18 Praying alone 9:29 Prayer with Peter, James & John (<i>epiphany</i>) 22:32 Prayer with disciples 22:39-46 Mount of Olives (<i>epiphany</i> in variant reading) 23:34 Cross – forgiveness 23:46 Cross – commit spirit	1:8-13 Zechariah & Elizabeth (<i>epiphany</i>) 6:12 Prayer for knowledge of Twelve (?) 11:1-4 Lord’s Prayer 18:1-8 Widow parable 22:39-46 Mount of Olives (<i>epiphany</i> in variant reading) 23:34 Cross – forgiveness	11:1-4 Lord’s Prayer 11:5-13 Persistent friend 18:1-8 Widow parable 21:36 Be alert 22:46 Watch and pray	2:26-32 Simeon 2:36-38 Anna 24:53 Blessing God

Table 14 indicates there is a fair degree of crossover in attempting to categorise the Lukan prayers. In the prayers of Jesus, two (or three with variant reading) episodes are associated with an epiphany. Some of the prayers of Jesus may be classified as prayer

³⁵³ 2:36-38; 3:21; 4:42; 5:16; 6:12; 9:18, 29; 10:21-23; 11:1-13; 18:1-14; 21:36; and 22:29-46.

enjoining supernatural action as well as serving a didactic function. While the very nature of all prayer implies a supernatural context, for the purpose of seeking to identify prayers as a direct indication of supernatural causality, six prayers that specifically enjoin supernatural action will be analysed in the subsequent section.

(i) *1:8-13 – The Prayer of Zechariah and Elizabeth.*³⁵⁴

When the angel Gabriel appears before Zechariah, he announces that his prayer has been heard: διότι εισηκούσθη ἡ δέησίς σου. Although Luke does not narrate the content of the earlier prayer, the insinuation is that Zechariah had previously prayed for a son. While direct divine intervention need not be associated with the birth of a child, John's subsequent birth is ascribed to a supernatural origin. Fitzmyer suggests that while John and Jesus are depicted as agents of God's salvation, as a whole: "the Lucan infancy narrative is stressing that the origin of these two agents of salvation is God himself."³⁵⁵

(ii) *6:12-13 – Prayer for the Knowledge of the Twelve.*³⁵⁶

Prior to Jesus' naming of the Twelve, Luke records he had spent the night in prayer with God: καὶ ἦν διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ. Luke's addition of v. 12 to his Markan source enhances the setting for the choice of the Twelve and implies God's blessing.³⁵⁷ Whether the prayer was seeking supernatural guidance in the choice of the Twelve is unclear, although Peter O'Brien suggests Luke was illustrating Jesus' prayer over the momentous issues of the choice he was about to make.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁴ Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερατεύειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐφημερίας αὐτοῦ ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡκατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἱερατείας ἔλαχε τοῦ θυμᾶσαι εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἦν τοῦ λαοῦ προσευχόμενον ἔξω τῆ ὥρα τοῦ θυμᾶματος· ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐστῶς ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ θυμᾶματος, καὶ ἐταράχθη Ζαχαρίας ἰδὼν, καὶ φόβος ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ ἄγγελος, Μὴ φοβοῦ, Ζαχαρία, διότι εισηκούσθη ἡ δέησίς σου, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ σου Ἐλισάβετ γεννήσει υἱόν σοι, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννην.

³⁵⁵ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I-IX*, p. 315.

³⁵⁶ Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἐξελθεῖν αὐτόν εἰς τὸ ὄρος προσεύξασθαι, καὶ ἦν διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡμέρα, προσεφώνησεν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν δώδεκα, οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν,

³⁵⁷ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I-IX*, p. 616.

³⁵⁸ P.T. O'Brien, 'Prayer in Luke-Acts', *Tyndale Bulletin*, 24, 1973, p. 115.

*(iii) 11:1-4 – The Lord’s Prayer.*³⁵⁹

Although the Lord’s Prayer serves a didactic function in the Lukan narrative, the teaching that it pronounces also highlights acts of supernatural causality, not only in wider human history but also in everyday life. Those things enjoined upon the disciples when they pray include the extension of God’s kingdom, daily provision, forgiveness of sins, and protection from evil, all of which derive from the divine. The petitions are based on supernatural causality. It is God who sustains life and directs the course of history. In this instance, Luke records that the prayer is specifically directed towards a supernatural being: ‘Father, hallowed be your name’ (Πάτερ, αγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου).

*(iv) 18:1-8 – The Widow’s Parable.*³⁶⁰

In the parable of the widow and the unjust judge, Jesus enjoins his followers to pray and not give up. The parable insists that God will intervene in history and grant justice to his chosen ones: ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ. Once again, there is an explicit mention of supernatural causality. God is the source of the vindication of those who cry out for help.

*(v) 22:39-46 – The Prayer on the Mount of Olives.*³⁶¹

There are number of instances of prayer mentioned in this pericope. The disciples are enjoined to pray at the commencement and conclusion, but between these bracketing admonitions the prayer of Jesus is a direct reference to supernatural causality and also involves an epiphany in a variant reading. Jesus addressed his father and implores him to intervene with respect of his upcoming ‘cup’: Πάτερ, εἰ βούλει παρένεγκε τοῦτο τὸ π

³⁵⁹ Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ προσευχόμενον, ὡς ἐπαύσατο, εἶπεν τις τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν, Κύριε, δίδαξον ἡμᾶς προσεύχεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ Ἰωάννης ἐδίδαξεν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ. εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς, Ὄταν προσεύχησθε, λέγετε, Πάτερ, αγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου: ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου: τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ’ ἡμέραν: καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν: καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν.

³⁶⁰ Ἐλεγεν δὲ παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ δεῖν πάντοτε προσεύχεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ ἐγκακεῖν ... Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος, Ἀκούσατε τί ὁ κριτὴς τῆς ἀδικίας λέγει: ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν βοῶντων αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός,

³⁶¹ ... καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεσπάσθη ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ λίθου βολήν, καὶ θεις τὰ γόνατα προσήχετο λέγων, Πάτερ, εἰ βούλει παρένεγκε τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ: πλην μὴ τὸ θέλημά μου ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν γινέσθω. [[ῶφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν. καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐκτενέστερον προσήχετο: καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἰδρῶς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.]]

στήριον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. A particular aspect of the prayer directly acknowledges supernatural causality, as Jesus suggests that he will submit his will to that of his father: πλὴν μὴ τὸ θέλημά μου ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν γινέσθω.

(vi) 23:34 – ‘Father forgive them’.³⁶²

The prayer in 23:34 is a variant reading³⁶³ and it follows the formula of addressing the Father (Πάτερ). While often interpreted as a Lukan insertion to his Markan source in order to underscore Jesus’ quality of compassion³⁶⁴ the prayer recognises the future actions of God in face of human behaviour. While the physical outcome of the crucifixion was inevitable, Luke includes a supernatural aspect by implying that there is a future existence beyond the physical world.

Summary

In the aforementioned instances of prayer it is evident that Luke almost as a matter of course, presumed supernatural causality. Through an act of petition human events are assumed to have been altered – a child is born against natural state of affairs; human choices are directed towards a divinely contrived outcome; historical events are directed towards a divine plan; personal needs are met; protection from harm is envisaged; and the outcome of future events may be manipulated. The inclusion of prayer and supernatural causation in *Luke* aligns his narrative to the feature of supernatural machinery.

3 – Epiphanies

Epiphanic events (not including the appearances of Satan) occur in *Luke* in nine places. There are five instances which involve an angel (or angels) of the Lord (1:11-20; 26-38; 2:9-15; 22:43; and 24:4-7); two instances involve the appearance of the resurrected Jesus (24:15-31; and 36-49); an instance involving a voice from heaven (3:22);

³⁶² [[ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν, Πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν.]] διαμεριζόμενοι δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἔβαλον κλήρους.

³⁶³ (ℵ*, C, D^c, L, Γ, Δ, 0117) include the sentence, but (P75, B, ℵ^c, D*, W Θ, 0124, 579, 1241) omit it.

³⁶⁴ Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, p. 980. ‘It is ironical that perhaps the most beautiful sentence in the PN should be textually dubious. The sentiment behind it is the essence of responding to hostility in what came to be thought of as a Christian manner.’

and an instance of departed souls accompanied by a voice from heaven (9:30-35). Each of these incidents is arranged strategically in the course of Luke's narrative and they serve to assert supernatural causality and affirm the special character of Jesus. The divine will is depicted as guiding human actions at each new stage in Luke's history.³⁶⁵

The following section will consider the epiphanies under four categories; (i) epiphanies that relate to the birth of Jesus and involve an angelic messenger or messengers (1:11-20; 26-38; 2:9-15); (ii) epiphanies that involve a voice from heaven (3:22; 9:30-35); (iii) epiphanies that occur in the Passion narrative (22:43; 24:4-7); and (iv) the instances witnessing the appearance of the resurrected Jesus (24:15-31; 36-49).

(i) *1:11-20; 1:26-38; 2:9-14 – Angelic Appearances at the Birth of Jesus.*³⁶⁶

The initial epiphanies of the Gospel establish the divine authority of the messenger and his message. The first occasion the messenger identifies himself: 'I am Gabriel and I stand in the presence of God' ('Εγώ ειμι Γαβριήλ ὁ παρεστηκώς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ). On the second occasion Luke provides an appellation: 'the angel Gabriel was sent by God' (ὁ ἄγγελος Γαβριήλ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ). In the third episode the angel is described as 'an angel of the Lord' (ἄγγελος κυρίου). In each instance, the epiphany elicits a fearful response from the respondents. Each appearance iterates the divine activity and a supernatural aspect directing the early events of the narrative, *viz.* the births of John the Baptist and Jesus. The epiphanic proclamation of the births is an expression of initiative on the part of God and expresses without a doubt, the supernatural orchestration not

³⁶⁵ H. Kee, *Miracles in the Early Christian World. A Study in Sociohistorical Method*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984, p. 210.

³⁶⁶ *1:11-19*, ὠφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐστὼς ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ θυμιάματος. καὶ ἐταράχθη Ζαχαρίας ἰδὼν, καὶ φόβος ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτόν ... Ἐγώ ειμι Γαβριήλ ὁ παρεστηκώς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπεστάλην λαλήσαι πρὸς σὲ καὶ εὐαγγελίσασθαί σοι ταῦτα.; *1:26-38*, Ἐν δὲ τῷ μηνὶ τῷ ἕκτῳ ἀπεστάλη ὁ ἄγγελος Γαβριήλ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἣ ὄνομα Ναζαρεθ πρὸς παρθένον ἐμνηστευμένην ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ ἐξ οἴκου Δαυὶδ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς παρθένου Μαριάμ. καὶ εἰσελθὼν πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶπεν, Χαίρε, κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ ...; *2:9-14*, καὶ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐπέστη αὐτοῖς καὶ δόξα κυρίου περιέλαμψεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἄγγελος, Μὴ φοβεῖσθε, ἰδοὺ γὰρ εὐαγγελίζομαι ὑμῖν χαρὰν μεγάλην ἣτις ἔσται παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, ὅτι ἐτέχθη ὑμῖν σήμερον σωτὴρ ὃς ἐστὶν Χριστὸς κύριος ἐν πόλει Δαυὶδ: καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν τὸ σημεῖον, εὐρήσετε βρέφος ἐσπαργανωμένον καὶ κείμενον ἐν φάτνῃ, καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐγένετο σὺν τῷ ἀγγέλῳ πλήθος στρατιᾶς οὐρανοῦ αἰνούντων τὸν θεὸν καὶ λεγόντων, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνῃ ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας.

only of the births, but the lives of John and Jesus. As previously noted, by employing an epiphanic *topos* Luke is stressing that the origin of the two agents of salvation derives from a supernatural source.³⁶⁷

(ii) 3:22; 9:35 – *Epiphanies and a Voice from Heaven*.³⁶⁸

There are two occasions in *Luke* when an epiphanic voice is heard from heaven. In both instances, the voice and accompanying oracle convey the divine approval of Jesus: Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος. In the first instance Luke emphasises the visual appearance of the Spirit who conveys God’s commissioning and endorsement of Jesus’ ministry: Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός. This oracle is arguably the main purpose of Luke’s report of the baptism.³⁶⁹ Luke alters his Markan source, where the voice is only heard by Jesus, ‘he saw the heavens torn apart (εἶδεν σχιζομένους τοὺς οὐρανοὺς) ... and a voice came from heaven, ‘You are my son, the beloved, with whom I am well pleased (Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα)’ (*Mk.* 1:10-11). In this alteration, Luke highlights that the supernatural manifestation was observable by all who were present.

In the transfiguration account, only those present (Peter, James, John and Jesus) witnessed the epiphany (9:35). Bovon notes that although the transfiguration appears to conform to the reality of ancient Christians and the author: “it causes difficulties for readers in the present day. Its historicity seems impossible.”³⁷⁰ The same may be said for all epiphanies, the blurring of fact and fiction and the introduction of supernatural appearances challenges historicity in the natural world. The unique and extraordinary appearance of two biblical characters from the past (Moses and Elijah) raises more questions about the historicity of this event than it answers. The only satisfactory histo-

³⁶⁷ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I-IX*, p. 315.

³⁶⁸ *Lk.* 3:22, καὶ καταβῆναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον σωματικῶς εἶδει ὡς περιστερὰν ἐπ’ αὐτόν, καὶ φωνὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γενέσθαι, Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα.; *Lk.* 9:35, καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης λέγουσα, Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος, αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε.

³⁶⁹ Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I-IX*, p. 481.

³⁷⁰ Bovon, *Luke 1*, p. 373.

riographic rationalisation is to recognise that the author defaults to a supernatural explanation of the events.

(iii) 22:43; 24:4-7 – *Passion Narrative Epiphanies*.³⁷¹

Two epiphanies are mentioned in the Passion narrative. The first is the appearance of the angel in the textual variant in the Garden of Gethsemane. In this instance, presumably as a consequence of Jesus' petition, an angel appears to support him: ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν. The second manifestation is the appearance of two men in dazzling clothes announcing the resurrection of Jesus: ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο ἐπέστησαν αὐταῖς ἐν ἐσθῆτι ἀστραπούση. These epiphanies are reminiscent of the 2 Maccabean epiphanies – divine aid in time of need and two 'dazzling' men.

The Gethsemane epiphany in *Luke* does not appear in his Markan source and while Matthew mentions potential angelic assistance only Luke has a visitation occur (*Matt.* 22:53). Parallels in the Hebrew Scriptures occur in *1 Kgs.* 19:5-8, where an angel feeds Elijah, but more specifically these parallels occur in later and post-exilic Jewish literature. *Dan.* 3:20 reports an angel offering support and appearing alongside the three young Israelites in the fiery furnace and in *Dan.* 10:16-19 an angel comes to Daniel's aid. In *3 Macc.* 6:18 as a response to prayer, two angels support Eleazar prior to his martyrdom. Unlike the previous and following occasions of angelic visitations in *Luke*, the Gethsemane epiphany has no accompanying message. The angel is simply represented as a supernatural succor.

The description of the dazzling clothing at the tomb epiphany unambiguously identifies that the two men belong to the supernatural world. The fearful reaction of the women recalls the angelic visitations of the birth narratives and the presence of the an-

³⁷¹ *Lk.* 22:43, [[ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν ...]]; *Lk.* 24:4-7, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἀπορεῖσθαι αὐτάς περὶ τούτου καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο ἐπέστησαν αὐταῖς ἐν ἐσθῆτι ἀστραπούση, ἐμβόβων δὲ γενομένων αὐτῶν καὶ κλινουσῶν τὰ πρόσωπα εἰς τὴν γῆν εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτάς, Τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν; οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἀλλὰ ἠγέρθη. μνήσθητε ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν ἔτι ὢν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, λέγων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτι δεῖ παραδοθῆναι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι.

gels at the resurrection confirms that God was also complicit in this event. The Lukan narrative commences and ends with epiphanic occurrences which foreground the author's use of supernatural causality to frame his work.

(iv) *24:15-32, 36-49 – Appearances of the Resurrected Jesus.*³⁷²

There are three post-resurrection appearances of Jesus noted in *Luke*. One is reported third-hand (the appearance to Simon, 24:34), and the others are narrated by Luke. Our attention will focus on the narrated versions. These two epiphanies of the resurrected Jesus have an apologetic purpose seeking to establish the veracity of the resurrection. The first such appearance on the road to Emmaus is only gradually revealed with the text noting the circumstance of blindness, 'their eyes were kept from recognising him' and 'then their eyes were opened' (v. 16, 31). This temporary blindness implies supernatural causality. The second appearance to Peter and the disciples is recorded as instantaneous. Jesus appears among them and the epiphany draws a fearful reaction similar to other epiphanies in the narrative.

Summary

Luke's use of epiphanies frames his historical narrative. There are instances where angels announce events and in so doing confirm the supernatural orchestration of the ensuing actions. Other instances supernaturally confirm the person and ministry of Jesus, from his birth to resurrection. The unique example of an epiphany involving the departed souls can only be explained through a default to supernatural causality. The Lukan epiphanies follow similar motifs in ancient history through description and purpose of the heavenly appearances and aligns Luke's narrative to the feature of supernatural machinery found in the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph.

³⁷² *Lk. 24:15-32*, και ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὁμιλεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ συζητεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς ἐγγίσας συνεπορεύετο αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν ἐκρατοῦντο τοῦ μὴ ἐπιγνῶναι αὐτόν. ... αὐτῶν δὲ διηνοιχθῆσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτόν: καὶ αὐτὸς ἄφαντος ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτῶν. καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, Οὐχὶ ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν καιομένη ἦν [ἐν ἡμῖν] ὡς ἐλάλει ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ὡς διήνοιγεν ἡμῖν τὰς γραφάς;'; *Lk.24:36-49*, 'Ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῶν λαλοῦντων αὐτὸς ἔστη ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν. πτοηθέντες δὲ καὶ ἔμφοβοι γενόμενοι ἐδόκουν πνεῦμα θεοῦ εἶναι.

Summary of Supernatural Causality in 2 Maccabees and Luke

The authors of *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* freely employ the feature of ‘supernatural machinery’ to explain human events. In *2 Maccabees*, Judean petitions result in Yahweh orchestrating the outcomes of events. The epitomist also freely intersperses supernatural manifestations into the text and these may be understood to be a central aspect to his narrative. Luke includes numerous accounts of miracles which are openly acknowledged to have emanated from the divine. He frequently narrates instances of prayer where God is depicted as intervening in human events. Epiphanies occur throughout the narrative and confirm the supernatural orchestration of the ensuing actions.

6.6 Chapter Conclusions

The present chapter has sought to determine if *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* exhibit features that may align them to the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph. The analysis proceeded under the headings of structure, style and methodology. An analysis of structural features considered the formal features of the historical monograph; and an analysis of stylistic and methodological features considered the features of historical fiction under the subsections of, (i) pretensions to historiography and the reception of the narratives as historiography; and (ii) the muddling of fact and fiction through the misrepresentation of historic facts, chronological manipulations, and supernatural causality.

It was determined that *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* align to the structural features of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical monograph. They are shorter, self-contained volumes of between 15,000 and 20,000 words in length and address a narrow and recent chronological period located in a specific geographic region. They concentrate on a particular theme and on a specific person – Judas Maccabeus in *2 Maccabees* and Jesus of Nazareth in *Luke*.

Through a comparison of the prefaces of *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* to ancient historical prologues, it was determined that both volumes exhibit pretensions to being historiographic narratives. Their prologues employ authorial first-person language, state their narratives are a record of the past based on real historical characters, places, or attested historical events. The prologues allude to the sources and procedures employed in composing the accounts and attest to the reliability of these sources. Through the use of a historical preface, the epitomist and Luke may be seen to position their respective audiences to receive the subsequent narratives as historiography. An application of disambiguation criteria to the *Luke* suggested that the Gospel may be distinguished from biography and is more appropriately aligned to ancient historiography.

Due to the scarcity of evidence it was difficult to determine how the immediate and wider audience received *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*. With respect to *2 Maccabees*, the evidence suggested that the epitomist's account was accepted as historiography in the case of *4 Maccabees*, but with the possibility of it being shaped to fit the present circumstances. With respect to *Luke* it was noted the Apostle John may have read the Third Gospel but the absence of any overt declaration by John leaves the question of historiographic reception open. The evidence of patristic historical reception indicated the Fathers generally accepted a literal interpretation of the Gospel and by implication may also have accepted the historicity of the Lukan narrative.

An analysis of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction methodological features revealed that historical errors are made in *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*. These errors can be variously understood as either reshaping by the author or simple historical inaccuracies. While the errors serve to illustrate impreciseness on the part of authors, they should not be seen as deliberate mendacity. It was determined that the historical errors in *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* may be perceived as being of a different nature to those made in *Tobit* and *Judith*. The errors in *Judith* and *Tobit* concern the misappropriation of historical charac-

ters and events are significant errors with little regard for historicity. It was determined that on a historical fiction continuum, ranging from accurate historiography to disregard for historicity, *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* may be positioned in the middle – among those who seek to engage in historiography but are willing to shape historical events in order to promote an ideological message and those who make honest historical mistakes.

It was further established that *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* used chronological manipulation in their narratives. The epitomist manipulated his source letters to emphasise the position of Antiochus IV in his narrative. Luke manipulated his Markan source either to improve the ‘order’ and logical flow of his narrative, or to underscore an ideological message. When compared to the chronological manipulations in *Judith*, it was seen that the changes made by the epitomist and Luke do not ultimately detract from the historicity of their narratives. In *Judith* the mismatching of details signals a disregard for credible historiography.

The final analysis concerned the feature of ‘supernatural machinery’ to explain human events. It was observed that the authors of *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* freely interspersed supernatural causality through their texts through the narration of miracles, prayer and epiphanies. It was determined that the use of supernatural causality follows similar motifs in ancient historiography and aligns the Maccabean and Lukan narratives to the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph

7. Conclusions

*Fiction was invented the day Jonah arrived home and told his wife
that he was three days late because he had been swallowed by a whale.*

Gabriel García Márquez

7.1 *The Gospel of Luke* and Fiction

The suggestion that *Luke* might be construed to align to a genre of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph inevitably conjures up thoughts ranging from intrigue to skepticism, and even to open rejection of such a hypothesis. The mention of the word ‘fiction’ in the context of the Holy Writ amounts to heresy in some estimations, but it may also be acknowledged as a rational way through which discordant historiography can be clarified in the minds of others.

Often where fiction is presumed, historical veracity is questioned, and a Polybian judgment may follow: ‘When we find one or two false statements in a book and they prove to be deliberate ones, it is evident that not a word written by such an author is any longer certain and reliable.’ To the modern mind, history and fiction are virtually antonyms. While some ancient writers came close to conceptualising fiction in this way, in practice, space was often conceded to “non-deceptive untruths within works that were generically historiography.”¹ John Morgan concludes: “Above all, we must be careful, in reading both ancient fiction and ancient historiography, not to impose our own preconceptions on them.”²

Alternatively, the acknowledgement of historiographic fiction may be liberating and enable a reader to interact with a text from a position of cognitive integrity. The ceding of rational thought to a ‘blind belief’ need not necessarily take place in order for constructive interpretation to proceed. It is the latter comprehension that has underpinned the preceding discussion.

¹ J.R. Morgan, ‘Fiction and History: Historiography and the Novel’, in J. Marincola, (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman historiography*, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011, p. 563.

² J.R. Morgan, ‘Fiction and History’, p. 563.

7.2 Conclusions

The proposal of the present dissertation has been that *Luke* qualifies as a work of historiography, but it should be judged from within the time period in which it appeared. Situated at the junction of Jewish and Hellenistic historiographic currents it has been suggested that *Luke* may embody the characteristics of an emerging historiographic tradition – that of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph and bear similarities in this tradition to *2 Maccabees*.

The term Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph is used to distinguish a sub-genre of ancient historiography where short historiographic narratives exist in a separate volume, cover a limited chronological period and restricted geographical area, and have a consistent focus on one theme and person. These narratives profess to be historiography and are often received as such. They center on real historical subjects and endeavour to recount the reality of the past even if this includes historical errors, chronological manipulations, and supernatural causality.

At the outset, Chapter 2 sought to establish the nature of ancient historiography as a step towards understanding the historicity of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph. It proposed that historiography is relativistic in the manner in which it is composed despite historians' aspirations and admonitions to be objective, reliable, impartial, and truthful. The inventive faculty operates in historical narratives through the reshaping of the past, often to accord with the present concerns of the historian. The discussion noted that while there were differences in the historiographic approaches of Greco-Roman and Jewish-Israelite traditions, both streams freely engaged in a relativistic approach to historiography.

The muddling of fact and fiction was found to frequently occur in Greco-Roman history writing and aspirations to historical objectivity often gave way to the subjective temperament of the historians. It was also observed that Israelite-Jewish historiography

was not homogenous and later historians freely manipulated earlier sources. It was established that the literary milieu of the Jewish-Hellenistic world was conducive to the emergence of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph.

Chapter 3 proceeded from the comprehension that specifying the genre of a narrative is a necessary step to understanding its purpose. The chapter examined the various approaches that have sought to understand how genre works and highlighted the ambiguity that clouds the determination of literary types. This vagueness was recognised in the positions of the ancient Greek and Roman authors who whilst appreciating and identifying different genres, were equivocal as to what rules governed their use.

A survey of modern theorists revealed that the concept of genre moved between notions of transcendental ideas and form-generating ideologies; and from classificatory approaches to cognitive models as found in prototype theory. Prototype theory is an approach through which the inevitable blending and bending of genres in texts might be understood. Rather than texts belonging to a set of fixed criteria, 'genres' are radial categories extending outward from a 'prototypical' center in varying degrees of fuzziness. Texts fall somewhere on a continuum from central and close to the prototype to peripheries that more distant. Changing the perception of genres from one that produces self-contained categories to one that admits to less exactitude permits the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph to be understood as historiography. It represents a blend of two ancient literary types; the ancient historical monograph; and the Jewish historical fictional novel.

A survey of genre and biblical studies revealed that the discipline has essentially proceeded apace with the development of genre theory. The emergence of prototype theory has seen the development of new approaches to understanding biblical genres and the nature of biblical narratives. The recognition that *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* may be perceived to bend or blend genres opens the door for non-traditional generic catego-

ries to be explored, and permits the possibility that they may belong to different genres at the same time.

Chapter 4 surveyed past and current scholarly opinion concerning the genre of *Luke*. It was established the Gospel might be considered generically as a ‘stand-alone’ work separate to *Acts*. Consideration was given to the point of view that the Gospel is *sui generis* but it was suggested that ‘gospel’ as a ‘new’ form had probably not been recognised as a distinct literary category when *Luke* was written. A survey was undertaken of the scholarly hypotheses looking at contemporaneous narrative forms that existed, and may have influenced Luke when composing his narrative.

Proposals that *Luke* belongs to Greco-Roman biography, Greco-Roman historiography, Israelite historiography, Jewish-Hellenistic historiography, and the Greco-Roman and Israelite-Jewish historical monographs were examined. Without ignoring these opinions, it was preliminarily determined that *Luke* may also exhibit features of Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction and the possibility of pursuing a closer investigation into the Gospel as a historical monograph in this tradition was warranted.

Chapter 5 gave an overview of scholarly opinion as to the genre of *2 Maccabees* and this revealed the narrative does not conform neatly to a generic pigeonhole. The chapter commenced with a consideration of *2 Maccabees* as propagandist literature including Temple propaganda, anti-Hasmonean propaganda, and ‘Idyllic’ Jerusalem propaganda, as well as the *topoi* of epiphanies of God narratives and festal letters. The discussion surveyed the historiographic genre proposals of ‘tragic’ history, didactic history, and dynastic history, before moving to consider *2 Maccabees* as aligning to Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction novel or monograph. It was preliminarily determined that *2 Maccabees* might plausibly conform to the genre of Jewish historical fiction and that this was worthy of further investigation.

Chapter 6 sought to determine if *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* exhibit features that may align them to the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph. The analysis proceeded under the divisions of structure and style. Structural aspects considered the formal features of the historical monograph; and stylistic and methodological aspects considered the features of historical fiction, *viz.*, (i) pretensions to historiography and the reception of the narratives as historiography; and (ii) the muddling of fact and fiction through the misrepresentation of historic facts, chronological manipulations, and supernatural causality.

It was established that *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* align to the structural features of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical monograph. They are shorter, self-contained volumes that address a narrow and recent chronological period located in a specific geographic region. They concentrate on a specific person – Judas Maccabeus in *2 Maccabees* and Jesus of Nazareth in *Luke*. It was further construed both volumes exhibit pretensions to being historiographic narratives through employing historical prologues and, as far as can be determined, were probably received as historiography by their readers.

An analysis of methodological features revealed that historical errors exist in *2 Maccabees* and *Luke*, which might be understood as either authorial reshaping or simple historical inaccuracies. *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* were located in the middle of a proposed historical fiction continuum – among those who seek to engage in historiography but are willing to shape historical events in order to promote an ideological message or didactic thrust. In this regard they can be considered to differ from the more overtly fictitious accounts of *Judith* and *Tobit*.

It was also established that *2 Maccabees* and *Luke* used chronological manipulation in their narratives. The epitomist manipulated his source letters to emphasise the position of Antiochus IV in his narrative; and Luke manipulated his Markan source either to improve the ‘order’ and logical flow of his narrative, or to underscore an ideological

message. A final analysis concerned the feature of ‘supernatural machinery’ to explain human events. It was observed that the epitomist and Luke freely interspersed supernatural causality throughout their texts by employing miracles, prayers and epiphanies.

Working from the approach of positive reflexive skepticism where certainty is neither assumed nor argued but where plausible proposals are advanced, it may be concluded that at least on one level, the historiography of *Luke* aligns to the features of the Jewish-Hellenistic historical fiction monograph. Together with *2 Maccabees*, the narratives may be seen to stand side by side in this historiographic tradition and contribute to the Jewish-Hellenistic mythos.

Positioning *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* within the literary framework of the Jewish-Hellenistic Historical Fiction Monograph recognises that these works should be regarded as a radiating arm extending from a prototype of Greco-Roman historiographic narratives. Despite the appearance of historical errors, chronological manipulations, and the extensive use of supernatural causality, both works purport to be historiography. These methodological features may not align with a modern scientific appreciation of historiography that developed following Van Ranke’s ‘*wie es eigentlich gewesen*’, pronouncement, however, an appreciation of the ‘doubleness’ of history and story that existed when *Luke* and *2 Maccabees* were composed, opens the door to read and interpret the texts as a faithful attempt to record the past.

It is anticipated that an acknowledgement of the presence of invention and fiction in the *Gospel of Luke* will empower twentieth-first century readers to interact with the text from a greater position of cognitive integrity. This is the first monograph-length study that positions *Luke* in relation to *2 Maccabees* and historical Jewish fiction and it is hoped that it affords new avenues for future investigation.

Index of Sources

- Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam praef*, (ed.), M. Adriaen, Turnhout: Brepols, 1957.
- Appian, *Roman History*, Vol. 1, LCL 2, (H. White, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912.
- Aristotle, *Poetics*, Vol. 23, LCL 426, (W.H. Fyfe and R. Roberts, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Aristotle, *Longinus, Demetrius. Poetics. Longinus: On the Sublime. Demetrius: On Style*, LCL 199, (S. Halliwell, W. H. Fyfe, D. C. Innes, W. R. Roberts, trans., D. A. Russell, rev.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, Vol. 22, LCL 193, (J.H. Feese, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- Arrian, *Anabasis*, Vol. 2, LCL 269, (P.A. Brunt, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, Vol. 1, LCL 7, (D.R. Shackleton Bailey, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Cicero, *Letters to Friends*, Vol. 1, LCL 205, (D.R. Shackleton Bailey, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Cicero, *Letters to Quintus and Brutus. Letter Fragments. Letter to Octavian. Invectives. Handbook of Electioneering*, Vol. 28, LCL 462, (D.R. Shackleton Bailey, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Cicero, *On Invention. The Best Kind of Orator. Topics*, Vol. 2, LCL 386, (H.M. Hubble, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947.
- Cicero, *On the Orator: Books 1-2*, Vol. 3, LCL 348, (E.W. Sutton and H. Rackham, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942.
- Cicero, *On the Republic, On the Laws*, Vol. 16, LCL 213, (C.W. Keyes, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928, p. 301.
- Cicero, *The Verrine Orations: Against Caecilius. Against Verres*, Vol. 1, LCL 221, (L. H. G. Greenwood, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928.
- Cyril of Alexandria, *A Commentary upon the Gospel According to St. Luke*, Part 1, trans. R.P. Smith, (trans.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History*, Vols. 1-12, LCL, (C.H. Oldfather, et.al., trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933-1967.
- Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, Vol. 2, LCL 185, (R.D. Hicks, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925.
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Critical Essays: Ancient Orators. Lysias. Isocrates. Isaeus. Demosthenes. Thucydides*, Vol. 2, LCL 466, (S. Usher, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Critical Essays: On Literary Composition. Dinarchus. Letters to Ammaeus and Pompeius*, Vol. 1, LCL 465, (S. Usher, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, Vols. 1-72, LCL, (E. Cary, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937-1950.

- Euripedes, *Helen. Phoenician Women. Orestes*, Vol. 5, LCL 11, (D. Kovaks, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Eusebius, *Eusebius: The Church History*, P.L. Maier, (trans.), Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1999.
- Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel*, E.H. Gifford, (trans.), Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2002.
- Herodotus, *The Persian Wars (Histories)*, Vols. 1-4, LCL 117, 118, 119, 120, (A.D. Goodley, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920-1925.
- Hesiod, *Theogony. Works and Days. Testimonia*, LCL 57, (G. W. Most, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Hippocrates, *Ancient Medicine. Airs, Waters, Places. Epidemics 1 and 3. The Oath. Precepts. Nutriment*, Vol. 1, LCL 147, (W.H.S. Jones, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1923.
- Homer, *Iliad*, Vols. 1-2, LCL 170 and 171, (A.T. Murray, trans., W.F. Wyatt, rev.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924-25.
- Homer, *Odyssey*, Vol. 2, LCL 105, (A. T. Murray, trans., G. E. Dimock, rev.) , Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919.
- Horace, *Satires. Epistles. The Art of Poetry*, LCL 194, (H. R. Fairclough, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, (trans.), T. Taylor, London: J. M. Watkins, 1818.
- Irenaeus, 'Against Heretics', in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 1, A. Roberts and W. Rambaut, (trans.), From Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885.
- Isocrates, *Discourses 10: Evagoras. Helen. Busiris. Plataicus. Concerning the Team of Horses. Trapeziticus. Against Callimachus. Aegineticus. Against Lochites. Against Euthynus. Letters*, Vol. 3, LCL 373, (L. Van Hook, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945.
- Isocrates, *Discourses 8: On the Peace. Areopagiticus. Against the Sophists. Antidosis. Panathenaicus*, Vol. 1, LCL 229, (G. Norlin, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Isocrates, *To Demonicus. To Nicocles. Nicocles or the Cyprians. Panegyricus. To Philip. Archidamus*, LCL 209, (G. Norlin, trans.), Loeb Classical Library 209, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928.
- Josephus, *Against Apion*, LCL 156, (H.J. Thackeray, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Vols, 1-9, LCL, (H.J. Thackeray, R. Marcus, L. Feldman, et.al., trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1930-1965.
- Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Vols. 1-3, LCL, (H.J. Thackeray, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922-28.
- Josephus, *The Life*, LCL 156, (H.J. Thackeray, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- Lucian, *Anacharsis or Athletics. Menippus or The Descent into Hades. On Funerals. A Professor of Public Speaking. Alexander the False Prophet. Essays in Portraiture. Essays in Portraiture Defended. The Goddess of Surrye*, LCL 162, (A. M. Harmon, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925.

-
- Lucian, *How to Write History*, Vol. 6, LCL 430, (K. Kilburn, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.
- Lucian, *Phalaris. Hippias or The Bath. Dionysus. Heracles. Amber or The Swans. The Fly. Nigrinus. Demonax. The Hall. My Native Land. Octogenarians. A True Story. Slander. The Consonants at Law. The Carousal (Symposium) or The Lapiths*, Vol. 1, LCL 14, (A.M. Harmon, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913.
- Origen, *Homilies on Luke*, J.T., Lienhard, (trans.), Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1996.
- Ovid, *Fasti*, Vol. 1, LCL 253, (J.G. Frazer, trans., G.P. Wood, rev.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931
- Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Vol. 4, LCL 297, (W.H.S. Jones, trans.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935, pp. 499-501.
- Philo, *On Abraham. On Joseph. On Moses*, Vol. 6, LCL 289, (F.H. Colson, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935.
- Philodemus, R. Janko (ed.), *Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000,
- Plato, *Euthyphro, Apology - Crito, Phaedo Phaedrus*, Vol. 1, LCL 36, (H.N. Fowler, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914.
- Plato, *Republic*, Vols. 1-2, LCL 236, 276, (C. Emlyn-Jones and W. Preddy, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Plato, *Statesman, Philebus, Ion*, LCL 164, (H.N. Fowler, & W. R. M. Lamb, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925, pp. 421-3.
- Pliny (the Elder), *Natural History*, Vol. 1, LCL 330, (H. Rackham, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938.
- Plutarch, *Dion and Brutus. Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus*, Vol. 6, LCL 98, (B. Perrin, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918.
- Plutarch, *Lives: Theseus and Romulus. Lycurgus and Numa. Solon and Publicola*, Vol 1., LCL 46, (B. Perrin, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914.
- Plutarch, *Lives: Demosthenes and Cicero. Alexander and Caesar*, Vol. 7., LCL 99, (B. Perrin, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919.
- Plutarch, *Moralia*, Vol. 4, LCL 305, (F. C. Babbitt, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.
- Plutarch, *Moralia: On the Malice of Herodotus. Causes of Natural Phenomena*, Vol. 11, LCL 426, (L. Pearson, and F.H. Sandbach, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- Plutarch, *Themistocles and Camillus. Aristides and Cato Major. Cimon and Lucullus*, Vol. 2, LCL 47, (B. Perrin, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914.
- Polybius, *Histories*, Vol. 1-6, LCL 128, 137, 138,159,160,161, (W. Paton, trans., F.W. Walbank, C. Habicht, rev.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010-12.
- Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, Vol. 1, LCL 124, (D.A. Russell, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, Vol. 4, LCL 127, (D. A. Russell, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.

-
- Sallust, *The War with Catiline. The War with Jugurtha*, Vol. 1, LCL 116, (J.C. Rofe, trans., J.T. Ramsey, rev.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Seneca, *Natural Questions*, Vols. 1 and 2, LCL 450, 457, (T. Corcoran, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971-2.
- Tacitus, *Agricola. Germania. Dialogue on Oratory*, LCL 35, (M. Hutton, W. Peterson, trans. R. M. Ogilvie, E. H. Warmington, Michael Winterbottom, rev.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914.
- Tacitus, *Annals*, Vol. 5, LCL 322, (J. Jackson, trans), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937.
- Tacitus, *Histories Books 4-5. Annals*, Vol. 2, LCL 249, (C.H. Moore, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931.
- Tertullian, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library: Tertullianus against Marcion*, P. Holmes, (trans.), Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1886.
- Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Vols. 1-4, LCL, (C.F. Smith, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919-1923.
- Xenophon, *Anabasis*, Vol. 3, LCL 90, (C.L. Brownson, trans., J. Dillery, rev.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Xenophon, *Hellenica*, Vols. 1-2, LCL 88, 89, (C.L. Brownson, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918, 1921.
- Xenophon, *Hiero. Agesilaus. Constitution of the Lacedaemonians. Ways and Means. Cavalry Commander. Art of Horsemanship. On Hunting. Constitution of the Athenians*, Vol. 7, LCL 183, (E.C. Marchant, trans.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925.
- Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, Vol. 4, LCL 168, (E.C. Marchant, O.J. Todd, trans. J. Henderson, rev.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Bibliography

- Abbott, G.F., *Thucydides: A Study in Historical Reality*, London: George Routledge and Sons, 1925.
- Abbott, L., *The Gospel According to Luke*, New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1878.
- Adams, S. A., 'Luke's Preface and Its Relationship to Greek Historiography: A Response to Loveday Alexander', *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism*, 3, 2006, pp. 177-91.
- Adams, S. A., *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, SNTSMS 156, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Adams, S. A., *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography*, PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2011.
- Adler, S., 'Harry Potter Author J.K. Rowling opens up about books' Christian Imagery, MTV News, 2007. Accessed online 19.5.2015, @ <http://www.mtv.com/news/1572107/harry-potter-author-jk-rowling-opens-up-about-books-christian-imagery/>
- Aichele, G., *Sign, Text, Scripture: Semiotics and the Bible*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd., 1997.
- Aland, K., *Synopsis of the Four Gospels, 13th ed.*, Stuttgart: German Bible Society, 2007.
- Albrektson, B., *History and the Gods: An Essay on the Idea of Historical Events as Divine Manifestations in the Ancient Near East and Israel*, Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1965.
- Alexander, L., 'Luke's Preface in the Context of Greek Preface-Writing', *Novum Testamentum*, 28, 1, 1986, pp. 48-74.
- Alexander, L., 'The Preface to Acts and the Historians', in Alexander, L., *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles*, LNTS, 289, New York, T. & T. Clark International, 2005, pp. 21-42.
- Alexander, L., *The Preface to Luke's Gospel: Literary convention and social context in Luke 1:1-4 and Acts 1:1*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Alexander, P.S., '3 Maccabees, Hanukkah and Purim,' in A. Rapoport-Albert and G. Greenberg, (eds.), *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman*, JSOTS, 333, London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- Allen, D. *Lukan Authorship of Hebrews*, Nashville: B&H Publishing Group, 2010.
- Allison, D.C., 'Was there a 'Lukan Community'', *Irish Bible Studies*, 10, 1988, pp. 62-70.
- Anderson, B., 'The Problem of Old Testament History', *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, 1965, pp. 5-11.
- Armstrong, J., 'Aristotle on the Philosophical Nature of History', *The Classical Quarterly*, 48, 1998, pp. 447-55.
- Arndt, W.F., *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956.
- Arnold, F.S., 'Recent Books on Early Christian Literature', *The American Journal of Theology*, 6, 3, 1903. pp. 581-8.

- Ashton, J. *Understanding the Fourth Gospel*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007.
- Attridge, H.W., 'Genre Bending in the Fourth Gospel', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 121, 1, 2002, pp. 3-21.
- Attridge, H.W., *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the 'Antiquities Judaicae' of Flavius Josephus*, HDR, Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976.
- Auld, A.G., *Kings without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible's Kings*, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994.
- Aune, D.E., (ed.), *Greco-Roman literature and the New Testament*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988.
- Aune, D.E., *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1987.
- Badian, E., 'Thucydides and the Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. A Historian's Brief', in *From Plataea to Potidaea: studies in the history and historiography of the Pentecontaetia*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Bailey, J.A., *The Traditions Common to the Gospels of Luke and John*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963.
- Baird, W., *History of New Testament Research, Volume One: From Deism to Tübingen*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992.
- Bakhtin, M., *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, (trans.), C. Emerson, Theory and History of Literature 8, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
- Bakhtin, M., *The Dialogic Imagination*, (trans.), C. Emerson and M. Holquist, Austin: University of Texas Press, p.250.
- Balch, D.L., 'Attitudes towards foreigners in 2 Maccabees, Eupolemus, Esther, Aristaeus, and Luke-Acts', in Malherbe, A.J., Norris, F.W., and Thompson, J.W., *The Early Church in Its Context*, Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Balch, D.L., 'The Genre of Luke-Acts: Individual Biography, Adventure Novel, or Political History', *Southwestern Journal of Theology*, 33, 90, pp. 5-19.
- Balch, D.L., 'Two Apologetic Encomia: Dionysius on Rome and Josephus on the Jews', *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 13,1-2, 1982, pp. 102-22,
- Balch, D.L., 'ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ Jesus as Founder of the Church in Luke-Acts: Form and Function,' in Penner, T., and Stichele, C.V., (eds.), *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2003, pp. 139-88.
- Bale, A., *Genre and Narrative Coherence in the Acts of the Apostles*, London: Bloomsbury, 2015.
- Balmforth, H., *The Gospel According to Saint Luke*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930.
- Banks, D., *Writing the History of Israel*, New York: T. & T. Clark, 2006.
- Bar-Kochva, B. *Judas Maccabaeus: The Jewish Struggle against the Seleucids*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Barclay, W., *The Gospel of Luke: The New Daily Study Bible*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001.

- Barrett, C.K., 'The Third Gospel as a preface to Acts? Some Reflections', in Van Segbroeck, F., (ed.), *The Four Gospels, 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck*, Leuven: Peeters, 1992, pp. 1451-66.
- Barrett, C.K., *Luke the Historian in Recent Study*, London: The Epworth Press, 1961.
- Barrett, C.K., *The Gospel According to St John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text*, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956.
- Barthes, R., *Death of the Author*, (trans.), R. Howard, 1967, accessed on 28th September, 2014 @ [http://www.tbook.constantvzw.org/wpcontent/death_ authorbarthes.pdf](http://www.tbook.constantvzw.org/wpcontent/death_authorbarthes.pdf).
- Bartlett, J.R., *The First and Second Books of the Maccabees*, CBC, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- Barton, G.A., 'Legitimate and Illegitimate Uses of Form Criticism', *Journal of the National Association of Biblical Instructors*, 4, 2, 1936, pp. 67-73.
- Barton, S.C., 'Mark as Narrative: The Story of the Anointing Woman (Mk 14:3-9)', *The Expository Times*, 102, 1991, pp. 230-234.
- Bauckham, R., 'Historiographical Characteristics of the Gospel of John', *New Testament Studies*, 53, 1, 2007, pp. 17-36.
- Bauckham, R., *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses, The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2006.
- Bauckham, R., *The Testimony of the Beloved Disciple: Narrative, History and Theology in the Gospel of John*, Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007.
- Beard, M., 'Complex of times: no more sheep on Romulus' birthday', in Ando, C., (ed.), *Roman Religion*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003.
- Beardslee, W., 'Poststructuralist Criticism', in McKenzie, S., and Haynes, A., (eds.), *To Each Its Own Meaning*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999.
- Beavis, M., 'Women as Models of Faith in Mark', *Biblical Theology Bulletin*, 18, 1988, pp. 3-9.
- Becker, E-M., 'Earliest Christian literary activity: Investigating Authors, Genres and Audiences', in Becker, E-M., Engberg-Pederson, T., and Mueller, M., (eds.), *Mark and Paul: Part II: Comparative Essays for and Against Pauline Influence on Mark*, BZW, 199, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 2014, pp. 87-105.
- Becker, E-M., *Das Markus-Evangelium im Rahmen antiker Historiographie*, WUNT 194, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006.
- Bergren, T.A., 'Nehemiah in 2 Maccabees 1:10-2:18', *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, 28, 3, 1997.
- Bers, V., 'Kunstprosa: Philosophy, History, Oratory', in Bakker, E.J., (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Bevan, T.W., 'The Four Anointings', *The Expository Times*, 39, 1927, pp. 137-139.
- Bickerman, E., *The God of the Maccabees: Studies on the Meaning and Origin of the Maccabean Revolt*, Leiden: Brill, 1979.
- Bilde, P., *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome: His Life, his Works, and their Importance*, JSPS 2, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988.

- Bird, M.F., 'The Unity of Luke-Acts in Recent Discussion', *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, 29, 4, 2007, pp. 425-448.
- Black, M., *Luke*, Joplin: College Press, 1997.
- Blomberg, C.L., 'New Testament Genre Criticism for the 1990s,' *Themelios*, 15, 2, 1990, pp. 40-49.
- Bock, D.L., *Luke, Vol 1: 1:1-9:50*, BECNT, Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1994.
- Bock, D.L., *Acts*, BECNT, Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007.
- Bohak, G., review of L. M. Wills, *The Jewish Novel*, in *Classical Philology*, 92, 1, 1997, p. 102.
- Bonz, M.P., *The Past as Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000.
- Borg, M., and Crossan, D., *The First Christmas: What the Gospels Really Teach About Jesus's Birth*, New York: HarperOne, 2007.
- Borgman, P.C., *The Way According to Luke: Hearing the Whole Story of Luke-Acts*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.
- Bovon, F., 'Julius Wellhausen's Exegesis of Luke 15:11-32', in Bovon, F., and Rouiller, G., *Exegesis: Problems of Method and Exercises in Reading (Genesis 22 and Luke 15)*, (trans.), D. Millar, Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1978, pp. 118-31.
- Bovon, F., 'The Reception and Use of the Gospel of Luke in the Second Century', in Bartholomew, C.G., Green, J.B., and Thiselton, A.C., *Reading Luke: Interpretation, Reflection, Formation*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005, pp. 379-400.
- Bovon, F., *Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1-9:50*, (trans.), C. M. Thomas, Hermeneia, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002.
- Bovon, F., *Luke 2: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 9:51-19:27*, (trans.), D.S. Deer, Hermeneia, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013.
- Bovon, F., *Luke 3: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 19:28-24:53*, (trans.), J. Crouch, Hermeneia, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013.
- Bovon, F., *Luke the Theologian: Fifty-five Years of Research (1950-2005)*, 2nd Revised ed., Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006.
- Bowie, W.R., *The Compassionate Christ, Reflections from the Gospel of Luke*, New York: Abingdon Press, 1965.
- Braun, R.L., *1 Chronicles*, WBC 14, Dallas: Word Books, 2002.
- Broadhead, E.K., 'Mark 14:1-9: A Gospel within a Gospel', *Paradigms*, 1, 1985, pp. 32-41.
- Brodie, T.L., 'Jesus as the New Elisha: Cracking the Code (John 9:1-41)', *The Expository Times*, 93, 1981, pp. 39-42.
- Brodie, T.L., 'Luke-Acts as an Imitation and Emulation of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative', in Richard, E., (ed.), *New Views on Luke and Acts*, Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1990, pp. 78-85.
- Brodie, T.L., 'Towards Unraveling Luke's Use of the Old Testament: Luke 7.17 as an *imitatio* of 1 Kings 17.17-24', *New Testament Studies*, 32, 2, 1986, pp. 247-267.

- Brodie, T.L., *Luke the Literary Interpreter: Luke-Acts as a Systematic Rewriting and Updating of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative in 1 and 2 Kings*, Vatican City: Pontificia Università S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1981.
- Broomfield, G.W., *John, Peter, and the Fourth Gospel*, London: SPCK, 1934.
- Brown, R.E., 'Jesus and Elisha', *Perspective*, 12, 1971, pp. 85–104.
- Brown, R.E., and Meier, J.P., *Antioch and Rome*, London: Chapman, 1983.
- Brown, R.E., *The Birth of the Messiah*, New York: Doubleday, 1993.
- Brown, R.E., *The Death of the Messiah*, Vol I, New York: Doubleday, 1994.
- Brown, R.E., *The Death of the Messiah*, Vol II, New York: Doubleday, 1994.
- Browning, W.R.F., *The Gospel According to Saint Luke*, London: SCM Press Ltd, 1960.
- Brownlee, W.H., 'Maccabees, Books of', in Buttrick, G.A., (ed.), *IDB*, Vol. 3, New York: Abingdon, 1962.
- Bruce, F.F., *The Acts of the Apostles, The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary*, 3rd ed., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Leicester, Apollos, 1990.
- Bruce, F.F., *The Canon of Scripture*, Downer's Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1988.
- Brueggemann, W., *First and Second Samuel*, Louisville: John Knox Publishing, 1990.
- Bultmann, R., *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, (trans.), J. Marsh, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963.
- Burkitt, F.C., *The Gospel History and Its Transmission*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911.
- Burridge, R.A., *What are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Burridge, R. A., *Luke-Acts: A Universal Concern, Imitating Jesus: An Inclusive Approach to New Testament Ethics*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- Burrows, M., 'Ancient Israel', in Denton, R.C. (ed.), *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955.
- Burrows, M., 'The Origin of the Term 'Gospel'', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 44, 1/2, 1925, pp. 21-33.
- Bury, J.B., *History of Greece*, 4th ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Buss, M., *Biblical Form Criticism in Its Context*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- Butler, T.C., *Luke*, Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 2000.
- Byrskog, S., 'Jesus the Only Teacher', *Tyndale Bulletin*, 45, 2, 1994, pp. 413-414.
- Byrskog, S., *Story as History — History as Story: The Gospel Tradition in the Context of Ancient Oral History*, WUNT 123, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000.
- Cadbury, H.J., 'Greek and Jewish Traditions of Writing History', in F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, (eds.), *The Acts of the Apostles*, Vol. 2, London: Macmillan, 1922.
- Cadbury, H.J., *The Style and Literary method of Luke*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920.

- Cadbury, H.J., *The Style and Literary Method of Luke: I, The Diction of Luke and Acts*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919.
- Caird, G.B., *New Testament Theology*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1994.
- Caird, G.B., *The Gospel of Luke*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963.
- Callan, T., 'The Preface of Luke-Acts and Historiography', *New Testament Studies*, 31, 1985, pp. 576-581.
- Cameron, A., *Callimachus and his Critics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Campbell, A.F., *2 Samuel*, Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005.
- Cancik, H., "The History of Culture, Religion, and Institutions in Ancient Historiography: Philological Observations Concerning Luke's History," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 116, 1997, pp. 673-95.
- Candlin, C., Preface to Bhatia, V.J., *Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings*, London: Longman, 1993.
- Caputo, J., *Radical Hermeneutics: Repetition, Deconstruction, and the Hermeneutic Project*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987, cited in Moore, M., *Literary Criticism and the Gospels: The Theoretical Challenge*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Carmichael, C.M., *Women, Law and the Genesis Traditions*, Edinburgh: University Press, 1979.
- Carr, A., *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, London: Rivingtons, 1875.
- Carson, C.A., *The Gospel According to John*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991.
- Cartwright, D., *A Historical Commentary On Thucydides*, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Chavalas, M., 'Genealogical History as 'Charter': A Study of Old Babylonian Period Historiography and the Old Testament', in Millard, A.R., et al., (eds.), *Faith, Tradition, and History: Old Testament Historiography in Its Near Eastern Context*, Winona Lakes: Eisenbrauns, 1994, pp. 103-28.
- Childs, B., *The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984.
- Chilton, B., and Evans, C.A., (eds) *Authenticating the Activities of Jesus*, Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2002.
- Chilton, B., and Evans, C.A., (eds) *Authenticating the Words of Jesus*, Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2002.
- Chrubasik, B., review of 'Honigman (S), Tales of High Priests and Taxes', in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 135, 2015, pp. 237-9.
- Clarke, W.K.L., 'The Use of the Septuagint in Acts', in Foakes-Jackson, F.J., and Lake, K., (ed.), *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles*, London: Macmillan, 1920.
- Clines, D.J., *The Esther Scroll*, JSOT Supplement Series, 30, Sheffield: JSOT, 1984.
- Coakley, J.F., 'The Anointing at Bethany and the Priority of John', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 107, 2, 1988, pp. 241-256.
- Cohen, S.J.D., *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1987.

- Cohen, S.J.D., 'The Temple and the Synagogue', in Horbury, W., Davies, W.D., and Study, J., (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 298-325.
- Cohen, S.J.D., 'History and Historiography in the Against Apion of Josephus', in *The Significance of Yavneh and Other Essays in Jewish Hellenism*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010, pp. 121-32.
- Colie, R., *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
- Colley, L., 'Fabricating the Past', *Times Literary Supplement*, June 14, 1991.
- Collins, A.Y., 'Mark and the Hermeneutics of History Writing', in Becker, E.-M., and Runesson, A., (eds.), *Mark and Matthew: Texts and Contexts*, WUNT 271, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.
- Collins, A.Y., 'Narrative, History, and Gospel', *Semeia*, 43, 1988, pp. 143-153.
- Collins, A.Y., *Mark: A Commentary*, Hermeneia, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007.
- Collins, A.Y., review of What are the Gospels? *Journal of Religion*, 75, 2, 1995, p. 241.
- Collins, J., 'Towards the Morphology of a Genre,' *SEMEIA 14, Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, Atlanta: The Society of Biblical Literature, 2003, pp. 1-20.
- Collins, J., *Daniel, First Maccabees, Second Maccabees*, Old Testament Message 15, Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1985.
- Connor, W.R., *Thucydides*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Conzelmann, H., and Lindemann, A., *Interpreting the New Testament: An Introduction to the Principles and Methods of NT Exegesis*, (trans.), Siegfried S. Schatzmann, Peabody: Hendrickson, 1988.
- Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, Hermeneia, (trans.), J. Limburg, A.T. Kraabel, and D.H. Juel, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1987.
- Conzelmann, H., *The Theology of Luke*, (trans.), G. Buswell, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1961.
- Corley, K., *Private Women, Public Meals: Social Conflict in the Synoptic Tradition*, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1993.
- Cosgrove, C., 'A Woman's Unbound Hair in the Greco-Roman World, with Special Reference to the 'Sinful Woman' in Luke 7:36-50', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 124, 4, 2005, pp. 675-692.
- Cotton H.M., and Wörrle, M., 'Seleukos IV to Heliodoros. A New Dossier of Royal Correspondence from Israel', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 59, 2007, pp. 191-205.
- Cranfield, C.E.B., *The Gospel According to Mark*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
- Creed, J.M., *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, London: MacMillan, 1930.
- Croce, B., *Aesthetic as Science of Expression and General Linguistic*, (trans.), D. Ainslie, 2nd edn. London: Peter Owen, 1953.
- Crossan, J.D., *The Birth of Christianity*, New York: HarperOne, 1998.
- Crossan, J.D., *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant*, New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1992.

- Culler, J., 'Literary Competence', in Tompkins, J., (ed.), *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980.
- Culler, J., *Structural Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics, and the Study of Literature*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- Cummins, S.A., *Paul and the Crucified Christ in Antioch: Maccabean martyrdom and Galatians 1 and 2*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Curthoys A., and Docker, J., *Is History Fiction?* Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2006.
- Cyril of Alexandria, *A Commentary upon the Gospel According to St. Luke*, Part 1, (trans.), R.P. Smith, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- D'Angelo, M.R., 'Women in Luke-Acts: A Redactional View', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 109, 3, 1990, pp. 441-461.
- Danker, F.W., *Jesus and the New Age*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988.
- Davies, M., review of What are the Gospels? *New Blackfriars*, 868, 74, 1993, pp. 109-10.
- Davies, M.L., 'Orpheus or Clio? Reflections on the use of History', *Journal of European Studies*, 17, 1987, pp. 179-214.
- Davis, J.R., *The Victorians and Germany*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2007.
- de Boer, E., *Mary Magdalene: Beyond the Myth*, (trans.), J. Bowden, Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1996.
- Delbanco, A., 'The Fog of History', *The New Republic*, June 3, 1991, pp. 39-41.
- Denaux, A., and Corstjens, R., *The Vocabulary of Luke*, Leuven: Peeters, 2009.
- Derrett, J.D., 'Further Light on the Narratives of the Nativity', *Novum Testamentum*, 17, 1975, pp. 81-108.
- Derrida, J., 'The Law of Genre', (trans.), A. Ronell, *Critical Inquiry*, 7, 1, 1980, pp. 55-81.
- DeSilva, D.A., *4 Maccabees*, New York: Bloomsbury: T&T Clark, 1998.
- Dexinger, F., 'Limits of Tolerance in Judaism', in E.P. Sanders, E.P., (ed.), *Jewish and Christian Self Definition*, Leiden: Brill, 1981, pp. 96-108.
- Dibelius, M., *From Tradition to Gospel*, (trans.), B. Woolf, Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1971.
- Dodd, C.H., *About the Gospels*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950.
- Dodd, C.H., *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
- Dodd, C.H., *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments*, New York: Harper & Bros., 1962.
- Donahue, J., and Harrington, D., *The Gospel of Mark*, Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2002.
- Doran, R., '2 Maccabees and 'Tragic History'', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 01/1979, Volume 50, pp. 107-114.

- Doran, R., 'Jewish Hellenistic Historians before Josephus', *ANRW*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1986.
- Doran, R., 'The Revolt of the Maccabees', *The National Interest*, 85, 2006, pp. 99-103.
- Doran, R., *2 Maccabees*, Hermeneia, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012.
- Doran, R., *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Character of 2 Maccabees*, CBQMS 12, Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1981.
- Dormeyer, D., *The New Testament Among the Writings of Antiquity*, (trans.), R. Kossov, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Dover, K.J., 'Thucydides 'As History' and 'As Literature'', *History and Theory*, 22, 1, 1983, pp. 54-63.
- Dozeman, T.B., (ed.), *Methods for Exodus*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010
- du Plessis, I.I., 'Once More: The Purpose of Luke's Prologue (Lk I 1-4)', *Novum Testamentum*, 16, 4, 1974, pp. 259-271
- Dubrow, H., *Genre*, Critical Idiom Series 42, London: Methuen, 1982.
- Duff, D., (ed.), *Modern Genre Theory* (LCR; New York: Longman, 2000.
- Duff, T.E., *Plutarch's Lives: Exploring Virtue and Vice*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Duling, D., *The New Testament, History, Literature and Social Context*, 4th ed., Belmont: Wadsworth/Thomas Learning, 2003.
- Dunn, J.D.G., *Jesus Remembered*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003.
- Dunn, J.D.G., *The Acts of the Apostles*, Valley Forge: Trinity Press, 1996.
- Dvorak, J. 'The Relationship Between John and the Synoptic Gospels' in *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 41, 1998, pp. 201-13.
- Earl, D., 'Prologue-form in Ancient Historiography', *ANRW*, 1.2, 1972, pp. 842-56.
- Easton, B.S., 'The special source of the third Gospel', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 30.1, 1911, pp. 78-103.
- Easton, B.S., *The Gospel According to St. Luke: A Critical and Exegetical and Commentary*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1926.
- Edmunds, L., *Chance and Intelligence in Thucydides*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Ego, B., 'God's Justice. The "Measure For Measure" Principle in 2 Maccabees', in Xeravits, G., and Zsengellér, J., (eds.), *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology*, SJSJ, 118, Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 141-54.
- Eichrodt, W., *Theology of the Old Testament*, Vol. 1, (trans.), J.A. Baker, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961.
- Elliott, J. 'The Anointing of Jesus', *The Expository Times*, 85, 105, 1974, pp. 105-7.
- Ellis, E.E., *The Gospel of Luke*, London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1966.
- Emerson, C., & Morson, G., 'Bakhtin, Mikhail', in *The John Hopkins Guide to Literary Criticism*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press, 2005, retrieved 23rd September 2014 @ <http://www.davidlavery.net/Courses/Narratology/JHGTC/bakhtin.pdf>

- Emmett, C.W., 'The Third Book of Maccabees' in Charles, R.H., (ed.), *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 1, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.
- Erlich, V., 'Russian Formalism', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 34,4, 1973, pp. 627-38.
- Eshel, H., *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*, Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2008.
- Evans, C.A., "Luke and the Rewritten Bible: Aspects of Lukan Hagiography," in Charlesworth, J.H., and Evans, C.A., (eds.), *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation*, JSPSup 14, SSEJC 2, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, pp. 1-29.
- Evans, C.A., *Word Biblical Commentary Mark 8:27-16:20*, Nashville: Nelson Reference, 2001.
- Evans, C.F., 'The Central Section of Luke's Gospel', in Nineham, D.E., (ed.), *Studies in the Gospels: Essay in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955, pp. 37-53.
- Evans, C.F., *Saint Luke*, Norwich: SCM Press, 2008.
- Walbank, F.W., *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1957-79.
- Fearghail, F., 'The Introduction to Luke-Acts: A Study of the Role of Lk 1,1-4-4,44' in *Composition of Luke's Two-Volume Work*, AnBib 126, Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991.
- Fehling, D., *Herodotus and His 'Sources'*, (J. Howie, trans.), Leeds: Francis Cairns (Publications) Ltd., 1989.
- Feldherr, A., and Hardy, G., *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Vol 1: Beginnings to AD 600*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Feldman, L., 'Josephus' Portrait of Saul', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 53, 1982, pp. 45-99.
- Fell, A.P., 'That Noble Dream: Predilection, Bias, and the Problem of Historical Objectivity' in A.P. Fell (ed) *Histories and Histories*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1968.
- Ferch, A.J., 'The Book of Daniel and the 'Maccabean Thesis'', *Andrews University Seminary Studies*, 21, 2, 1983, pp. 129-141.
- Fish, S., *Is There a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Fishkin, S.F., (ed.), *The Mark Twain Anthology: Great Writers on His Life and Work*, Library of America, 2010.
- Fitzmeyer, J.A., *The Gospel According to Luke, X-XXIV*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1985.
- Fitzmyer, J.A., *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX*, AB, New York: Doubleday, 1981.
- Flanagan, N.M., 'The What and How of Salvation in Luke-Acts', in Durken, D., (ed.), *Sin, Salvation, and the Spirit*, Collegeville: Liturgical, 1979, pp. 203-13.
- Floy, S., *The Archaic Smile of Herodotus*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987.
- Ford, D.W.C., *A Reading of Saint Luke's Gospel*, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1967.

- Fornara, C.W., *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Berkley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Fortna, R.T., *The Fourth Gospel and Its Predecessor*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1989.
- Fowler, A., 'Genre' in Coyle, M., et.al., *Encyclopedia of Literature and Criticism*, Cardiff: University of Wales, 2003.
- Fowler, A., *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Fowler, R.L. 'Herodotus and His Contemporaries', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 116, 1996, pp. 62-87.
- Fowler, R., *Let the Reader Understand: Reader-Response Criticism and the Gospel of Mark*, Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991.
- Fox, M.V., *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, 2nd ed., Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2010.
- Fox, M., 'Dionysius, Lucian, and the Prejudice Against Rhetoric in History', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 91, 2001, pp. 76-93.
- Fox, R. L., *Pagans and Christians*, New York: Knopf, 1987.
- France, R.T., and Welham, D., (eds) *Gospel Perspectives*, Vol 1, *Studies of History and Tradition in the Four Gospels*, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980.
- France, R.T., *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002.
- Freedman, D., 'The Chronicler's Purpose', *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 23, 1961, pp. 436-42.
- Frein, B. C., 'Genre and point of view in Luke's Gospel', *Biblical Theology Bulletin*, 37, 2008, pp. 1-10.
- Funk, R.W., 'The Gospel According to St. Luke by A.R.C. Leaney', *Journal of Bible and Religion*, 28,3, 1960, pp. 374-75.
- Gabba, E., 'Literature', in Crawford, M.H., (ed.), *Sources for Ancient History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Galling, K., *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemiah*, ATD Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954, cited in Lemke, W., 'The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History', *Harvard Theological Review*, 58, 1965, pp. 349-363.
- Gasque, W., *A History of Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles*, Tübingen, Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese, 1975.
- Geldenhuis, N., *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*, London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, Ltd., 1950.
- Genette, G., *The Architext: An Introduction*, (trans.), J.E. Lewin, Berkley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Gera, D., 'Olympiodorus, Heliodoros and the Temple of Koile and Phoinike', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 169, 2009, pp. 125-155.
- Gera, G., and Horowitz, W., 'Antiochus IV in Life and Death: Evidence from the Babylonian Astronomical Diaries', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 117, 1997, pp. 249-252

- Gese, H., 'The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East and Old Testament', (trans.), J.F. Ross, *Journal for Theology and the Church*, 1, 1965, pp. 49-65.
- Giles, K.N., 'Salvation in Lukan Theology', *Reformed Theological Review*, 42, 1983, pp. 10-16.
- Gill, C., and Wiseman, T.P., (eds.), *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993.
- Glusman, E., 'The Cleansing of the Temple and the Anointing at Bethany: The Order of Events in Mark 11/John 11-12', in P. Achtemeier (ed.), *SBL 1979 Seminar Papers*, Vol. I, Scholars Press, Missoula, 1979, pp. 113-7.
- Gnuse, R.K., review of *The Crucial Bridge: The Elijah-Elisha Narrative as an Interpretive Synthesis of Genesis-Kings and a Literary Model for the Gospels*, Colledgeville: Liturgical Press/Michael Glazier, 2000, *Biblical Theology Bulletin: A Journal of Bible and Theology*, 12, 2000, p. 158.
- Godet F., *Commentaire sur L'Évangile de Saint Luc*, Paris: Sandoz & Fishbacher, 1887.
- Golden M., and Toohey, P., (eds.), *Inventing Ancient Culture: Historicism, Periodization, and the Ancient World*, London: Routledge, 1997.
- Goldstein, J.A., *1 Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 41, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1976.
- Goldstein, J.A., *2 Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 41a, New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1983.
- Goodyear, F.R.D., 'Sallust', in Kennedy, E.J., and Clausen, W.V., (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, Vol. 2: Latin Literature, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Goren, Y., 'Scientific Examination of a Seleucid Limestone Stele,' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 159, 2007, pp. 206-216.
- Goulder, M., *Type and History in Acts*, London: SPCK, 1964.
- Grabbe, L.L., *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism*, London: T&T Clark International, 2010.
- Graham, M.P., and McKenzie, S.L., (eds.), *Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, JSOTSup, 263, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- Grayson, A.K., *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000.
- Grayson, C.H., 'Did Xenophon Intend to Write History?' in Levick, B., (ed.), *The Ancient Historian and His Materials: Essays in Honour of C. E. Stevens on His Seventieth Birthday*, Westmead: Gregg International, 1975, pp. 31-43.
- Green, J. B., *The Gospel of Luke: New International Commentary on the New Testament*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997.
- Green, J. B., *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Green, J.B., 'Internal Repetition in Luke-Acts: Contemporary Narratology and Lukan Historiography', in Witherington, B., (ed.), *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 283-99.
- Green, J.B., 'Rethinking 'History' for Theological Interpretation', *Journal of Theological Interpretation*, 5, 3, 2011, pp. 159-74.

- Green, J.B., 'The Book of Acts as History/Writing,' *Lexington Theological Quarterly*, 37, 3, 2002, p. 119-27.
- Green, J.B., and McKeever, M.C., *Luke-Acts & New Testament Historiography*, Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1994.
- Gregory, A., *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus: Looking for Luke in the Second Century*, WUNT, 2.69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.
- Gressmann, H., *Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels*, SAT II.1, Göttingen: 1910.
- Grubb, E., 'The Anointing of Jesus', *Expository Times*, 26, 1915, pp. 461-3.
- Grüll, T., 'The Date and Circumstances of the Heliodorus Affair: Considerations on the Seleucus IV Dossier from Maresha', *Acta Classica Univ. Scient. Debrecen.*, XLVI, 2010, pp. 9-19.
- Guelich, R.A., 'The Gospel Genre,' in Stuhlmacher, P., *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien*, Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1983.
- Gunkel, H., 'Geschichtsschreibung im A.T', *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart II*, pp. 1348-1354.
- Gunkel, H., *The Folktales in the Old Testament*, (trans.), M. Rutter, Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1987.
- Gunn, D., *The Story of King David: Genre and Interpretation*, JSOTSup. 6, Sheffield: JSOT, 1978.
- Haber, S., 'Living and Dying for the Law: The Mother-martyrs of 2 Maccabees', *Women in Judaism: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 4, 1, 2006.
- Habicht, C., 'Royal Documents in Maccabees II', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 80, 1976, pp. 1-18.
- Haenchen, E., *Acts of the Apostles*, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971.
- Hall, R.G., 'Historical Inference and Rhetorical Effect', in Watson, D.F., (ed.), *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy*, JSNTSup. 50, Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1991, pp. 308-20.
- Han, K. S., 'Theology of Prayer in the Gospel of Luke', *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 43, 2000, pp. 675-93.
- Haran, M., 'Archives, Libraries, and the Order of the Biblical Books', *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*, 22, 1993, pp. 52-5.
- Haran, M., *Temples and temple-service in ancient Israel*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995.
- Harrington, D.J., *First and Second Maccabees*, Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2010.
- Harrington, D.J., *The Maccabean Revolt: Anatomy of a Biblical Revolution*, Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2009.
- Harrington, J.M., *The Lukan Passion Narrative: The Markan Material in Luke 22,54-23,25: a Historical Survey, 1891-1997*, Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Harrington, W.J., O.P., *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, Westminster: Newman Press, 1967.
- Harris, R.J., *Invitation to Luke: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke with Complete Text from the Jerusalem Bible*, New York: Image Books, 1977.

- Harris, W., *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Hartman, G., *Criticism in the Wilderness: The Study of Literature Today*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Hawkins, D.J., *Christ and Modernity*, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1985.
- Hawkins, R.K., *How Israel Became a People*, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2013.
- Hawthorn, J., *Unlocking the Text: Fundamental Issues in Literary Theory*, London: Edward Arnold, 1987.
- Heard, R.G., 'The Old Gospel Prologues', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 6, 1955, pp. 1-16.
- Hearon, H., 'The Story of 'the Woman who Anointed Jesus', as Social Memory; A Methodological Proposal for the Study of Tradition as Memory,' in Kirk, A. and Thatcher, T. (eds) *Memory, Tradition and Text: Uses of the Past in Early Christianity*, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005, pp. 99-118.
- Hegel, G.W.F., *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Arts*, (trans.), T.M. Know, Vol 2, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.
- Hellholm, D., 'The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre and the Apocalypse of John', *Se-meia*, 36, 1986, pp. 13-64.
- Hemer, C., *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, WUNT, 49, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1989.
- Hengel, M., 'The Geography of Palestine', in Bauckham, R., (ed.), *The Books of Acts in its Palestinian Setting*, Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1995, pp. 27-88.
- Hengel, M., *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*, (trans.), J. Bowden, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979.
- Hengel, M., *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2003.
- Hengel, M., *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1985.
- Hillary, J., *Xenophon and the History of his Times*, London: Routledge, 1995.
- Himmelfarb, M., 'Judaism and Hellenism in 2 Maccabees', *Poetics Today*, 19, 1, 1998, pp. 19-40.
- Himmelfarb, M., *Between Temple and Torah: Essays on Priests, Scribes, and Visionaries in the Second Temple Period and Beyond*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.
- Hirsch, E.D., *Validity in Interpretation*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.
- Holladay, C.R., 'Acts and the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish Authors', *Novum Testamentum*, 53, 2011, pp. 22-51.
- Holst, R. 'The One Anointing of Jesus: Another Application of the Form-Critical Method', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 95, 3, 1976, pp. 435-46.
- Honigman, S., 'Cyclical Time and Catalogues: The Construction of Meaning in 1 Esdras', in Fried, L.S. (ed.), *Was 1 Esdras First? An Investigation into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*, SBL Ancient Israel and its Literature 7, 2011, pp. 191-208.
- Honigman, S., 'Religious Persecution or High Taxes? The Causes of the Maccabean Revolt against Antiochus IV', at *The Bible and Interpretation*, accessed 16th June, 2015, @ <http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/2014/10/hon388014.shtml>.

-
- Honigman, S., *Tales of High Priests and Taxes: The Books of the Maccabees and the Judean Revolt*, Berkley: University of California Press, 2014.
- Hunter, A.M., *Interpreting the New Testament, 1900-1950*, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1951.
- Hurowitz, V., *I Have Built You an Exalted House: Temple Building in the Bible in Light of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic Writings*, JSOT, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992.
- Hutson, H. 'Form Criticism of the New Testament', *Journal of Bible and Religion*, 19, 3, 1951, pp.130-3.
- Hyldahl, N., 'The Maccabean Rebellion and the Question of 'Hellenization'', in Bilde, P., et al., (eds.), *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom*, Arhus: Arhus University Press, 1990, pp 118-203.
- Immerwahr, H.R., *Form and Thought in Herodotus*, Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1966.
- Jacobs, A.S., *Christ Circumcised: A Study in Early Christian History and Difference*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2012.
- Jacobus, M.W., *Notes on the Gospels, Critical and Explanatory: Mark and Luke*, Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Co., 1859.
- Jameson, F., *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- Janko, R., (ed.), *Philodemus: On Poems, Book 1*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Janko, R., *Aristotle: Poetics, with the Tractatus Coislinianus, reconstruction of Poetics II, and the fragments of the On Poets*, Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1987.
- Japhet, S., 'Composition and Chronology in the Book of Ezra and Nehemiah', in Japhet, S., *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah: Collected Studies on the Restoration Period*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006, pp. 245-67.
- Japhet, S., 'Periodization between History and Ideology II: Chronology and Ideology in Ezra-Nehemiah', in Japhet, S. *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah: Collected Studies on the Restoration Period*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006, pp. 416-31.
- Japhet, S., 'Periodization between History and Ideology: The Neo-Babylonian Period in Biblical Historiography', in Japhet, S., *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah: Collected Studies on the Restoration Period*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006, pp. 353-66.
- Japhet, S., *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah: Collected Studies on the Restoration Period*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006.
- Jenkins, K. *Re-thinking History*, London: Routledge, 1991.
- Jenkins, K., *On 'What is History?'* London: Routledge, 1995.
- Jobes, K., *Esther*, NAC, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999.
- Johnson, J.W., 'Chronological Writing: Its Concepts and Development', *History and Theory*, 2, 2, 1962, pp. 124-45.

- Johnson, L.T., 'Literary Criticism of Luke-Acts: Is Reception-History Pertinent?' *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, 28, 2005, pp. 159-62.
- Johnson, L.T., 'On Finding the Lukan Community: A Cautious Cautionary Essay', in Johnson, L.T., *Contested Issues in Christian Origins and the New Testament: Collected Essays*, NovTSup, 146; Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Johnson, L.T., and Penner, T.C., *'Luke-Acts'*, in *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, London: SCM Press, 1999.
- Johnson, L.T., *The Gospel of Luke*, Sacra Pagina Series, Collegeville: Liturgical, 1991.
- Johnson, S.R., *Historical Fictions and Hellenistic Jewish Identity*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Johnstone, W., *Chronicles and Exodus*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Jordan, B., 'Religion in Thucydides', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 116, 1996, pp. 119-47.
- Just A., (ed.), *Luke: Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, New Testament, 3*, Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press, 2003.
- Kampen, J., 'The Books of the Maccabees and Sectarianism', in Xeravits, G., and Zsengellér, J., (eds.), *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology*, SJSJ, 118, Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 13-6.
- Kee, H., *Miracles in the Early Christian World. A Study in Sociohistorical Method*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Kee, H.C., *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective*, London: SCM Press Ltd., 1980.
- Kennedy, G., *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1980.
- Kermode, F., *The Genesis of Secrecy: On the Interpretation of Narrative*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Kilgallen, J., 'John the Baptist, the Sinful Woman, and the Pharisee,' *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 104/4, 1985, pp. 675-9.
- Kilgallen, J.J., 'Forgiveness of Sins (Luke 7:36-50), *Novum Testamentum*, 40, 2, 1998, pp. 105-16.
- Kilpatrick, G., '*eJpanw* Mark xiv.5', *Journal Theological Studies*, 42, 1941, pp. 181-2.
- Kitzberger, I.R., 'Love and Footwashing: John 13:1-20 and Luke 7:36-50 read intertextually', *Biblical Interpretation*, 2, 2, 1994, pp. 190-205.
- Klostermann, E., *Das Lucasvangelium*, J.C.B. Tübingen: Mohr, 1919.
- Kluger, R.S., *Satan in the Old Testament*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967.
- Knoppers, G.N., 'History and Historiography: The Royal Reforms', in Graham, M.P., and McKenzie, S.L., (eds.), *Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, JSOTSup, 263, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999, pp.178-203.
- Knoppers, G.N., and P.B. Harvey, P.B., 'Omitted and Remaining Matters: On the Names Given to the Books of Chronicles in Antiquity,' *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 121, 2002, pp. 227-43.

- Koester, H., 'One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels,' *Harvard Theological Review*, 61, 1968, pp. 203-47.
- Koester, H., *History and Literature of Early Christianity*, Tübingen: Walter de Gruyter, 2012.
- Köhler, L., *Old Testament Theology*, (trans.), A.S. Todd, London: Lutterworth Press, 1957.
- Köstenberger, A., 'John's Transposition Theology: Retelling the Story of Jesus in a Different Key', in Bird, M.F., and Maston, J., *Earliest Christian history: History, literature, and theology: Essays from the Tyndale fellowship in honor of Martin Hengel*, WUNT 2. 320, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012, pp. 191-226.
- Kottler, J.A., *Stories we've heard, stories we've told: Life changing narratives in therapy and everyday life*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Kress, G., review of Bhatia, V.K., *Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings*, London: Longman, 1993, *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 15th April, 1994.
- Kristeva, J., *Semiotiké: Recherches pour une sémanalyse*, Seuil, Paris, 1969, cited in Culler, J., *Structuralist Poetics*, Ithaca: Cornell, 1975.
- Kudlek, M. and Mickler, E., *Solar and Lunar Eclipses of the Ancient Near East for 3000 B.C. to 0 with Maps*, AOATS 1. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1971.
- Kurz, W. S., *Reading Luke-Acts: Dynamics of Biblical Narrative*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993.
- Kurz, W., 'Promise and Fulfilment in Hellenistic Jewish Narratives and in Luke and Acts', in Moessner, D.P., (ed.), *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy*, Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999, pp. 147-70
- Lagrange, J-M., *Evangile selon Saint Luc*, Paris: Libraire Victor Lecoffre, Paris, 1921.
- Lagrange, M.-J. 'Jésus a-t-il été oint plusieurs fois et par plusieurs femmes?' *Revue Biblique*, IX, 1912, pp. 504-32.
- Lakoff, G., *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Lambert, W.G., review article of *History and the Gods*, in *Orientalia*, 39, 1970, pp. 170-7.
- Lateiner, D., (ed.), *Herodotus: The Histories*, New York: Barnes and Noble Classics, 2004.
- Lau, A.Y., *Manifest in the flesh: the Epiphany Christology of the Pastoral Epistles*, WUNT 2, 86, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1996.
- Leaney, A.R.C., *A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke*, London: Adam & Charles Black, 1958.
- Lee, D., *Luke-Acts and 'Tragic History'*, WUNT 2, 346, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.
- Legault, A. 'An Application of the Form-Critique Method to the Anointings in Galilee and Bethany', *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 16, 1954, pp.131-45.

- Lemke, W.E., 'The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History', *Harvard Theological Review*, 58, 1965, pp. 349-363.
- Lenski, R.C.H. *The Interpretation of St. John's Gospel*, Columbus, Ohio, 1936.
- Lenski, R.C.H., *The Interpretation of Luke's Gospel*, Columbus: Wartburg, 1946.
- Leo, F., *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1901.
- Levine, A-J. (ed.), *A Feminist Companion to Mark*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- Levine, A-J., and Blickenstaff, M., (eds.), *A Feminist Companion to Luke*, Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 2001.
- Lewis, R.W.D., 'Call the Next Witness,' *The New York Times Book Review*, May 15, 1991.
- Licht, J., 'Biblical Historicism', in Tadmor, H., and Weinfeld, M., (eds.), *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Lichtenberger, H., 'The Untold End: 2 Maccabees and Acts', in Houtman, A., de Jong, A., and Misset-van de Weg, M., (eds.), *Empsychoi Logoi – Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, Leiden: Brill, 2008, pp. 385-403.
- Liddell, H.G.R., R. Scott, R., and Jones, H.S., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford: 1996,
- Lienhard, J.T., (trans.), *The Homilies on Luke: Origin*, Washington: Catholic University Press, 1996.
- Liverani, M., 'Propaganda', D.N. Freedman, (ed.), *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 5, London: Doubleday, 1992.
- Locker, M., 'Mark's Transformation of John's Gnostic Feet; Mark 14:3-9, A Redaction of John 12:1-8?' *The American Journal of Biblical Theology*, viewed online 2009, at <http://www.biblicaltheology.com/Research/LockerM01.html>
- Long, V.P., 'History and Fiction: What Is History?', in Graham, M.P., and McKenzie, S.L., (eds.), *Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, JSOTSup, 263, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- Longmann, T., 'Literary Approaches to Biblical Interpretation', in Silva, M., (ed.), *Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996, pp. 95-191.
- Louw, J.P. 'Macro Levels of Meaning in Lk 7:36-50' in Petzer, J.H. and Hartin, P.J., *A South African Perspective on the New Testament*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986, pp. 128-35.
- Luce, H., *The Gospel According to S. Luke with Introduction and Notes*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1933.
- Luther, M., in Muller, E., (ed.), *Luther's Explanatory Notes on the Gospels*, (trans.), P. Anstadt, York: P. Anstadt and Sons, 1898.
- MacDonald, D.R., 'Renowned Far and Wide: The Women Who Anointed Odysseus and Jesus', in Levine, A-J., (ed.), *A Feminist Companion to Mark*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001, pp. 128-35.

- MacDonald, D.R., *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer? Four Cases for the Acts of the Apostles*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- MacDonald, D.R., *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Mack, B., *A Myth of Innocence*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988.
- Maddox, R., *The Purpose of Luke-Acts*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1982.
- Mahieu, B., *Between Rome and Jerusalem: Herod the Great and His Sons in Their Struggle for Recognition*, OLA 208, Louvain: Peeters Publishers and Department of Oriental Studies, 2012.
- Maile, J. F., 'The Ascension in Luke-Acts', *Tyndale Bulletin*, 37, 1986, pp. 29-59.
- Manson, W., *The Gospel of Luke*, London: Harper, 1930.
- Mantel, H., *A Place of Greater Safety*, New York: Picador, 2006.
- Marguerat, D., *The First Christian Historian: Writing the Acts of the Apostles*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Marincola, J., *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Marincola, J., (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman historiography*, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.
- Marks, J., 'Context as Hypertext: Divine Rescue Scenes in the *Iliad*', *Trends in Classics*, 2, 2, 2010, pp. 300-22.
- Marshall, I. H., 'Luke-Acts. The Former Treatise', in Marshall, I. H., *New Testament Theology: Many Witnesses, One Gospel*, Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2004, pp. 163-82.
- Marshall, I.H., 'Recent Study of the Gospel According to St. Luke', *Expository Times*, 80, 1968, pp. 4-8.
- Marshall, I.H., *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, Downers Grove: IVP, 1988.
- Marshall, I.H., *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, Carlisle: The Paternoster Press, 1978.
- Martindale, C.C., *The Gospel According to Saint Luke*, Westminster: The Newman Press, 1957.
- Mathews, S., review of B. Neise, *Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher nebst Beiträgen zur Geschichte der makkabäischen Erhebung*, Berlin: Weidmann, 1900, in *The American Journal of Theology*, 5, 4, 1901.
- Maunder, C., 'A Sitz im Leben for Mark 14:9', *The Expository Times*, 99/78, 1987, pp. 78-80.
- McCasland, S.V., 'The Gospel of Luke by William Barclay' in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 77, 2, 1958, p. 170.
- McClellan, D.O., 'A Reevaluation of the Structure and Function of 2 Maccabees 7 and its text-critical implications', *Studia Antiqua*, 7, 1, 2009, pp. 81-95.
- McCown, C.C. 'Gospel Geography: Fiction, Fact, and Truth', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 60, 1, 1994, pp. 1-25.

- McDonald, A.H., 'The Roman Historians', in Platnauer, M., (ed.), *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1954.
- McIver, R., 'Implications of new data pertaining to the problem of synoptic relationships', *Australian Biblical Review*, 45, 1997, pp. 20-39.
- McIver, R., and Carroll, M., 'Experiments to Develop Criteria for Determining the Existences of Written Sources, and Their Potential Implications for the Synoptic Problem', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 121, 4, 2002, pp. 667-87.
- McKenzie, S., and Haynes, A., (eds.), *To Each Its Own Meaning*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999.
- McKenzie, S.L., 'The Chronicler as Redactor', in Graham, M.P., and McKenzie, S.L., (eds.), *Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, JSOTSup, 263, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- McKeown, J., *Genesis*, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, Grand Rapids, 2008.
- McKnight, E.V., 'Reader-Response Criticism' in McKenzie, S., and Haynes, A., (eds.), *To Each Its Own Meaning*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999, pp. 230-52.
- McKnight, E.V., *The Bible and the Reader: An Introduction to Literary Criticism*, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985.
- McPhee, P., 'Lunatic Liberty', *SMH*, 17/10/1992
- Medvedev, P.N., *The Formal Method in Literary Scholarship: A Critical Introduction to Sociological Poetics*, (trans.), A Wehrle, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- Meeks, W.A., 'Assisting the Word by Making (Up) History', *Interpretation*, 57, 2, 2003, pp. 151-62.
- Meyer, H.A.W., *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Gospels of Mark and Luke*, (trans.), R.E. Wallis, New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1884.
- Millar, D.G., *Saint Luke*, London: SCM Press Ltd, 1959.
- Millar, S. 'Exegetical Notes on John 12:1-8: The Anointing of Jesus', *Expository Times*, 118,5, 2007, pp. 240-1.
- Miller, L.H. 'The Source of Our Information regarding the Life of Jesus', *The Biblical World*, 42, 5, 1913, pp. 290-303.
- Moessner, D., 'Eyewitnesses, 'Informed Contemporaries' and 'Unknowing Inquirers': Josephus' Criteria for Authentic Historiography and the meaning of παρακολουθῆω', *Novum Testamentum*, 38, 2, 1996, pp. 105-22.
- Moessner, D.P., (ed.), *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy*, Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999.
- Moles, J.L., 'Truth and Untruth in Herodotus and Thucydides', in Gill, C., and Wiseman, T.P., (eds.), *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993, pp. 88-121.
- Moles, L., 'Luke's Preface: The Greek Decree, Classical Historiography and Christian Redefinitions', *New Testament Studies*, 57, 4, 2011, pp. 461-82.
- Momigliano, A., 'The Second Book of Maccabees', *Classical Philology*, 70, 1977, pp. 81-8.

- Momigliano, A., 'Time in Ancient History', *History and Theory*, Beiheft 6: *History and the Concept of Time*, 1966, pp. 1-23.
- Momigliano, A., *The Development of Greek Biography*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971.
- Moore, C.A., *Judith: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 40B, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1985.
- Moore, C.A. *Tobit: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 40A, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1996.
- Moore, S., *Literary Criticism and the Gospels: The Theoretical Challenge*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Morgan, G.C., *The Gospel According to Luke*, London: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1931.
- Morgan, J.R., 'Fiction and History: Historiography and the Novel', in J. Marincola, (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman historiography*, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011, pp. 553-63.
- Morris, L., *The Gospel According to John*, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, 1971.
- Morris, L., *The Gospel According to Luke: An Introduction and Commentary*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002.
- Mowinkel, S., 'Israelite Historiography', *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*, 2, 1963, pp. 4-26.
- Moxnes, H., 'The Social context of Luke's Community', *Interpretation*, 48, 4, 1994, pp. 379-89.
- Munro, W., 'The Anointing in Mark 14:3-9 and John 12:1-8' in Achtemeier, P., (ed.), *SBL 1979 Seminar Papers*, Vol.I, Missoula, Scholars Press, 1979.
- Murray, O., 'Aristeas and Ptolemaic Kingship', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 18, 1967, pp. 337-71.
- Myllykoski, M., 'The Sinful Woman in the *Gospel of Peter*: Reconstructing the Other Side of P.Oxy. 4009', *New Testament Studies*, 55, 1, 2009, pp. 104-15.
- Nathanson, M., *Between Myth and Mandate*, Bloomington: Author House, 2014.
- Nave, C., *The Role and Function of Repentance in Luke Acts*, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002.
- Nesbitt, C.F., 'The Bethany Traditions in the Gospel Narratives', *Journal of Bible and Religion*, 29,2, 1961, pp.119-24.
- Newsom, C., 'Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre: A Case Study of the Hodayot', *Dead Sea Discoveries*, 17, 3, 2010. pp. 241-59.
- Newsom, C., 'Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology,' in Boer, R., (ed.), *Bakhtin and Genre Theory in Biblical Studies*, Leiden: Boston, 2008, pp. 19-30.
- Newsom, C., *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Newsom, C., *Daniel: A Commentary*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2014.
- Newsome J., 'Towards a New Understanding of the Chronicler and his Purposes', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 94, 1975, pp. 201-17.

- Nickelsburg, G.W., '1 and 2 Maccabees – Same Story, Different Meaning', *Concordia Theological Monthly*, 42, 8, 1971, pp. 515-26.
- Nickelsburg, G.W., *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005.
- Nickelsburg, G.W., *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and early Christianity*, Cambridge: Harvard Divinity School, 2006.
- Niese, B., 'Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher', pp. 268-307, in R. Doran, '2 Maccabees and 'Tragic History'', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 50,1,1979, pp. 107-14.
- Nineham, D., 'Eye-Witness Testimony and the Gospel Tradition, I', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1958, pp. 243-52.
- Nineham, D.E. *Saint Mark*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1963.
- Nolland, J. *Word Biblical Commentary, Luke 1:1-9:20*, Word Inc., Dallas, 2002.
- Northwood, S.J., 'Cicero *de Oratore* 2.51-64 and Rhetoric in Historiography', *Mnemosyne*, 61, 2, 2008, pp. 228-44.
- Noth, M., *The Chronicler's History*, (trans.), H.G.M Williamson, JSOTSup 50, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987.
- Noth, M., *The Deuteronomistic History*, JSOTSup 15, Sheffield: JSOT, 1981.
- O'Brien, P.T., 'Prayer in Luke-Acts', *Tyndale Bulletin*, 24, 1973, pp. 111-27.
- O'Toole, R., *The Unity of Luke's Theology: An Analysis of Luke-Acts*, Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1984.
- Ochs, C., 'Nomad and Settler in Patriarchal Religion', *Feminist Studies*, 3, 3, 4, pp. 56-61.
- Orchard, R.K., 'On the Composition of Luke vii 36-50', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 38,1937, pp. 243-5.
- Osborne, G.R., 'Historical Narrative and Truth in the Bible', *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 48, 4, 2005, pp. 673-88.
- Oshri, A., 'Where was Jesus born?', *Archaeology*, 58, 6, 2005, pp. 42-5.
- Owen, J.J., *A Commentary, Critical, Expository and Practical on the Gospel of Luke*, New York: Leavitt & Allen, 1959.
- Pak, R.S., 'The Genre of the Gospel of Mark: A Critical Assessment', Dissertation presented to the Southern Baptist Seminary, 2000.
- Palmer, D.W., 'Acts and the Ancient Historical Monograph,' in Winter, B.W., and Clarke, A.D., (eds.), *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting: Vol. 1 Ancient Literary Setting*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993.
- Palmer, D.W., 'Acts and the Historical Monograph', *Tyndale Bulletin*, 43.2, 1978, pp. 373-88.
- Parente, F., 'Onias III' Death and the Founding of the Temple of Leontopolis', M. Smith, (ed.), *Josephus and the history of the Greco-Roman period: Essays in memory of Morton Smith*, Leiden: Brill, 1994
- Parente, F., 'The Impotence of Titus, or Flavius Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum* as an Example of 'Pathetic' Historiography', in Sievers, J., and Lembi, G., (eds.), *Josephus and Jewish History in Flavian Rome and Beyond*, Leiden: Brill, 2005.

- Park, S.K., 'The Influence of 2 and 4 Maccabees for the concept of piety in Luke-Acts', unpublished PhD thesis, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1992.
- Parker, V., 'The Letters in II Maccabees: Reflections on the Book's Composition,' *ZAW* 119, 2007, pp. 386-402.
- Parks, S., 'The Role of Women in 1 and 2 Maccabees', unpublished dissertation, Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University, Montreal September 2005.
- Parsons, M.C., 'The Unity of the Lukan Writings: Rethinking the *Opinio Communis*', in Keathley, N.H., (ed.), *With Steadfast Purpose: Essay on Acts in Honor of Henry Jackson Flanders, Jr.*, Waco: Baylor University, 1990, pp. 29-53.
- Parsons, M.C., and Pervo, R.I., *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993.
- Parsons, M.C., *Luke: Storyteller, Interpreter, Evangelist*, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2007.
- Patella, M., *The Gospel According to Luke: New Testament*, Collegeville: Liturgical, 2005.
- Penchansky, D., *The Betrayal of God: Ideological Conflict in Job*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1990.
- Penchansky, D., *What Rough Beast: Images of God in the Old Testament*, Louisville: Westminster, 1999.
- Penner, T., *In Praise of Christian Origins: Stephen and the Hellenists in Lukan Apologetic Historiography*, New York: T&T Clark International, 2004.
- Perkins, L., 'Let the Reader Understand: A Contextual Interpretation of Mark 13:14', *Bulletin for Biblical Research*, 16, 1, 2006, pp. 95-104.
- Perrin, N., *What is Redaction Criticism?* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969.
- Pervo, R.I., 'Direct Speech in Acts and the Question of Genre', *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, 28, 3, 2006, pp. 285-307.
- Pervo, R.I., 'Israel's Heritage and Claims upon the Genre (s) of Luke and Acts', in Moessner, D.P., (ed.), *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy*, Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999, pp. 127-43.
- Pervo, R.I., 'Must Luke and Acts Be Treated as One Genre?' *SBLSP* 28, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989.
- Pervo, R.I., 'Romancing an Oft-Neglected Stone: The Pastoral Epistles and The Epistolary Novel,' *Journal of Higher Criticism*, 1, 1994, pp. 25-47.
- Pervo, R.I., *Acts*, Hermeneia, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009.
- Pervo, R.I., *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987.
- Pfeiffer, R.H., *Introduction to the Old Testament*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941.
- Pfister, F., 'Epiphanie', *PWSup* 4 (1924).
- Phillips, J., *Exploring the Gospel of Luke: An Expository Commentary*, Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2005.
- Phillips, T.E., 'The Genre of Acts: Moving Toward a Consensus?', *Currents in Biblical Research*, 4, 3, 2006, pp. 365-96.

- Pitcher, L., *Writing Ancient History: An Introduction to Classical Historiography*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2009.
- Pitts, A.W., 'The Genre of the Third Gospel and Greco-Roman Historiography: A Reconsideration', paper presented in the Paul. J. Achtemeier Award section of SBL, Atlanta, 2015, pp. 1-35.
- Plumacher, E., 'Luke the Historian', in Freedman, D.N., *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 4., New York: Yale University Press, 1992, pp. 398-402.
- Plummer, A. 'The Woman that was a Sinner', *Expository Times*, 27/42, 1915, pp. 42-3.
- Plummer, A., 'C.F. Bradley, 'A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke'', *The American Journal of Theology*, 1, 3, 1987, pp. 816-7.
- Plummer, A., 'Matthews, S., A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke', *The Biblical World*, 9,1, 1897, pp. 69-73.
- Porter-Young, A., *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism*, Grand Rapids: Eermans, 2011.
- Porter, S.E., 'The Genre of Acts and the ethics of Discourse', in Phillips, T.E., (ed.), *Acts and Ethics*, New Testament Monograph, 9, Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005, pp. 1-15.
- Porter, S.E., 'Thucydides 1.22.1 and Speeches in Acts: Is There a Thucydidean View?', *Novum Testamentaum*, 32, 2, 1990, pp. 121-42.
- Porter, S.E., and Pitts, A.W., *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture*, Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Potter, D.S., *Literary Texts and the Roman Historian*, London: Routledge, 1999.
- Powell, M.A., *Fortress Introduction to the Gospels*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 1998.
- Powell, M.A., *What are They Saying about Luke?* New York: Paulist Press, 1989.
- Pownall, F. *Lessons from the past: the moral use of history in fourth-century prose*, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2004.
- Priebe, D.A., 'The Unity of the Testaments', *Word and World*, 3/3, 1983, pp. 263-71.
- Priebe, D.A., 'The Woman who Anoints Jesus with Oil in Mark's Passion Narrative', SBLA, 1989.
- Pritchard, J.B., (trans.), 'Dumuzi and Enkimdu: The Dispute between the Shepherd God and the Farmer God' in Pritchard, J.B., (ed.), *Ancient and Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed., Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1969.
- Pritchett, W.K., *The Greek State at War: Religion*, Vol. III, Berkley: University of California Press, 1979
- Propp, W.H.C., 'Is the Da Vinci Code true?', *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture*, 25,1, 2013, pp. 34-38.
- Rahn, P. 'Xenophon's Developing Historiography', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 102, 1971.
- Ramsey, J.T., (ed.), *Sallust's Bellum Catilina*, 2nd ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1988,
- Ramsay, W.M., *The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915.

- Ramsay, W.M., *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem, A Study on the credibility of St. Luke*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898.
- Raposa, W.V., 'An Evaluation of the Historical Reliability of Acts based on Lucian's *How to Write History*', unpublished PhD dissertation, Mid-America Baptist Theological Seminary, 2010.
- Ravens, D.A.S., 'The Setting of Luke's Account of the Anointing: Luke 7.2-8.3', *New Testament Studies*, 34, 1988, pp. 282-92.
- Rawlins, C.L., *William Barclay, The Authorized Biography*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1984.
- Reditt, P., *Introduction to the Prophets*, Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1985.
- Reid, B. E., *Choosing the Better Part? Women in the Gospel of Luke*, Collegeville: Liturgical, 1996.
- Reinecker, F., *Linguistic Key to the Greek New Testament*, (ed.) C.L. Rogers, Zondervan Publishing House, 1980.
- Ridderbos, H.N. *The Gospel According to John: A Theological Commentary*, (trans.), J. Vriend, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1997.
- Rimmon-Kenan, S., *Narrative Fiction: A Contemporary Poetics*, London: Methuen, 1983.
- Robbins, V., 'The Claims of the Prologues and Greco-Roman Rhetoric: The Prefaces to Luke and Acts in Light of Greco-Roman Rhetorical Strategies', in Moessner, D., (ed.), *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy*, Harrisburg, Trinity Press International, 1999, pp. 63-83.
- Robins, M., 'And I will surely hide my face: Pseudo-writing in LXX Esther and Second Maccabees', unpublished Masters thesis, McGill University, 2010.
- Robinson, J.M., Hoffman, P., Kloppenborg, J.S., (eds.), *The Critical Edition of Q*, Hermeneia, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000.
- Rofé, A., '4QSama in the Light of Historico-literary Criticism: The Case of 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21', *Judentum und Umwelt – Biblische und Judaistische Studien*, 1990, 29, pp. 109-19.
- Ropes, J.H., review of Sir W. M. Ramsay, *The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1915, *The Harvard Theological Review*, 10, 2, 1917, p. 211.
- Rosch, E., 'Principles of Categorization', in Rosch, E., and Lloyd, B., (eds.), *Cognition and Categorization*, Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1978.
- Rosner, B.S., 'Acts and Biblical History,' in Winter, B.W., and Clarke, A.D., (eds.), *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting: Vol. 1 Ancient Literary Setting*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993, pp. 1-29.
- Rothschild, C. K., *Luke-Acts and the Rhetoric of History: An Investigation of Early Christian Historiography*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Rowe, K., 'Literary Unity and Reception History: Reading Luke-Acts as Luke and Acts', *Journal for Study of the New Testament*, 29, 4, 2007, pp. 449-57.
- Rowe, K., 'History, Hermeneutics and the Unity of Luke-Acts', *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, 28, 2005, pp. 131-57.

- Rudolf, W., *Chronikbücher*, HAT 21, Tübingen: Mohr, 1955, in W. Lemke, W., 'The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History', *Harvard Theological Review*, 58, 1965, pp. 349-63.
- Ryan, M-L., 'Introduction: On the why, what and how of generic taxonomy', *Poetics*, 10, 1981, p. 109-26.
- Sacks, K., *Polybius on the Writing of History*, Berkley: University of California Press, 1981.
- Sanders, E., and Davies, M., *Studying the Synoptic Gospels*, London: SCM Press, 1989.
- Sawicki, M., *Seeing the Lord: Resurrection and Early Christian Practices*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994.
- Scaer, P.J., *The Lukan Passion and the Praiseworthy Death*, Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005.
- Schaff, P., and Wace, W., (eds) 'Ambrose: Select Works and Letters', Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Vol X, accessed 31st May, 2001 at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf210.iii.iv.html>
- Schama, S., *Dead Certainties (Unwarranted Speculations)* New York: Vintage Books, 1992.
- Schlegel, F., 'Athenaeum Fragments', no. 434, in Schlegel, F., *Lucinde and the Fragments*, (trans.), by P. Firchow, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1971.
- Schlegel, F., 'Critical Fragments, no.62', in Schlegel, F., *Lucinde and the Fragments*, (trans.), P. Firchow, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1971.
- Schlegel, F., *Literary Notebooks 1797-1801*, quoted in Szondi, P., 'Friedrich Schlegel's Theory of Poetical Genres: A Reconstruction from the Posthumous Fragments', in Szondi, P., *On Textual Understanding and Other Essays*, (trans.), H. Mendelsohn, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.
- Schleiermacher, F., *A Critical Essay on the Gospel of Luke*, (trans.), J. Taylor, London, 1825.
- Schmidt, K.L., *The Place of the Gospels in the General History of Literature*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002.
- Schuller, E., 'Recent Scholarship on the Hodayat 1993-2010,' *Currents in Biblical Research*, 10,1, pp. 119-62.
- Schürer, E., *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, Vol 1, New York: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 1973.
- Schwartz, D.R., 'Antiochus IV in Jerusalem', in Goodblatt, D., Pinnick, A., and Schwartz, D.R., *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Schwartz, D.R., *2 Maccabees*, CEJL, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008.
- Schwartz, J.A., 'Once More on the Nicanor Gate', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 62, 1991, pp. 245-83.
- Scott, E.F., 'The New Criticism of the Gospels,' *Harvard Theological Review*, 19, 1926, pp. 115-214.
- Scott, J.J., 'Stephen's Speech: A Possible Model for Luke's Historical Method', *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 17, 1974, pp. 91-7.

- Shanz, P. *A Christian Apology, Vol II*, (trans.), M.F. Glancey and V.J. Schobel, Ratisbon: Frederick Pustet and Co., 1891.
- Sharpes, D.K., *Lord of the Scrolls: Literary Traditions in the Bible and Gospels*, New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2007.
- Shaya, J.L., 'The Lindos Stele and the Lost Treasures of Athena', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 2002.
- Shepherd, W.H., *The Narrative function of the Holy Spirit as a Character in Luke-Acts*, SBL DS, 147, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994.
- Sheridan, B., 'Diodorus' Reading of Polybius' Universalism', in Liddel, P., and Fear, A., (eds.), *Historiae Mundi: Studies in Universal History*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010.
- Sherwin-White, A.N., *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Shklovsky, V., 'Literature without a Plot: Rozanov', in Shklovsky, V., *Theory of Prose*, (trans.), B. Sher, Elmwood Park: Dalkey Archive Press, 1990.
- Shklovsky, V., 'The Relationship between Devices of Plot Construction and General Devices of Style', in Shklovsky, V., *Theory of Prose*, (trans.), B. Sher, Elmwood Park: Dalkey Archive Press, 1990.
- Shragai, N., 'There is nothing else like it,' *Ha'aretz.com*, 2003-JAN-19, accessed 8th October, 2014 at www.haaretz.com/life/arts-leisure/there-is-nothing-else-like-it-1.22079#!
- Shuler, P.L., *A Genre for the Gospels: The Biographical Character of Matthew*, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982.
- Shuler, P.L., *The Synoptic Gospels and the Problem of Genre*, unpublished PhD Dissertation, McMaster University, 1975.
- Sievers, J., *The Hasmoneans and Their Supporters: From Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990.
- Simpson, V., 'The Eagerness of a listener quickens the tongue of the narrator': Storytelling and Autobiography in Jane Eyre', *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies*, 4, 3, 2008, pp. 1-28.
- Smalley, S.S., 'Redaction Criticism', in Marshall, I.H., (ed.), *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmanns Pub. Co., 1977.
- Söderquist, T., (ed.), *The History and Poetics of Scientific Biography*, London: Routledge, 2007.
- Soulis, E.M., *Xenophon and Thucydides: A Study on the historical methods of Xenophon in the Hellenica with special reference to the influence of Thucydides*, Athens, 1972.
- Southgate, B., *History What and Why?*, 2nd ed., New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Sparks, J.T., *The Chronicler's Genealogies: Towards an Understanding of 1 Chronicles 1-9*, AcBib, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008.
- Sparks, K.L., *Ancient Texts for the Study of the Hebrew Bible: A Guide to the Background Literature*, Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005.

- Spencer, P.E., 'The Unity of Luke-Acts: A Four-Bolted Hermeneutical Hinge,' *Currents in Biblical Research*, 5, 3, 2007, pp. 341-366.
- Squires, J. T., *The Plan of God in Luke-Acts*, SNTSMS, 76, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Squires, J.T., 'The Gospel According to Luke', in S.C. Barton, (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Gospels*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Stadter, P., 'Biography and History', in J. Marincola, (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman historiography*, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011, pp. 528-40.
- Stark, J., *Commentary on the Gospel According to Luke*, London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1866.
- Steele, R.B., 'Plutarch's 'Alexander' and Arrian's 'Anabasis'', *Classical Philology*, 11, 4, 1916, pp. 419-25.
- Stein, R.H., *Luke*, ANC 24, Nashville: Broadman Press, 1992.
- Sterling, G., *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography*, SBL, 64, Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- Stiewe M. and Vouga, F., *Le Sermon sur la Montagne: Un abrégé de l'Évangile dans le miroitement de ses interprétations*, Genève: Éditions Labor et Fides, 2002.
- Strack H., and Billerbeck, B., *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, Vol I*, Beck'sche, Munich, 1926, in Nolland, J., *Luke 1-9:20*, WBC 35A, Waco: Word, 1989.
- Streeter, B.H., *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins*, London: MacMillan and Co., 1925.
- Strelan, R. *Luke the Priest: The Authority of the Author of the Third Gospel*, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008.
- Striedter, J., *Literary Structure, evolution and value: Russian Formalism and Czech Structuralism Reconsidered*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum: 57.1838, 'LETTER OF SELEUKOS IV TO HELIODOROS' accessed online 10th June, 2015 @ http://www.attalus.org/docs/other/seg57_1838.html.
- Symes, R., 'The Titulus Tiburtinus' Vestigia: Akten des VI Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik, 1972, Beiträge zue Alten Geschichte, 17, Munich: Beck, 1972.
- Tadmor, H., and Weinfeld, M., (eds.), *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Talbert, C. H., *Reading Luke: A Literary and Theological Commentary*, 2nd ed., Macon: Smyth & Helwys, 2002.
- Talbert, C.H., 'Promise and Fulfillment in Lukan Theology, in Talbert, C.H., (ed.), *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature*, New York: Crossroads, 1984.
- Talbert, C.H., 'Luke, Gospel of' in J. H. Hayes (ed) *New Testament: History of Interpretation*, Nashville: Abingdon Press, Nashville, 2004, pp. 21-7.
- Talbert, C.H., 'Once Again: Gospel Genre', *Semeia*, 43, 1988, pp. 53-73.

- Talbert, C.H., 'The Redaction-Critical Quest for Luke the Theologian', in *Jesus and Man's Hope*, Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 1970, pp. 171-222.
- Talbert, C.H., *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts*, SBLMS, 20, Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974.
- Talbert, C.H., *Reading Luke-Acts in Its Mediterranean Milieu*, Leiden: Brill, 2003
- Talbert, C.H., *What is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977.
- Tannehill, R.C., 'The Disciples in Mark: The Function of a Narrative Role', *Journal of Religion*, 57, 4, 1977, pp. 386-405.
- Tannehill, R.C., *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation, Vol. 1: The Gospel According to Luke*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991.
- Tannehill, R.C., *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation, Vol. 2: The Acts of the Apostles*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991.
- Taylor, J.E., 'A Second Temple in Egypt; Evidence for the Zadokite Temple of Onias', *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, 29, 3, 1998, pp. 297-321.
- Taylor, V. *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition*, London: MacMillan and Co., 1964.
- Taylor, V., 'Important Hypotheses Reconsidered. I. The Proto-Luke Hypothesis', *Expository Times*, 67, 1966, pp. 12-6.
- Taylor, V., 'Proto-Luke', *Expository Times*, 33, 1922, pp. 250-3.
- Taylor, V., 'The Value of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis', *Expository Times*, 36, 1925, pp. 476-7.
- Taylor, V., *Behind the Third Gospel: A Study of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.
- Taylor, V., *The First Draft of Luke's Gospel*, London: SPCK, London.
- Thomas, S.I., '4 Maccabees', G.A. Yee, H.R. Page Jr., M.J.M. Coombe (eds.), *The Old Testament and Apocrypha*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2014, pp 1107-18,
- Thomas, R.L., and Gundry, S.N., *A Harmony of the Gospels*, New York: HarperOne, 1997.
- Tinsley, E.J., *The Gospel According to Luke*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- Tittle, E.F., *The Gospel According to Luke, Exposition and Application*, New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1951.
- Todorov, T., 'The Origin of Genres,' in Duff, D., (ed.), *Modern Genre Theory* (LCR; New York: Longman, 2000, pp. 193-209.
- Todorov, T., *Genres in Discourse*, (trans.), C. Porter, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Too, Y., *The Rhetoric of Identity in Isocrates: Text, Power, Pedagogy*, Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1995.
- Travis, S., 'Form Criticism' in Marshall, I., (ed.), *New Testament Interpretation*, Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1979.
- Trollope, A., *The Commentaries of Caesar*, Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1870.

- Trotsky, L., *Literature and Revolution*, New York: Russell and Russell, 1957.
- Tully, J., 'Ephorus, Polybius, and τὰ καθόλου γράφειν: Why and How to Read Ephorus and his Role in Greek Historiography without Reference to 'Universal History'', Centre for Hellenic Studies, Harvard University, accessed online 6/5/2015 @ <http://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/5845>.
- Turner, M., *Reading Minds: The Study of English in the Age of Cognitive Science*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Tynyanov, Y., 'The Literary Fact' (trans.), A. Shukman in Tynyanov, Y., *Poetika, istoriya literatury, kino*, Moscow: Nauka, 1977.
- Tyson, J.B., 'The Jewish Public in Luke-Acts', *New Testament Studies*, 30, 4, 1984, pp. 574-83.
- Ulrich, E., *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, HSM 19, Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978.
- Uraguchi, B. 'The Bethany Family', *The Biblical World*, 48, 2, 1916, pp. 101-14.
- Uytanlet, S., *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography*, WUNT, 366, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.
- Van Henten, J.W. *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees*, JSJSup 57, Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Van Henten, J.W., '2 Maccabees as a History of Liberation', in M. Mor, A. Oppenheimer, J. Pastor, D. R. Schwartz, (eds.), *Jews and Gentiles in the Holy Land in the Days of the Second Temple, the Mishnah and the Talmud*, Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2003, pp. 63-86.
- Van Seters, J., 'Creative Imitation in the Hebrew Bible', *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 29, 4, 2000, pp. 395-409.
- Van Seters, J., *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of biblical History*, Winona Lakes: Eisenbrauns, 1997,
- Van Seters, J., *Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus - Numbers*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994.
- Van Unnik, W.C., 'Once more St. Luke's prologue', *Neotestamentica*, 7, 1963, pp. 7-26.
- Varneda, V.I., *The Historical Method of Flavius Josephus*, ALGHJ 19, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986.
- Vazsonyi, N., *Lukács Reads Goethe: From Aestheticism to Stalinism*, Columbia: Camden House, 1997.
- Verheyden, J., (ed.), *The Unity of Luke-Acts. Papers read at the 47th Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense (July 29-31, 1998)*, Louvain: Peeters, 1999.
- Via, E. 'Women in the Gospel of Luke', in King, U. (ed.), *Women in the World's Religions: Past and Present*, New York: Paragon, 1987.
- Von Harnack, A., quoted by P. Stuhlmacher, 'The Pauline Gospel', in Stuhlmacher, P., *Gospel and the Gospels*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991.
- Von Rad, G., *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, (trans.), E. W. Trueman Dicken. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1966.

- Voorwinde, S., 'Luke-Acts: One Story in Two Parts', *Vox Reformata*, Warun Ponds: Reformed Theological College, 2010, pp. 4-32.
- Votaw, C., 'The Gospels and Contemporary Biographies', *American Journal of Theology*, 19, 1, 1915, pp. 45-73.
- Wacholder, B.Z., 'The Letter from Judah Maccabee to Aristobulus. Is 2 Maccabees 1:10b-2:18 Authentic?', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 49, 1978, pp. 89-133.
- Walbank, F.W., 'ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ: A Polybian Experiment', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 58, 1938, pp. 55-68.
- Walbank, F.W., 'Polybius and the Past', in F. Walbank, *Polybius, Rome and the Hellenistic World: Essays and Reflections*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Walbank, F.W., 'History and Tragedy', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 9, 2, 1960, pp. 135-48.
- Walton, J., *Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Development of the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006.
- Wellhausen, J., *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, Berlin: Reimer, 1904
- Wellhausen, J., *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, (trans.), J. Black and A. Menzies, Adams and Charles Black, Edinburgh, 1885.
- Wenham, J.W., 'Large Numbers in the Old Testament', *Tyndale Bulletin*, 18, 1967, pp. 19-53.
- Wesseling, B., 'The Audience of the Ancient Novels', Hoffman, H., (ed), *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*, Vol. 1, Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1988.
- White, H., *Metahistory, The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- Whitters, M., 'Some New Observations about Jewish Festal Letters', *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, 2001, 32.3, pp. 272-88.
- Wikgren, A., 'Wellhausen on the Synoptic Gospels: A Centenary Appraisal', *The Journal of Bible and Religion*, 12, 3, 1944, pp. 174-80.
- Wilder, A., 'Semeia An Experimental Journal for Biblical Criticism: An Introduction,' *Semeia*, 1, 1974, pp. 7-8.
- Williams, D.S., 'Recent Research in 2 Maccabees', *Currents in Biblical Research*, 2, 1, 2003, pp. 69-83.
- Wills, L.M., *The Jewish Novel in the Ancient World*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Windschuttle, K., *The Killing of History*, Paddington: MacLeay Press, 1994.
- Wiseman, T.P., 'Lying Historians: Seven Types of Mendacity', in Gill, C., and Wiseman, T.P., (eds.), *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993.
- Witherington, B., (ed.), *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Witherington, III, B. *John's Wisdom, A Commentary on the Fourth Gospel*, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, 1995.

- Witherington, III, B. *Women and the Genesis of Christianity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990.
- Wood, G.S. 'Novel History', *The New York Review*, June 27, 1991.
- Wood, J.A. 'The Anointing at Bethany and its Significance', *The Expository Times*, 39, 1928, pp. 475-6.
- Woodman, A.J., 'Cicero on Historiography: 'De Oratore'', *The Classical Journal*, 104, 1, 2008, pp. 23-31.
- Woodman, A.J., *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography*, in Gill, C., and Wiseman, T.P., (eds.), *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993.
- Woodman, A.J., *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography: Four Studies*, London: Croom Helm and Portland, 1988.
- Woodman, A.J., 'Theory and practice in ancient historiography', *Bulletin of the Council of University Classics Departments*, 7, 1978, pp. 6-8.
- Wright, B., 'Joining the Club: A Suggestion about Genre in Early Jewish Texts,' *Dead Sea Discoveries*, 17, 3, 2010. pp. 289-314.
- Wright, J.W., 'The Innocence of David in 1 Chronicles 21', *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, 60, 1993, pp. 87-105.
- Wright, N.T. *The New Testament and the People of God*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992.
- Wright, N.T., *Luke for Everyone*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, 2004.
- Xeravits, G., and Zsengellér, J., (eds.), *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology*, SJSJ, 118, Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Yamada, K., 'A Rhetorical History: The Genre of the Acts of the Apostles', in Porter, S.E., and Olbricht, T.H., (eds.), *Rhetoric, Scripture, and Theology: Essays from the 1994 Pretoria Conference*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Yanal, R.J., 'Aristotle's Definition of Poetry', *Nous*, 16, 4, 1982, pp. 499-524.
- Yao, S. 'The Table Fellowship of Jesus with the Marginalized: A Radical Inclusiveness', *Journal of Asian Mission*, 3, 1, 2001, pp. 25-41.
- Zahn, T., *Introduction to the New Testament*, Vol. III, trans. M.W. Jacobus, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1909.
- Zeiger-Simkovich, M., 'Greek Influence on the Composition of 2 Maccabees', *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, 42, 2011, pp. 293-310.
- Zeitlin, S., review of *Les Livres des Maccabees par R.P.F.-M. Abel*, O.P. Paris, J. Gabalda et Cie, 1949, *The Journal of Biblical Literature*, 72, 2, 1953, p. 133.
- Zeitlin, S., *The Second Book of Maccabees*, (trans.), S. Tedesche, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954.
- Zeldin, T., 'Playmates', *London Review of Books*, June 13, 1991, pp. 15-6.
- Zsengellér, J., 'Maccabees and Temple Propaganda', in Xeravits, G., and Zsengellér, J., (eds.), *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology*, SJSJ, 118, Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 181-95.