Mimesis of Characters in the Gospel of Luke in the Light of a Study of Thucydides, Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch

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Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

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CERTIFICATION

Statement of Original Authorship

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ABSTRACT

In this dissertation categories of mimesis are developed to conduct a mimetic analysis of characters portrayed in ancient texts. It applies these categories to characters found in selected passages of the Gospel of Luke. Mimesis or imitation refers to the portrayal of literary characters in ancient texts in a way intended to shape the moral behaviour of the implied audience.

The mimetic model is developed by identifying and testing categories from the writings of Thucydides, Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch. Sensitivity to the categories provides a way to determine whether a writer praises characters or vilifies them. The characters praised are portrayed for emulation, while those vilified are unworthy of emulation.

The categories identified are Plot, Selectivity, Relatability, Illustrative action, *Synkrisis*, Cause-and-effect, Evaluation by internal audience, Evaluative vocabulary, Narrator's guided evaluation, and Stock virtue or vice. These categories form the framework for a mimetic analysis of selected passages in the Gospel of Luke.

The application of the mimetic categories to the Greco-Roman writings and the Gospel of Luke reveals both similarities and differences. For example, the Greco-Roman writers and Luke are similar in their use of significant characters as exempla; they draw from comparable categories to convey mimesis; the way ancient writers used mimesis does not invite the exact replication of the character's actions.

Differences include the absence of an explicit statement in the Gospel of Luke affirming that mimetic characters are relatable to the implied audience, whereas the Greco-Roman writers explicitly state that their literary characters are relatable. Another patent difference concerns the significance of the divine. By acknowledging the presence of the Holy Spirit and the fulfilment of the Holy Scripture, the divine is significant to Luke. The

divine was barely noticeable in the Greco-Roman writers. Unlike the mimetic characters in Greco-Roman writers, Jesus is not a military leader or politician. He is a person of divine origin who accomplishes the plan of God. Their visions of an ideal future differ. While the Greco-Roman authors focus on a better political state, Luke focuses on the accomplishment of the plan of God. Another notable difference is that women are prominent in Luke. The Greco-Roman authors are either silent about women or portray them pejoratively.

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Abbreviations

Classical Journals

AJP — American Journal of Philology
BICS — Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies
CB — The Classical Bulletin
CJ — Classical Journal
CL Ant — Classical Antiquity
CQ — Classical Quarterly
CP — Classical Philology
CW — Classical World
CSCT — Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition
G&R — Greece and Rome
Historia — Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte
HSCP — Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
ICS — Illinois Classical Studies
JHS — Journal of Hellenic Studies
JRS — Journal of Roman Studies
Mnemosyne Suppl. — Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava Supplementum
TAPA — Transactions of the American Philological Association
WGRW — Writings from the Greco-Roman World

Ancient Works

Aem— Aemilis Paullus
Ag. — Agesileus
Ag. Ap. — Against Apion
Alc. — Alcibiades
Alex. — Alexander
Ant. — Jewish Antiquities
Arat. — Aratus
Arist. — Aristides
Cim. — Cimon
Cic. — Cicero
Dom. — Domitianus
Eth. nic. — Nicomachean ethics
Fab. — Fabius
Flam. — Titus Flaminius
Han. — Hannibal
Lys. — Lysander
Luc. — Lucculus
Milt. — Mitiades
Nat. Hist. — Natural History
Od — Odyssey
Opt. gen. — De optimo genere oratorum
Pel. — Pelopidas
Per. — Pericles
Phil. — Philopoemen

Poet. — Poetics
Praec. ger. rei publ. — Praecepta gerendae rei publicae
Prog. — Progymnasmata
Timol. — Timoleon
Timoth. — Timotheus
Ves. — Vespasianus
Vit. Mosis — De vita Mosis
Vit. Apoll. — Vita Apollonnis

Journals associated with Biblical Literature
BHT — Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BibInt — Biblical Interpretation
BN — Biblische Notizen
BSac — Bibliotheca Sacra
BTB — Biblical Theology Bulletin
CBQ — Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CTR — Criswell Theological Review
CurBr — Currents in Biblical Research
CurBs — Current Research: Biblical Studies
CurTM — Currents in Theology and Mission
EstBib — Estudios biblicos
ETL — Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
EvQ — Evangelical Quarterly
ExpTim — Expository Times
GRBS — Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
HTR — Harvard Theological Review
HvTSt — Hervormde teologiese studies
ITQ — Irish Theological Quarterly
JAS — Journal of Asian Studies
JBL — Journal of Biblical Literature
JBQ — Jewish Bible Quarterly
JCSCS — Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies
JECS — Journal of Early Christian Studies
JES — Journal of Ecumenical Studies
JETS — Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JSNT — Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSOT — Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
Neot - Neotestamentica
NovT — Novum Testamentum
RevExp — Review and Expositor
SWJT — Southwestern Journal of Theology
VT — Tijdschrift voor theologie
ZNW — Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der lteren Kirche

Monographs Series
AB — Anchor Bible

ABR — Anchor Bible Reference
ABRL — Anchor Bible Reference Library
BECNT — Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL — Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BibInt — Biblical Interpretation Series
BLS — Bible and Literature Serie
BZABR — Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte
BZNW — Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
EKKNT — Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
FRLANT — Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen
GBS — Guides to Biblical Scholarship
HNT — Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
JSNTSup — Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
LEC — Library of Early Christianity
LNTS — The Library of New Testament Studies
NTAbh — Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NovTSup — Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTL — New Testament Library
NTTS — New Testament Tool and Studies
SANT — Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments
StudNeot — Studia Neotestamentica
SBL — Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS — Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SNTSMS — Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTSU — Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt
WUANT — Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT — Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Abbreviation of Reference Works
BDAG — Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.
DJG — Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels: A Compendium of Contemporary Biblical Scholarship
LSJ —A Greek-English Lexicon.
TDNT — Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.

1 Introduction

In this thesis categories of mimesis are developed to enable a mimetic reading of selected passages in the Gospel of Luke.[1] Mimesis in this work refers to the mimesis of

[1] The history of scholarship in the Gospel of Luke is diverse, offering multiple readings of the Gospel. For example, some monographs emphasise a Christological reading of the Gospel of Luke, focussing on the identity of Jesus. Examples of such works include Nina Henrichs-Tarasenkova, *Luke's Christology of Divine Identity*, vol. 542, LNTS (New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2016); H. Douglas Buckwalter, *The Character and Purpose of Luke's Christology*, SNTSMS 89, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Mark L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Pr, 1995). Others have applied Wolfgang Iser's reader's response understanding to analyse some sections of the Gospel of Luke. The following are two examples of studies focussed on reader responses: John A. Darr, *Herod the Fox: Audience Criticism and Lukan Characterisation* JSNTSup 163, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); Thomas E. Phillips, "Reading Issues of Wealth and Poverty in the Third Gospel and Acts" (PhD diss., Southern Methodist University, 1998). Some scholars have analysed whether the portrayal of women in the Gospel of Luke makes this Gospel a liberating text for women. Representatives of those are, Greg W. Forbes and Scott D Harrower, *Raised From Obscurity: A Narratival and Theological Study of the Characterization of Women in Luke-Acts* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2015); F. Scott Spencer, *Salty Wives, Spirited Mothers, and Savvy widows: Capable Women of Purpose and Persistence in Luke's Gospel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012); Amy-Jill Levine and Marianne Blickenstaff, *A Feminist Companion to Luke*, Feminist Companion to the New Testament and Early Christian Writings 3, (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002); Barbara E. Reid, *Choosing the Better Part? Women in the Gospel of Luke* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1996); Turid K. Seim, "The Gospel of Luke," in *Searching the Scriptures: A Feminist Commentary*, ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (London: SCM, 1994). Some have read the Gospel of Luke from an apologetic point of view. See Alexandru Neagoe, *The Trial of the Gospel: An Apologetic Reading of Luke's Trial Narratives*, SNTSMS 116, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Philip F. Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology*, ed. G. N. Stanton, SNTSMS 57, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Gregory E. Sterling, *Shaping the Past to Define the Present: Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2023). F. W. Horn, "Die Haltung des Lukas zum Römischen Staat im Evangelium und in der Apostelgeschichte," in *The Unity of Luke-Acts*, ed. Joseph Verheyden (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), 203–24. Many monographs have been dedicated to the question of source. For example, Shellard takes a unique approach in which she sees how Luke used all three Gospels in writing his work. Barbara Shellard, *New Light on Luke: Its Purpose, Sources and Literary Context*, JSNTSup 215, (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002); Thomas J. Mosbø, *Luke the Composer: Exploring the Evangelist's Use of Matthew* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2017). Some scholars have studied the theme of conflict in the Gospel of Luke. For example, Kingsbury sees the focus of the Gospel of Luke as the conflict between Jesus and his opponents (earthly opponents or Satan). Jack D. Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1991). Another proponent of conflict is Susan Garrett. She observes the conflict between Satan, his agents and their failed struggle with Jesus. Susan R. Garrett, *The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1989). Others have looked at the theology of the Gospel of Luke. Charles Talbert has noted that since the middle of last century, there has been a shift from historicity of the Gospel of Luke to its Theology. Charles H. Talbert, "Luke-Acts," in *The New Testament and Its Modern Interpreters*, ed. Eldon J. Epp and Gordon W. MacRae (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989), 297–300; Joel Green investigates how Luke portrays theology through his narrative. Joel B. Green, *Luke as Narrative Theologian: Texts and Topics*, WUNT 423, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 56. Some monographs have focussed on Luke's

character defined by Aristotle as δὲ ἦθος μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον ὃ δηλοῖ τὴν προαίρεσιω, ('Character is that which reveals of moral choices' — Aristotle *Poet*. 1450b). Thus, mimesis refers to both the emulation of or disassociation from characters for the purpose of moral improvement through the study of characters (moral didacticism).[2] After developing categories related to mimesis from selected writings of the Greco-Roman world, the findings will be applied to selected narratives in the Gospel of Luke that portray subjects as characters.

1.1 Mimesis as a Significant Aspect of Greco-Roman Writings and Reflected in the Gospel of Luke

That mimesis was used extensively in the Greco-Roman world raises the strong likelihood that mimesis is integral to the Gospel of Luke. As Chris Shea asserts, people in antiquity 'institutionalized imitation'.[3] The importance of past models as *exempla* of

understanding of salvation. Hagene focusses on the means of salvation in Luke, while Mittmann-Richert emphasises the vicarious atoning sacrificial death of Jesus. See Sylvia Hagene, *Zeiten der Wiederherstellung. Studien zur Lukanischen Geschichtstheologie als Soteriologie*, NTAbh 42, (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2003); Ulrike Mittmann-Richert, *Der Sühnetod des Gottesknechts: Jesaja 53 im Lukasevangelium*, WUNT 2/220, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008). In the past two decades there have been significant amount of work written about the genre of the Gospel of Luke. The two main taxonomies used to classify the Gospel of Luke recently have been history or biography. See Charles H. Talbert, *What is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1977); David E. Aune, "The Problem of the Genre of the Gospels," in *Gospel Perspective*, ed. R. T. France and David Wenham (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), 9–60; Philip L. Shuler, *A Genre for the Gospels: The Biographical Character of Matthew* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1982); Richard Burridge, *What are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004). Clare Rothschild has offered a summary of the historical critical method and applied it to the Luke 20:45–21:4. In her summary she has offered a brief explanation of textual criticism, source criticism, form criticism, redaction criticism, rhetorical criticism, social-scientific criticism, and archaeology. Clare K. Rothschild, "Historical Criticism," in *Methods for Luke*, ed. Joel B. Green (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 9–41.

[2] This view of mimesis is distinct from the mimetic properties of narrative literature, in which a narrative is understood to be a mirror of real life. Chris Shea, "Imitating Imitation: Virgil, Homer, and Acts 10:1–11:18," in *Ancient Fiction: The Matrix of Early Christianity and Jewish Narrative*, ed. Jo-Ann A. Brant, Charles W. Hedrick, and Chris Shea (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2005), 37.

[3] Shea, "Imitating," 37.

imitation in the ancient world should be underestimated.[4] This is supported by Aristotle, who submits that mimesis is natural to humans and differentiates them from animals (Aristotle, *Poet*. 1448b).[5] Because of this prevalence of mimesis, classical writers across many genres encouraged mimesis of characters in their works. Aristotle applied mimesis mainly to fictional characters, as he estimated that poetics offered a clearer model than history for mimesis.[6] Thucydides and Polybius applied mimesis to history and presented historical characters for mimetic and didactic purposes.[7] Plutarch, the author of the biography of famous statesmen and military leaders, used in his biographical narratives historical characters as models for imitation.[8]

Several New Testament writers have also attested to the importance of imitation. Some New Testament verses directly called for imitation by using the words like μιμητής (1 Cor 4:16; 11:1; Eph 5:1; 1 Thes 1:6; 2:14), the verb μιμέομαι (2 Thes 3:7; 3:9) or the compound form συμμιμητής (Phil 3:17). The words μιμητής (Hebrews 6:12) and μιμέομαι (Heb 13:7; 3 John 11) are used to create direct calls for imitation. The word τύπον or τύπος is also used in the New Testament to urge readers to follow a good example or disassociate

[4] Jerry L. Sumney, "Imitation," in *DLNT*, ed. Ralph P. Martin and Peter H Davids (Downers Grove, Il: InterVarsity, 1997), 533. Although this study concentrates on mimesis in the Greco-Roman writers, mimesis is not limited to the Greco Roman world. There are examples of mimesis throughout history, such as the fourteenth century movement, the *Devotio Moderna*. See Mathilde van Dijk, "Disciples of the Deep Desert: Windesheim Biographers and the Imitation of the Desert Fathers," *Church History and Religious Culture* 86, no. 1–4 (2006): 257–80.

[5] See also John T. Kirby, "Mimesis and Diegesis: Foundations of Aesthetic Theory in Plato and Aristotle," *Helios* 18, no. 2 (1991): 116.

[6] Silvia Carli, "Poetry is more Philosophical than History: Aristorle on Mimêsis and Form," *The Review of Metaphysics* 64, no. 2 (2010): 305. Stephen Halliwell, *The Aesthetics of Mimesis: Ancient Texts and Modern Problems* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 166.

[7] Todd C. Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins: Stephen and the Hellenists in Lukan Apologetic Historiography*, Emory Studies in Early Christianity 10, (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 147–48.

[8] Tomas Hägg, *The Art of Biography in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 62. Hägg commenting on Plutarch's selectivity in the *Life of Cicero* says that Plutarch's 'object is obviously to present a model governor for imitation.'

from bad ones.[9] Paul called his readers to imitate him (1 Thess 1:5–7; 1 Cor 4:16; 1 Cor 11:1; Phil 3:18; Phil 4:9). In Hebrews 11, 2 Peter 2:6 and 1 Corinthians 10:2–11 the imitation of past characters (heroes) of the Hebrew Bible is encouraged.

Such was the milieu in which Luke wrote. Mimesis was widely prevalent within Greco-Roman literature, and the New Testament which suggests that there is a reasonable likelihood that a mimetic reading of the Gospel of Luke would prove fruitful.[10]

This study is justified because a mimetic study of moral didacticism in the Gospel of Luke has not yet been fully explored despite its importance in both the Greco-Roman world and the New Testament. This lacuna in the Lukan scholarly tradition suggests that a mimetic approach may well contribute to the understanding of this Gospel.

1.2 Preliminary Definition of Mimesis of Character

A more nuanced understanding of the term mimesis will emerge as its appearance in the Greco-Roman literature is explored but given that this study is aimed at developing a mimetic reading of Luke, it would be helpful to offer a preliminary meaning of mimesis.

A useful starting point is Aristotle's understanding of mimesis.[11] Aristotle distinguishes between three aspects related to mimesis: the medium, the objects and the manner. The medium could be music, art, or narrative. The manner is through impersonation, direct discourse and drama.[12] Aristotle says,

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[9] Phil 3:17; 1 Thess 1:7; 2 Thess 3:9; 1 Tim 4:12; Titus 2;7; 1 Cor 10:6

[10] The name, "Luke," is used to follow conventional occurrence in scholarly literature. The use of the masculine pronoun for the implied author of Luke in this thesis is in line with the masculine use of παρακολουθέω in Luke 1:3.

[11] It is difficult to find a precise definition for Aristotle's understanding of mimesis as he does not define the term anywhere in *Poetics*. So, Paul Woodruff, "Aristotle on Mimēsis," in *Essays on Aristotle's Poetics*, ed. Amélie O. Rorty (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 74.

[12] Woodruff, "Aristotle on Mimēsis," 78–83.

> Ἐπεὶ δὲ μιμοῦνται οἱ μιμούμενοι πράττοντας, ἀνάγκη δὲ τούτους ἢ σπουδαίους ἢ φαύλους εἶναι (τὰ γὰρ ἤθη σχεδὸν ἀεὶ τούτοις ἀκολουθεῖ μόνοις, κακίᾳ γὰρ καὶ ἀρετῇ τὰ ἤθη διαφέρουσι πάντες), ἤτοι βελτίωας ἢ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἢ χείρωας ἢ καὶ τοιούτους.
>
> Since mimetic artists represent people in action, and the latter should be either elevated or based (for characters almost always align with just these types, as it is through vice and virtue that the characters of all men vary), they can represent people better than our normal level, worse than it, or much the same (Aristotle, *Poet*. 1448a2–5).[13]

For Aristotle mimesis is best portrayed through people in action, and since their chief object is to portray virtue and vice, they are presented as types of morally good or bad characters. A mimetic reading of the Gospel of Luke recognises that the medium of mimesis is a narrative, and the objects of study are the literary characters found therein. The main manner by which the Gospel of Luke would be communicated to the implied readers is by oral presentation.[14] The Gospel of Luke comes to today's readers mainly through the literary text.

There are two aspects to mimesis of characters. One is emulation and the other is disassociation. Mimesis of character is a generic term that refers to people customising their current ethical and moral actions by imitating or disassociating from models of the past. In this dissertation, a*phormē* refers to the stoic sense meaning disassociation or repulsion from a character (individual or corporate), especially when that character is portrayed as

[13] Unless otherwise stated, the primary sources cited from Greco-Roman literature uses the text of the Loeb Classical Library. Likewise, unless otherwise stated, the translations of the classical texts are provided by the Loeb Classical Library. In addition, the New Testament text will be accessible through the Greek New Testament, NA28. When quoting the Bible in this work, unless stated otherwise, the English translation will be taken from the NRSV.

[14] Harris's works demonstrate a low literacy in the 1st-century Roman world. By his estimation less than 10% of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire could read. In the western provinces of the empire, less than 5% were literate. See William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 22, 272,59. Following Harris' insights, Johnson's assertion that the early Christians were more prone to hear an oral performance of the Gospels is pertinent. Lee A. Johnson, "Oral Performance of the Synoptics," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Synoptic Gospels*, ed. Ahearne-Kroll Stephen P. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 119–35.

displaying bad morals. One of the meaning of the word *aphormē* is to express aversion or repulsion; it is however not a unique use of the term.[15]

1.3 Limitation of Thesis

Any discussion outlining categories of mimesis is a step in advancing the understanding of mimesis as an interpretive tool for understanding the characterisation of characters in Luke's Gospel. It recognises that mimesis is a multifaceted discussion, and it only seeks to add to the conversation of mimesis of selected literary characters. This study also posits that mimesis is one of the possible readings of the Gospel of Luke due to its common prevalence in ancient literature.

1.4 A Succinct Overview of the Progression of this Thesis Leading to a Mimetic Reading of Luke

This study aims to identify categories relating to mimesis in the writings of Thucydides, Nepos, and Plutarch, and apply those to the Gospel of Luke. This study achieves its aim through eleven chapters. After the introductory chapter, chapter two reviews representative scholarly works (both Biblical and non-biblical literature) that explore the concept of mimesis. This chapter reviews their approach to mimesis and draws some distinctions with the approach of this dissertation. The review of the literature makes a case for a mimetic reading of the Gospel of Luke. Chapter three develops a methodology for the discovery of categories of mimesis. Chapters four to seven observe how three ancient writers (Plutarch, Cornelius Nepos, and Thucydides) encourage mimesis or *aphormē* of characters. Those chapters establish categories used by ancient writers to praise or blame

[15] Liddell and Scott and *TDNT* reference one of the possible meaning of *aphormē* aversion or repulsion. See Bertram, "ἀφορμή," in *TDNT*, ed. Kittel (Grand Rapids, MI: Eedermans, 1964), 1, 472–74. "Ἀφορμή," *L&S*, 292.

their characters. These categories are used by the ancient authors in the process of a mimetic analysis. Chapter eight to ten apply these findings to the Gospel of Luke, uncovering Luke's strategy for mimesis. This dissertation contributes to Lukan scholarship by providing categories of mimesis that enable a mimetic reading of characters in Lukan narratives.

2 Literature Review

This chapter consists of a review of the literature that forms a scholarly background to the study of mimesis and combines the analysis of classical literature and biblical scholarship. This examination of mimesis among some of the prominent Biblical and Greco/Roman scholars will determine the contribution of this work to the matter of imitation of literary characters.

2.1 Study of Mimesis by Biblical Scholars: Identifying the Significance of Mimesis of Character in Luke

There have been two distinct approaches to mimesis in Gospel studies,[16] known respectively as literary mimesis and narrative virtue mimesis. Literary mimesis occurs when

[16] Hans Dieter Betz, "Nachfolge und Nachahmung Jesu Christi im Neuen Testament," *BHT* 37 (1967); Anselm Schulz, *Nachfolgen und Nachahmen: Studien über das Verhaltnis der Neutestamentlichen Jiingerschaft zur Urchristlichen Vorbildethik*, SANT 6, (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1962); Ernest John Tinsley, *Imitation of God in Christ: An Essay on the Biblical Basis of Christian Spirituality* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1960).
Distinct from mimesis in the Gospels, some studies on mimesis in the New Testament focus on the writings of Paul. This focus may be due to the presence of imitation in Paul's writing or because of the language of imitation used in Pauline epistles such as μιμέομαι (1 Cor 4:16, 11:1; Phil 3:17; 1Thess 1:6; 2:14). Concerning the presence of imitation in Paul's writing see Jason B. Hood, *Imitating God in Christ* (Downers Grove, Il: InterVarsity Press, 2013), 9; Philippe Nicolet, "Le Concept D'imitation de L'Apôtre dans la Correspondance Paulienne," in *Paul, une Théologie en Construction*, ed. Andreas D'ettwiler, Jean-Daniel Kaestli, and Daniel Marguerat (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2004). There are three main trends in mimesis in Pauline epistles. The first focuses on mimesis as an expression of discipleship in Pauline's writings. Some representatives are L Belleville, "'Imitate Me, Just as I Imitate Christ': Discipleship in Corinthians Correspondence," in *Patterns of Discipleship in the New Testament*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 120–43; Michael Martin, ""Example" and "Imitation" in the Thessalonian Correspondence," *SWJT* 42, no. 1 (1999); The second but less popular view of mimesis sees it from the perspective of power. It is argued that Paul, as the model of imitation, processes an asymmetrical authority because imitation implies the acknowledgement of the superior power of the model. A representative of that view is Elizabeth A. Castelli, *Imitating Paul: A Discourse on Power* (Louisville, KY: Westminister John Knox, 1991). A third view of mimesis comes from a pedagogical

an ancient author's composition imitates the style or form of other older writers. Narrative virtue mimesis entails ancient writers encouraging their implied readers to imitate the virtues of characters found in their narrative works. In the following section, some of the most prominent proponents of mimesis in the Gospels are examined.

2.1.1 Biblical Scholars Investigating Literary Mimesis

This section examines Biblical authors who have investigated and articulated the concept of literary mimesis. Literary mimesis refers to the practice, observable in Greco-Roman authors, for Gospel writers to model their writings on older literary traditions. Octavian Baban, Joel Watts and Dennis Macdonald approach mimesis from a literary perspective. For Baban, older Greco-Roman books are like stylistic mentors, allowing newer writers to imitate their style. For Watts and Macdonald, mimesis arises from a crisis and shares an intertextual relationship with selected writings.

In his book, Baban attempts to 'understand Luke's theology of journeying in relation to his literary style.'[17] Baban's view of mimesis is that writers influence each other over time.[18] Baban shows that Luke imitates other Hellenistic novels by meeting their literary expectations. For example, he illustrates how Luke, like Theopompus, Phylarchus, Theophorus and Duris, follows Aristotle's mimesis by adopting his four main elements of the dramatic plot: reversal, recognition, suffering and character.[19] He expands his view of mimesis by saying that it is not merely '…imitation of content and style' but also 'cultural

perspective, in which the readers shape their character based on the pattern of the model. See Dustin Watson Ellington, "Imitating Paul's Relationship to the Gospel: 1 Corinthians 8.1–11.1," *JSNT* 33, no. 3 (2011); Robert L. Plummer, "Imitation of Paul and the Church's Missionary Role in 1 Corinthians," *JETS* 44, no. 2 (2001).

[17] Baban, *Encounters*, 1.

[18] Octavian D. Baban, *On the Road Encounters in Luke-Acts: Hellenistic Mimesis and Luke's Theology of the Way* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006), 75.

[19] Baban, *Encounters*, 104.

contextualization'.[20] As such, the reason Luke includes the journey stories — the Emmaus road encounter (Luke 24:13–35), Philip's experience with the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:26–40) and Saul's experience on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:1–31) — is because it reflects Aristotelian requirements.[21] Baban points out that since Luke-Acts is a Hellenistic document, it follows Hellenistic literary norms by imitating the literary past of the ancient Greek world. The journey motif in Luke-Acts exemplifies the imitation of the Hellenistic literary norms.

In his book, *Mimetic Criticism and the Gospel of Mark*, Joel Watts seeks to identify the intertextual connections between Mark and other texts without falling into the trap of parallelomania.[22] He defines mimesis as 'the purposed use of intertextuality and allusions employed by ancient writers to fashion a new reality out of the old through imitation, representation or creative emulation.'[23] From Watts' perspective, mimetic criticism is relevant only when a text arises against the backdrop of a crisis.[24] Watts identifies the crisis as the appearance of two messiahs, Vespasian and Simon bar Giora. The Gospel of Mark was written against the backdrop of the Jewish wars and the theological crisis caused by the ascension of Vespasian to power and his declaring himself to be the Jewish Messiah.[25] Simon bar Giora, after the death of Nero, led the counter-revolution against Rome. He acted in ways that met messianic expectations.[26] Jesus appropriated the titles of the Jewish Messiah for himself. Watts looks at mimesis from the perspective of the imitation of prior

[20] Baban, *Encounters*, 19.

[21] Baban, *Encounters*, 194

[22] Parallelomania was a term coined by Samuel Sandmel, cautioning New Testament scholars against the exaggeration of parallels. Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81, no. 1 (1962); Joel L. Watts, *Mimetic Criticism and the Gospel of Mark: An Introduction and Commentary* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013), 2.

[23] Watts, *Mimetic*, 30. Intertextuality for Watts is borrowing pre-existing patterns.

[24] Watts, *Mimetic*, 2, 7, 35 m. 68, 112–13.

[25] Watts, *Mimetic*, 105–52.

[26] Watts, *Mimetic*, 153–94.

literary works through intertextuality to rewrite the history of Jesus as a response to a present situation.[27]

Dennis MacDonald has written two significant monographs about mimesis.[28] Like the previous authors, MacDonald's understanding of mimesis revolves around an author's use of an earlier text as a model.[29] In his opinion, an author may imitate 'the genre, the characterisation, the type-scene, poetic conventions, distinctive motifs' of an earlier work.[30] MacDonald enumerates six criteria that indicate literary mimesis.[31] MacDonald argues that the authors of the Gospel of Mark and Luke-Acts used Homer as a model in their literary composition.[32]

Baban, Watts and MacDonald all view mimesis as imitating the style, structure, or theme of an older text. Mimesis, as the imitation of available texts, explores an important concept in ancient literature. However, the work of Baban, Watts and MacDonald on mimesis differs from the focus adopted in this dissertation, which is virtue mimesis. Their writings do not explore the didactic and mimetic role of the literary characters, whereby ancient literature provides models for imitation that led to the improvement of moral life. However, essential to a study in mimesis in the Gospel of Luke, their respective work

[27] Watts, *Mimetic*, 1, 11.

[28] Dennis R. MacDonald, *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000); Dennis R. MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer? Four Cases from the Acts of the Apostles* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003).

[29] MacDonald, *Imitate*, 2.

[30] MacDonald, *Homeric*, 5.

[31] Those six criteria are: physical distribution and popularity; analogy; density; relative sequence; distinctive traits; strategic differences. MacDonald, *Imitate*, 2–6.

[32] In *Homeric* MacDonald makes a case for Mark's imitation of Homeric epics, while in *Imitate* MacDonald demonstrates how Luke imitates the Homeric epic.

identifies the Gospel Luke as following the Hellenistic style. Thus, Baban, Watts, and MacDonald places the Gospel of Luke within the Greco-Roman literary milieu.

2.1.2 Biblical Scholars Investigating Narrative Virtue Mimesis

This section examines authors who have investigated and articulated the concept of virtue mimesis. Virtue mimesis is described as the improvement of a person through the emulation of a character in the text. Scholars take three primary approaches to virtue mimesis. Some have approached virtue mimesis from the perspective of imitating God or his representative. A second group of scholars view mimesis from the perspective of martyrdom. Others have approached mimesis from the basis of the genre of the literature.

2.1.2.1 Biblical Scholars' Theological Perspectives of Mimesis (Imitating God or his representative)

Cornelis Bennema advocates mimesis whereby the imitation of Christ by humans finds correspondence in the imitation of God by Christ.[33] His monograph, *Mimesis in the Johannine Literature,* explores the link between mimesis and ethics in the writings of the New Testament attributed to John.[34] Bennema defines mimesis as emulation of a model's activity or state to become like that person. He posits that the actions of Jesus are paradigmatic because of the Christ-God mimesis. Bennema views the Christ-God mimesis as Christ's imitating the activity of God based on Jesus' access to the Father.[35] Therefore, as humans imitate Jesus, they are imitating God.

[33] Cornelis Bennema, "Mimesis in John 13: Cloning or Creative Articulation," *NovT* 56, no. 3 (2014): 261–74; Cornelis Bennema, "The Character of John in the Fourth Gospel," *JETS* 52, no. 2 (2009): 283.

[34] Cornelis Bennema, *Mimesis in the Johannine Literature: A Study in Johannine Ethics*, LNTS 498, (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 25.

[35] Bennema, *Mimesis*, 67–78.

Bennema cites the prevalence of the mimetic language in the corpus of Johannine literature as the rationale for a mimetic reading of the Johannine literature.[36] He identifies forty-four instances of mimetic language in the Johannine texts.[37] He subsequently argues that the Jesus-God paradigm is a pattern for Jesus-disciples mimesis. In the foot-washing narrative of the Gospel of John, he finds an example where Jesus offers loving service, and the disciples are encouraged to emulate Jesus through acts of loving service to others, rather than to replicate the act of foot-washing.[38]

In "A Theory of Character," Bennema notes that biblical narrative criticism lacks a theory of character.[39] In the light of his understanding of the portrayal of characters in literature, Bennema applies his theory to characters in the Gospel of John, such as Jesus, Peter, Pilate, Judas, the Samaritan woman and the man born blind. Bennema acknowledges the mimetic aspects of characters when he affirms that characters in ancient writings are models of 'behaviour to imitate and avoid'.[40]

Agan's hermeneutics of imitation is drawn from the *Didascalia Apostolorum.*[41] That hermeneutical background allows Agan three significant variations from Bennema. First, he encourages the imitation of Jesus without linking it to the imitation of God. Second, his understanding of imitation includes the imitation of morals and patterns in the ministry of

[36] Bennema, *Mimesis*, 30–31.

[37] Bennema, *Mimesis*, 39–63.

[38] Bennema, "John 13," 262.

[39] Cornelis Bennema, "A Theory of Character in the Fourth Gospel with Reference to Ancient and Modern Literature," *BibInt* 17, no. 4 (2009): 376.

[40] Bennema, "A Theory of Character," 388.

[41] The *Didascalia Apostolorum* is 'a third-century "church order" primarily addressing the duties of bishops and deacons.' See Clarence DeWitt, "Hermeneutics of imitation: The Imitation of Christ in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*," *Presbyterion* 37, no. 1 (2011): 33; Jimmy Agan III, "Toward a Hermeneutic of Imitation: The Imitation of Christ in the Didascalia Apostolorum," *Presbyterion* 37, no. 1 (2011): 33.

Christ. Third, he does not limit moral imitation to Jesus only but observes disassociation from negative characters such as Korah, Dathan, Abiram and their followers.[42]

The *Didascalia* sees Jesus' actions on earth as a 'hermeneutical precedent,' informing readers how to imitate Jesus. However, it does not propose exact actions but seeks to see correspondence. For example, Christian martyrs imitate Christ's self-denial. The *Didascalia's* proposal for imitation covers four areas: moral, ministerial, procedural and correspondence.[43] At the end of his article, Jimmy Agan III outlines four hermeneutical considerations for imitation. They are: (i) a hermeneutics of imitation should come from the Biblical text; (ii) it should be inductive and not deductive; (iii) that the imitation of Christ should have broader applications instead of a narrower range; (iv) the hermeneutics of imitation should be outlined in full recognition of the Christological and soteriological significance of the ministry of Christ. The person or work of Christ should not be devalued.[44]

The two approaches recognise that mimesis is linked to virtue and that Christ is the object of imitation. They also recognise that imitation encourages moral improvement. Nevertheless, they contain significant differences. Bennema focuses on Johannine literature, and Agan focuses on the *Didascalia*. Bennema's hermeneutical framework for mimesis is the God-Christ mimesis, and Agan's hermeneutical framework is the *Didascali*. The position taken herein differs from Bennema in taking the characterisation of subjects by the authors as the basis for mimesis. The categories of mimesis as they appear in the selected Greco-Roman literature are observed and the relevant categories are applied to the Gospel of Luke. Furthermore, unlike Bennema, this mimesis is not seen primarily as a reflection of Christ-God

[42] Agan III, "Imitation," 31–34.

[43] Agan III, "Imitation," 44.

[44] Agan III, "Imitation," 45–48.

mimesis. Rather, it envisages that the author of the Gospel of Luke emerged from a literary milieu and characterised some subjects so that they could be read mimetically by the implied audience.

2.1.2.2 Studies Noting the Relationship of Mimesis and Martyrdom

This scope of mimesis employs aspects of martyrdom such as trials, imprisonment and death as an imitation of Jesus' trials and death. Candida R. Moss is one of those who explore mimesis from the perspective of a Christian's sacrifices through martyrdom.[45] She explores how martyrdom offers a hermeneutical perspective on the early Christians' interpretation of the death of Jesus and the reception of the gospel. Martyrdom or persecution was interpreted as a Christological imitation. It was part of the Christly moral virtues practised by the early Christians.[46] Moss focuses on instances of martyrdom as a mimetic understanding of Christ's suffering in the earliest Christian literature, including both canonical and non-canonical works such as 1 Clement's letter to the Corinthians and letters of Ignatius of Antioch. She finds in martyrdom an expanding mimetic economy whereby Jesus' suffering serves as a model to the first Christians, and their martyrdom serves as a model to other Christians.[47]

Anders Klostergaard Petersen builds on Candida Moss's work. In a variation on Moss, he sees in martyrdom the imitation of the gods and not only the imitation of Christ's suffering. He situates the imitation of the gods in utopian religions. He posits that the

[45] Candida R. Moss, *The Other Christs: Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian Ideologies of Martyrdom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[46] Moss, *Other Christs*, 19–20.

[47] Moss, *Other Christs*, 102–11.

primary purpose of imitation is to reduce the ontological gap between God and humans so that humans can attain a higher and exalted existence.[48]

Like Moss, Petersen surveys early Christian literature. Although not quite as extensive as Moss's, his survey leads him to observe that Peter and Polycarp are literary characters encouraging the imitation of Christ through martyrdom.[49] Moss argued that the martyrdom of the early Christians did not happen in a vacuum, finding similarities with Seneca and Epictetus, who believed that humans could become like gods as long as they imitated them. They argued that divinisation occurred through the imitation of the gods. In dealing with the early Christian movement, Petersen acknowledges the role that literary characters such as Polycarp or Peter have played in reinforcing the idea of imitating gods through martyrdom, which he views as an extreme form of imitation.

Both Moss and Petersen link martyrdom with mimesis, but the end goal of martyrdom is different for each author. For Moss, martyrdom is an imitation of Christ's suffering. For Petersen, martyrdom is a process of divinisation. Their appreciation of mimesis in the early Christian movement is valuable, but this study offers a different approach to mimesis, departing from the perspectives of Moss and Petersen. It is posited that martyrdom is not the only way the early Christian writers envisaged mimesis. The exploration of the mimesis of literary characters will reveal a mimetic understanding of selected literary characters in the Gospel of Luke.

[48] Anders Klostergaard Petersen, "Attaining Divine Perfection through Different Forms of Imitation," *Numen* 60, no. 1 (2013): 7, 9–10.

[49] Petersen, "Perfection," 8.

2.1.2.3 Studies on Mimesis of Hero based on Biographical Genre (βίος)

Although some works, such as those of Shuler and Talbert, predate the work of Richard Burridge, he is the leading proponent of mimesis from the biographical genre. His work, *What are the Gospels?,* laid the groundwork for the study of mimesis through the perspective of the literary genre. Burridge compares the generic features of the Gospels and ancient biography (βίος), such as length, style, atmosphere, purpose, and external structure. He then compares the percentage of verbs with the hero as the subject and the verbs in the hero's speech or quotations between the Graeco-Roman (βίος) and the Gospels.[50] He finds similarities in verb count between (βίος) in early antiquity, antiquity, late antiquity and the Gospels. For Burridge, '…the Gospels exhibit several features found in philosophical βίοι.' Thus, the Gospels are (βίοι Ἰησοῦ) "biographies of Jesus" encouraging the readers to imitate its hero, namely Jesus.[51]

In *Imitating Christ*, Burridge applies the conclusion of his former book and establishes that Christian ethics should be based on Jesus' deeds.[52] According to his perspective, the basis for mimesis is the genre of the Gospel. He identifies the genre of the Gospels as biography.[53] Given that ancient biographies, through the depiction of a character's moral virtues, motivate readers to imitate a mimetic hero, the Gospel likewise encourages the imitation of Jesus.[54] His analogy in which he compares the Gospel to a

[50] Burridge was not the first to identify the Gospels as biography, Talbert having identified them as biography before him. However, Burridge goes further than Talbert in recognising that the genre of the Gospel leads to mimesis. Charles H. Talbert, "Once Again: Gospel Genre," *Semeia* 43 (1988). Talbert, *Gospel?*, 15–17.

[51] Burridge, *Gospels?*, 247.

[52] Richard Burridge, *Imitating Jesus: An Inclusive Approach to New Testament Ethics* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 32.

[53] Burridge, *Imitating*, 23–25.

[54] For Burridge, ancient biography reveals mainly things about the hero's character without revealing much about the other characters. Burridge, *Imitating*, 61.

stained-glass window offers an insight into his methodology for mimesis and why he rejects the Gospel as a depiction of the reader or the historical Jesus.[55] For him, just as a stained-glass window unveils the artist's depiction within a limited space, the Gospel depicts a limited perspective on the hero.[56] The limited revelation of the hero by a Gospel writer is aimed at the mimesis of Jesus. Burridge's construction of ethics is based on the deeds, words, life, and death of Jesus.[57] Burridge's application of ethics to the South African apartheid policy as a test case is commendable as it supports a connection between today's disciples and the application of Jesus' deeds today.

Before Burridge, Shuler proposes mimesis based on the genre of the Gospel. Like Burridge, he compares the Gospels with ancient Greco-Roman biographies before concluding that the Gospels are ancient biographies. However, unlike Burridge, he identifies the Gospels as laudatory biography and identifies the Gospel of Matthew as a biographical encomium.[58] Like Burridge, he also contends that the genre of the Gospel identifies Jesus' greatness and merit, thus placing Jesus as a model for mimesis.[59]

Following Burridge, David Capes considers the Gospel genre to be ancient biography. Like Burridge, he finds in Greco-Roman and Jewish literature models presented for imitation. He concludes that for the Christian Gospel, the model for imitation is Jesus.[60] Support for mimesis in the Gospels is the constant call to follow Jesus. He also finds Christian literature outside the

[55] Burridge, *Imitating*, 24–25.

[56] Burridge, *Imitating*, 25.

[57] Burridge, *Imitating*, 32.

[58] Shuler, *Genre*, 24, 36–45, 58–87, 116.

[59] Shuler, *Genre*, 45, 109.

[60] David B. Capes, "Imitatio Christi and the Gospel Genre," *BBR* 13, no. 1 (2003): 1–19.

canonical Gospels encouraging the imitation of Jesus. The behaviour of early Christians also demonstrated mimesis as they imitated Jesus, especially his martyrdom.[61]

The works of Burridge, Shuler and Capes strengthen the case made in this study. Their research not only links the Gospel with the Greco-Roman literature but also establishes the prevalence of mimesis of a main hero in ancient biographical writings and the canonical Gospels. Their understanding of imitation of the heroes as communicated only through words and deeds matches the concept of characterisation in the Greco-Roman literature. Their work differs from the view taken herein as they justify mimesis based on the genre of the Gospel. Mimesis was not limited only to the biographical genre. Mimesis is present in history, epic literature and fiction. Their focus on the hero is commendable, but in this study it is posited that not only is the hero worth imitating, but other characters can also have mimetic properties. It is acknowledged that there is mimesis from a genre-based perspective. However, mimesis is approached through characterisation. The contribution of these writers in identifying categories for mimesis is also recognised. This study will continue to explore additional categories that enable construction of a mimetic character.

2.1.2.4 Synopsis of New Testament Scholars on Mimesis

Four positions have emerged from the foregoing exploration of mimesis in the New Testament. The first position views mimesis from a literary perspective, where a written work imitates an older work. Baban, Watts, and Macdonald are examples of notable scholars who adopt this position. The second position views mimesis as being the imitation of God or Christ. Within this position, Bennema and Agan have different foci in their approach to mimesis. Bennema reads mimesis through the implicit language of the

[61] Capes, "Imitatio," 3, 16–20.

Johannine literature, while Agan reads mimesis through the *Didascali*. Adopting a third position, Moss and Petersen look at martyrdom as a mimetic expression. The fourth position identified in this literature review is mimesis as the result of genre. The leading proponents of this idea are Burridge, Schuler and Capes. Burridge's work strengthens older work by Shuler in developing the concept of mimesis based on genre. Burridge is followed by Cape, who asserts that the Gospel genre encourages the mimesis of a hero. This current work builds on the work of Richard Burridge and seeks to identify categories of mimetic constructs and process for the purpose of a mimetic analysis.

2.2 Classical Authors

The secondary classical literature attests to the use of mimesis in the Greco-Roman world. It covers several topics ranging from the arts to literature and virtue.[62] This review limits to a consideration of mimesis in literature.

2.2.1 Classical Scholars Using Literary Mimesis

Literary mimesis is central to Greco-Roman literature. This becomes obvious through exercises promoted in the *progymnasmata*, where students were taught to write by imitating older writings.[63] West and Woodman pick up on the importance of literary

[62] J Mira Seo, *Exemplary Traits: Reading Characterization in Roman Poetry* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013); Hermann Koller, *Die Mimesis in der Antike: Nachahmung, Darstellung, Ausdruk* (Berne: Francke, 1954); David C. Urban, "The Use of *Exempla* from Cicero to Pliny the Younger" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2011); Katherine Stierle, "L'histoire comme Exemple, L'exemple comme L'histoire: Contributions à la Poetique des Textes Narratifs'," *Poétique* 3 (1972); Hörcher Ferenc, "Dramatic Mimesis and Civic Education in Aristotle, Cicero and Renaissance Humanism," *Aisthesis* 10, no. 1 (2017); Matthew Potolsky, *Mimesis* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006); Halliwell, *Mimesis*. Gabriel Zoran, "Between Appropriation and Representation: Aristotle and the Concept of Imitation in Greek Thought," *Philosophy and Literature* 39, no. 2 (2015); Jean-Michel David, "Maiorum Exempla Aequi: L'exemplum Historique dans les Discours Judiciaires de Cicéron," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome-Moyen Âge, Temps modernes* 92, no. 1 (1980); W.J. Verdenius, *Mimesis: Plato's Doctrine of Artistic Imitation and Its Meaning to Us* (Lieden: Brill, 1962).

[63] Further discussion on literary mimesis is found in Donald A. Russell, "De Imitatione," ed. D. West and A. Woodman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1–16.

mimesis in their edited book, which offers a general study of literary imitation primarily demonstrating its prevalence in a range of ancient Literature.[64]

Whitton's monograph demonstrates the process of literary imitation by focussing on Pliny's use of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratio* in his epistles.[65] Whitton's work differs from Whitmarsh's as it focuses on literary imitation in Latin prose literature. His focus on literary imitation in prose is a change from the acknowledged prevalence of literary mimesis in poetry.[66]

Using ten brief examples, Whitton builds his methodology of literary imitation. He observes that literary mimesis is less dependent on lexical parallel but rather depends on 'a combination of expression (syntax, rhetorical structure, unobtrusive diction, rhythm), theme and above all point'.[67] One of the benefits of his study is the light it sheds on the Roman rhetorical technique of literary imitation.

Tim Whitmarsh focuses on the political role of imitating Greek literature during the Second Sophistic era. He views the imitation of older Greek literature as a way to negotiate a Greek identity within the context of Roman political domination.[68] Under Roman rule, Greeks defined themselves through the concept of *paideia*, which was equivalent to civilization and culture.[69] Within the context of *paideia*, literary mimesis was central to the

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[64] *Creative Imitation in Latin Literature*, ed. D. West and A. Woodman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[65] Christopher L. Whitton, *The Arts of Imitation in Latin Prose*, Pliny's Epistles/Quintilian in Brief, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

[66] La Bua's work shows the prevalence of literary mimesis in poetry. Giuseppe La Bua, "The Poet as a Forger: Fakes and Literary Imitation in Roman Poetry," in *Tenue est Mendacium: Rethinking Fakes and Authorship in Classical, Late Antique and Early Christian Works*, ed. Klaus Lennartz and Javier Martínez (Groningen: Barkhuis, 2021), 179–90.

[67] Whitton, *Imitation*, 105.

[68] Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1–2.

[69] Whitmarsh, *Politics of Imitation*, 5, 96–108.

way the Greek Second Sophistic writers used mimesis to construct a Greek identity distinct from Rome.[70] Whitmarsh's position is that literary mimesis is about self-identity. His findings cement the notion that mimesis was at the forefront of writers during the Second Sophistic era.

2.2.2 Classical Scholars and Virtue Mimesis

Mimesis of character is important to this current work, which explores mimesis from the perspective of past literary *exempla* that readers either imitate or from which they disassociate. These *exempla* demonstrate virtues or vices.

In this section the contributions of some leading proponents of mimesis of character are addressed. Mimesis of character views actions performed by significant figures as being beneficial in the teaching of moral virtues.[71] Classical scholars agree that with respect to virtue mimesis, the *exempla* were at the forefront of Greco-Roman writings such as history, biographies, poems or fiction.[72]

For example, Christopher Gill shows that both biographies and history had imitation as an objective. He says:

> He (Plutarch) presents his writing of biography as designed to improve the character of others, and to help him improve his own, by conspicuous examples of excellence (*aretê*) combined with a few deterrent examples of defectiveness (*kakia*).[73]

About Roman historians, Gill says:

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[70] Whitmarsh, *Imitation*, 2, 47, 129.

[71] Kavita Ayer, ""The Ways of the Ancestors": Performing the Roman Ideal," *Ancient History* 40, no. 2 (2010): 183–84.

[72] H. Kornhardt, "Exemplum: Eine Bedeutungsgeschichtliche Studie" (PhD diss. Göttingen, 1936), 14–26; Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro, Jerome Lecture Series, (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1988).

[73] Christopher Gill, "The Question of Character-Development: Plutarch and Tacitus," *CQ* 33, no. 2 (1983): 472.

> Roman historians typically present their work as being about to pass moral judgment on great men of the past, and so to provide the reader with examples of conduct to imitate or avoid.[74]

Christopher Pelling establishes that ancient Greek literary characters were evaluated on the basis of their virtue or vices.[75] These they saw through the study of 'character-indicating speeches and actions.'[76]

Clive Skidmore acknowledges that the socio-historical context of Valerius Maximus' writings warranted his use of mimesis.[77] Skidmore unlike Gill and Pelling focuses on mimesis in the writings of Valerius Maximus. Skidmore's work differs from most scholarly literature on Valerius Maximus. Those works view Valerius Maximus' works as an extra source for ancient Roman writers. He acknowledges that Valerius Maximus writes historical episodes and thus uses historical *exempla* for moral-didactic purposes.[78] Skidmore shows that Valerius Maximus' work offers several moral *exempla* to help the *paterfamilias* teach ethical living when faced with various circumstances.[79] Skidmore's methodological contribution demonstrates that the brevity of the story was essential to Valerius Maximus' strategy.[80]

Rebecca Langlands acknowledges that ancient literature taught ethics through *exempla*.[81] She goes further than Gill and Pelling by seeking to understand what the Romans

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[74] Gill, "Character-Development," 373.

[75] Christopher B. Pelling, *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature* (Oxford: Oxford Publishing Press, 1990), 50.

[76] Pelling, *Characterization*, 5.

[77] Clive Skidmore, *Practical Ethics for Roman Gentlemen: The Work of Valarius Maximus* (Exeter: University of Exter Press, 1996), 12.

[78] Skidmore, *Ethics*, 111.

[79] Skidmore, *Ethics*, 33–34.

[80] Skidmore, *Ethics*, 34–40.

[81] Rebecca Langlands, *Exemplary Ethics in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge Universtiy Press, 2018), 1–2, 47–66.

learnt from their *exempla* and how they learnt from them.[82] Her approach differs from the approach adopted in this study since she aims to describe the experience of the individual in engaging with the *exempla*. In contrast, this work examines how implied authors communicated mimesis. Furthermore, Langlands acknowledges that *exempla* are communal resources for the moral improvement of society.[83] In this study Langlands' discussion is extended by proposing categories used by ancient writers that allow a character to be appraised as worthy of emulation or *aphormē*.

2.3 Potential Lacuna in Mimesis with Regards to the Gospel of Luke

After reviewing the literature significant to mimesis, some noticeable matters relevant to a mimetic reading of selected literary characters in the Gospel of Luke arise. It was noted that mimetic reading of the biblical Literature is relatively new at the time of this writing. Some authors have looked at mimesis from a literary perspective, while others have approached mimesis from the standpoint of moral improvement. Others have studied the literary mimesis of the Gospel of Luke. A gap remains in the scholarly discourse on the mimesis of characters in the Gospel of Luke.

In this study it has been noted that the works of Richard Burridge, Davis Capes and Cornelis Bennema have contributed to the conversation on mimesis, and it is now aimed to further that conversation by (i) identifying categories of mimesis in the selected Greco-Roman literature; (ii) developing an understanding of mimesis based on the categories identified; (iii) conducting an in-depth mimetic analysis in the Gospel of Luke.

[82] Langlands, *Exemplary*, 3.

[83] Langlands, *Exemplary*, 86–111.

3 Mimetic Methodology

The potential usefulness of an analysis of mimesis of character in the Gospel of Luke arises from the observation that Greco-Roman writers use characterisation to teach moral improvement. Such an analysis faces some challenges. For example, while encouraging mimesis, ancient writers have not left us with a systematic treatise. Furthermore, the survey of secondary literature has shown a lacuna in that a set methodology for mimesis has not been fully formulated. Ultimately, since Greco-Roman writers used mimesis, an analysis of mimesis of character is potentially a valid method that has potential to illuminate the Gospel of Luke.

In this chapter a working methodology for a mimetic analysis is developed and will be used in later chapters for a mimetic analysis of selected passages in the Gospel of Luke.

The first step in the methodology is to discover categories that enable a mimetic analysis. Discovering the categories starts with a preliminary reading of the Greco-Roman narratives.[84] This preliminary reading retrieves substantial data relevant to the formulation of categories pertinent of mimesis from the ancient texts.[85] It enables the formulation of a

[84] As Roland Barthes affirms, 'narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind and there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative.' Roland Barthes and Lionel Duisit, "An Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative," *New Literary History* 6, no. 2 (1975): 237.

[85] The formulation of the categories from the Greco-Roman narratives, is analogous to Paul Hernadi's hermeneutic triad and asks the questions 'what does this text say? Why does this text say what it does? or

initial set of categories used by Greco-Roman writers to communicate mimesis of characters.[86] From the preliminary reading, the following categories used to praise or blame characters emerge:[87] 1. Plot; 2. Compositional Selectivity; 3. Relatability; 4, Action; 5. *Synkrisis*; 6. Cause-and-effect; 7. Evaluation by the reaction of internal audience 8. Evaluating Vocabulary; 9. Narrator's evaluation; 10. Stock virtue.[88]

The next stage of the methodology is to test the categories that emerge from the initial set of categories against the narratives selected in the writings of Thucydides (Section 4.0), Nepos (5.0), and Plutarch (6.0). The relevance of these categories to mimesis is determined by their validity for a mimetic analysis in Greco-Roman writings.

Once the validity of the categories has been established, in the next stage those categories are applied to the selected Greco-Roman narratives to assess how the narratives communicate the mimesis of literary characters.[89] This application will determine the

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how does the text say what it does? and finally 'what do I, the reader thing of all this?' Barbara Czarniawska, *Narratives in Social Science Research: Introducing Qualitative Methods* (London: SAGE Publications, 2004), 61.

[86] As a heuristic device in this study, mimetic categories and mimetic constructs are used interchangeably.

[87] The development of mimetic categories mitigates against the danger of establishing a mimetic connection between a literary character and a reader without paying much attention to the intended mimetic strategy of the text. So writes Michal Beth Dinkler, "Building Character on the Road to Emmaus: Lukan Characterization in Contemporary Literary Perspective," *JBL* 136, no. 3 (2017): 694.

[88] Individual categories may suffice to characterise subjects as worthy of emulation or disassociation. For example, category 4 (action) alone may clearly indicate whether a character is virtuous or depraved. However, when more categories are considered, they offer a more comprehensive picture of a subject and provide a clearer answer to the three questions related to the process of a mimetic analysis explored throughout this work.

[89] Today's readers don't have access to the real author or audience of the ancient or biblical texts under consideration, so they are referred to as the implied author or implied readers. See Jerome H. Neyrey, *The Passion According to Luke: A Redaction Study of Luke's Soteriology* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2007), 1; John A. Darr, *On Character Building: The Reader and the Rhetoric of Characterization in Luke-Acts*, LCBI, (Louiseville, KY: John Knox, 1992), 173; William S. Kurz, "Narrative Models for Imitation in Luke-Acts," in *Greeks, Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe*, ed. David L. Blach, Evertt Fergurson, and Wayne A. Meeks (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1990), 9–16; James L. Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism of the New Testament: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 32; Wolf Schmid, *Elemente der Narratologie* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 56. In this study, the terms "author" or "readers" of Luke, Thucydides, Nepos and Plutarch refer to the implied author and implied readers.

process for a mimetic analysis. Three questions are determinant in establishing the way narratives communicate mimesis to their implied readers. They are:

- How does a narrative make its characters mimetic?
- What strategies are implemented to guide the implied audience to mimesis — imitation/disassociation from the mimetic character?
- What virtues are encouraged in the narratives?

Once discovered and tested with references to the selected Greco-Roman literature, those categories form a methodological basis for mimetic analysis of the Gospel of Luke. Applying those categories to the Gospel of Luke tests their validity for a mimetic analysis of the Gospel of Luke. The application of the mimetic categories to the Gospel of Luke will ascertain if they bring new insights into the reading of Luke. These categories will also be applied to the Gospel of Luke to answer the three questions above.

Mimetic methodology is closely related to characterisation but goes beyond an internal structural analysis to determine how implied authors construct their characters. It seeks to understand the didactic goals of ancient narratives through the characterisation of subjects as praiseworthy or blameworthy. In the process or characterisation the categories of mimesis become crucial.

In this study an analysis is made of the text's final form in selected writings of Thucydides, Nepos, and Plutarch.[90] These writings offer the narrative framework from which the categories for mimesis will emerge. A definition of the categories will follow the analysis of the Greco-Roman writers.

[90] The rationale for using these three authors is provided in 1.4.

A mimetic methodology requires that the narrative text be approached as a unit. Approaching the narrative text as a unit identifies that the whole narrative continuum, not just episodes, is essential to a mimetic analysis. The methodology focusses on the role of the plot and characterisation in communicating mimesis. Both the plot and the characters are significant to Aristotle. He asserts, ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ οἷον ψυχὴ ὁ μῦθος τῆς τραγῳδίας, δεύτερον δὲ τὰ ἤθη ('Plot, then, is the first principle and as it were, soul of tragedy, while character is second' — Aristotle, *Poet.* 1450a.35).[91] In this assertion, Aristotle sees the character as subordinate to the plot.[92]

A working definition of a plot entails an orderly account of events placed in succession with some element of causality revealing the purpose (teleological focus) of the text.[93] The plot shows the intention of the author and allows characters to be evaluated through the teleological focus of the author.[94] Characterisation deals with the construction of a character through textual indicators found in the text. The characterisation in the text allows the reader to discover how authors praise or blame their subject.[95]

In the following section the rationale for the Greco-Roman Authors, the importance of narrative unity to mimesis, the significance of the plot for a mimetic analysis and characterisation as it relates to mimesis will be addressed.

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[91] Elizabeth Belfiore, "Narratological Plots and Aristotle's Mythos," *Arethusa* 33, no. 1 (2000): 41.

[92] Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics*, New Accents, (London: Methuen, 1983), 34.

[93] Aristotle defines plot as ἔστιν δὲ τῆς μὲν πράξεως ὁ μῦθος ('the construction of events') (Aristotle, *Poet*. 1450a). Raphael Baroni, "Puissance de L'Intrigue," in *Finding the plot: Storytelling in Popular Fictions*, ed. Diana Holmes (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 20; E. M. Forster, *Aspects of the Novel* (New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace, 1927), 87; R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1983), 80; Michael Scheffel, "Narrative Constitution," in *Handbook of Narratology, 1*, ed. Peter Hühn et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 286–87.

[94] Section 3.3 offers further discussion on the plot.

[95] Section 3.4 offers further discussion on characterisation.

3.1 Rationale for Using Thucydides, Nepos, and Plutarch as Narratives of Praise and Blame

In this section the Gospel of Luke is first situated in relation to Greco-Roman literature. Five aspects justify the choice of these Greco-Roman authors: (1) an examination of the classification of the Gospel of Luke as a διήγησις; (2) an assessment of the similarity between the themes of Luke and other Greco-Roman literature; (3) an assessment of the genre-proximity of the selected Greco-Roman works to the Gospel of Luke; (4) a consideration of the question of relevance and anachronism; (5) an assessment of the place of Thucydides in the study.

Luke labels his work a διήγησις (Luke 1:1) which refers to 'an orderly description of facts, events, actions or words.'[96] Greco-Roman authors use the term to identify three different genres; history, biography, and novels.[97] Examples include Plutarch's calling his biography of Cimon a διήγησις (Plutarch, *Cim*. 3.3) and his reference to a story from Cicero as a διήγησις (Plutarch, *Titus Faminius* 18.5). Polybius calls his history a διήγησις (Polybius 1.13.9; 2.40.5). Consequently, the word διήγησις situates with great precision the Gospel of Luke within the narrative tradition of the Greco-Roman world.

A διήγησις was a composition exercise of the *progymnasmata* (Theon, 78:16–17).[98] These rhetorical exercises were used by ancient writers as a stepping stone to produce

[96] "διήγησις," *BDAG,* 245. Friedrich Büchsel, "Διήγησις," in *TDNT*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964), 909.

[97] Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, NIBCNT, (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 1–2.

[98] Luke's familiarity with the *progymnasmata* has been acknowledged by many. Mikeal Parsons has shown that Luke had a good knowledge of the exercises of the *progymnasmata* and used some of its exercises such as the *chreia*, the *fable* and *inflexion* in the composition of his work. Mikeal C. Parsons, "Luke and the Progymnasmata: A Prelimanary Investigation into the Priliminary Exercises," in *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse*, ed. Todd C. Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele, SBLSS (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2003), 43–64; Andries G. Van Aarde, "Syncrisis as Literary Motif in the Story About the Grown-up Child Jesus in the Temple (Luke 2:41–52 and the Thomas tradition)," *HTS Theological Studies* 75, no. 3 (2019): 1–9; Vernon K. Robbins, "From Enthymeme to Theology in Luke 11:1–13," in *Literary Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays in Honour of Joseph B. Tyson*, ed. Richard P. Thompson and Thomas E. Phillips (Macon, GA: Mercer University

epics, dramas, or histories.[99] According to Theon, the διήγησις has six features: 'the person; the action done by the person; the place of the action; the time of the action; the manner of the action; and the cause of the action.'[100] Since all six features of a διήγησις are present in the Gospel of Luke, it confirms that Luke follows the rhetorical subcategories of the διήγησις of the *progymnasmata* as affirmed in Luke 1:1.

A second argument for proximity of the Luke to Greco-Roman writers is the degree of similarity in their themes.[101] Michael Martin, in a comparative study between Luke and the works of four ancient writers, Plutarch, Philostratus, Philo and Josephus, shows Luke's

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Press, 1989), 191–214; S. J. Stegman and D. Thomas, "Reading Luke 12:13–34 as an Elaboration of a Chreia: How Hermogenes of Tarsus Sheds Light on Luke's Gospel," *NovT* 49, no. 4 (2007): 328–52. With a slight modification, Adams denies that Luke had a high-level knowledge of the rhetorical devices, but his works shows a knowledge of the basic knowledge of the *Progymnasmata*, a knowledge that would be reasonable for a primary or secondary education student. Sean A. Adams, "Luke and *Progymnasmata*: Rhetorical Handbooks, Rhetorical ophistacion and Genre Selection," in *Ancient Education and Early Christianity*, ed. Matthew Ryan Hauge and Andrew W. Pitts, LNTS 533 (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 137–43.

[99] George A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*, WGRW 10, (Lieden: Brill, 2003), IX.

[100] Adams, "*Progymnasmata*," 144. All six features are present in the Gospel of Luke. The person: the Gospel of Luke deals with the person of Jesus. This is obvious as Jesus is the subject in 17.9% of verbs, and no other subject scores above 1%. See Burridge, *Gospels?*, 197. The action: Acts 1:1 reiterates the notion that the actions in the Gospel are primarily those of Jesus when it states that 'τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐπειησάμεν περὶ πάντων ὦ Θεόφιλε, ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν.' The place of the action: most activities in Luke occur in one of three locations: Galilee; en route to Jerusalem; and in Jerusalem. Time of the action: the narrative occurs in the first century AD. Manner of Action: Luke records the different manners in which Jesus heals or preaches. For example, he tells the person with the withered hand to stretch his arm (Luke 6:10). The cause of the action: the action is to fulfil the plan of God.

[101] Some scholars have also observed a similarity between the prologues. Loveday Alexander classifies Luke's prologue as a scientific preface by mapping the structure of the ancient writings with the Gospel of Luke. Loveday 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); Loveday Alexander, "Luke's Preface in the Context of Greek Preface-Writing," *NovT* 28, no. 1 (1986): 48–74. Others critique Alexander and posit that Luke's preface is similar to historical documents based on length and style. Sean A. Adams, "Luke's Preface and its Relationship to Greek Historiography: A Response to Loveday Alexander," *JGRChJ* 3 (2006): 177–91; John L. Moles, "Luke's Preface: The Greek Decree, Classical Historiography and Christian Redefinitions," *NTS* 57, no. 4 (2011): 461–82; Nico Riemersma, *The Gospel of Luke As Masterpiece: Structure, Genre and Way of Telling*, ed. Jan Loffeld, Caroline Vander Stichele, and Henk Schoot, 1st ed., Tilburger Theologische Studien Series 10, (Havertown: Lit Verlag, 2023), 2–15; Zachary K. Dawson, "Does Luke's Preface Resemble a Greek Decree? Comparing the Epigraphical and Papyrological Evidence of Greek Decrees with Ancient Preface Formulae," *NTS* 65, no. 4 (2019): 558. Burridge, *Gospels?* Callan sees similarities between Herodotus and Luke, as they both announce the content of their works. Terrance Callan, "The Preface of Luke-Acts and Historiography," *NTS* 31, no. 4 (1985): 577–78.

Gospel shares the following compositional elements with those writers: origins;[102] pursuits and deeds;[103] manner of death;[104] and the events after death.[105] He notes that these elements are building blocks for composition taught in the *progymnasmata*.[106]

Luke's use of certain Greek words adds to its closeness to ancient Greek Literature.[107] There are words used in the prologue that are used extensively in Greco-Roman works but are rarely used in the New Testament or the LXX. For example, ἐπειδήπερ ("in as much", Luke 1:1) is a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament and the LXX. However, it is used extensively in the Greco-Roman world.

Another reason for engaging with those ancient writings is the commonality between the genre of Luke and the conversation partners chosen in this study. Lukan scholars today debate about whether the genre of Luke is ancient history or biography.[108]

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[102] Luke 1:26–38; 3:23–38; Plutarch *Alc*. 1.1; Philostratus *Vit. Apoll*. 1.4; Philo, *Mos.* 1.5–31; Josephus *Vita* 1–8a; nurture and training (2:41–52; 4:1–13; Plutarch, *Alc*. 1.2–7.4; Philostratus *Vit. Apoll*. 1.7–8; Josephus *Vita* 8b–27.

[103] Luke 4:14–22:46; Plutarch, Alc. 10–36; Philostratus *Vit. Apoll.* 1.9–8.28; Philo, *Mos.* 1.32–2.287; Josephus *Vita* 28–413.

[104] Luke 22:47–23:43; Plutarch *Alc*. 37.1–39.3; Philostratus *Vit. Apoll.* 8.29–30; Philo, *Mos*. 2.288–291a.

[105] Luke 23:47–24:53; Plutarch *Alc*. 39.4a; Philostratus *Vit. Apoll* 8.31; Philo, *Mos.* 2.291b.

[106] Michael W. Martin, "Progymnastic Topic Lists: A Compositional Template for Luke and Other Bioi?," *NTS* 54, no. 1 (2008): 20–38. The references to different elements of the compositional template are sourced from Michael Martin. Justin M. Smith, *Why Bίoς?: On the Relationship Between Gospel Genre and Implied Audience*, vol. 518, LNTS, (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 70.
Adams and Burridge strengthen the case for similarities between Luke and Greco-Roman literature by noting that the *topoi* used for the characterisation of Jesus in Luke were also present in Greco-Roman biographies. See Sean A. Adams, *The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), Appendix I; Burridge, *Gospels?*, 34, 57–58, 118. While Adams critiques the level of rhetorical sophistication that Martin attributes to Luke, he does not deny the proximity of Luke to Greco-Roman biographies.

[107] John T. Carroll, *Luke: A Commentary*, NTL, (Louisville, KY: John Knox, 2012), 23; Baban, *On the Road*; George A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation Through Rhetorical Criticism*, Studies in Religion, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 108; Alexander, *Luke's Gospel*. Adams, "Preface." Moles, "Luke's Preface," 461–82.

[108] Genre is relevant to mimesis as a character in an ancient novel is characterised differently from a character in a biography or history. For example, a character in a novel, unlike a historical or biographical character, is often constructed as a type, (Aristotle *Poet*. 1453b). See Eric Clouston, *How Ancient Narratives Persuade: Acts in Its Literary Context* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020), 21.

The current identification by scholars of the two most plausible genres of the Gospel of Luke as ἱστορια or βίος justifies the choice of Greco-Roman writings for this study.[109] Since the difference between ἱστορια and βίος is marginal and ancient documents could have a host

[109] There is an ongoing debate about the genre of Luke. See discussion in Judith A. Diehl, "What is a 'Gospel'? Recent Studies in the Gospel Genre," *CurBR* 9, no. 2 (2011). Three major propositions have emerged: *Sui generis*, ancient history, ἱστορια or biography, βίος. Most scholars today have since abandoned *Sui generis*. In the 19th century Bonz has unsuccessfully suggested that the genre of Luke-Acts' is similar to a fictional work such as The *Aeneid*. Marianne P. Bonz, *The Past as Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2000), 20–26.
Representative authors who have identified Luke as ancient history are Andrew W. Pitts, "The Genre of the Third Gospel and Authoritiative Citation" (PhD diss., McMaster Divinity College, 2014); R. T. France, *Luke*, ed. Mark L. Strauss and John H. Walton, Teach The Text Commentary Series, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2013); Adams, "Preface," 177–91. Green, *Luke*, 2–6. D. L. Balch, "The Genre of Luke-Acts: Individual Biography, Adventure Novel, or Political History?," *SWJT* 33 (1990): 5–19; Peter Stuhlmacher, "The Genre(s) of the Gospels: Response to P. L. Shuler," in *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, ed. D. L Dunga (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), 484–94; David E. Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, LEC 8, (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1987), 77–115; Callan, "Preface," 576–81. Eckhard Plümacher, *Lukas als Hellenistischer Schriftseller: Studien zur Apostelgeschichte*, SNTSU, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972); Henry Joel Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1958).
Those identifying Luke as an ancient biography, βίος, tend to see the Gospel of Luke as portraying the life of a hero from birth to death. Richard Burridge's monograph has been the most influential monograph arguing that Luke is a βίος. See Burridge, *Gospels?*; Steve Walton, "What Are the Gospels? Richard Burridge's Impact on Scholarly Understanding of the Genre of the Gospels," *CurBS* 14, no. 1 (2015); Smith, *Why Bίος?*, 518; Michael F. Bird, *The Gospel of the Lord: How the Early Church Wrote the Story of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014), 280; Sean A. Adams, "The Genre of Luke and Acts: The State of the Question," in *Issues in Luke Acts: Selected Essays*, ed. Sean A. Adams and Michael W. Pahl (Piscataway, NJ: Georgias Press, 2012); Craig S. Keener, *The Historical Jesus of the Gospels* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 86; Martin, "Progymnastic," 18–41; Philip L. Shuler, "The Synoptic Gospels and the Problem of Genre," in *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, ed. D. L. Duncan (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), 459–83; Talbert, *Gospel?* Stanley Porter argues that both Luke and Acts are biography. Stanley E. Porter, "The Genre of Acts and the Ethics of Discourse," in *Acts and Ethics*, ed. Thomas E. Phillips (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2005), 9.
Contra the argument for the proximity of Luke to the Greco-Roman Literature, Samson Uytanlet builds the case for Luke-Acts as a Jewish historiography. He notes that, contrary to the Jewish writers, Greco-Roman authors never recorded the acts of the gods in their historical documents. Furthermore, he observes that Luke-Acts has an element of succession and, except for Diogenes Laertius, few Greco-Roman writers record succession in the way done in Luke-Acts. On the contrary, the Old Testament, catalogues models of succession such as Moses- and Joshua, Elijah and Elisha. Uytanlet notes another difference regarding the ownership of the land. Contrary to Greco-Roman histories, where the land vis owned by the king, Luke-Acts shows that the land belongs to God. Samson Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography: A Studyon the Theology, Literature and Ideology of Luke-Acts*, vol. 2/366, WUNT, (Tübigen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014). Uytanlet's work has been criticised for two reasons. First, his sample selection of the Greco-Roman material has been adjudged inadequate. Second, the book of Acts does not portray the Roman officials as usurpers but as at times helping the Christian movement. Furthermore, Uytanlet assumed succession does not deal with James' leadership of the Jerusalem church. Finally, succession is not a topical feature of all Jewish historiographies. The idea of successions is not found in the book of Ezra, Nehemiah or in Josephus' *The Jewish War*. Craig L. Blomberg, "Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography: A Study on the Theology, Literature, and Ideology of Luke-Acts. ," *BBR* 25, no. 1 (2015): 114; Richard I. Pervo, "Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography: A Study on the Theology, Literature, and Ideology of Luke-Acts," *CBQ* 79, no. 1 (2017): 159–60.

genre to carry different subgenres,[110] Plutarch's *Lives*, Nepos' *Lives* and Thucydides' *The History of the Peloponnesian War* are ideal narratives with which to engage with the Gospel of Luke. The choice of these ancient *historia* and *bios* is based on the observed similarities of features in them and in Luke.

Having shown some elements of similarity between the Gospel of Luke and some Greco-Roman writings, the choice of these three ancient authors avoids anachronism. If this study was to be based on conventions used by contemporary literature, there would be a risk of using modern tools to interpret ancient texts. There are significant differences between ancient writing and modern writing. Plot and character as understood by modern narrative critics differ from the plot and character in ancient writings.[111] For example, Aristotle has more focus on the event than in modern narratives, and unlike Aristotle, modern narrations present characters with psychological and individualistic complexities.[112]

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[110] Stavros A. Frangoulidis, S. J. Harrison, and Theodore D. Papanghelis, "Introduction," in *Generic Interfaces in Latin Literature: Encounters, Interactions and Transformations*, ed. Stephen J Harrison (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 1. Lucian, one of the most prominent hexametrists in antiquity, accommodated other genres in his poems. Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* is a hexameter that hosted oracles. Gregory Hutchison, "Genre and Super-Genre," in *Generic Interfaces in Latin Literature: Encounters, Interactions and Transformations, Trends in Classics — Supplementary Volumes*, ed. Stavros A. Frangoulidis, S. J. Harrison, and Theodore D. Papanghelis (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 22.

[111] Belfiore, "Narratological Plots," 38, 42; Gill, "Character-Development," 469; Robert Scholes, James Phelan, and Robert L. Kellogg, *The Nature of Narrative*, Fortieth anniversary , revised and expand ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 164; Koen De Temmerman and Evert van Emde Boas, "Character and Characterization in Ancient Greek Literature: An Introduction," in *Characterization in Ancient Greek Literature*, ed. Koen De Temmerman and Evert van Emde Boas (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 6–9; Bennema, "Character," 382–89; Christopher Pelling, "Aspects of Plutarch's Characterisation," research article, *ICS*, no. 2 (1988): 262–63.

[112] Cornelis Bennema, "Character Reconstruction in the New Testament (1): The Theory," *ExpTim* 127, no. 8 (2016): 366; Clouston, *Ancient*, 26; S. John Roth, *The Blind, the Lame and the Poor: Character Types in Luke-Acts*, JSNTSup 144, (London: Bloomsbury, 1997), 143–44; Gill, "Character-Development," 469–87; D. A. Russell, "On Reading Plutarch's *Lives*," in *Essays on Plutarch Lives*, ed. Barbara Scardigli (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 85. That is not to say that ancient characters are unable to change at all. It is only to point out that ancient characters are flatter than the modern counterpart.
The term flat and round characters was first coined by Forster. "Flat" indicates a character who presents an unchanging and coherent trait., whereas "round" indicates a character who is dynamic and changing. See Forster, *Aspects*, 103–18; N. Clayton Croy, *Prima Scriptura: An Introduction to New Testament Interpretation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2011), 106.

Addressing the place of Thucydides in the thesis, it should be noted that although Thucydides wrote *The History of the Peloponnesian War* between 431 and 404 BC, it influenced writers who are near contemporaries of the Gospel of Luke such as Plutarch (46–119 AD), Cicero (106 BC–43 BC), Sallust (86–35 BC), and Josephus (37–100 AD).[113] A quick survey of ancient writings shows that Plutarch was familiar with Thucydides' work (see Plutarch, *Per* 16.1; 28:1, 6; 33:1; *Them*. 27.1; *Lyc* 28.3; *Alc* 6.2). He showed a knowledge of the rhetorical techniques of Thucydides (Plutarch, *Fab*. 1. 5). De Romilly asserts that 'Plutarch knew his Thucydides quite well: no one doubts this anymore today. He took much from him in the biographies of Pericles, Alcibiades and Nicias.'[114] Cicero shows his familiarity with Thucydides when he praises the compositional ability of Thucydides, (Cicero, *Opt. gen*. 6). Josephus shows that he has an awareness of Thucydides and an understanding of debates about the credibility of some of his facts (Josephus *Ag. Ap*. 1.3). John Marincola observes concerning Thucydides that,

> In the opinion of the ancients, he had managed to compose a work that for technical virtuosity, moral point, and emotional impact rivalled the greatest monuments of poetry and prose: what Homer was to epic, Demosthenes to oratory, Plato to philosophy, Thucydides was to history.[115]

Given Thucydides' popularity and reception in the first century, analysing selected works of Thucydides is justifiable in this investigation. In sum, Luke shares literary,

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[113] Valérie Fromentin and Sophie Gotteland, "Thucydides' Ancient Reputation," in *A Handbook to the Reception of Thucydides*, ed. Christine Lee and Neville Morley (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 20–21; Marianne Pade, "The Renaissance, Scholarship, Criticism, and Education," in *A Handbook to the Reception of Thucydides*, ed. Christine Lee and Neville Morley (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 30.
(Plutarch, *Them* 25.3; 27;1 *Lyc*. 27.3; 28.3. *Per.* 6.2;8.1. *How to tell a Flatterer from a friend*, 12, 32, 35*; How a man may become aware of his progress in virtue*, 8.) Fromentin and Gotteland, "Reception of Thucydides," 20–21.

[114] Jacqueline de Romilly, "Plutarch and Thucydides or the Free Use of Quotations," *Phoenix* 42, no. 1 (1988).

[115] John Marincola, *Greek Historians*, vol. 31, New Survey in the Classics, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 61.

contextual, historical, and conceptual commonality with Greco-Roman literature that will allow the emergence of mimetic constructs that can be applied to the Gospel of Luke.

3.2 Narrative Unity Establishes the Text for Mimesis

In the context of the methodological consideration of mimesis, the recognition that a narrative is an autonomous unified piece of literature is crucial. This consideration places a mimetic methodology in the orbit of those academics using literary analysis and insights from their literary theory in Gospel studies. Literary studies consider the final form of the text, and while acknowledging that each of the evangelists share much common traditional material, each of the evangelists have formed a unified, cohesive whole from this traditional material which is designed to meet their purpose. It is this unified whole that allows a Lukan mimesis.[116] Recognising narrative unity allows the plot and characterisation to be discovered by following the narrative continuum. Narrative unity also mitigates against the characterisation of mimetic subjects from other contemporary texts. Historical subjects are often transtextual.[117] The characterisation of a subject from a text autonomously from other

[116] Contra to the use the final form of the text, Stephen Moore, adopting a poststructural approach, argues for an episodic nature of the Gospel and sees unity as an impossibility. Stephen D Moore, "Are the Gospels Unified Narratives?," in *SBL Seminar Papers 26*, ed. Kent H. Richards (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987), 443–58. Against Moore's assertion, it is advantageous to view the Gospel account as a narrative whole in a mimetic analysis. The Lukan structure is the main reason for arguing that the Gospel of Luke is a unified whole. McComiskey shows the unity of Luke by formulating a cyclical structure and showing correspondence in the Gospel through eleven tests. Douglas S. McComiskey, *Lukan Theology in the Light of the Gospel's Literary Structure* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2004), 27–31; Charles H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts*, vol. 20 (Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature and Scholars Press, 1974); Tannehill's work also enhances the argument for using the final form of the text, as he demonstrates the internal unity of the Gospel of Luke by arguing for interrelationships between the pericopes within Luke. Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, vol. 1, Foundations and facets, (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1986).

[117] Historical and biographical subjects are transtextual because they appear in more than one text and are known widely. Engaging a text is practical for a mimetic reading as the given text focuses on indicators of characterisation as they are portrayed in the text and not on transtextual indicators from other texts. Brian Richardson, "Transtextual Characters," in *Characters in Fictional Worlds: Understanding Imaginary Beings in Literature, Film, and Other Media*, ed. Jens Eder, Fotis Jannidis, and Ralf Schneider (New York, NY: De Gruyter, 2010), 527.

texts is crucial for mimesis.[118] A mimetic analysis therefore observes clues for mimesis from a relevant text alone.

Narrative unity is especially evident in the third Gospel. The implied author informs the implied readers that the Gospel is a διήγησις (narrative – Luke 1:1).[119] Describing the Gospel as a διήγησις implies that events related in the Gospel of Luke are not autonomous but part of a unified piece of literature.[120] Viewing the Gospel of Luke as a διήγησις denotes that the narrative of the Gospel has a plot, setting and characters.

Recognising that the Third Gospel is a διήγησις also means that an interpreter must enter the world of the narrative and acknowledge its norms and assumptions.[121] As a διήγησις, it would be considered as a '*diegesis di' amphoteron*', that is, a narrative that combines the narrative voice and direct speech.[122] Acknowledging narrative unity follows

[118] Borrowing the metaphor of the archaeologist from Meeks and Matera, who reckon that it is crucial to settle on the site where the archaeological dig happens, it is also crucially important to settle on the historical text as it communicates valuable information allowing the reconstruction of a character for mimesis or *aphormē*. This is particularly true since there are two views on characters: one contends that a character can be known through mediums other than a text; the other contends that characters only exist in a text and can be observed only from the narrative content from which they emerge.
For the archaeology metaphor see Frank J. Matera, *New Testament Ethics: The Legacies of Jesus and Paul* (Louisville, KY: John Knox, 1996), 8; Wayne A. Meeks, *The Origins of Christian Morality: The First Two Centuries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 17. For the two views Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative*, 31–32. Marvin Mudrick, "Character and Event in Fiction," *Yale Review* 50 (1961): 202–18; Fred W. Burnett, "Characterization and Reader Construction of Characters in the Gospels," *Semeia*, no. 63 (1993): 4; Richardson, "Transtextual," 527.

[119] In some narratives, the implied author and the narrator are different. The implied author establishes the narrative, defines the plot, and characterises individuals. The narrator is the one who places himself/herself in the text to inform the audience of things that otherwise would be unknown. In the Lukan account, there is no distinction between the implied author and the narrator. Joshua P. Yoder, *Representatives of Roman Rule: Roman Provincial Governors in Luke-Acts*, BZNW, Band 209, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 45; Roth, *Blind*, 145–46.

[120] Scholars have supported the unity of the Gospels since the work of Culpepper and Rhoads. See Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 234; David M. Rhoads, Donald Michie, and Joanna Dewey, *Mark as Story: An Introduction to the Narrative of a Gospel*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2012), 3–4; Petri Merenlahti and Raimo T. Hakola, "Characterization in the Gospels," in *Characterization in the Gospels: Reconceiving Narrative Criticism* ed. David Rhoads and Kari Syrenni, JNSTSup (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 30–31.

[121] Sheila Anne Klassen-Wiebe, "Called to Mission: A Narrative-Critical Study of the Character and Mission of the Disciples in the Gospel of Luke" (PhD diss., Union Theological Seminary, 2001), 42.

[122] Stephen Halliwell, "Diegesis-Mimesis," in *Handbook of Narratology, 2*, ed. Jan Christoph Meister et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 129.

Aristotle's standard and recognises the importance of the plot and characters along the narrative continuum. Plot and characterisation are discussed in the next section.

3.3 Plot as a Way of Shaping the Ethical Perception of Characters for Mimetic Purpose

The plot offers a perspective from which a reader ascertains whether to imitate or disassociate from a character, both fundamental to mimesis.[123] The plot, moreover, provides an insight into the virtues or vices expounded in the narrative. Beginning by establishing an agreed meaning of plot. Aristotle defines plot as, τὴν σύθεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων ('the construction of events' — Aristotle *Poet*. 1450a). He indicates that the plot has an interrelated ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσον καὶ τελευτήν ('beginning, middle and end' – Aristotle *Poet*. 1450b.25).[124] Aristotle therefore points out that the plot unites events temporally and causally.[125] Some modern biblical scholars have adopted Aristotle's definition as a working definition to discover the plot of narratives.[126]

The contemporary consensus is that temporality refers to the process of structuring and sequencing events to create a narrative pattern,[127] and that causality means that

[123] This discussion on the plot intends to ascertain the contribution of plot to mimesis beyond a structuralist approach. A structuralist analysis seeks only to see how characters, events and settings interact with each other to form the narrative structure. See Barthes and Duisit, "An Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative."; Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, trans. Christine van Boheemen, 4th ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), XXI, 154.

[124] Hannah Cocksworth shows the significance of the interrelationship of beginning, middle and end in her analysis of Luke 1:8–20. Hannah Cocksworth, "Zechariah and Gabriel as Thematic Characters: A Narratological Reading of the Beginning of Luke's Gospel (Luke 1:8–20)," in *Characters and Characterization in Luke-Acts*, ed. Frank Dicken and Julia A. Snyder (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

[125] S. Bar-Efrat, "Some Observations on the Analysis of Structure in Biblical Narrative," *VT* 30, no. 2 (1980): 163; Clouston, *Ancient*, 19; James L. Resseguie, "The Woman who Crashed Simon's Party: A Reader-Response Approach to Luke 7:36–50," in *Characters and Characterization in Luke-Acts*, ed. Frank Dicken and Julia Snyder (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 18.

[126] Roth, *Blind*, 143; Kingsbury, *Conflict*, 34; Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 80.

[127] Karin Kukkonen, "Plot," in *Handbook of Narratology, 2*, ed. Peter Hühn et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 706.

actions lead to an inevitable result.[128] In other words, causality is the direct relationship between events and results. It implies that what happens in the story is the only thing that could have happened. If event B happens before event A, then B leads to A.[129] An understanding of plot is offered by Forster, who encapsulates a plot in a simple sentence, 'the king is dead and then the queen died of grief.' It contains an element of sequence and causality to offer the reason for the story.[130] In summary, a plot knits a story from beginning to end. In biographical or historical accounts, the actions narrated often lead to expected results.

Aristotle indicates that the plot is the ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ οἷον (first principle) when writing narratives (Aristotle *Poet.* 1450b.35).[131] Secondary to the plot is the character and the character reveals moral choice (Aristotle *Poet*. 1450b.5). In Aristotle's estimation, the character is subordinate to the plot (Aristotle *Poet*. 1450a.35).[132] Summarising Aristotle's

[128] Frank J. Matera, "The Plot of Matthew's Gospel," *CBQ* 49, no. 2 (1987): 235–36; Thomas M. Leitch, *What Stories Are: Narrative Theory and Interpretation* (University Park, PN: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986), 11; Richard Walsh, *The Rhetoric of Fictionality: Narrative Theory and the Idea of Fiction* (London: Routledge, 2005), 60.

[129] Baroni, "L'Intrigue," 19–20. The element of causality belongs naturally to ancient fiction. Baroni notes that Forster's work cited in the following footnote allowed causality to be integrated in historical works. Causality works most of the time but does not always offer a perfect match for ancient history and biography. For example, Plutarch ascribes the success of Fabius Maximus' strategy during the Second Punic War to depriving Hannibal of war. Other characters engage in war with Hannibal but are soundly beaten. Fabius' strategy frustrates Hannibal and saves Rome. Plutarch adopts the B follows A principle for most of Fabius' *Life*. This principle is also evident when other generals are involved. Plutarch shows that the avoidance of war by Fabius results in the salvation of Rome. However, when Scipio Africanus goes to war while Fabius Maximus refuses to fight Hannibal, Scipio defeats Hannibal. Thus, here the B follows A principle does not apply. While causality is often a significant element of plot, prevalent in biographical and historical documents, it is worth noting that causality is not a ubiquitous feature.

[130] Forster, *Aspects*, 129.

[131] For Aristotle, 'stories that are well-constructed should not begin (and end) at some arbitrary point but should conform to the stated pattern' (Aristotle, *Poet.* 7.7 1450b, 31–33).

[132] Belfiore, "Narratological Plots," 42–43. Characters subordinate to the plot serve the plot's function. Kari Syreeni, "Peter as Character and Symbol in the Gospel of Matthew," in *Characterization in the Gospels: Reconceiving Narrative Criticism* ed. David Rhoads and Kari Syrenni, JSNTSup 184 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 75; Outi Lehtipuu, "The Rich Man and the Poor Man in Luke 16:19–31," in *Characterization in the Gospels: Reconceiving Narrative Criticism* ed. David Rhoads and Kari Syrenni (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 75.

understanding, the plot is a vehicle that makes the moral choice of a character evident. Through a character, the plot highlights the moralising elements of the narrative, which is a key concept for mimesis.

Of relevance to the discussion about plot, it is worth noting that conflict is often a driving force leading to the discovery of the plot. The denouement of a conflict enhances an understanding of the plot and achieves the author's desired emotional response.[133] As the plot is asserted through the development of the narrative sequence, conflict allows an author's structural and emotional design to become recognisable.

As the plot sequentially links events in the narrative, it allows the mimetic or moralizing agenda of an ancient treatise to be ascertained. In that respect, the moralising agendum is dependent on the plot. The plot not only unifies the narrative but also focalises the reader's attention on the mimetic agenda and allows each character to be judged according to the agenda. Having noted that characters are subordinate to the plot, the role of characterisation in mimesis is considered in the next section.

3.4 Characterisation is a Tool for Mimesis by Showing how an Implied Author Praises or Blames a Character

Characterisation is vital for mimesis.[134] Characterisation refers to the creation of a

[133] Aristotle sees that the plot requires 'both a conflict and a resolution' (Aristotle, *Poet*. 18.1). Troy M. Troftgruben, "The Ending of Luke Revisited," *JBL* 140, no. 2 (2021): 328; Cocksworth, "Narratological," 43; Kingsbury, *Conflict*, 34; Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 80; H. Porter Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 193; Matera, "Plot," 235–40.

[134] The characterisation relevant to ancient characters avoids the danger of anachronism. Characters in antiquity are comparatively not as well-developed and dynamic as contemporary characters. Characters in ancient tragedies (τραγῳδία) and biography (βίος) are often portrayed with an 'unchanging set of virtues and vices.' Merenlahti and Hakola, "Characterization," 51; Yoder, *Roman*, 49; Burnett, "Characterization," 19; Gill, "Character-Development," 471; P. Brooks, *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 5; Bennema, "Character," 380. They are, however, not as static, invariable, or opaque as Scholes and Kellog have claimed. Scholes, Phelan, and Kellogg, *Narrative*, 164–67. Alter, Sternberg and Bar-Efrat show that biblical characters such as Jacob, David and Saul show changes. Homeric characters on the contrary are flat. Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1981), 126; Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading*, Indiana Literary

character. The process of characterisation involves the identification of attributes in a subject. It occurs when an author leaves indicators along the textual continuum allowing the implied reader to infer traits as attributes of a subject.[135] A mimetic reading relies on characterisation to discern if an author praises or blames a character. When the exposé of a character reveals moral fortitude, the author positions that character for emulation. Conversely, if a character lacks moral fortitude, the author presents that character for *aphormē*. This understanding of the role of the character is in line with Aristotle's thought, whereby ἐστὶν δὲ ἦθος μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον ὃ δηλοῖ τὴν προαίρεσιν (ʾcharacter is that which reveals moral choiceʾ — Aristotle, *Poet*. 1450b). Thus, an understanding of characterisation by ancient authors is vital for a mimetic reading.

As per the previous assertion, in this dissertation characterisation is approached exclusively within the limits of a specific text, even though some literary characters can be found across various narratives from different authors.[136] For example, from the perspective of this author, the primary source for Pericles will be Plutarch's *Life of Pericles*, despite the fact that accounts of Pericles are also found in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* I–II: 1–65.[137] Given that characterisation of a subject emerges along the narrative

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Biblical Series, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985); Shimeon Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art in the Bible*, BLS 17, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 53–64.

[135] Burnett, "Characterization," 5; Yoder, *Roman*, 41; Lehtipuu, "Rich Man," 77; Ancient texts, adopt a character viewpoint from which individuals are evaluated by the readers. Christopher Gill, "The Question of Character and Personality in Greek Tragedy," *Poetics Today* 7, no. 2 (1986): 252.
It is worth noting that not all characters in an ancient narrative are mimetic. Non-mimetic characters are part of the narrative but play no function in mimesis.

[136] Bennema challenges this view as he contends that a historical figure, unlike a fictional figure, can be portrayed in other texts. With all the transtextual information available, the real reader can fill gaps. Bennema, "Character 1," 367. While Bennema's assertion is correct, it will be observed in this work that ancient authors used compositional selectivity as an important technique to select episodes that best reflect their characterisation of literary subjects. Through compositional selectivity, the ancient authors give specific information about their subjects leading them to their characterisation.

[137] Plato, Aristotle and the satirical writer, Aristophanes, also have some information about Pericles.

continuum, an analysis of the characterisation of Pericles is initially limited to Plutarch's biography. This approach is crucial for mimesis as by understanding Pericles' characterisation within Plutarch's *Life of Pericles,* a reader can observe whether Plutarch's Pericles is a character for emulation or disassociation.

When other sources about a character exist, the other sources may highlight an author's focus. For example, a comparison of Plutarch's Pericles and Thucydides' account will highlight Plutarch's emphasis in characterising Pericles. The same applies to the Gospel of Luke, in that Lukan characters are transtextual, appearing in Mark, Matthew, John and other books of the New Testament. Since the purpose of this study is to examine mimesis in Lukan narrative, the portrayal of characters will be limited to Luke's works. However, since Luke admits to using other sources (Luke 1:1–4), a comparison with other sources has the potential to reveal Luke's compositional focus.

When appropriate, characters will be understood against their socio-cultural, political, historical, and ideological contexts. The narratives being investigated are written for implied audiences with presupposed social norms and values. The socio-cultural, political, historical and ideological background shape the praxis of a community.[138] The socio-cultural milieu from which the Lukan writings emerged was one of honour and shame.[139] The dominant political power was the Roman rule over the empire.[140] The ideological context shapes the implied author's composition and the implied reader's interpretation. The ideological context is an essential consideration in this thesis. Therefore,

[138] Craig G. Bartholomew, *Introducing Biblical Hermeneutics: A Comprehensive Framework for Hearing God in Scripture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2015), 78; Carroll, *Luke*, 9; Darr, *Character*, 13.

[139] D. Gowler, *Host, Guest, Enemy, and Friend: Portraits of the Pharisees in Luke and Acts* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2008); Jerome H. Neyrey, *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991).

[140] Yoder, *Roman*.

in this study, the understanding of characters' actions, motivations, qualities, virtues, and vices will be limited to the context of the socio-cultural world of the character. Along with the narrative text, it is recognised that the context from which the text arose tells a deeper story and simultaneously restricts the interpretation of a narrative text.

There are two main methods of characterisation relevant to this study. They are direct characterisation and indirect characterisation.[141] Indirect characterisation was the main method used by the writer of the Gospel and by other ancient writers.[142] Part of the challenge in this work is to identify the components of indirect characterisation used by the selected ancient authors.

3.5 Recapitulation and Summary of Proposed Methodology

The mimetic methodology proposed in this dissertation is laid out in four steps. Step 1 consists of a preliminary reading of a sample of Greco-Roman literature with a view to gathering data to form potential categories of mimesis. Step 2 identifies a set of categories relevant for mimesis using data from the preliminary reading of the selected ancient authors. Ten specific categories emerge from this process. They are: Category 1 Plot; Category 2, Compositional Selectivity; Category 3, Relatability; Category 4, Action; Category 5, *Synkrisis*; Category 6, Cause-and-effect; Category 8, Evaluating Vocabulary; Category 9, Narrator's evaluation; Category 10, Stock virtue.

[141] Direct characterisation occurs when a narrator explicitly expresses traits of a subject's character. Indirect characterisation occurs through character indicators in the text allowing the reader to make inferences about a character. Indirect characterisation techniques include actions, speeches, external appearance, socio-economic status, gender, names, interaction with minor characters or conflict. Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative*, 59–60; Yoder, *Roman*, 51; James L. Resseguie, "A Glossary of New Testament Narrative Criticism with Illustrations," *Religions* 10, no. 3 (2019): 6; Dinkler, "Character," 691–92; Kingsbury, *Conflict*; Claire Clivaz, "Douze Noms pour une Main: Nouveaux Regards sur Judas à Partir de Lc 22.21–2," *NTS* 48, no. 3 (2002): 403; Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative*, 61–69.

[142] Burnett, "Characterization," 11.

Step 3 tests those ten categories by applying them in a close reading of selected narratives of Thucydides, Nepos and Plutarch to determine whether they could be successfully applied in a mimetic analysis of character in Greco-Roman writings. If that is found to be so, step 4 is to test the applicability of these same categories to the Gospel of Luke. These categories become the basis for determining whether it is valid to apply a mimetic reading to the Gospel of Luke.

Inherent to mimesis is an adaptation of the process of characterisation in ancient narrative. The ten categories applied to selected narratives enable the discovery of how ancient authors promoted mimesis of character. This process adapts the practice of characterisation to elucidate how ancient authors characterised their subjects as virtuous or depraved. (Figure 1). Characters appraised as virtuous are determined to be suitable for emulation. Conversely, those who are portrayed as depraved are determined for *aphormē*.

The application of the categories to the narrative also facilitates three crucial questions related to the process of mimesis. These are: (1) how does a narrative make its characters mimetic?; (2) how does the narrative encourage the implied audience to imitate or disassociate from the mimetic character?; (3) what virtues are encouraged?

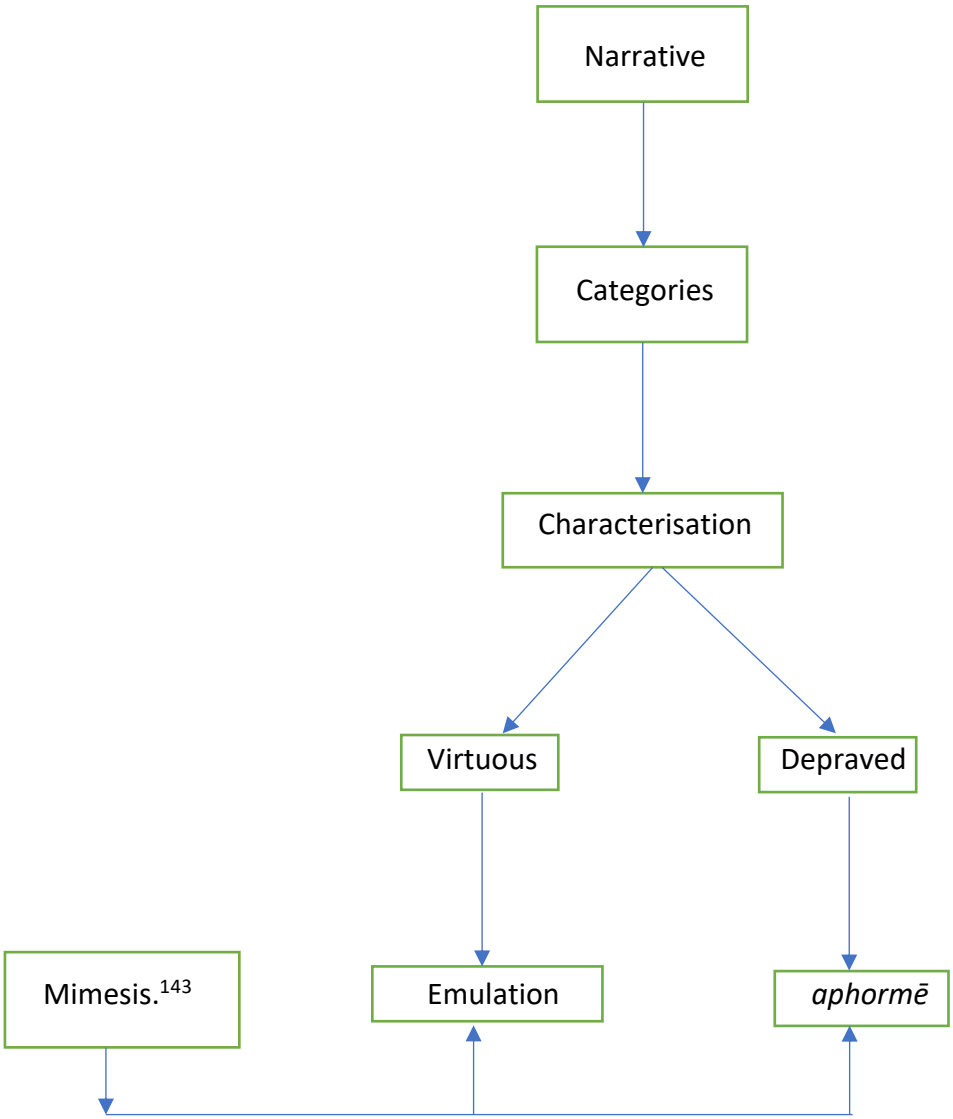


Figure 1: *Flowchart of Mimetic process through Characterisation*

A mimetic analysis consists of noting how the categories are used to praise a character for emulation or vilify a character for *aphormē*. The prescribed methodology enables the discovery and verification of categories relevant to mimesis. Those categories are crucial in observing the process of mimesis in ancient authors and become the basis to test the validity of a mimetic of character in the Gospel of Luke.

[143] *Figure* 1 is an adaptation of Forbes and Harrower's methodology. Forbes and Harrower, *Raised*, XIII, 11–16.

4 Mimesis to the Time of Christ

It has already been noted that mimesis of characters was a central characteristic of ancient writings used to encourage moral improvement. The next three chapters will provide further evidence to support this assertion by testing categories identified for mimesis or *aphormē* of characters in the writings of Thucydides, Nepos and Plutarch. This procedure is warranted because ancient writers have not left us with a systematic treatise on the use of literary characters as *exempla*. The categories that emerge from this analysis will be applied to the Gospel of Luke.[144]

4.1 Exploring Thucydides' Categories of Mimetic

In this chapter categories of mimetic construct in Thucydides will be sought and tested. Selected narratives will prove efficient in demonstrating mimesis in Thucydides will be used. Thucydides wrote as one who belonged to the elite society and for an elite audience.[145] His historical work is significant to this study on mimesis because attaining

[144] An application to the Gospel of Luke is justified as section 3.1 establishes the proximity of Luke and the three Greco-Roman authors.

[145] Ancient Greco-Roman writings were written by elites for an elite audience. See John Marincola, "Historiography," in *A Companion to Ancient History*, ed. Andrew Erskine (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publlishing, 2009), 13; Charles W. Fornara, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 102.
Thucydides (460–395 B.C.) served as a general in the Athenian army and wrote a well-researched contemporary account of the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides 1.22.2). Although modern readers might question his objectivity after reading Book 8, his methodology, as outlined at the beginning of Book 8, remains a yardstick for studies in ancient history. See Egbert J. Bakker, "Verbal Aspect and Mimetic Description in Thucydides," in *Grammar as Interpretation: Greek Literature in its Linguistic Contexts*, ed. Egbert J. Bakker (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 7.

moral living through *exempla* is one of the goals of his writings.[146] The importance of mimesis becomes apparent in his writing as he rationalised the importance of past characters in cultivating virtue. For example, He says,

> Οἱ γοῦν πατέρες ἡμῶν ὑποστάντες Μήδους καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοσῶνδε ὁρμώμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐκλιπόντες, γνώμῃ τε πλέονι ἢ τύχῃ καὶ τόλμῃ μείζονι ἢ δυνάμει τόν τε βάρβαρον ἀπεώσαντο καὶ ἐς τάδε προήγαγον αὐτά. ὧν οὐ χρὴ λείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τούς τε ἐχθροὺς παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὰ μὴ ἐλάσσω παραδοῦναι.
>
> Our fathers, at any rate, withstood the Persians, although they had no such resources as ours, and abandoned even those which they possessed, and by their resolution more than by good fortune and with a courage greater than their strength beat back the Barbarian and advanced our fortunes to their present state and we must not fall short of their example, but must defend ourselves against our enemies in every way, and must endeavour to hand down our empire undiminished to posterity (Thucydides, 1.144.4).

Moral improvement remains a recurring theme in Thucydides' writings, as he continues to demonstrate the importance of past *exempla*. He emphasises that writing

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Only three historical accounts survived the period from 479 to 362 B.C. Herodotus documents the war between Greece and Persia from 499 to 479, Xenophon focuses on Greek affairs between from 411 to 362, and Thucydides chronicles the history of the Peloponnesian War (431–404). With the absence of other accounts of the Peloponnesian War, it is, therefore, difficult to study the selectivity process of Thucydides (Category 1 in our study). For surviving accounts, see Simon Hornblower, *The Greek World, 479–323 BC*, 4th ed., Routledge History of the Ancient World, (London: Routledge, 2011), 5.

[146] Lisa Irene Hau, *Moral History from Herodotus to Diodorus Siculus* (Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 194–215; Simon Hornblower, *Thucydides* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins Univeristy Press, 1987), 184–92. While moral didacticism is an important focus for Thucydides, it was not his only agenda. Along with the pursuit of ethical excellence, Thucydides in his writings aimed to offer geographical knowledge, examples to back up his argument, and, for potential political leaders, to gather expertise in warcraft and statecraft. See R. B. Rutherford, "Learning from History: Categories and Case-Histories," in *Ritual, Finance, Politics Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, ed. David M. Lewis, Robin Osborne, and Simon Hornblower (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Thomas Heilke, "Realism, Narrative, and Happenstance: Thucydides' Tale of Brasidas," *The American Political Science Review* 98, no. 1 (2004): 126. Thucydides' focus on morality allowed him to argue that virtue should be displayed in both normal and extreme situations. See Alek Chance, "Realpolitik, Punishment and Control: Thucydides on the Moralization of Conflict," *Journal of Military Ethics* 12, no. 3 (2013): 263–70; Mary Frances Williams, *Ethics in Thucydides: The Ancient Simplicity* (New York, NY: University Press of America, 1998), 17–18, 22; Sonya Nevin, "Military Ethics in the Writing of History: Thucydides and Diodorus on Delium," in *Beyond the Battlefields: New Perspectives on Warfare and Society in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Edward Bragg, Lisa Irene Hau, and Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis (Newcastle, EN: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 99; Hau, *Moral History*, 190; Clifford Orwin, *The Humanity of Thucydides* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 10–11; Cynthia Farrar, *The Origins of Democratic Thinking: The Invention of Politics in Classical Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 131–33.

history does not consist merely of recording past events but also the past characters to shape his readers' ethical behaviour (Thucydides, 1.123.1).[147] Thus, for Thucydides, historical characters have a didactic, moralistic and mimetic purpose.

A complete study of Thucydides' writing is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Thucydides' account of the Corcyraean revolution and Pericles' funeral oration have been chosen because the Corcyra revolution is a *mise en abîme* story.[148] It reflects the larger context of the *Histories of the Peloponnesian war*.[149]

Thucydides is known to use speeches of historical figures to convey his moral message.[150] Pericles' funeral speech is one of the most famous speeches in the *History of*

[147] Matthew B. Roller, "Exemplarity in Roman Culture: The Cases of Horatius Cocles and Cloelia," *CP* 99, no. 1 (2004): 5–7; Verdum L. Saulnier, "L'Oraison Funèbre au XVIe Siècle," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 10 (1948): 124–57. Thucydides makes an explicit statement about the use of *exempla* see (Thucydides, 2.43.3–4). Moral didacticism was not his only objective. Intellectual instruction is part of Thucydides' agenda.

[148] A mise en abîme story is an embedded narrative that shares the 'plot elements, structural features or themes of the main story.' Monika Fludernik, *An Introduction to Narratology* (London: Routledge, 2009), 156.
The Corcyraean narrative is a mis en abîme story as Thucydides acknowledges that it was the first that occurred and reflects all the ethical view points of the Peloponnesian War (Ἑλληνικὸς μὲν πολέμου Thucydides 1.112.2). Ryan K. Balot, *Greed and Injustice in Classical Athens* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 138; Williams, *Ethics*, 20; Klaus Meister, "The Fall of the Roman Republic," in *Thucydides and Political Order: Lessons of Governance and the History of the Peloponnesian War*, ed. Christian R. Rhauer and Christian Wendt (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 134; Christian Wendt, "Thucydides as a "Statesmen's Manual"?," in *Thucydides and Political Order: Lessons of Governance and the History of the Peloponnesian War*, ed. Christian R. Rhauer and Christian Wendt (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 11–16; Donald Kagan, *Thucydides: The Reinvention of History* (New York, NY: Viking, 2009), 39–41; Ernst Baltrusch, "'I Have Set Out First the Grievances and Disputes:" Greek International Law in Thucydides," in *Thucydides and Political Order: Lessons of Governance and the History of the Peloponnesian War*, ed. Christian R. Rhauer and Christian Wendt (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 56; David Bedford and Thom Workman, "The Tragic Reading of the Thucydidean Tragedy," *Review of International Studies* 27, no. 1 (2001): 55–64. Stephen Forde, "Thucydides on the Causes of Athenian Imperialism," *The American Political Science Association* 80, no. 2 (1986): 438; H. D. Westlake, "Thucydides on Pausanias and Themistocles—A Written Source?," *CQ* 27, no. 1 (1977): 101; Darien Shanske, "Thucydides and Law: A Response to Leiter," *Legal Theory* 19 (2013): 300–01.

[149] Marc Cogan, "Mytilene, Plataea, and Corcyra Ideology and Policy in Thucydides, Book Three," *Phoenix* 35, no. 1 (1981): 1.

[150] Hau, *Moral History*, 197. The History of the Peloponnesian War contains thirty-eight speeches. Some of the speeches in Thucydides' writings are the *antilogia* between the Corinthians and the Corcyraeans (1.32–6), Themistocles' speech (Thucydides 1.91); Pericles' second speech (Thucydides 2.12); Cleon's speech (Thucydides 3.37–40); Pisander's speech (Thucydides 8.53).

the Peloponnesian War.[151] Relevant to mimesis, this speech is epideictic, praising the war-dead and admonishing the audience to show the same resolve in defence of their city (Thucydides, 2.43.1).[152] Pericles revealed that his speech's purpose was to motivate his audience to imitate the courage, dedication, and intensity of those who fell in defending Athens.

The next section includes an analysis of how Thucydides portrays virtue and systematises his didactic moralisation for mimetic purposes through those two different accounts. A detailed definition of the categories follows at the end of Chapter 7 after all the selected writers have been considered.

4.2 Category 1 Plot - Plot as Revealing Implied Author's Design

The methodology for the investigation of mimesis (see 3.3), is now applied to Thucydides by first considering the plot of Thucydides' work. In the *History of the Peloponnesian War*, the plot centres on the conflict between the Spartan league and the

[151] The funeral oration presents an idealistic view of Athenian virtues. Pericles disregards the anti-moral behaviour of the Athenians, which was discussed elsewhere by Thucydides and others. For a comparison of Athenian antimoral behaviour and the virtues portrayed in the funeral oration, see Hans-Peter Stahl, *Thucydides: Man's Place in History* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2003), 20. Albert B. Bosworth, "The Historical Context of Thucydides' Funeral Oration," *JHS* 120 (2000): 12–13.
Flashar and Kakridis argue that the speech originates with Thucydides, not Pericles. Hellmut Flashar, *Der Epitaphios des Perikles. Seine Funktion im Geschichtswerdkes Thukydides* (Heildelberg: Winter, 1969). J. Th. Kakridis, *Der Thukydideische Epitaphios. Ein stilistischer Kommentar* (München: C. H. Beck, 1961), 6. Contra, scholars note that the context, the audience present, and Thucydides' attendance at the ceremony make Thucydides' invention of the funeral speech very unlikely. Moreover, this speech incorporates subtle allusions to forthcoming events during the Peloponnesian War. Panajiotis Asimopulos, "The Authenticity of Pericles' Funeral Oration in the European Historical Thought," *Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology and History* 10, no. 2 (2011): 237; Bosworth, "Funeral Oration," 1; C. M. J. Sicking, "The General Purport of Pericles' Funeral Oration and Last Speech," *Hermes* 123, no. 4 (1995): 405.

[152] K. R. Walters, "'"We Fought Alone at Marathon: Historical Falsification in the Attic Funeral Oration"," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 124, no. 3/4 (1981): 204.

Athenian league (Thucydides 1.1.1) which arose from the Spartans' fear of the Athenian expansion.[153] Thucydides himself mentions,

> ἤρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι λύσαντες τὰς τριακοντούτεις σπονδὰς αἳ αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μετὰ Εὐβοίας ἅλωσιν. δι' ὅ τι δ' ἔλυσαν, τὰς αἰτίας προύγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, τοῦ μή τινα ζητῆσαί ποτε ἐξ ὅτου τοσοῦτος πόλεμος τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστη. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, … τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν·
>
> And the war began when the Athenians and the Peloponnesians broke the thirty years' truce, concluded between them after the capture of Euboea. The reasons why they broke it and the grounds of their quarrel I have set forth, that no one may ever have to inquire for what cause the Hellenes became involved in so great a war. The truest explanations, …, I believe to have been the growth of the Athenians to the greatness, which brought fear to the Lacedaemonians and forced them to war (Thucydides 1.23.4–6).

[153] A. Platias and C. Koliopoulos, *Thucydides on Strategy: Grand Strategies in the Peloponnesian War and their Relevance Today* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 36; Darien Shanske, *Thucydides and the Philosophical Origins of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 159; Marshall Sahlins, "Structural work: How Microhistories Become Macrohistories and Vice Versa," *Anthropological Theory* 5, no. 1 (2005): 26; William O. Chittick and Annette Freyberg-Inan, "'Chiefly for Fear, Next for Honour, and Lastly for Profit': an Analysis of Foreign Policy Motivation in the Peloponnesian War," *Review of International Studies* 27, no. 1 (2001): 75, 87; Stahl, *Thucydides*, 41; Christopher Bruell, "Thucydides' View of Athenian Imperialism," *The American Political Science Review* 68, no. 1 (1974): 11–17; Donald Kagan, *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War* (London: Cornell University Press, 1969), 130. Book 4 narration, for example, is plot-revealing. It narrates the Athenian imperialistic expansion as they invade Sicily despite Spartan efforts for peace. See Bedford and Workman, "Thucydidean tragedy," 64–67.
Andrew Novo contends that the view that the Peloponnesian War was based on Spartan fear of Athenian expansion is reductionist. As an example, Novo highlights the Corinthian alliance as another factor that provoked the war. See Andrew R. Novo, "Where We Get Thucydides Wrong: The Fallacies of History's First "Hegemonic" War," *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 27, no. 1 (2016): 1–8. Contra Novo, the Corinthian alliance is linked to the Athenian expansion. If the Corinthians were successful, they would have threatened the Athenian expansion as they would possess the biggest naval fleet and secure the control the seas and trade routes from Sicily. Naval power was essential to the Athenian empire. Thus far their naval power was unmatched by the Spartans. See Lisa Kallet-Marx, *Money, Expense, and Naval Power in Thucydides' History 1–5.24* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2018), 32, 60, 80–84. Thomas Kelly also shows the importance of supremacy at sea. Thomas Kelly, "Thucydides and Spartan Strategy in the Archidamian War," *The American Historical Review* 87, no. 1 (1982): 25–54.

The episodes in the Peloponnesian war chronicle the opposition of Athenian imperialism by its enemies. They relate one of the most traumatic and violent breakdowns of social norms in antiquity.[154] Thucydides linked every episode to that one process.[155]

Having introduced the plot of *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, in the next two sections selected episodes are examined within the framework of the overarching plot.

4.2.1 Plot: Corcyra Stasis Reflects the Plot of Thucydides' Writing

The account of the Corcyraean revolution (Thucydides 3.82–85) is a minidrama that narrates a local *stasis* that holds a significant link with the overall plot of Thucydides account. The revolution pitted the people (*demos*) against the oligarchs of Corcyra, both portrayed for *aphormē*. Those opposing groups reflect the larger coalitions involved in the Peloponnesian war.[156] In line with Thucydides' plot, the Athenians sided with the *demos* and the Spartans with the oligarchs. Like the account of the Peloponnesian War overall, the account of the Corcyraean revolution is dominated by an unprecedented degradation of society. Both groups (*demos* and oligarchs) acted violently in a savage, pitiless fashion. They exacted revenge and disregarded oaths or justice (Thucydides 3.82.7).[157] The Corcyraean revolution follows the plot of the *History of the Peloponnesian War* as it was marked by extreme violence and involved the two main protagonists of the war.

4.2.2 Plot: Pericles' Funeral Speech Acclaims Elements Key to the War

[154] Chance, "Realpolitik," 263–64.

[155] De Romilly remarks, 'His thought process leads him to recognize in every event the features that relate any one event to the greatest possible number of the other events.' Jacqueline de Romilly, *The Mind of Thucydides*, trans. Elizabeth Trapnell Rawlings (London: Cornell University Press, 2012), 15.

[156] In the account of the Corcyraean revolution, the demos and the oligarchs are groups, and thus they display a collectivist or group character. For structural link of the stasis and the wider war see Sahlins, "Microhistories," 24–25.

[157] Chance, "Realpolitik," 275; Williams, *Ethics*, 44. The narration of the events at Corcyra would evoke a strong emotional effect on the audience. See Simon Aerts, "A Systemic Functional "Three-Dimensional" Approach to Aspect in Thucydides' *Histories* III " *Symbolae Osloenses* 88 (2014): 30.

To understand the connection of the funeral oration to the plot of the *History of the Peloponnesian War*, it is essential to consider the purpose of the speech.[158] Pericles' encomium to the fallen soldiers links them with the greatness of Athens. Pericles exalts the city of Athens and the Athenian values that set it apart from its enemies.[159] He then expands on the valour of the fallen defending the Athenian values during the first year of the Peloponnesian War. They died to uphold the democratic values and the freedom of Athens (Thucydides, 2.35.1; 37.1).[160] The speech is relevant to the Thucydides's plot as it acclaims elements that were key to the Peloponnesian war such as the greatness of the Athenian city, its ideals, and power as a motivation for individual engagement during the war.[161] It also offers valuable insights on the ideology of the Athenians during the time of the war.[162]

4.3 Category 3 — Relatability: Encouraging Mimesis for Implied Readers by Making Characters Relatable

Relatability is crucial in making characters applicable to the implied readers. A preliminary understanding of relatability views it as pertaining to a degree of interconnectedness between the past literary characters and the implied readers of the

[158] Thucydides clarifies that in the speeches he included the substance, and the context of the original speech are echoed but are written in his own words (Thucydides 1.22.1). Therefore, in speech, the focaliser and narrator are in one accord. Here Pericles is the focaliser and Thucydides is the narrator. See Don Fowler, "Deviant Focalisation in Virgil's "Aeneid" " *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 36, no. 36 (1990): 41–42; David Gribble, "Narrator Interventions in Thucydides," *J. Hell. Stud* 118 (1998): 58.

[159] Praising the city and its institutions was a common *topos* of ancient funeral speeches. See Julia L. Shear, "'Their Memories will Never Grow Old': The Politics of Remembrance in the Athenian Funeral Orations " *CQ* 63, no. 2 (2013): 512.

[160] W. Robert Connor, *Thucydides* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 66; Gregory Crane, *Thucydides and the Ancient Simplicity: The Limits of Political Realism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 54; Lorna Hardwick, "Philomel and Pericles: Silence in the Funeral Speech," *G&R* 40, no. 2 (1993): 147.

[161] The greatness of Athens, its institutions and its city is a recuring theme in the wider context of the Peloponnesian War. Chittick and Freyberg-Inan, "Peloponnesian War," 75.

[162] Nicole Loraux, *L'Invention d'Athènes: Histoire de l'Oraison Funèbre dans la Cité Classique* (Paris: Éditions de l'école des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1981), 251, 63.

literary works.[163] Relatability signifies that the actions of a character contain ideals that hold pertinence and applicability to the implied readers who live at a different time and in a different context from that of the character. The readers thus creatively apply those ideals to their own lives.[164] Relatability is an essential category for mimesis because it allows the reader to emulate the virtues and disassociate from the vices in different and unlikely scenarios. Otherwise, if a character is not relatable, it becomes redundant to the reader's action.

Most ancient writers wanted their implied readers to engage the story's characters to influence the reader's actions.[165] Taking the Corcyraean stasis as an example, it is unlikely that the readers of Thucydides would be confronted with a meltdown of society such as occurred during the stasis. Therefore, while unable to reproduce vices in that context, the readers adapt to disassociate from the vices observed in the Corcyraean stasis.

Thucydides demonstrates relatability by claiming a timeless property to his writings. He said,

> δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι, ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως ἕξει. κτῆμά τε ἐς αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν ξύγκειται.

[163] In subsequent analysis of Nepos and Plutarch, it will be shown that Category 2 is Selectivity. Selectivity is present in Thucydides. Shear notes the principle of selectivity in funeral speeches, see Shear, "Orations," 516. Pericles acknowledges the principle of selectivity when he says, 'for the hearer who is cognizant of the facts and partial to the dead will perhaps think that scant justice has been done in comparison with his own wishes and his own knowledge' (Thucydides. 2.35.2). However, it is difficult to ascertain selectivity in Thucydides owing to the lack of comparable sources. The selected passages cannot be meaningfully compared to other sources.

[164] 'In seinem nur aus Fragmenten zu rekonstruieren den Werk *De imitatione* nennt Dionysios von Halikarnassus Mimesis einen Akt kreativer Schöpfung und Aneignung, in der Imitator aus dem Besten seiner Vorlagen wählt und zu einem Neuen zusammensetzt.' Angela Standhartinger, "Weisheitliche Idealbiografie und Ethik in Phil 3," *NovT* 61, no. 2 (2019): 173. Langlands, *Exemplary*, 105–10. Russell, "De Imitatione," 1–11.

[165] Clouston, *Ancient*, 20. Fonara notes that interconnectedness was one of the cardinal doctrines of Greco-Roman *Lives*. 'Each generation subsumed the experiences of the preceding ones and was taught to emulate the best of them.' Fornara, *Nature*, 114; Hau, *Moral History*, 274.

> But whoever shall wish to have a clear view of both of the events which have happened and of those which will someday, in all human probability, happen again in the same or 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 1.22.4).

For him, his history is not merely a chronicle of events but is instructive for future generations. His histories reveal a pattern that will recur in the future.[166] Thucydides is convicted about the timelessness of his writings because of an inherent commonality in human nature (Thucydides 1.84.4; 3.82.2). Thucydides' belief in the core similarity of human nature makes his characters relatable. Thucydides wanted his characters to be relatable as he had a wider audience than just the Greeks or Athenians in mind.

Examples of Thucydides' view of relatability can be seen in his understanding of the timeless value of the Corcyraean revolution. He asserts that the moral/ethical degradation by the characters in the opposing groups is not bound to a specific time and space. In his estimation, his portrayal of characters offers a timeless application to future generations because of human nature's predictability and the constant repetition of political events.[167] He states, 'γιγνόμενα μὲν καὶ αἰεὶ ἐσόμενα, ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνυρώπων ᾖ' (such as happen and always will happen while human nature is the same — Thucydides, 3.82.2).

Pericles' funeral speech offers another example of relatability. Thucydides locates the speech in the context of the moment as it addresses a specific occasion —funeral

[166] Gribble, "Narrator," 54–55; Jonas Grethlein, "Ancient Historiography and 'Future Past'," in *Knowing Future Time in and Through Greek Historiography*, ed. Alexandra Lianeri (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 59; Jonathan J. Price, *Thucydides and Internal War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 17.

Colin Gray notes that the primary motives behind the Peloponnesian war, namely, fear, honour and interest, are timeless, making them relatable to modern conflicts. Colin S. Gray, "The 21st Century Security Environment and the Future of War," *Parameters* 38, no. 4 (2008): 14–26.

[167] Rachel Bruzzone, "The Unfirendly Corcyraeans," *CQ* 67, no. 1 (2017): 18; Williams, *Ethics*, 39–41. Mark F. Williams, "Two Traditional Elements in Thucydides' Corcyrean Excursus," *CW* 79, no. 1 (1985): 1.

oration — with a specific audience (Thucydides 2.36.4).[168] In his address, Pericles establishes the relatability of the fallen heroes by urging his listeners to emulate them (Thucydides, 2.43.1). The desire to make the fallen Athenian soldiers relatable to his audience is obvious when Pericles mentions, μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἔπανοί εἰσι περὶ ἑτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἄν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαί τι ὧν ἤκουσεν· ('…eulogies of other men are tolerable only in so far as each hearer thinks that he too has the ability to perform any of the exploits of which he hears' (Thucydides, 2.35.2).[169]

Thucydides makes Relatability a key concept. He acknowledges that he has a wider audience in mind when writing. The characters in Corcyraean stasis are relatable because the ethical decay displayed by those characters is not constrained to that specific event. In the funeral speech, he presents characters the audience believes they can match. His explicit intention for his implied readers is to observe mimetic characters and emulate them.

4.4 Category 4: Illustrative actions that Portray Virtue or Vice

An analysis of the actions of mimetic characters is essential in determining whether a character is praiseworthy or blameworthy.[170] In Greek thought, virtues were expressed through deeds.[171] Through illustrative actions, the ethical or unethical actions of Thucydides' characters are manifested. Therefore, the actions of the Corcyraeans and the fallen soldiers

[168] Bosworth, "Funeral Oration," 2.

[169] John Banister, "Epideictic Memories of War: Reconceiving the Classical Funeral Oration as Exigence-Driven Discourse" (MA diss., Iowa State University, 2015), 22; Shear, "Orations," 529.

[170] Although common sense would argue that action is determinant in character study, one notes that Aristotle has established the major importance of actions in the study of a character. (Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1450a); Fotis Jannidis, "Character," in *Narratology, 1*, ed. Peter Hühn et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 35.

[171] Timothy E. Duff, *Plutarch's Lives: Exploring Virtue and Vice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 13; Roth, *Blind*, 144.

are essential to determine whether a character is virtuous or lacks virtues. An examination of the action also determines the virtue displayed.

4.4.1 Illustrative Actions in Corcyra: The Decadence of Corcyraeans Positions them as Mimetic Characters for *Aphormē*

During the revolt at Corcyra, the actions of individuals or groups illustrate decadent vices (Thucydides, 3.83.3), thus making the characters apt for *aphormē*. Thucydides relates,

> Τὰ μὲν κοινὰ λόγῳ θεραπεύοντες ἆθλα ἐποιοῦντο, παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἀλλήλων περιγίγνεσθαι ἐτόλμησάν τε τὰ δεινότατα.
>
> While they (party leaders) pretended to be devoted to the common weal, in reality made it their prize; striving in every way to get the better of each other they dared the most awful deeds,
> (Thucydides, 3.82.8).

Thucydides identifies four different actions that illustrate the awful deeds during the *stasis*. He narrates the Corcyraean disregard for the established law (παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀδικεῖν (Thucydides 3.84.2).[172] Next, he catalogues the Corcyraeans' acts of violence.[173] Then he reports the reversal of common virtues. Recklessness was considered as courage, foresight was seen as cowardice, moderation was considered unmanly. Those displaying low moral virtue were glorified (Thucydides 3.82.4–5). Finally, people were indifferent towards some

[172] In violation of known righteous conduct (παρὰ δίκην γιγνώσκοιεν), people coveted (ἐπιθυμέω) their neighbours' goods when trying to get out of poverty (Thucydides, 3.84.1). Covetousness was a manifestation of greed according to the ancient Greeks. See Joseph Roisman, *The Rhetoric of Manhood Masculinity in the Attic Orators* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 174. Laws regarded as essential were rescinded (Thucydides, 3.84.2–3).

[173] The inhabitants of Corcyra slaughtered (σφάζω) personal enemies (Thucydides, 3.81.2, 4). Fathers slew their sons (Thucydides, 3.81.5). People were dragged from the temple to be killed (ἀπεσπῶντο - Thucydides, 3.81.5). Both factions destroyed (διεφθείρω) citizens who were without a faction (Thucydides 3.81.8; 82.8). Assaults were conducted with uncontrollable passions and pitiless cruelty (Thucydides, 3.84.1). The use of the imperfect ἀπέκτεινον (put to death — Thucydides 3.81.2), διεφθείροντο, (destroy — Thucydides, 3.81.4), ἀπεσπῶντο (dragged – Thucydides, 3:81.5) and ἐκτείνοντο (stretch out – Thucydides, 3.81.5) indicates a continuous activity. The syntactical placement of the verb διεφθείρω (Thucydides, 3.81.4) directs the reader's attention to the odious behaviour of both parties.

aspects of religion.[174] The actions of both parties in the Corcyraean *stasis* illustrate vices that occur in the degeneration of society consequently positioning the characters for *aphormē*.

4.4.2 Illustrative Actions in the Funeral Oration Portray Virtue

Pericles in the funeral oration, illustrates the valour of the Athenian soldiers. Pericles having introduced manly courage (ἀνδρεῖος – Thucydides 2.39.1), presents proof (τεκμήριον — Thucydides 2.39.1) of their courage: The Athenian soldiers overcome their enemies even though they never fight with their entire army, fight on foreign soil against people who are defending their homes (Thucydides 2:39.2–4).

Pericles' funeral speech illustrates the virtues of the dead soldiers through their willingness to defend to the death the ideals of their city.[175] Pericles' oration emphasised first the patriotism of the fallen soldiers who fought to defend Athenian values in the first year of the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides 2.37.2). Then he aligned their sacrifice with the ethos of those who perished in previous wars. Thus for him the most significant actions illustrating the virtue of the Athenian soldiers were to fight and die instead of yielding and saving their lives (Thucydides 2.42.4).[176] Their virtue is illustrated by their death for the common good (Thucydides 2.43.2).[177] In the funeral oration Pericles illustrates the manly

[174] For example, instead of upholding oaths, they respected them out of expediency. Otherwise, those oaths were dishonoured (Thucydides, 3.82.7).

[175] Before highlighting the virtuous deeds of the fallen soldiers, Pericles digresses slightly and elaborates on two related subjects. He begins by describing the values cherished by Athenians and compares them with those of other cities. Highlighting the greatness of the city was a common *topos* of funeral speeches. See Ian Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*, Key Themes in Ancient History, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 131; Kenneth R Walters, "Rhetoric as Ritual: The Semiotics of the Attic Funeral Oration," *Florilegium* 2, no. 1 (1980): 1. Next he highlights the ancestors' sacrifice that paved the way for those values (Thucydides, 2.36.2–3).

[176] A requirement of masculinity in Athens was for Athenian men to defend the city's ideals such as justice and democracy. By defending Athens, the hoplite brought honour to himself and his family. So argues, Roisman, *Manhood*, 105.

[177] One of the ways an Athenian soldier demonstrated his virtue was by dying on the battlefield. J. P. Crowley, "Beyond the Universal Soldier: Combat and Trauma in Classical Antiquity," in *Combat Trauma and the Ancient Greeks: New Antiquity*, ed. P. Meineck and D. Konstan (New York, NY: Macmillan, 2014), 17; Sumio

acts of the fallen Athenians through their deaths and declares that their willingness to combat the enemy demonstrates virtue and patriotism and is deserving of praise.

4.5 Category 5 of Mimetic Construct –*Synkrisis* – Comparing Characters to Demonstrate the Superiority of One over the Other

Comparison or *synkrisis* was fundamental to Greco-Roman rhetoric and it allowed a reader to compare two characters, thus determining which is worth emulating.[178] Hermogenes defines *synkrisis* as a 'comparison of similar or dissimilar things, or of lesser things to greater or greater things to lesser' (Hermogenes, *Prog*. 18). It is the comparison of two people, things or concepts.[179] One of its purposes is to assess whether a character demonstrated virtues or a lack thereof.[180] In line with other Greek authors, Thucydides employs *synkrisis* throughout his works. Thucydides uses *synkrisis* to compare opposing strategies of war or behaviours of people.

4.5.1 *Synkrisis* in the Corcyraean Stasis Demonstrates the Inferiority of the Factions

In the Corcyraean Revolution, Thucydides compares ideal behaviour with despicable behaviour. That ideal behaviour which Thucydides calls εὐήθης ('ancient simplicity')[181] is

Yoshitake, "Aretē and the Achievements of the War Dead: The Logic of Praise in the Athenian Funeral Oration," in *War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens*, ed. David Pritchard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 359–77.

[178] Ewen L. Bowie, "Greeks and Their Past in the Second Sophistic," in *Studies in Ancient Society*, ed. M. I. Finley (New York, NY: Routledge Revivals, 2011), 208.

[179] Klyne Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent: A Comprehensive Guide to the Parables of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 517.

[180] Anastasios G. Nikolaidis, "Morality, Characterization, and Individuality," in *A Companion to Plutarch*, ed. Mark Beck (West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2014), 361.

[181] Thucydides calls ancient simplicity 'the chief element of a noble nature' (τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετέχει — Thucydides, 3.83.1). Thucydides evaluates the chaos resulting from the abandonment of 'simplicity'. For Thucydides, simplicity would mean to be moderate, to avoid violence, to be loyal to one another, lacking greed, relying on and trusting each other for the common good, respecting and upholding oaths taken, being wise, open and non-violent, but also acting with foresight and preparedness. Hau, *Moral History*, 212; Williams, *Ethics*, 22, 26.

contrasted to a lack of morality described as οὕτως ὠμὴ ἡ στάσις προυχώρησε (‘To such excess of savagery did the revolution go’ (Thucydides, 3.82.1) or πᾶσα ἰδέα κατέστη κακοτροπίας (‘every form of depravity’ (Thucydides, 3.83.1). Significantly, Thucydides references ‘ancient simplicity’ in narratives where he discredits a person or a group.[182] In this comparison, Thucydides compares traditional morality and a lack of virtue during the Civil War.

Thucydides also compares the characters’ behaviour in a society that is not experiencing a revolution with the behaviour in Corcyraean society while it is undergoing a revolution. A normal society would put religion before revenge and would not put gain before justice (Thucydides, 3.84.1–2). These elements were absent during the revolution, as the protagonists were interested in their gain.

4.5.2 *Synkrisis* in Pericles’ Funeral Orations Demonstrates the Superiority of the Athenian Soldiers

Pericles’ funeral speech contains internal *synkrisis* whereby Thucydides demonstrates the Athenians’ superiority by comparing it with their enemy — mainly Sparta — thus making them worthy mimetic models.[183] The comparison is intended to incite the readers to imitate the Athenians. The prime motivator of the Athenians’ superiority is the

[182] Ancient simplicity compared to the lack of moral integrity was a comparison of life that the Greek elite have enjoyed in peacetime. See Crane, *Ancient Simplicity*, 6, 54.

[183] The enemies with which Pericles is comparing Athens are the Spartans. See Stephen V. Tracy, *Pericles: A Sourcebook and Reader* (London: University of California Press, 2009), 70; Wolfgang Will, "Democracy Without an Alternative: Thucydides, Sparta, and Athens," in *Thucydides and Political Order: Lessons of Governance and the History of the Peloponnesian War*, ed. Christian R. Rhauer and Christian Wendt (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 58; Paula Debnar, "Sparta in Pericles’ Funeral Oration," in *The Greek Superpower: Sparta in the Self-Definitions of Athenians*, ed. P. Cartledge and A. Powell (Swansea, UK: The Clasical Press of Wales, 2018), 1; Connor, *Thucydides*, 66. The Athenian democracy is contrasted to Sparta’s system of government through the contrastive conjuncture ‘but’ (ἀλλά — Thucydides, 2.37.1–3; 2:42.1) He compares their military training systems (Thucydides, 2.39).

bond between citizens and the city, represented metaphorically as lovers (Thucydides, 2.43.1–2).[184]

Comparing the Athenians' and the Spartans' courage, Thucydides, through the emphatic word, 'διαφερόντως' (superior) (Thucydides 2.39.1), reckons that the Athenians' courage is far greater. The Athenian soldiers' courage results from the Athenian way of life, while the Spartan's courage is the result of some external compulsion (Thucydides 2.39.2–4).[185] The Spartans' courage is thus seen as an impoverished version of the Athenians' courage.[186]

The bravery and commitment of the Athenians are also superior because they are the result of careful reflection, unlike the enemy whose actions are often 'τόλμᾰ' (reckless or overbold (Thucydides, 2.40.3). Pericles also compares the soldiers who died in the war with the Greeks and notes, 'καὶ οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰσόρροπος ὥσπερ τῶνδε ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων φανείη' (there are not many Hellenes whose fame would be found like theirs, evenly balanced with their deeds) (Thucydides 2:42.2). The comparisons between the Spartans and the Athenians in the funeral oration highlight the courage of the Athenians as they perished defending their city, making them significant to mimesis.

[184] C. David Corbin, "Whence and Whither Democratic Imperialism? A study of Thucydides' "History of the Peloponnesian War"" (PhD diss., Boston University, 2006), 129.

[185] Karen Bassi, "The Semantics of Manliness in Ancient Greece," in *Andreia Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity*, ed. Ralph Mark Rosen and Ineke Sluiter (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 47.

[186] The Peloponnesians bragged about their superior courage over the Athenians. They acknowledged the Athenians' skill, but did not consider them to be courageous (Thucydides, 2.87.4). About the courage of the Peloponnesian see de Romilly, *Thucydides*, 82–83; Joy Connolly, "Like the Labors of Heracles: Andreaia and Paideia in Greek Culture under Rome," in *Andreia Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity*, ed. Ralph Mark Rosen and Ineke Sluiter (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 294.

4.6 Category 6 — Cause-and-Effect

The cause-and-effect category matches action or behaviour to the outcome, the outcome resulting in moral virtues or vices.[187] The resultant virtue or vice indicates whether a character should be considered for mimesis or *aphormē*.

4.6.1 Cause-and-Effect in Corcyra Portrays the Corcyraeans as Mimetic Subjects for *Aphormē*

Thucydides explicitly links cause and effects in the Corcyraean revolution to make the Corcyraeans unfit for emulation.[188] The adverse consequences of the Corcyraeans' behaviour make them mimetic subjects necessitating readers' disassociation. Words such as 'καὶ ἐπέπεσε πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ κατὰ στάσιν ταῖς πολεσι' (there fell upon the cities on the account of revolutions many grievous calamities' (Thucydides, 3.82.2), 'ὥστε' (the result was that …) (Thucydides, 3.82.8), 'οὕτω' (so it was) (Thucydides, 3.83.1) are markers of the cause-and-effect category. Thucydides noted six disastrous effects resulting from the revolution of Corcyra. First, ancient simplicity (εὐήθης), which is 'οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖον μετέχει' (the chief element of a noble nature) was ridiculed and disappeared (Thucydides, 3.83.1). Second, there was a lack of trust in society resulting in oaths becoming nonbinding (Thucydides, 3.83.1–2). Third, people tried to protect themselves instead of trusting each other (Thucydides, 3.83.2–3). Fourth, rival parties tried to dominate through wits or evil deeds (Thucydides, 3.83.3–5). Fifth, civil unrest as people acted contrary to what was just

[187] The result is not measured by military victory or defeat. A military victory that results in tyranny cannot be viewed as a positive achievement. In his account of the Corcyraean revolution, Thucydides does not say which faction won. He catalogues the moral degradation of the society that resulted from the revolution. In Pericles's oration, Thucydides is aware that his readers are aware that Athens lost the war. However he catalogues the virtue of the fallen soldiers thus making them *exempla* for mimesis.

[188] The words that he uses are: 'there fell upon the cities on the account revolutions many grievous calamities' (καὶ ἐπέπεσε πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ κατὰ στάσιν ταῖς πολεσι - Thucydides, 3.82.2), 'the result was that …', (ὥστε — Thucydides, 3.82.8) 'so it was,' (οὕτω — Thucydides, 3.83.1).

(Thucydides, 3.84.1).[189] Sixth, the Corcyraean revolution resulted in a repudiation of what was honourable and a breakdown in lawful and just things.

4.6.2 Cause-and-Effect in the Funeral Oration Links Athenian Virtue to their Values

In his funeral speech, Pericles establishes a link between Athenians' courage and their civic values. He claims that the Athenians' values, approach to military policy, foreign policy education, and the greatness of their city elicited courage in Athenian soldiers. That courage allowed them defeat on foreign soils enemies who are 'defending their homes' (Thucydides, 2.39.1–2).

4.7 Category 8 — Evaluative Vocabulary Describing the Moral Character of Subjects

In his account of the Corcyraean revolution, Thucydides uses pejorative words to portray the two main protagonists as blameworthy and thus unfit for imitation. These words characterise adversely the two main groups and are significant for mimesis. Words like ὠμός ('excess of savagery') (Thucydides, 3.82.1), τιμωρέω/τιμωρία (seeking revenge) (Thucydides, 3.82.3; 87.7; 84.1,2), express the morally immoral actions of the Corcyreans. Words such as φθονέω (envy), πλεονεξίαν (greed) (Thucydides, 3.82.6, 8; 84.1), πλεονξίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν (ambition) (Thucydides, 3.82.8), κἄκοτροπία (depravity) (Thucydides, 3.83.1), with ὕβρις (insolence), and ἀπάτη (deceit) (Thucydides, 3.82.7) attest to the corruption Corcyra.[190]

Pericles uses positive vocabulary to describe the Athenian soldiers who died during the first year of the Peloponnesian war.[191] The positive vocabulary portrays the fallen as

[189] Williams, *Ethics*, 18–19.

[190] Williams, *Ethics*, 24–25. William has listed more negative vocabulary used by Thucydides to characterize the protagonists.

[191] Pericles introducing the funeral oration, expresses his dilemma, he could be perceived as exaggerating or depreciating the valour of the fallen with his words. The reason for this odd introduction is

praiseworthy, making them mimetic models worth emulating. In the introduction of the speech, he pays tribute to those dead soldiers by employing evaluative language such as ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν (brave valiant),[192] τῖμάω (honour or valour), ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς (valour of many men (Thucydides, 2.35.1). They were not cowards (μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους) (Thucydides, 2.39.1) but their actions were motivated by choosing the path of valour (ἀρεταὶ — present indicative active) (Thucydides 2.42.2).[193] These words attest to the virtuous actions and motivations of the fallen.

4.8 Category 9 — Narrator's Guided Evaluations as Moralistic Guides to Characters

Ancient writers used the narrator's voice to apportion praise or blame.[194] Their guided evaluation refers to instances when they insert themselves in a narrative to offer information that otherwise would have been unknown. Thucydides rarely gives his opinion in his histories, but in the rare places where he conveys his opinion, it often serves as a guide for his moralising agenda.[195]

related to the context of 431 when Pericles delivered the speech. In the first year of the war the Athenians experienced mitigated success compared to their previous victories such as Marathon and Salamis. Asimopulos, "Oration," 234–35; Bosworth, "Funeral Oration," 5–7; Sicking, "Funeral Oration," 406–10.

[192] ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν is used to describe virtues of patriotic men in many places in Greek writings. See Demosthenes describes them in Demosthenes, *Epitaph.* 60.2.

[193] 'ἀρετη," *LSJ*, 238.

[194] Fonara remarks, 'the historian asserted his obligation (as he viewed it) to confer praise and blame in his own voice upon individual deeds, the entire life of a man, and the policies of city-state.' Fornara, *Nature*, 107; Marincola, "Historiography," 13.

[195] J. Allan Rutger et al., "Annexe I: Quatre exercices," in *Le Présent Historique chez Thucydide: Sémantique et Fonction Narrative*, ed. Jean Lallot et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 249; Baltrusch, "Disputes," 56. Jonas Grethlein, "The Unthucydidean Voice of Sallust," *TAPA* 136, no. 2 (2006): 300; Gribble, "Narrator," 41–43.

4.8.1 Narrator's Evaluation: Thucydides Narrator's Voice Depicting the Corcyraean Revolution Indicates that the Corcyraeans Represented Mimetic Characters for *Aphormē*

In his narration of the revolution in Corcyra, Thucydides, with his narrator's voice, guides the reader to *aphormē* by highlighting the lack of morality in Corcyra and offering a glimpse into the inner motivations of the Corcyraeans.[196] Their moral decay made them models unworthy of imitation. For example, using his narrator's voice, he says, οὕτως ὠμὴ ἡ στάσις προυχώρησε, καῖ ἔδοξε μάλλον, διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτη ἐγένετο ('to such excess of savagery did the revolution go, and it seemed the more savage, because it was among the first that occurred' (Thucydides, 3.82.1). Again, in his narrator's voice Thucydides announces the inner motives of different factions, such as self-centred ambition. He mentions,

> καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ ἀλλοτριώτερον ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἑτοιμότερον εἶναι ἀπροφασίστως τολμᾶν· οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν κειμένων νόμων ὠφελίᾳ αἱ τοιαῦται ξύνοδοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοὺς καθεστῶτας πλεονεξίᾳ.
>
> The tie of blood was weaker than the tie of party, because the partisan was more ready to dare with demur; for such associations are not entered into for the public good in conformity with the prescribed laws, but for selfish aggrandisement (Thucydides, 3.82.6).

Later, again using his narrator's voice, he mentions the greed and ambition that motivated the different factions,

> Πάντων δ᾽ αὐτῶν αἴτιον ἀρχὴ ἡ διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν, ἐκ δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ φιλονικεῖν καθισταμένων τὸ πρόθυμον.
>
> The cause of all these evils was the desire to rule, which greed and ambition inspire, and also springing from them, that ardour which belongs to men who once have become engaged in factious rivalry (Thucydides 3.82.8).[197]

[196] Ryan K. Balot, "A Genealogy of "Greed" in Classical Athens" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1998), 234; Hornblower, *Thucydides*, 185–86.

[197] These three quotes are samples of Thucydides' narrator's voice. Other comments can be found in Thucydides 3.81.4; 3.83.1–2.

Thucydides uses his narrators to highlight the evil deeds committed and the selfish motivations during the *stasis* so that the readers may disassociation from the literary characters.

Thucydides uses his narrator's voice to convey moral judgement on his characters and guide the moral assessment of his reader. Conversely, a character portrayed as displaying characteristics contrary to the stock virtues would be condemned by the readers. For example, the Corcyraeans are portrayed as immoral and decadent, thus apt for *aphormē*.

4.9 Doing the Will of God

Unlike Herodotus, who offered a divine basis for virtuous living, Thucydides wrote from a secular perspective.[198] That is not to say that Thucydides disregarded the connection between virtue and piety. Instead, Thucydides might have had the same perspectives as his contemporaries that piety was connected to virtue.[199] During the Corcyraean stasis, Thucydides deplored the Corcyraeans' disregard for divine law, saying, 'their pledges to one another were confirmed not so much by divine law as by common transgression of the law' (Thucydides, 3.82.6). Again, he declared that none of the factions had 'any regard for true piety….' (Thucydides, 3.82.8). That disregard for divine law confirms the unvirtuous characterisation of the Corcyraean factions.

[198] Balot, *Greed and Injustice*, 137.

[199] Williams, *Ethics*, 35. For the link between virtue and piety see Kenneth James Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 1994), 67.

4.10 Category 10 — Stock Virtue: Stock Virtues Represent Virtues Encouraged, while Stock Vices are Discouraged in Mimesis

In a mimetic reading, the observable stock virtues or vices portrayed by a character would be seen as modes to be either followed or avoided.[200] Characters displaying stock virtues or vices would be considered mimetic characters. There were four cardinal virtues in antiquity: justice, temperance, wisdom and courage.[201] Justice, as a virtue, pertains to the treatment of others with fairness and equity.[202] Temperance is the ability to regulate one's desire or appetites in matters of pleasure, sex, use of wine, and greed.[203] Courage was seen as a manly virtue often reserved in its application to actions carried out on the battlefield.[204]

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[200] Ewen L. Bowie, "Poetry and Education," in *A Companion to Plutarch*, ed. Mark Beck (Hoboken, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 184.

[201] Nicolae Sfetcu, *Platon, La République: De la justice —Dialectique et Éducation* (MultiMedia Publishing, 2022), 28; Michael Wade Martin and Bryan A. Nash, "Philippians 2:6–11 as Subservice "Hymnos": A Study in the Light of Ancient Rhetorical Theory," *JTS* 66, no. 1 (2015): 124; Philip A. Stadter, "Plutarch and Rome," in *A Companion to Plutarch*, ed. Mark Beck (West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2014), 22; Colleen M. Conway, *Behold the Man Jesus and Greco-Roman Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 23; Roisman, *Manhood*, 163–66, 73–76; Michael Gagarin, *Antiphon the Athenian Oratory, Law, and Justice in the Age of the Sophists* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002), 35; Tessa Rajak, *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums, Bd. 48, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 205; Lucas de Blois, "Political Concepts in Plutarch's Dion and Timoleon," *AncSoc* 28 (1997): 213; Angela Hobbs, *Plato and the Hero: Courage, Manliness and the Impersonal Good* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Jacqueline de Romilly, "Réflections sur le Courage chez Thucydide et Chez Platon," *Revue des Études Grecques* 93, no. 442/444 (1980): 307–23.

[202] Timothy Mahoney, "Do Plato's Philosopher-rulers Sacrifice Self-Interest to Justice?," *Phronesis* 37, no. 3 (1992): 266; Sfetcu, *Platon, La République: De la justice —Dialectique et Éducation*, 38–39. Du Plessis shows the prevalence of justice and equity in the Roman legal system, see Paul du Plessis, J., "Perceptions of Roman Justice," *Fundamina: A Journal of Legal History* 20 (2014). See also Jan Opsomer, "Plutarch and the Stoics," in *A Companion to Plutarch*, ed. Mark Beck (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2014).

[203] People demonstrating restraint are deemed as virtuous while those controlled by their appetites were seen as lacking virtue. See Roisman, *Manhood*, 163–85. Those unable to control their desires were also seen as unfit for social and political duties. J. N. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 139–249; Douglas L. Cairns, *Aidōs: The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 314–421.

[204] David Lévystone, "Le Courage et les Mots de la Peur dans le "Lachès" et le "Protagoras"," *Phoenix* 60, no. 3/4 (2006): 346; Roisman, *Manhood*, 110–13; Étienne Smoes, *Le Courage chez les Grecs, d'Homère à Aristote* (Brussels: Cahiers de Philosophie Ancienne 12, 1995). For example, a soldier "not running away in the middle of battle" is deemed to be courageous. Moreover, it was not a virtue that one could claim for oneself, but rather was attributed by others. Ineke Sluiter and Ralph Mark Rosen, "General Introduction," in *Andreia: Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity*, ed. Ralph Mark Rosen and Ineke Sluiter, Mnemosyne Suppl. 238 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 6–8. Aristotle defines courage as 'actions that demonstrate a reasoned and moderate negotiation between "boldness" (thrasos) and "fear" (phobos).' Taken from Bassi, "Manliness," 52–53.

Wisdom is one of the oldest virtues in Greek thought, mentioned in Homeric poems (Hom. *Od*. 3.244). Since Aristotle, wisdom has been considered a practical virtue that enabled a person to judge correctly what is honest, just and useful (Plutarch *Demetr*. 1.4), thus making life beautiful and peaceful. Essentially, wisdom is a virtue concerned with the correctness of reasoning.[205] Stock vices include a lack of self-control[206], the abuse of or lust for power (often seen in tyrants),[208] and avarice[209].

4.10.1 Stock Vices Displayed During the Corcyraean Stasis

During the Corcyraean revolution, both factions, operating as group characters, exhibited stock vices that should have been avoided. They were mimetic characters to be avoided. The factions abandoned some of the stock virtues mentioned above. For example, Thucydides mentions, τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλογιστος ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη, μέλλησις δὲ προμηθὴς δειλία εὐπρεπής, τὸ δὲ σῶφρον τοῦ ανάνδρου (reckless audacity came to be regarded as courageous loyalty to party, prudent hesitation as specious cowardice, moderation as a cloak for unmanly weakness (Thucydides, 3.82.4). The vice of audacity is often contrasted with the virtue of courage.[207] Another stock vice present during the Corcyraeans' stasis was greed, manifested through their covetousness (Thucydides, 3.84.1).[208]

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[205] 'Chez les auteurs du IV et V siècle, on relève encore, comme chez Homère, deux charactéristiques de l'homme complet: sa bravoure au combat et sa sagesse dans le discours.' Lévystone, "Courage," 346. Wisdom is different from theoretical "knowledge" which deals with fixed realities such as nature and science. See Francesco Becchi, "Plutarch, Aristotle, and the Peripatetics," in *A Companion to Plutarch*, ed. Mark Beck (West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2014), 76, 78, 80.

[206] Lack of self-control is the opposite of temperance, and it was understood as an obsession with one's outward appearance, prioritising pleasure, or giving in to desires. Susanna Asikainen, *Jesus and Other Men: Ideal Masculinities in the Synoptic Gospels*, BibInt 159, (Lieden: Brill, 2018), 32; Jennifer Glancy, "Protocols of Masculinity," in *New Testament Masculinities*, ed. Stephen D. Moore and Janice Capel Anderson, SBL Semeia Studies (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2003), 242.

[207] Bassi, "Manliness," 31–32.

[208] Greed was a demonstration of lack of self-restraint. See Roisman, *Manhood*, 174–76.

4.10.2 Stock Virtues Celebrated in the Funeral Oration

The funeral oration by Pericles depicts mimetic characters that exemplify stock virtues. Courage, considered a stock virtue in Greco-Roman writings, is exhibited in the ability to face danger despite an awareness of the dangers and was deemed worthy of emulation.[209] In his speech, Pericles commends the Athenians' courage (Thucydides 2.39.1) and acknowledges the demonstration of courage by those who had died in combat in the war (ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν) (Thucydides, 2.43.2). Their courageous death is acknowledged by Pericles thus: ἀγαθῷ γὰρ κακὸν ἀφανίσαντες κοινὼς (blotted evil with good) (Thucydides, 2.42.3).

4.11 Limit on Mimesis — Mimesis does not Mean Exact Emulation of Actions but Imitation of the Virtue

Having considered the categories of mimesis used by Thucydides, it is important to recognise that Greco-Roman authors did not expect exact emulation of actions but emulation of virtue.[210] Thucydides did not expect an exact emulation of the actions of his *exempla*. Rather, he expected his intended readers to emulate the virtues of his *exempla* in different contexts. The most notable example is found in the funeral oration, which offers two perspectives, one from Pericles, who addressed the Athenians in the first year of the war, and the other from Thucydides, who wrote the *Histories* after the war.

A limit on mimesis is already evident in the funeral speech, in which Pericles called on the Athenians to imitate the virtue and not the exact actions of his *exempla*. In the

[209] For Thucydides, courage is a virtue that should be coupled with foresight and an understanding of the potential dangers and joys of a given military activity. Bassi, "Manliness," 31–32. Williams, *Ethics*, 23.

[210] The limit of mimesis is a feature that will be recognised in all the Greco-Roman writers being researched. It nuances Bennema's stance on mimesis which proposes that mimesis refers to 'person B represents or emulates person A in activity or state X in order to become like person A.' Bennema, *Mimesis*, 25. The limit of mimesis feature acknowledges that person B cannot precisely emulate the actions of person A and can never fully become person A.

speech, Pericles recalls the courage of the Greeks in previous battles — the Battles of Marathon (490 BCE) and Salamis (480 BCE) (Thucydides 2.36.1–4)[211] At the Battle of Salamis, the Athenians defeated the Persians in an open battle at sea to preserve the freedom of the Greeks.[212] During the Peloponnesian War, Pericles changed the war strategy. He didn't engage in an open battle but prioritised a defensive strategy. Therefore, except for a few battles, Pericles kept the Athenians behind the walls of the city, unlike Marathon and Salamis. Since the strategy had changed, in reminding the listeners of the deeds of the ancestors in the funeral speech, it was evident that Pericles did not want his listeners to emulate the exact deeds of the ancestors and fight the enemy in the open.[213] Instead, he offers to his readers examples of courage for times of crisis.[214] He calls the Athenians to demonstrate similar patriotism or resolve against an enemy which similarly threatened Athens, its institutions, and ideals such as democracy. Pericles did not suggest exact emulation of deeds, but in recalling the courage of the ancestors and war dead he urged the Athenians to emulate the virtues observed in their ancestors.

4.12 Conclusion on Thucydides — Thucydides Categories Used for Mimesis

Thucydides viewed history as didactic, and characters are *exempla* of virtues.[215] In his writing about the Corcyraean revolution and his report of Pericles' funeral oration,

[211] Thucydides writes the speech after the fall of Athens in 404 B.C. when he composed the *Histories of the Peloponnesian War*. The Battle of Salamis occurred in 480 B.C. and the Battle of Marathon in 490 B.C.

[212] Bosworth, "Funeral Oration," 5; Walters, "Marathon," 204–11. For the limited war excursions of the Athenians, see Sicking, "Funeral Oration," 406–07.

[213] An exact emulation was almost impossible. At the Battle of Marathon and Salamis, the identity of the enemy and the geography were different. In those battles, the Athenians fought the Persians far from their own city. In the Peloponnesian War, they were fighting the Peloponnesian league in the vicinity of the city of Athens.

[214] Bassi, "Manliness," 31–32.

[215] Thucydides' moral didacticism through *exempla* is more subtle and less explicit than in writings of the Roman period. Although intellectual instruction is part of his agenda, moral improvement of the ethical

Thucydides' concern for moral improvement is apparent. What has been said about characters in those two narratives is also true of other characters.[216] In those episodes, mimetic characters—individual or group entities – are *exempla* for emulation or *aphormē*. The main categories of mimetic construct used by Thucydides are relatability, illustrative actions, cause-and-effect, evaluative vocabulary, narrator's guided evaluation, doing the will of God, *synkrisis* and stock virtue. These categories will be fully defined at the end of the analysis of the selected Greco-Roman authors (section 7.1–7.8). The intricacies of the process of mimetic within a narrative outlined in the methodological chapter will be discussed in section 7.9.

character remains a recurring theme in Thucydides. See Chance, "Realpolitik," 263–70; Frances A. Pownall, *Lessons from the Past: The Moral Use of History in Fourth-Century Prose* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 1; Williams, *Ethics*, 17; Lowell Edmunds, "Thucydides' Ethics as Reflected in the Description of Stasis (3.82–83)," *HSCP* 79 (1975): 73–92.

[216] For example, Themistocles, an Athenian statesman whose leadership was crucial in the Persian Wars. In the context of the Persian war, he is portrayed as a person of foresight, astuteness, showing effective leadership, intelligent planning, natural wisdom, the ability to communicate to others what he desired and to pass competent judgment (Thucydides, 1.90–183). Wendt, ""Statemen's Manual"," 154. Themistocles is portrayed as a character suitable for mimesis. Thucydides highlights three deeds to illustrate Themistocles' virtues: (1) foresight in pressing the Athenians to build boats after the victory at Marathon (Thucydides, 1.14.3); (2)foresight, leadership, and planning evident in Themistocles' battle strategy at Salamis which saw the Greeks defeat the Persians in the straits instead of on the open sea (Thucydides, 1.74.1); (3) foresight in making the Athenians build a wall around their city and the port city of Piraeus that offered refuge to the Athenians in times of war (Thucydides, 1.93.1–6). Thucydides also shows a cause-and-effect relationship between Themistocles' encouragement to build ships and their ability to defeat the Persians Thucydides, 1.18.2; 74.1–2). He also uses his narrator's voice to pay tribute to Themistocles for his wisdom, courage, and foresight (Thucydides 1.128.3). Rhodes also notes Thucydides' use of narrative voice to eulogise Themistocles. See P. J. Rhodes, "Thucydides on Pausanias and Themistocles," *Historia* 19, 4 (1970): 393. Wolfgang Blösel, "Thucydides on Themistocles: A Herodotean Narrator," in *Thucydides and Herodotus*, ed. Edith Foster and Donald Lateiner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 215.

5 Exploring Categories of Mimesis in the Writings of Cornelius Nepos

In this chapter the development of the mimetic methodology will continue by applying it to three selections from Nepos' surviving work, "The Lives of the Eminent Commanders, viz. Cimon, Lysander and Timoleon, thus building on the results of the mimetic investigation of Thucydides' *History*.[217] Like other biographers of his time, Nepos biographies were strongly moralistic.[218] The succinct nature of Nepos' biographies permits an efficient discovery of the mimetic categories in his *Lives*. The objective of the analysis described in this chapter is to extract from Nepos' biographies features that are related to plot and characterisation. It is argued that the mimetic categories found in Thucydides are with slight nuances and variations also fundamentally present in Nepos.

[217] Cornelius Nepos was a prolific writer in the first century B.C. (Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist*. 9.63; 10.30) who is thought to have written across many genres. Unfortunately, except for *Excellentium Imperatorum Vitae* and a brief piece on the *Life of Cato* and *Atticus,* most of his writing is lost. Joseph Geiger, "Cornelius Nepos, "*De Regibus Exterarum Gentium*"," *Latomus* 38, no. 3 (1979): 662. He was thus a contemporary and friend of Cicero and Atticus. He migrated to Rome from his native Cisalpine Gaul and wrote mainly from Rome. Kara Braithwaite-Westoby, "Epameinondas the Great" (PhD diss., University of Otago, 2020), 41. Nepos completed his work before the death of his friend Atticus in 32 B.C. Anna C. Dionisotti, "Nepos and the Generals," *JRS* 78 (1988): 38; Dowling Melissa Barden, "The Clemency of Sulla," *Historia* 49, no. 3 (2000): 317. In *Excellentium Imperatorum Vitae*, Nepos writes the biographies of several foreign commanders. In the *Life of Pelopidas*, Nepos clearly differentiates between his writings and historical works (Nepos, *Pel*. 1.1.). Frances Titchener, "Cornelius Nepos and the Biographical Tradition," *G&R* 50, no. 1 (2003): 86; Bret Mulligan, *Cornelius Nepos, "Life of Hannibal": Latin Text, Notes, Maps, Illustrations and Vocabulary* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2015), 3–4.

[218] Titchener, "Nepos," 85; Stephen Rex Stem, *The Political Biographies of Cornelius Nepos* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 61–67. That was not the only reason for the writing of the *Lives*. He also wrote to entertain his readers. Molly M. Pryzwansky, "Cornelius Nepos: Key Issues and Critical Approaches," *CJ* 105, no. 2 (2009): 99.

5.1 Category 1—Plot as Revealing Nepos' Design: Characteristic of Mimesis Methodology.

Following the methodology outlined in 3.3, this section offers a summary of the plot in each of Nepos' biographies of Cimon, Lysander and Timeon.

5.1.1 Plot of Cimon, Benefactor of Athens

The plot of Nepos's *Cimon* portrays an unlikely hero who became a benefactor of Athens. He was in jail because of his father's debt but was liberated when his fine was paid through the marriage arrangement of his half-sister (Nepos, *Cim*. 1). On his release, he became very popular among the Athenians and soldiers, attributable to his eloquence, generosity, knowledge of the law and military art (Nepos, *Cim*. 2.1). He won battles against the barbarians, strengthened the Athenian league and populated Sycrus with Athenians (Nepos, *Cim*. 2.2–5). Although exiled for ten years he was recalled in the fourth year of his exile as war broke out against Sparta. There, he brokered peace to prevent war with the Lacedaemonians (Nepos, *Cim*. 3).

5.1.2 Plot of Lysander Demonstrates a Chaste Character with Vices such as Tyranny and Bribery

The plot of Lysander's biography grapples with the success of a villain who is thus a mimetic character to be avoided.[219] Nepos, throughout the biography, demonstrates the immoral choices made by the Spartan Lysander. Having fought against the tyranny of Athens, he himself engaged in tyranny by establishing the decemviral government in place of the tyrannical rule of Athen (Nepos *Lys*. 1.4–5). When the Lacedaemonians abolished Lysander's ten-person government, he unsuccessfully sought to bribe the priests to assist in his effort to depose the king (Nepos *Lys*. 3.1–3). Having been cruel and covetous during his

[219] Nepos is one of the rare biographers that only list the negative aspects of Lysander's character. Others like Xenophon, Plutarch or Theopompus have a more measured approach, with Xenophon hardly criticising Lysander. William K. Prentice, "The Character of Lysander," *AJP* 38, 1 (1934): 37–39.

lifetime, through dubious means, he sought a letter to absolve himself of all evil-doing (Nepos *Lys*. 4).

5.1.3 Plot of Timoleon Depicts him as a Liberator from Tyranny

Nepos introduces Timoleon as one who frees people from tyranny (Nepos *Timol*. 1.1–2).[220] There onwards, through kernel narratives, Nepos continues to emphasise his role in destroying tyranny. He opposed his brother's tyranny (Nepos *Timol*. 1.3–6). He drives the tyrants Dionysius and Hicetas from Corinth (Nepos, *Timol*. 2) and, despite his great popularity, refuses to wield power over his citizens (Nepos, *Timol*. 3.3–6).

5.2 Category 2—Compositional Selectivity as the Process of Choosing Relevant Narratives

Compositional selectivity is common to historical or biographical works.[221] It involves a process whereby the implied author chooses relevant material from various sources and arranges the selected material in an orderly manner to shape the narrative according to the theme or motif to reveal the implied desire. In the *Life of Timotheon, Nepos* points out that compositional selectivity best illustrates Timotheon's character (Nepos, *Timoth*. 4.2). Three reasons are given for compositional selectivity. These are (i) to create a succinct account;[222] (ii) selectivity enables a greater emphasis on some aspects of a subject's life (Nepos *Alc*. 2.3); (iii) the idea that selectivity is necessary to avoid wearing out readers (ne de eodem plura enumerando defatigemus lectores) (Nepos, *Lys*. 2.1). In summary, Nepos considers

[220] This virtue shown by Timoleon was widely recognised by many ancient authors. See Riccardo Vattuone, "Western Greek Historiography," in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, ed. John Marincola (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 197–99.

[221] de Romilly, *Thucydides*, 7; Ronald T. Ridley, "Exegesis and Audience in Thucydides," *Hermes* 109, no. 1 (1981): 25.

[222] In the *Life of Hannibal*, he explains that selectivity is essential because otherwise it would be too long if every battle of Hannibal was enumerated (longum est omnia enumerare proelia (Nepos, *Han.* 5.4).

compositional selectivity as central to his writing as it shortens his accounts, places the focus on important matters in the subject's life and avoids reader fatigue.

Like many of his contemporaries, Nepos's selectivity follows his moral agenda.[223] In the next paragraphs, his use of compositional selectivity is demonstrated by comparing Nepos's and Plutarch's *Life of Timoleon* and *Lysander*.[224]

In his *Life of Timoleon*, Nepos focuses on Timoleon's fight to oppose tyranny. Although Nepos and Plutarch use the same source, in comparing the two authors, one notices that their account of the murder of Timophanes — who made himself the tyrant of the Corinthians — is similar except for some details that point to Nepos's moral agenda.[225] For example, Nepos ignores the episode where Timoleon saved his brother Timophanes from death in battle against Argives and Cleonaeans (Plutarch, *Tim*. 4.1). However, Nepos notes one subtle detail ignored by Plutarch. He remarks that Timoleon had the opportunity to participate in the tyranny alongside his brother, Timophanes.[226] He also adds that the motivation behind Timoleon's presiding over his brother's death was that he esteemed the freedom of his compatriots above his brother's life (Nepos Timol. 1.3b). Nepos ignores narratives that do not emphasise Timoleon's opposition to tyranny such as the dream of the

[223] Geiger, "Nepos," 665; Ira M. Milne, "Nepos' Biographies as Encomia: A Philological and Linguistic Analysis" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1994), 20; Thomas G. McCarty, "Cornelius Nepos: Studies in his Technique of Biography. " (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1970), 121–31; Pryzwansky, "Approaches," 100.

[224] While an exhaustive comparison of Plutarch and Nepos is a worthwhile study, only a few instances that illustrate Nepos' use of selectivity will be noted.

[225] H. D. Westlake, "The Sources of Plutarch's *Timoleon*," *CQ* 32, no. 2 (1938): 65; Joseph Geiger, "Plutarch's *Parallel Lives:* The Choice of Heroes," in *Essays on Plutarch Lives*, ed. Barbara Scardigli (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 18; Simon C. R. Swain, "Plutarch's Aemilius and Timoleon," *Historia* 38, no. 3 (1989): 328.

[226] Westlake, "Timoleon," 65–66.

priestesses of Persephone affirming that the Corinthians would sail with Timoleon to Sicily and the sign of the fillet crown (Plutarch, *Tim*. 8.1–2).[227]

Similarly, in his *Life of Lysander* Nepos differs from Plutarch.[228] Nepos's Lysander is a vile character who makes immoral choices and ultimately becomes a tyrant. In that regard, Nepos omits certain narratives that elevate Lysander. For example, he does not mention Lysander's strategy in the Spartan's victory over the Athenians during the Peloponnesian war (Plutarch, *Lys*. 10–11). Instead, He portrays Lysander's victory as the result of chance instead of a planned military strategy.[229] Nepos includes the Thasos episode because it reveals his moralising agenda. That episode is ignored by Plutarch. The Thasos episode demonstrates the cruelty and perfidy of Lysander (Nepos, *Lys*. 1.5–2.1).[230]

[227] Other examples of narratives included by Plutarch and omitted by Nepos pointing to Nepos' compositional selectivity are: the duplicitous behaviour of Hicetas (Plutarch, *Tim*. 2.2; 7.3); the nomination of Timoleon as general by an anonymous person (Plutarch, *Tim*. 3.2); most of the battle between Timoleon and Hicetas (Plutarch, *Tim*. 12.3–5); Dionysius' life in Corinth (Plutarch, *Tim*. 14–15); the foiled attempt on Timoleon's life by Hicetas (Plutarch, *Tim*. 16); the aborted attack on Catana (Plutarch, *Tim*. 18); Corinthian soldiers finding safe passage to Sicily (Plutarch, *Tim*. 19); Mago's breaking his alliance with Hicetas (Plutarch, *Tim*. 20); the battle for Syracuse (Plutarch, *Tim*. 21); the destruction of the Citadel and tombs of Tyrants; Timoleon's building courts of justice (Plutarch, *Tim*. 22.1–2); the repopulation of Syracuse (Plutarch, *Tim*. 22.3–23).

[228] Since Lysander is a character from the Peloponnesian war, it is fair to assume that the source material available to Plutarch and Nepos would have been similar. It is likely that they both consulted the works by Ephorus and Theopompus, which are unavailable to us as they are lost. They also had Xenophon's *Hellenica* and Diodorus' *Library of History*. See Prentice, "Lysander," 40; Geiger, "Plutarch's," 186.

[229] Other aspects of Lysander's life omitted by Nepos are the strengths and weaknesses of Lysander in his youth (Plutarch, *Lys*. 2); Lysander's diplomatic endeavour to win Cyrus (Plutarch, *Lys*. 4); his victory over the Athenian fleet at Ephesus, resulting in Alcibiades losing the command of the Athenian fleet (Plutarch, *Lys*. 5.1–2); his being made vice-admiral of the navy at the request of Cyrus' allies (Plutarch, *Lys*. 7.1b–4); his peace deal with the Athenians and subsequent destruction of the Athenian ships and wall (Plutarch, *Lys*. 14.3–15); the theft by Gylippus of part of the treasures entrusted to him by Lysander (Plutarch, *Lys*. 16); the proposal to remove gold and silver from the city by the wise men in Sparta (Plutarch, *Lys*. 17); his show of loyalty to King Agesilaus despite being humiliated by the king (Plutarch, *Lys*. 23.8–9); his continued loyalty shown by going to Hellespont to carry out a mission successfully (Plutarch, *Lys*. 24.2); his death in poverty. For Plutarch, Lysander's poverty at death demonstrates his honour (Plutarch, *Lys*. 30.2).

[230] A narrative mentioned by Nepos and not by Plutarch is the bribing of the oracles at Delphi, Dodona, and Africa (Nepos, *Lys*. 2.2–3). That narrative is in line with Nepos' moralising agenda in the *Life of Lysander*.

The differences between Plutarch and Nepos attest to Nepos' use of compositional selectivity, which is a fundamental feature of ancient biography. Significant to mimesis, Nepos selectivity assists his moralising agenda.

5.3 Category 3 — Relatability: Encouraging Mimesis for Implied Readers by Making Character Relatable

Nepos requires his Roman audience to relate to the Greek subjects of his *Excellentium Imperatoroum Vitae*. However, most of his Greek subjects lived three to four centuries prior to his works and were unknown to his Roman audience (Nepos, *Pelop*. 1.1).[231] Consequently, to mitigate against anachronism or cultural biases, Nepos asks his reader to relate the virtues of great men and women of the past beyond cultural differences. This instruction is given in the preface to the book on foreign generals,

> Non dubito fore plerosque, Attice, qui hoc genus scripturae leve et non satis dignum summorum virorum personis iudicent, cum relatum legent, quis musicam docuerit Epaminondam, aut in eius virtutibus commemorari, saltasse eum commode scienterque tibiis cantasse. Sed hi erunt fere, qui experts litterarum Graecarum nihil rectum, nisi quod ipsorum moribus conveniat, putabunt.
>
> I do not doubt that there will be many, Atticus, who will think this kind of writing trifling in its nature, and not sufficiently adapted to the characters of eminent men, when they shall find it related who taught Epaminondas music, or see it numbered among his accomplishments, that he danced gracefully and played skilfully on the flutes. But these will be such, for most part, as, being unacquainted with Greek literature, will think nothing right but what agrees with their own customs (Nepos *Pref*. 1.1–2).

In this passage, Nepos acknowledges the cultural differences between the Greeks and Romans. Because some readers might be antagonistic toward foreign customs and dismiss

[231] Nepos acts as a specialist proficient in the literature and moral understanding of the Roman world, who writes for an audience that had virtually no knowledge of Greek literature. See Titchener, "Nepos," 87–88; Milne, "Encomia," 27, 69, 165; Geiger, "Nepos," 667; Philip A. Stadter, "The Proems of Plutarch's "*Lives*"," *ICS* 13, no. 2 (1988): 280. Therefore, in his preface, Nepos pleads with his audience to look beyond the customs of his Greek subjects and view their character. He cites a couple of examples, such as Cimon's marrying his sister, as being abhorrent to the Romans (Nepos, *Pref*. 1.4).

the subjects of the *Lives*, Nepos therefore instructs his readers to look beyond the cultural differences and see how the subjects' virtues relate to them.[232] Nepos is intentional and explicit in reducing the distance between the implied Roman readers and his heroes. He does not want his readers to superimpose a Roman judgment on those heroes. Instead, he would like those heroes' virtues to be relatable to his audience.

5.4 Category 4 — Illustrative Action as Identifying Mimetic Characters and the Portraying Virtue or Vice

For Nepos, deeds (*res gestae*) are not negligible as they elucidate the character of the hero and illustrate virtue (Nepos, *Timol*. 1.2).[233] Nepos demonstrates the link between action and ethics when he explicitly links a vice to action through the words, *exempli gratia* ('by way of an example') (Nepos, *Lys*. 2.1). There he illustrates his subject's cruelty and perfidy by narrating his harsh dealings with the people of Thasos. He again explicitly links action and vice in the *Life of Timoleon* with the words *indicio fuit quod* ('shown by the fact that') (Nepos, *Timol*. 2.3).

5.4.1 Cimon's Generosity as a Virtue Illustrated in his Actions

Nepos illustrates Cimon's generosity in five of his actions. (i) He did not arrange for guards to protect his fruits but allowed people to enjoy his property; (ii) he always asked his

[232] Milne, "Encomia," 14; Jeffrey Beneker, "Nepos' Biographical Method in the *Lives* of Foreign Generals," *CJ* 105, no. 2 (2009): 112. The instruction to avoid anachronism and cultural biases is repeated later in the *Life of Epaminondas* (see Nepos, *Epam.* 1.1–3). In this passage, again Nepos desires to make the heroes of his *Lives* relatable to a Roman audience by asking his readers to focus on the morals of ancient cultures without cultural biases. See Titchener, "Nepos," 87–88; Milne, "Encomia," 27, 69, 165. An example of such cultural bias can be observed in the *Life of Cimon* where he marries his sister according to the custom of the Grgeeks (Nepos, *Cim*. 1.2)
An example of relatability is found in his *Life of Agesilaus*. There, Nepos explicitly demonstrates the relatability of Greek generals when he identifies Agesilaus as 'Cuis exemplum utinam imperatores nostril sequi voluissent' ('an example that I only wish our generals had been willing to follow') (Nepos Age. 4.3). He would like current Roman generals to emulate Agesilaus' servitude to the interest of the state.

[233] He acknowledges that while those needs need to be mentioned (Nepos, *Epam*. 1.4), his writings only point to the most illustrious (multa huius sunt praeclare facta, sed haec maxime illustria) (Nepos *Timoth*. 1.2). Beneker, "Biographical Method," 118.

attendants to follow him with money to help those in need promptly; (iii) he would give a poorly-dressed person his mantle; (iv) he invited people from the forum to his table every day; (v) he buried poor people at his own expense (Nepos, *Cim*. 4.1–3).

5.4.2 Lysander's Domineering Actions Portrayed as Vice

Nepos portrays Lysander as showing primarily immoral traits.[234] He illustrates his depraved character by narrating that in the aftermath of Lysander's victory over the Athenians, he established a tyrannical government of ten men from his circle of friendship that had supreme authority.[235] When the Lacedaemonians removed his ten-men government, Lysander retaliated by seeking to remove the Lacedaemonian king. Seeking legitimacy to depose the king, he attempted to bribe oracles at three locations (Nepos *Lys*. 3.1–3).

5.4.3 Timoleon's Deeds Bring Liberation from Tyranny

Nepos introduces Timoleon as the deliverer from tyrants (Nepos *Timol*. 1.3–4).[236] Nepos offers three narratives to portray Timoleon as a deliverer. At the outset, Nepos demonstrates Timoleon's virtue when he presides over the death of his brother who showed tyrannical behaviour against the Corinthians (Nepos *Timol*. 1.3–4). Next, Timoleon defeats the tyrannical Dionysius in Sicily and drives Hicetas, who aspires to be a tyrant, from Sicily (Nepos *Timol*. 2.1). Instead of acting like a tyrant, Timoleon refuses to put Dionysus to death. Instead, he sends him to Corinth for his safety (Nipos *Timol*. 2.2, restores the land to

[234] Dionisotti, "Nepos," 41. McCarty, "Technique," 20.

[235] His tyrannical government seemed hypocritical because he went to war to remove the tyranny of Athenians (Nepos *Lys*. 1.5).

[236] Tyranny was already seen as a bad form of governing from the time of Xenophon and Aristotle. See Ennio Biondi, "La Peur du Tyran dans le Hiéron de Xénophon: Un Cas de Psychanalyse qui ne Dit pas son Nom," in *Peurs Antiques* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2015), 165.

the people and refuses to rule the Sicilians by using fear (Nepos *Timol*. 3.2). Finally, Timoleon defeats the Carthaginians and liberates Sicily (Nepos *Timol*. 2.4).

5.4.4 Conclusion of Illustrative Actions in Nepos

Illustrative actions are a significant way by which Nepos shows the virtues or vices of a subject. In his *Life of Cimon* and *Life of Timoleon*, Nepos acknowledges their good deeds, while in the *Life of Lysander* he points to his vices. Perhaps because of his conciseness, he presents the subjects of the *Lives* as flat characters with mostly single traits.

5.5 Category 5 — Compare and Contrast (*Synkrisis*)

Synkrisis between characters is essential to Cornelius Nepos' biography. In writing the *Life of Hannibal*, he attests to the importance of comparison as a tool that his readers can use to analyse his subjects:[237]

> Sed nos tempus est huius libri facere finem et Romanorum ex-plicare imperatores, quo facilius collatis utrorumque factis, qui viri praeferendi sint, possit iudicari
>
> But it is time for us to put an end to this book and give an account of Roman generals, to make it possible by comparing their deeds with those of the foreigners to judge which heroes ought to be given the higher rank (Nepos, *Han*. 13.4).

5.5.1 *Synkrisis* of Lysander with the Oracles Underlines his Character as Fraudulent

Nepos, in contrasting the oracles with Lysander, accentuates Lysander's viceful character as a corrupter as he seeks to bribe the oracles in three different locations: Delphi, Dodona and Africa. However, none of the oracles could be corrupted (Nepos *Lys*. 3.2–3). Mentioning his failure in three different locations adds some dramatic effect to the

[237] Rex Stem, "Shared Virtues and the Limits of Relativism in Nepos' Epaminondas and Atticus," *CJ* 105, no. 2 (2009): 123.

comparison and shows a clear contrast between him and the priests, who were impervious to taking bribes.

5.5.2 *Synkrisis* between Timoleon and Hicetas Shows Timoleon's Compassion and his Aversion for Tyranny

Nepos compares Timoleon and Hicetas by means of two separate moralising statements. Those two comparisons spotlight Timoleon's showing mercy and his refusal to assume the role of tyrant. The two generals have both been opponents of Dionysius. Timoleon demonstrates virtue after his battle. He did not put Dionysius to death because he desired to show mercy instead of cruelty.[238] Hicetas, on the contrary, 'quem non odio tyrannidis dissensisse, sed cupidiate' ('fought against Dionysius due to his ambition instead of hatred of tyranny') (Nepos, *Timol*. 2.3).

In another contrast between Hicetas and Timoleon, Nepos recalls that Hicetas refused to give up the supreme power when he defeated Dionysius (Nepos, *Timol*. 2.3). On the other hand, Timoleon, after his victory, became a simple citizen of Syracuse, although he could have ruled without opposition (Nepos, *Timol*. 3.3).

5.6 Category 6 — Cause-and-Effect

In his moralistic didactical process, Nepos links certain behaviours with likely inevitable outcomes. [239]In his account of Lysander, Nepos acknowledges that there is a link between hatred of the Spartans by other Greek states and the recklessness of Lysander (sic

[238] ''cuius benignitatis memoriam velobat exstare, eamque praeclaram victoriam ducebat, in qua plus esset clementiae quam crudelitatis,' ('he considered that the most glorious victory was one which was marked by greater mercy than cruelty' (Nepos, *Timol*. 2.2). Another virtue displayed by Timoleon was gratitude. He acknowledged that Dionysius' ancestors had been his benefactors in the past.

[239] Thomas G. McCarty, "The Content of Cornelius Nepos' "De Viris Illustribus"," *CW* 67, no. 6 (1974): 388.

sibi indulsit, ut eius opera in maximum odium Graeciae Lacedaemonii pervenerint (Nepos, *Lys* 1.3).

5.7 Category 7 —Evaluation by Internal Audience.

The term, "internal audience", refers to actors who share the narrative space with the mimetic characters. They often reflect the judgement of a character's contemporaries on the mimetic character. In *Life of Miltiades*, Nepos says, ut non iam solum de eo bene sperare, sed etiam confidere cives possent sui, talem eum futurum 'when he was at that time of his life, when he not only inspired high hopes in his fellow citizens, but even gave them confidence that he would be the kind of man that they found him on longer acquaintances' (Nepos *Milt* 1.1). This passage in *Life of Miltiades* explicitly demonstrates the evaluation or judgment of a character by the internal audience in the narrative. It is a technique often used by Nepos to assess his subject.

5.7.1 Category 7— Evaluation by Internal Audience — Cimon's Bravery and Generosity were Missed by the Athenians after his Death

Nepos notes that after Cimon's death, the Athenians missed his presence because of his bravery in war and his generosity in peace: Hunc Athenienses non solum in bello, sed etiam in pace diu desideraverunt 'For a long time the Athenians missed Cimon not only in war, but in peace as well' (Nepos, *Cim*. 4.1).

5.7.2 Evaluation by Internal audience — the Disapproval of Lysander by the Internal Audience Indicates that he is a Character to be Avoided

Lysander's rejection by the internal audience continues to present him as a mimetic character who is not to be emulated. After winning the war and, as it became clear through the establishment of the decemviral government that Lysander wanted to keep the Greek states under his control, Nepos notes that the Greeks hated the Lacedaemonians because of him (Nepos, *Lys*. 1.3).

The evaluation by the internal audience in Nepos offers the reader a glimpse of the virtue/vice of a subject. This feature often follows the moralising intent of Nepos. Evaluation by the internal audience is rare in Nepos' writing and may be due to the terseness of Nepos' accounts compared with those of other Roman biographers.

5.8 Category 8 Evaluative Vocabulary —Words or Group of Words to Praise or Blame

Nepos employs words that describe characters as either praiseworthy or blameworthy. Words that commend a character portray them as mimetic heroes worthy of emulation and conversely words that denigrate a character present them as a mimetic character for *aphormē*. Some of the evaluative language used by Nepos to describe Cimon, Lysander and Timoleon is presented in the following sections.

5.8.1 Evaluative Vocabulary in *Cimon's Life* praises Cimon

Although an unlikely hero, Cimon is characterised by words that commend him, presenting him as laudable and praiseworthy and thus apt for mimesis. Nepos describes Cimon as *eloquentiae* (eloquent), *liberalitatem* (generous), *magnam prudentiam* (having great skills) (Nepos, *Cim*. 2.1) and *maxim floreret* (most distinguished) (Nepos, *Cim*. 3.1).

5.8.2 Evaluative Vocabulary in *Lysander's Life* Conveys Blame

As a villain protagonist, Nepos characterises Lysander as morally degenerate by applying nouns and adjectives that show him to be blameworthy, such as the following: *avaritia* (avarice) (Nepos, *Lys*. 3.2), *cruddlitas* (cruelty) (Nepos, *Lys*. 2. 2), *perfídia* (perfidy) (Nepos *Lys*. 2.2), *audaxque* (bold) (Nepos, *Lys*. 1. 3), *factiosus* (factious) (Nepos, *Lys*. 1. 3).

5.8.3 Evaluative Words in *Timoleon's Life* Portray him as Praiseworthy

Evaluative words in *Timoleon's Life* assess him as a noble person. Thus, Nepos calls Timoleon's having his brother killed to rid Corinth of tyranny a 'glorious deed'

(praeclarissimum) (Nepos, *Timol*. 1.5). Nepos uses words such *clementia* (mercy) (clementia) (Nepos, *Timol*. 2.2), *amor* (love) (Nepos, *Timol*. 3.4), *moderate tulit* (to bear with patience or moderation) (Nepos, *Timol*. 4.1) and *bonitas* (goodness) (Nepos, *Timol*. 5.1).

5.9 Category 9 — Narrator's Guided Evaluation

In *Timotheus*, Nepos introduces Datames and says, quorum nisi ratio explicate fuerit, res apparere non poterunt ('And unless the true inwardness of these successes be explained, his career cannot be understood') (Nepos, *Timoth*. 4.6). Nepos here acknowledges that Datames' actions necessitate his narrator's intervention to help the reader appreciate his motivations.[240] Interventions through the narrator's voice are frequent.

5.9.1 Narrator's Evaluation: Narrator Portrays Cimon as Laudable in Good or Adverse Circumstances

In *Life of Cimon*, Nepos uses his narrator's voice to characterise him positively. He says that Cimon, habebat enim satis eloquentiae, summam liberalitatem, magnam prudentiam cum iuris civilis tum rei militaris ('had considerable eloquence, the utmost generosity, and great skill, not only in civil law and but in military affairs') (Nepos, *Cim*. 2.1). As a way of reinterpreting the Athenian's banishment of Cimon for ten years, Nepos, through his narrator's voice, describes the Athenians as, ingratorum civium ('ungrateful citizens) (Nepos, *Cim*. 3.2).

5.9.2 Narrator's Evaluation: Narrator Portrays Lysander as Flawed Despite his Victories.

Nepos describes Lysander as a flawed character even though he won battles in the Peloponnesian War. Using his narrative voice, Nepos clarifies for the reader that Lysander's

[240] Datames is a Persian general from the fourth century and Nepos devotes a *Life* to him. (Nepos, *Dat*. 1.1). See Nicholas V. Sekunda, "Some Notes on the *Life of Datames*," *Iran* 26 (1988): 35.

success was due to chance and that despite his victory,non enim virtute sui exercitus, sed immodestia factum es adversariorum ('it was due, not to the valour of his army, but to the lack of discipline of his opponents') (Nepos *Lys*. 1.1–2). He indicates that Lysander was vicious when he says, cum antea semper factiosus audaxque fuisset ('Lysander was always factious and rash') (Nepos, *Lys*. 1.1.3). He also points out that Lysander's military triumph led to his arrogance and stirred hatred between the Greeks and the Spartans: sic sibi indulsit, ut eius opera in maximum odium Graeciae Lacedaemonii prevenerint ('Lysander's victory made him arrogant, and he did things that caused the Greeks to hate the Spartan') (Nepos *Lys*. 1.3).

5.9.3 Narrator's Voice Portrays Timoleon as a Person of Valour

Nepos says that Timoleon, sine dubio magnus omnium iudicio hic vir exstitit ('without doubt this man has shown himself great in the estimation of all') (Nepos, *Timol* 1.1). When Timoleon organised the killing of his brother Timophanes, some thought he was not a true brother or was motivated by jealousy. His mother refused to see him and called him an fratricidam impiumque ('impious fratricide') and cursed him. Using his narrator's voice, Nepos tells his readers that Timoleon, ut antetulerit civium suorum libertatem fratris saluti et parere legibus quam imperare patriae satius duxerit ('valued the liberty of his fellow-citizens above his brother's life and considered obedience to its laws preferable to ruling over his country') (Nepos, *Timol*. 1.3). He describes the killing of Timophanes as a 'praeclarissimum' ('glorious deed') (Nepos, *Timol*. 1.5). Later Nepos mentions that even though Timoleon could have ruled his fellow citizens against their will, he 'maluit se diligi quam metui' ('preferred to be loved rather than feared') (Nepos, *Timol*. 3.4).

Through the narrator's voice, Nepos inserts his voice into the narrative to praise or vilify his subject. He clarifies or explains their actions and provides his readers with an explanation of the subject's motivation.

5.10 Category 10 — Stock Virtue or Vice.

Because Nepos' *Lives are* succinct, stock virtues or vices are not observable in all his biographies. However, the stock virtue of the prioritisation of state over personal interests is observable in the *Life of Timotheus*. Lysander, on the contrary, displays the stock vice of tyranny.

5.10.1 Stock Vice of Tyranny Observed in the Life of Lysander

Tyranny is a stock vice.[241] Lysander was a mimetic character to be avoided as he ruled through tyranny. Although he fought the Athenian because of their tyrannical rule, once he gained victory over Athens, he himself indulged in tyrannical ways by installing a decemviral government composed of only men loyal to him (Nepos, *Lys*. 1.5). When the Lacedaemonians tried to abolish his decemviral government, he reacted with rage and tried to abolish the Lacedaemonian royal power (Nepos, *Lys* 2.1). Lysander displays the stock vice of tyranny and thus in Nepos' *Life of Lysander*, he is a character to be avoided.

[241] A tyrant is stock malevolent character in antiquity. Elizabeth Kietel, "Feast Your Eyes on This: Vitellius as a Stock Tyrant (Tac. *His*. 3.36–39)," in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, ed. John Marincola (Hoboken: Wiley, 2010), 916.

5.11 Limit of Mimesis

In writing his *Lives*, Nepos was manifestly seeking to improve the moral compass of his readers. He demonstrates this through his biographies by placing a stronger emphasis on virtues rather than the deeds of his heroes.[242]

Since Nepos was writing at a time when the foreign generals were already dead, it is evident that he was not seeking mimesis involving literal imitation. In line with his moralistic purpose, it is most likely that he was seeking to encourage his intended readers to imitate the ethics underlying that behaviour.

Unlike his subjects, Nepos did not require his implied readers to go to war. His prime interest was in the mimesis of the virtues of famous men. In Nepos biographies, *Lives of Foreign Generals*, he focuses primarily on the habits and morals that lie behind the great deeds of famous men.[243] This focus is evident as Nepos pays little regard to geography, history and chronology but makes morals the focus of his biographical writings.[244] Nepos' focus on virtue is evident in the *Life of Epaminondas*. Instead of elaborating on the most significant victory of his hero — the battle of Leuctra — Nepos insists that the victory at Leuctra served to demonstrate Epaminondas' eloquence (Nepos, *Epam.* 6.4) and dedication to his fellow citizen (Nepos, *Epam*. 10.3). The fact that Nepos emphasises Epaminondas' virtues over his significant victory against the Spartans at the battle of Leuctra (Diodorus, 15.53–55; Pausanias, 9.13.3–11; Xenophon, *Hell*. 6.4–17) is an indication that his focus is on virtues.[245]

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[242] McCarty, "Content," 388; Adolfo C. Martinez, "Épaminondas de Thèbes, Miroir de la Noblesse: La Construction du je Nobilaire à Partir des Modèles Classiques.," *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 97, 2 (2018): 3; Beneker, "Biographical Method," 109–21.

[243] Stem, "Shared," 124–25; McCarty, "Technique," 150–51.

[244] McCarty, "Content," 383.

[245] Braithwaite-Westoby, "Epameinondas," 118.

The same pattern can be seen In Nepos' *Life of Miltiades*. In describing the battle of Marathon, Nepos spends less time describing the actual battle and spends more time emphasising the preparation, the valour and the courage of the soldiers and Miltiades' political wisdom and rhetorical abilities (Nepos, *Mil*. 4–6).[246] In the *Life of Agesilaus*, he demonstrates the priority of virtue over physical appearance.

> Atque hic tantus vi rut naturam fautricem habuerat in tribuendis animi virtutibus, sic maleficam nactus est in corpore fingendo; nam et statura fuit humili et corpore exiguo et claudus altero pede. Quae res etiam nonnulam adferebat deformitatem atque ignoti, faciem eius cum intuerentur, contemnebant; qui autem virtutes noverant non poterant admirari satis.
>
> But although Nature had favoured this great man bestowing qualities of mind, in fashioning his body he found her unkindly; for he was short of stature, of slender frame, and lame in one foot. These defects made him somewhat ill-favoured, and strangers, who judged him from his appearance, where apt to look upon him with contempt; but those who knew his good qualities could not sufficiently admire him (Nepos, *Agel*. 8.1).

In *Life of Agesilaus*, Nepos says of Agesilaus that he is 'Cuis exemplum utinam imperatores nostri sequi voluissent' ('an example that I only wish our generals had been willing to follow') (Nepos, *Age*. 4.3). Agesilaus renounced the conquest of Persia despite commanding an army that would have most likely defeated the Persians. He instead returned home to fight Spartans at the command of the magistrates (Nepos, *Age*. 4.3). Nepos wrote at a time of corruption in Rome.[247] As such, his purpose was more to encourage imitating the moral standard of Agesilaus rather than to promote an exact imitation of his deeds.

[246] Beneker, "Biographical Method," 119.

[247] Dionisotti, "Nepos," 39; Fergus Millar, "Cornelius Nepos, 'Atticus' and the Roman Revolution," *G&R* 35, no. 1 (1988): 43.

5.12 Conclusion of Nepos' Chapter

This selected reading from Nepos' biographical accounts demonstrates that his *Lives* are overshadowed by his proclivity for moral didactic. Nepos is not a detached or impartial biographer. As noted, Nepos' compositional selectivity ignores many historical facts about his biographical subject. He decides what to include and what to exclude based on his moral agenda. Furthermore, Nepos places such an emphasis on morals that instead of being engaged in offering factual truth, he offers a truth that turns his biography into a moral depiction of heroes who are viewed as *exempla*. Nepos' biographical purpose in writing the *Lives of Foreign Generals* is mainly to promote moral didactism and to use heroes to encourage mimesis of virtues and *aphormē* of vices.

The examination of selected biographies in Nepos has revealed categories of mimesis. The main categories of mimetic construct used by Nepos are plot, selectivity, relatability, illustrative actions, cause-and-effect, evaluative vocabulary, narrator's guided evaluation, *synkrisis* and stock virtue. As previously stated, these categories will be fully defined in 7.1–7.8 and the questions related to mimesis in a narrative outlined in the methodological chapter will also be discussed in section 7.9.

6 Exploring Plutarch's Categories of Mimesis

In this chapter the mimetic methodology articulated in chapter 3, is applied to three selections from Plutarch's *Lives*.[248] Plutarch's interest in moral improvement is explicit but not limited to his essays in *Moralia*.[249] In his estimation, virtue is the greatest of divine attributes (Plutarch, *Arist*. 6.2). Plutarch's writing was aimed at the ruling classes of the Greco-Roman elite. The subjects in Plutarch's *Lives* were generals, kings, magistrates and emperors.[250] His implied audience were a highly educated elite demographic.[251]

His interest in virtues was not limited to the *Moralia* but extended to the later writing of *Lives*. His *Parallel Lives* has moralistic purposes.[252] In the *Lives*, Plutarch sought to

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[248] Plutarch was a prolific second sophist writer who aimed to improve his readers' morals through the instruction of virtue (Plutarch, *On whether virtues can be taught*, 439A–440C). Becchi, "Plutarch, Aristotle," 76; Nikolaidis, "Morality," 351.

[249] Some of those essays are *Virtue and Vice, How a man may become aware of his progress in virtue, On the fortune of the Romans, On the fortune or the virtue of Alexander, Can virtue be taught?, On moral virtue, Whether vice is sufficient to cause unhappiness, On the control of anger*. See also Tim Duff, *Plutarch's Lives: Exploring Virtue and Vice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 51–71.

[250] So argues Marincola, "Historiography," 13; Geiger, "Plutarch's," 165.

[251] See TImothy E. Duff, "Plutarch's '*Lives*' and the Critical Reader," in *Virtues for the People: Aspects of Plutarch's Ethics*, ed. Geert Roskam and Luke Van der Stockt (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011), 59–82.

[252] Frederick E. Brenk, "Setting a Good *Exemplum*: Case Studies in *Moralia*, the *Lives* as Case Studies," in *The Unity of Plutarch's Work 'Moralia' Themes in the 'Lives', Features of the 'Lives' in the 'Moralia'*, ed. Anastasios G. Nikolaidis (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008); Russell, "Reading," 75–94; Heinz Gerd Ingenkamp, "*Moralia* in the *Lives*: The Charge of Rashness in *Pelopidas/Marcellus*," in *The Unity of Plutarch's Work: 'Moralia' Themes in the 'Lives', Features of the 'Lives' in the 'Moralia'*, ed. Anastasios G. Nikolaidis (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008); Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 55; Sven-Tage Teodorsson, "The Education of Rulers in Theory (*Mor*.) and Practice (*Vitae*)," ed. Anastasios G. Nikolaidis, *The Unity of Plutarch's Work 'Moralia' Themes in the 'Lives', Features of the 'Lives' in the 'Moralia'* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008).
Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* was a literary style that was not common in his days. They were not written as individual biographies but in pairs, with thirteen of them containing a prologue at the beginning and eighteen

encourage the imitation of virtues and disassociation from vices of known historical figures.[253] The public's knowledge of those characters made them ideal candidates for the moral instructions of his *Lives*.

This chapter is focussed on three *Lives*: Pericles, Fabius, and Demetrius. These three offer a sample of Plutarch's categories for mimesis or *aphormē*. Pericles was the Athenian general during the Peloponnesian War. Fabius was a general and statesman during the Second Punic War. Both were ideal statesmen and thus ideal candidates for imitation.[254] The *Life of Demetrius*, provides an insight into a character who, despite his potential, is considered to have failed because of his vices and is thus a character for *aphormē*.

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ending with a formal *synkrisis* at the end. Plutarch often refers to the parallel lives with their *synkrises* as a book. Timothy E. Duff, "The Structure of the Plutarchan Book," *Cl. Ant.* 30, no. 2 (2011): 213–14; Timothy E. Duff, "The Prologues," in *A Companion to Plutarch*, ed. Mark Beck (West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2014), 333.

[253] Philip A. Stadter, "Introduction," in *Plutarch and the Historical Tradition*, ed. Philip A. Stadter (London: Routledge, 1992), 1; Joseph John Rose, "The Concept of 'Arete' in Plutarch's "Parallel *Lives*"" (PhD diss., State University of New Jersey, 1988); Gill, "Character-Development," 472; W. Jeffrey Tatum, "Why *Parallel Lives*?," in *Plutarch's Lives: Parallelism and Purpose*, ed. Noreen Humble (Swansea: The Classic Press of Wales, 2010), 6.
Plutarch provides an insight into his selection of heroes for his *Lives* when he says, that he chose 'noblest and most estimable characters' (Plutarch, *Cim*. 1.5).
Plutarch's unique composition method was to pair *Lives* of Greeks and Romans. Hans Beck et al., "The Republic and its Highest Office: Some Introductory Remarks on the Roman Consulate," in *Consuls and Res Publica: Holding High Office in the Roman Republic*, ed. Hans Beck et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 13.

[254] Plutarch follows Plato's understanding of the ideal statesman. A statesman should not be rash but seek the welfare and peace of the city. He should be governed by virtue and seek to establish justice. Stadter, "Plutarch and Rome," 18; Christopher Pelling, "Political Philosophy," in *A Companion to Plutarch*, ed. Mark Beck (West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2014), 149.
On the roles of Pericles and Fabius Maximus, see Tracy, *Pericles*, 146; Philip A. Stadter, "Plutarch's Comparison of Pericles and Fabius Maximus," in *Essays on Plutarch Lives*, ed. Barbara Scardigli (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 160; Thomas R. Martin, *Pericles: A Biography in Context* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 12.
The *Life of Fabius* offers a rare piece of literature demonstrating the ethical way to behave as a general. See Sophia A. Xenophontos, "Περὶ ἀγαθοῦ στρατηγοῦ: Plutarch's Fabius Maximus and the Ethics of Generalship," *Hermes* 140, 2 (2012): 160.

6.1 Category 1 – Plot: Plutarch's Plot as Revealing Virtue

The objective in this section is to determine how the plot in Plutarch's *Lives* reveals virtue and vice. The prologues to the *Parallel Lives* are plot-revealing as they often unveil a moral theme as the rationale for the pairing of Roman and Greek *Lives*.[255] As noted in 3.3, the plot is revealed through an interaction between the hero and various characters and the resolution of different conflicts.[256]

6.1.1 Pericles' Plot Reveals his Dominant Virtue

In the prologue to the *Lives of Pericles and Fabius*, Plutarch introduces πραότης (mildness or gentleness) as the common virtue of both (Plutarch *Per*. 2:4).[257] Pericles πραότης is significant to the plot as Plutarch portrays Pericles as an Athenian general who displayed his πραότης in various situations.[258] The significance of πραότης in *Life of Pericles* is demonstrated by the *inclusio* at its beginning and the end (Plutarch *Per*. 2:4; 39:1, 5). In chapters 3 to 14, Plutarch presents a blurry picture of Pericles. However, chapter fifteen is a narrative pivot in Plutarch's narrative. The words, οὐκέθ᾽ ὁ αὐτος ἦν οὐδ᾽ὁμοίως ('but then he was no longer the same man as before (Plutarch *Per*. 15.2) are clear markers of the pivot

[255] This feature is found in the prologue of Plutarch's *Phoc.–Cat. Min., Dion-Brut., Pel.–Marc., Demetr.-Ant., Ag./Cleom.–Gracchi, Cor.–Alc*. See Nikolaidis, "Morality," 360; Duff, "Prologues," 339; Stadter, "Proems," 275; Chrysanthos S. Chrysanthou, "The Proems of Plutarch's *Lives* and Historiography," *Histos* 11 (2017): 130. In the paired lives of Pelopidas and Marcellus, he considers the issue of being inconsiderately rash and daring in war (ἀλογίστως παράβολον καὶ τολμηρὸν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς (Plutarch, *Pel*. 1.1). He then passes judgement on Pelopidas and Marcellus based on the moralising virtue of the paired *Lives*. See Ingenkamp, "Pelopidas/Marcellus," 264.

[256] Sophia A. Xenophontos, *Ethical Education in Plutarch: Moralising Agents and Contexts* (Berllin: De Gruyter, 2016), 162–63; Bradley Buszard, "Caesars Ambition: A Combined Reading of PLutarch's "Alexander-Caesar" and "Pyrrhus-Marius?"," *TAPA* 138, no. 1 (2008): 207.

[257] Although πραότης is defined as reasonableness, fairness, mildness and gentleness by Liddell & Scott ('πραότης' *Liddell and Scott*, 1459), Philip Stader asserts that πραότης is best rendered as 'self-control.' Stadter, "Plutarch," 160; Philip A. Stadter, "The Rhetoric of Plutarch's Pericles," *Ancient Society* 18 (1987): 254.

[258] A. B. BreeBaart, "Plutarch and the Political Development of Pericles," *Mnemosyne* 24, no. 3 (1971): 264; Simon Swain, "Character Change in Plutarch," *Phoenix* 43, no. 1 (1989): 67.

in Pericles' *Life*. He transitions Pericles from being a demagogue to one displaying his πραότης.[259]

From chapters 18 to 35, with some minor digressions, Plutarch relates episodes of military campaigns that demonstrate Pericles' virtues as a general. Thus, Pericles is appropriately introduced with the words 'ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατηγίαις' ('In his capacity as a general') (Plutarch, *Per*. 18. 1). These plot-revealing episodes illustrate Pericles' dominant virtue as πραότης.

To begin, Plutarch reveals Pericles' πραότης by contrasting Pericles' and Tolmides' overzealousness. Tolmides' overzealousness caused his failure in Boeotia and loss of lives. Pericles πραότης, on the contrary, brought the Athenians victory against Chersonesus and did not endanger any of his soldiers or fellow citizens (Plutarch, *Per*. 18.2–3). Pericles' πραότης is next observed as he restrained his citizens' desire for further conquest. That strategy proved important as it allowed the Athenians to defend their territory against the Lacedaemonian's invasion (Plutarch, *Per*. 20.2b–3). Thereafter, in the war against Samos, Pericles' πραότης can be observed when he chose a more prolonged and costlier strategy by laying siege to the city instead of adopting a quicker strategy but which would put his men at risk (Plutarch, *Per*. 25–27.1). Pericles again proved his πραότης as the Peloponnesian War approached by refusing to engage the enemy, despite the urging of the Athenians (Plutarch, *Per*. 33.3–5). Instead, Pericles kept the Athenians safe by walling them inside the city.

[259] According to Gill, an adult who improves his character is an acceptable character. Gill, "Character-Development," 478.

After his pivot chapter (Plutarch *Per*. 15), Plutarch uses the rhetorical devices of repetition and comparison to express Pericles' πραότης, his dominant ethical trait.[260] Plutarch's plot deliberately enhances, repeats, and establishes Pericles as a person with the virtue of πραότης. The character of Pericles is subordinate to his plot. Episodes chosen in his *Life of Pericles* portray his πραότης. The significance of the plot in enhancing the dominant traits of Fabius and Demetrius will again be observed through the investigation below.

6.1.2 Fabius Plot as Revealing his Dominant Virtue.

In the *Life of Fabius*, Plutarch's plot demonstrates Fabius' πραότης (Plutarch, *Fab*. 1.5–6) during the second Punic War as he attempted to deprive Hannibal from war.[261] In following events Plutarch continues to emphasise Fabius' πραότης by means of a comparing Fabius with several other foil characters.[262]

The first foil character is Gaius Flaminius, whose defeat by Hannibal prompted the Romans to appoint Fabius as their dictator because of his courage and prudence (Plutarch, *Fab*. 3.2–6).[263] The second foil character is Minucius, who was characterised by his eagerness to fight against the odds and was over-bold (φιλομαχῶν ἀκαίρως καὶ θρασθνόμενος) (Plutarch, *Fab*. 5.4). Minucius' army faced destruction at the hands of

[260] A close reading of Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* will reveal other aspects of Pericles. For example, he was a builder of Athens (Plutarch, *Per*. 13), a father (Plutarch, *Per*. 24.5), and the lover of Aspasia (Plutarch *Per*. 24). These are not Plutarch's primary focus.

[261] Langlands, *Exemplary*, 307.

[262] A foil character is a minor character whose main purpose is to reveal aspects or attributes of another character, often the main character. Through contrast, the character traits of a foil emphasise the defining features of another character. Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism*, 124; Richard F. Dietrich and Roger H. Sundell, *The Art of Fiction*, 3d ed. (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), 76. Beck talks about the prevalence of foil characters in Plutarch by saying, 'Figuren aus dem unmittelbaren Umfeld der Hauptfigur, die in den *plot* eingeflochten wurden, um einen Kontrast zu ihr zu erzielen und ihren Charakter *e negativo* zu bestimmen.' Hans Beck, "Interne *Synkrisis* bei Plutarch," *Hermes* 130, no. 4 (2002): 168–70.

[263] The appointment of a dictator was rare in Rome and occurred only on three occasions in the fourth century B.C. Daniel J. Gargola, *The Shape of the Roman Order: The Republic and its Spaces* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 147.

Hannibal and had to be rescued by Fabius (Plutarch, *Fab*. 11.4). The two more foil characters were Terentius Varro and Paulus Aemilius. Terentius was inexperienced (ἀπερία) and Paulus Aemilius was overbold (θρασύτης). They both were defeated by Hannibal, the Roman army losing fifty thousand men and allowing Hannibal to gain a strategic position in Italy (Plutarch, *Fab*. 17. 2). Plutarch's plot in *his Life of Fabius* showed that Fabius' suffering no such defeat was due to his πραότης.

6.1.3 Demetrius's Plot as Demonstrating his Vices.

Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius* offers the reader a character apt for *aphormē*. The prologue of the paired *Lives of Demetrius and Antony* indicates that they were both γενόμενοι δ᾽ ὁμοόως ἐρωτικοί, ποτικοί, στρατιωτικοί, μεγαλόδωροι, πολυτελεῖς, ὑβρισταί ('amorous, bibulous, warlike, munificent, extravagant and domineering' – Plutarch, *Demetr*. 1.7).[264] The plot of Plutarch's Demetrius reveals a young man gifted with beautiful natural features, seeking the Greeks' liberation but failing due to his vices. This lack of consistency is manifested throughout the narrative as he is presented as someone very efficacious in war but who also gives in to passion without restraint or temperance. Demetrius led a life of debauchery (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 9.3;14.3; 16.3; 19.3–6), lived in luxury (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 1.7–8; 2.3; 18.2; 19.3; 27.1; 41.4–5;42.1), governed his subjects as an autocrat (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 24; 42) and fought unnecessary wars (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 21; 28.1; 33.2).

6.1.4 Importance of Plots in Plutarch for Mimesis.

Plutarch's plots focus on the virtues or vices of his subjects. The various episodes place the heroes in different contexts where they manifest their virtues or vices. Through their concentration on the moralising element, the plots guide the composition of Plutarch's

[264] These were the characteristics of inconsistent people whose lives were best avoided. Duff, *Plutarch's lives*, 90, 280.

biographies. The plot unifies and brings coherence to the narrative of each *Life*. As a revelation of virtue or vice, Plutarch's plot is vital to mimesis. It allows readers to observe which subjects are candidates for either mimesis or *aphormē*. Plot offers a valuable guide for the reader to identify heroes and antagonists, allowing readers to evaluate characters in the narrative. It imposes a limit on mimesis.[265] It demonstrates which virtues ought to be imitated.

6.2 Category 2 — Compositional Selectivity with Plutarch Streamlining his Source Material

As noted in section 5.2, every historian or biographer chooses what they include or omit through a selection process to shape their narrative. Plutarch is no exception. Plutarch acknowledges that compositional selectivity is part of his methodological consideration when writing the *Lives*. In the paired *Lives of Alexander and Caesar*, he says:

> διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑποκειμένων πράξεων οὐδὲν ἄλλο προεροῦμεν ἢ παραιτησόμεθα τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας, ἐὰν μὴ μάντα μηδὲ καθ᾽ἕκαστον ἐξειργασμένως τι τῶν περιβοήτων ἀπαγγέλλωμεν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιτέμνοντες τὰ πλεῖστα, μὴ σθκοφανταῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους, οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πράξεσι πάντως ἔνεστι δήλωσις ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας (Plutarch, *Alex*. 1.1-2).
>
> 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 all of 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; and in the most illustrious deeds there is not always a manifestation of virtue and vice…

The prologues to *Alexander-Caesar* and *Nicias-Crassus* explicitly affirm that Plutarch does not cover the whole spectrum of his subject's life. Instead, he chooses events that serve his

[265] Plot often encourages virtues and not actions. For example, refer to Pericles' narratives, it encourages calmness and not fighting wars against the Lacedaemonians.

moral purpose.[266]

6.2.1 Plutarch's Compositional Selectivity in Pericles' βίος Highlights his Virtue (πραότης)

This section sought to demonstrate the occurrence of compositional selectivity in Plutarch.[267] Compositional selectivity in Plutarch's portrayal of Pericles emphasises his virtue and, consequently, portrays him as a mimetic figure for emulation. Compositional selectivity in Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* can be observed when comparing Plutarch's and Thucydides' portrayals of Pericles,[268] where substantial variations in the accounts are notable. Plutarch portrays Pericles as a general with πραότης who prioritises the safety of the Athenians (Plutarch, *Per*. 27.1). Thucydides at times portrays Pericles as a hasty general. He illustrates his hastiness when he rushes to meet the Phoenicians at sea. That decision led to the destruction of the unprotected Athenian naval station by the Samians (Thucydides 1.116.1–117.1).[269] That hastiness runs contrary to Plutarch's attribution of πραότης to Pericles.[270]

Plutarch also changes the circumstantial evidence of events to highlight Pericles'

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[266] Pelling offers an insight into Plutarch's compositional technique. He demonstrates that Plutarch simplifies his material by merging similar items, condensing the timeline of events, displacement of, and fabricating contexts. Christopher Pelling, "Plutarch's Adaptation of his Source-Material," in *Essays on Plutarch Lives*, ed. Barbara Scardigli (Oxford, NY: Clarendon Press, 1995), 125–33.
He again expresses the prevalence of compositional selectivity in his writiings in the proem of *Nicias-Crassus* (Plutarch, *Nic*. 1).

[267] A study in compositional selectivity comparing Plutarch and other ancient writers is an enormous enterprise. Such a study will prove excessive and not permit the set objective of allowing categories of mimesis to emerge.

[268] Plutarch used Thucydides' writings when writing the *Lives of Pericles*, *Alcibiades* and *Nicias*. See de Romilly, "Plutarch," 22.
Compositional selectivity can also be noted as Plutarch portray Pericles differently in his different *Lives*. For example, in his *Life of Nicias*, Plutarch highlights Pericles' natural eloquence and not his πραότης as his greatest leadership attribute (Plutarch *Nic.* 3.1).

[269] Edith Foster, *Thucydides, Pericles and Periclean Imperialism* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 126.

[270] Another difference is found in the Battle against the Samians. Thucydides' account Pericles as a person displaying πραότης. For example, unlike Plutarch (Plutarch, *Per*. 27.1), Thucydides does not credit

πραότης. For example, in narrating Pericles' refusal to summon an assembly when faced with Archidamus' invasion of Attica, Plutarch echoes Thucydides' narration with a minor alteration.[271] Thucydides emphasises Pericles' apprehension at the Athenian's anger (Thucydides 2.22.1), but Plutarch instead emphasises Pericles' sound judgement in refusing to hold an assembly (Plutarch, *Per* 33.4–5).[272]

The removal or non-mention by Plutarch of certain episodes recorded by Thucydides can also be noted. For example, Plutarch does not reproduce Pericles' speeches.[273] Instead, he records small sayings and phrases of Pericles that emphasise his πραότης.[274] Two sayings illustrate Plutarch's emphasis on πραότης. The first is, ὡς ὅσον ἐπ᾽αὐτῷ μενοῦσιν ἀθάνατοι πάντα τὸν χρόνον ('so far as lay in his power, they would remain alive forever and be immortals') (Plutarch, *Per.* 18.1). The second saying, δένδρα μὲν τμηθέντα καὶ κοπέντα φύεται ταχέως, ἀνδρῶν δὲ διαφθαρέντων αὖθις τυχεῖν ου᾽ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι ('trees, though cut and looped, grew quickly, but if men were destroyed it was not easy to get them again') (Plutarch *Per*. 33.4).

These short comparisons of the portrayal of Pericles by Plutarch and Thucydides point to compositional selectivity in Plutarch. They accentuate Plutarch's emphasis on Pericles' πραότης, following the plot of Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* and fitting Plutarch's

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Pericles with the walling-in strategy (Thucydides 1.116.3). Plutarch portrayal of the wall in strategy was crucial to reflect on Pericles' πραότης (Plutarch, *Per*. 27.1).

[271] Philip A. Stadter, *A Commentary on Plutarch's Pericles* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 309.

[272] Suzanne Saïd, "Plutarch and the People in the *Parallel Lives*," in *The Statesman in Plutarch's Works*, ed. Lukas De Blois et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 18.

[273] Thucydides records three major speeches of Pericles in his books 1 and 2.

[274] This technique is a literary strategy detailed in the *Life of Alexander*. There, he affirms that virtues and vices are often shown in phrases (Plutarch, *Alex.* 1.2).

moralistic context in that ßίος.

6.2.2 Plutarch's Compositional Selectivity Highlights Fabius' Virtue (πραότης)

Compositional selectivity is evident in the comparison of the exposé of Fabius in Plutarch's *Life of Fabius* and Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* 22.8–26, Polybius' *Histories* 3.86.1–89 and Valerius Maximus accounts in *Memorable Deeds and Sayings*.[275] Plutarch's selectivity highlights Fabius' virtue. As in Pericles's case, a complete comparison between authors requires a lengthy exposition and is impossible within the limits of this work. Again, some examples will demonstrate compositional selectivity.

Plutarch streamlines material by discarding certain episodes. For example, Plutarch does not mention Hannibal's successes in Iberia (Livy, *The History of Rome* 28) or the treaties between Rome and Carthage (Polybius, 3.24–27). Instead, Plutarch's strategy is to feature Fabius' πραότης during the Second Punic War and he introduces the war with the words, ἐπεὶ δ᾽ Ἀννίβας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ('But Hannibal now burst into Italy') (Plutarch *Fab* 2.1).[276]

Plutarch also changes some circumstantial evidence, illustrated by two examples. Plutarch identifies Fabius as the one who sought the delaying tactics (Plutarch, Fab. 2. 4–5), while according to Livy, it is the council of war that asked him to wait (Livy 22.3.8).[277] The

[275] Plutarch's use of Livy as a source for the *Life of Fabius* has been attested by Pelling. See Christopher Pelling, "Plutarch and Roman Politics," in *Essays on Plutarch Lives*, ed. Barbara Scardigli (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 349; Xenophontos, *Ethical*, 158.

[276] Plutarch streamline his narratives to focus on Fabius' πραότης. In that regard, he ignores Hannibal's problems in the marshes (Livy, 22.2.2–10, Polybius, 3.79). He does not mention the demise of Gaius Centenius and his four thousand horses (Livy, 22.8.1); the defeat of Mancinus (Livy, 22.15.5); Gnaeus Servillus Geminus' failed incursion into Africa (Livy, 22.31; Polybius 3.86.1–5). Paulus Aemilius' speech against the strategy of Varro (Livy, 22.38.7) and Fabius' speech to Paulus Aemilius (Livy, 22.39) are also not mentioned in Plutarch. Plutarch instead only paraphrases Fabius' speech in which he requests Paulus to restrain the madness of Varro and save the country (Plutarch, *Fab*. 14.4). Plutarch ignores both Livy's and Polybius's detailed accounts of the disunity between Paulus Aemilius and Gaius Terentius Varro (Livy, 22.44–47; 45.6–7, Polybius, 3.110, 113).

[277] Xenophontos, "Περὶ ἀγαθοῦ," 164.

next example is observed in the hesitation of Hannibal to march on to Rome after his victory at Cannae, reported by both Livy and Plutarch (Livy, 22.51.1; Plutarch, *Fab*. 17.1). Livy mentions that the delay saved Rome and the empire (Livy 22.51.4) and does not mention Fabius Maximus' role. For Plutarch, Fabius' prudence (πρόνησις) saved Rome (Plutarch, *Fab*. 17.4).

Plutarch also elaborates on certain events. For example, Livy, Valerius Maximus and Plutarch all mention that Fabius sold his land for a prisoner exchange with Hannibal (Livy, 22.23.7–10; Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* 3.8.2, 4.8.1). Unlike Plutarch, they do not mention that the liberated soldiers offered to pay him back. Instead, according to Plutarch, Fabius remitted their debt (Plutarch, *Fab*. 7.5). Plutarch continues to elaborate on Livy in the episode of the exchange of prisoners. Both Plutarch and Livy note that the prisoner exchange made Fabius unpopular with the Senate (Livy, 22.23.4, 7), yet only Plutarch notes that Fabius bore the criticism with calmness (πράος – Plutarch, *Fab*. 7.4).[278]

The above comparisons continue to point to Plutarch's compositional selectivity and accentuate Plutarch's emphasis on Fabius' πραότης, aligning with the plot of Plutarch's *Life of Fabius* and matching Plutarch's moralistic intent.

6.2.3 Compositional Selectivity in Demetrius.

Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius* is similar in content and interest to the writings of Diodorus Siculus.[279] Thus a comparison between Plutarch and Diodorus will demonstrate Plutarch's selectivity.

[278] Another example of Plutarch's elaboration is observed in Plutarch's report of the Senate's decision to make Minucius co-dictator. Plutarch, Polybius and Livy all mention that Senate's decision would humiliate any dictator. Plutarch is the only author who remarks that instead of feeling humiliated, Fabius accepted the situation with calmness and ease (ἀπαθής and ῥᾴδιος) (Plutarch, *Fab*. 10.1–2).

[279] Waldo E. Sweet, "Sources of Plutarch's Demetrius," *The Classical Weekly* 44, no. 12 (1951): 177.

As noted in sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2, Plutarch elaborates on certain events. In the narrative of the siege of Megara, Plutarch inserts an interlude relating Demetrius leaving the battle siege to travel to Patrae to meet Cratesipolis for a romantic escapade (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 9.3). That interlude was mentioned by Plutarch in a way that features Demetrius' vice.[280] Furthermore, Diodorus does not mention Lamia, a prominent foil character in Plutarch's *Demetrius*.[281] The addition of the interlude about Demetrius' escapade and the addition of Lamia to the narrative are in line with Plutarch's moralising agenda in this *Life*.[282] They highlight Plutarch's stress on Demetrius' sexual immorality.

In an example of chronological compression, Plutarch is silent about Demetrius' lingering in Asia Minor after the battle of Ipsus (Diod 21.1–4). Instead, he points to the quick departure of Demetrius for Greece (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 30.2) to concentrate on the Athenians' rejection of Demetrius.[283] As observed in Plutarch's accounts of Pericles and Fabius, compositional selectivity in Demetrius shows his underlying moral purpose, which, in *Demetrius*, is to emphasise his vices.[284]

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[280] Diodorus mentions Cratesipolis positively who as the widow of the Polyperchon kept his armies together through acts of kindness such as helping the least fortunate and those without resources. (Diodorus, 19.67.1). Patrick Wheatley and Charlotte Dunn, *Demetrius the Besieger* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 208; Thomas C. Rose, "A Historical Commentary on Plutarch's life of Demetrius" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2015), 159.

[281] Plutarch is the primary sources on Lamia (Plutarch, *Demetr.* 16.4; 24.1). See Sabine Müller, "In the Favour of Aphrodite Sulla, Demetrius Poliorcetes, and the Symbolic Value of the Hetaira," *AHB* 23 (2009): 44. Wheatley and Dunn, *Demetrius*, 208–09; Edward Anson, *Alexander's Heirs: The Age of the Successors* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 168.

[282] Patrick Wheatley, "Lamia and the Besieger: An Athenian Hetaera and a Macedonian King," in *The Macedonians in Athens, 322–229 B.C.: Proceedings of an International Conference Held at the University of Athens, May 24–26, 2001*, ed. Olga Palagia and Stephen V. Tracy (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016), 30, 35; Patrick Wheatley, "Poliorcetes and Cratesipolis: A Note on Plutarch, *Demetr*. 9.5–7," *Antichthon* 38 (2004): 2, 4.

[283] Wheatley and Dunn, *Demetrius*, 256; Rose, "Commentary," 254.

[284] Monaco also shows that Plutarch's compositional selectivity demonstrates the importance of humour in public speeches. See Mallory Monaco, "The Bema and the Stage: Stratocles and Philippides in Plutarch's Demetrius," *ICS* 38 (2013): 115, 19–20.

6.2.4 Conclusion: Compositional Selectivity Allows Plutarch to Choose Narratives to Portray his Hero's Virtue or Vice

This brief survey of compositional selectivity in the selections from Plutarch's *Lives* demonstrates that Plutarch structures his *Lives* with narratives that serve as building blocks to underscore the virtue or vice of his heroes. Plutarch's characters are distinctly flatter than real-life characters.[285] Using compositional selectivity, Plutarch expands or streamlines by adding, discarding or modifying his source material. This process methodically follows his moralising agenda. Through selectivity, Plutarch draws the implied reader's attention to the relevant virtue or vice, conditioning them to judge his hero as apt for either *aphormē* or mimesis.

6.3 Category 3 — Relatability: Encouraging Mimesis for Implied Readers by Making Characters Relatable

Plutarch seeks to encourage his readers to receive his mimetic subjects as apt subjects for mimesis or *aphormē*.[286] Plutarch recognises the gap between the context of his heroes and the context in which he was writing.[287] Therefore, for his mimetic subject to be relevant to their contemporary context and problems, Plutarch needed his subjects to be

[285] An ancient biography cannot relate every event in a person's life. Hence ancient writers presented their writers as flatter. See Luc Van Der Stockt, "Compositional Methods in the *Lives*," in *A Companion to Plutarch*, ed. Mark Beck (West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2014), 325. Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 11.

[286] In his commentary on the *Life of Philopoemen and Flaminius*, Pelling observes that Plutarch did not write the paired lives for his contemporaries to emulate. Pelling 1997a: 148–153. This is understandable as Philopoemen fought against the Romans. Exact emulation of his deeds would be difficult during the Roman rule. However, it quite likely that Plutarch wanted these two characters' virtues to be relatable to his audience so that the principles championed by those two heroes could be applied in the lives of Plutarch's implied audience. See Mallory Monaco, "The Hellenistic Past in Plutarch's *Lives*" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2013), 180.

[287] Plutarch recognises that the past was filled with tyranny and war, while he was writing in a context in which wars have disappeared as people are living in freedom. See (Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 805A, 824C). See also, P. Desideri, "Greek *Poleis* and the Roman Empire: Nature and Features of Political Virtues in an Autocratic System," in *Virtues for the People: Aspects of Plutarch's Ethics*, ed. Geert Roskam and Luke Van der Stockt (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011), 83–84.

relatable. Plutarch uses the two metaphors of an invited guest and that of a mirror to illustrate the relatability of his characters.[288]

In his first metaphor, Plutarch identifies his subjects as guests invited into his home, whom he observes:

> οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλλ᾽ ἢ σθνδιαιτήσει καὶ συμβιώσει τὸ γινόμενον ἔοικεν, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐπιξενούμενον ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν μέρει διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ὑποδεχόμενοι καὶ παραλαμβάνοντες ἀναθεωμῶμεν ‘ὅσος ἦην οἷός τε,’ τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ κάλλιστα πρὸς γνῶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων λαμβάνοντες.
>
> For the result is like nothing else than daily living and associating together, when I receive and welcome each subject in my history in turn as my guest, so to speak, and observe carefully ‘how large he was and of what mien,’ and select from his career what is most important and most beautiful (Plutarch, *Aem*. 1.1b).

Here, Plutarch evokes philosophical dinner parties that were common in his time. These dinners were the occasion for intellectual interaction between guests and where the guests' behaviour was observed.[289] Plutarch evokes the same desire to examine the conduct of his guests, except that the dinner guests were the characters of his *Lives*, and by observing them, he can imitate virtues and repulse vices (Plutarch Aem. 1.3).

Plutarch also uses the metaphor of the mirror (εἴσοπτρον). For him, his mimetic subjects are like mirrors allowing the readers to compare their lives with those of the subjects of his *Lives*,[290] thus allowing the readers to model their lives on the virtues

[288] Plutarch hardly makes explicit statements indicating how the reader ought to incorporate the examples of the heroes onto their daily lives. See Monaco, "Hellenistic," 38. Instead he asserts that through an intellectual exercise, he observes great men of the past worthy to be observed (Plutarch, *Per*. 1.2) and enquires from them (ἱστορέω – Plutarch *Per*. 1.4). These characters give him ‘ζῆλόν τινα καὶ προθυμίαν ἀγωγὸν εἰς μίμησιν’ (zealous eagerness which leads to imitation’, Plutarch, *Per*. 1.4).

[289] Preface, "The Philosopher’s Banquet: Plutarch’s Table Talk in the Intellectual Culture of the Roman Empire," ed. Frieda Koltz and Katerina Oikonomopoulou (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), iii; Xenophontos, *Ethical*, 173.

[290] Plutarch expected readers to see their weaknesses in the character flaws of the foil characters. Christopher Pelling, "What is Popular about Plutarch’s ‘Popular Philosophy’?," in *Virtues for the People: Aspects of Plutarch’s Ethics*, ed. Geert Roskam and Luke Van der Stockt (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011), 43–44.

illustrated by the mimetic subjects (Plutarch *Aem*. 1.1; Plutarch, *Tim*. 1.1).[291] Through the mirror, the reader identifies with the mimetic subjects like the people at the theatre. This heuristically incites the readers to question how they can imitate the subject's virtue.[292] Plutarch links the mirror metaphor and mimesis in his treatise *On the Education of Children*, where he says:

> πρὸ πάντων γὰρ δεῖ τοὺς πατέρας τῷ μηδὲν ἁμαρτάνειν ἀλλὰ πάνθ᾽ ἃ δεῖ πράττειν ἐναργὲς αὐτοὺς παράδειγμα τοῖς τέκνοις παρέχειν, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν τούτων βίον ὥσπερ κάτοπτρον ἀποβλέποντες ἀποτρέπωνται τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἔργων καὶ λόγων.
>
> Fathers ought above all, by not misbehaving and by doing as they ought to do, to make themselves a manifest example to their children, so that the latter, by looking at their fathers' lives as a mirror, may be deterred from disgraceful deeds and words (Plutarch, *On the Education of Children* 20.1).

The mirror metaphor engages the readers to view themselves through the reflection of Plutarch's mimetic subject. The reflection can lead the reader towards a more moral, ethical life.

One of the ways Plutarch makes his protagonists relatable is by presenting characters that are neither perfect nor completely bad. They are not types in an Aristotelian understanding of a fictional character. Plutarch's virtuous characters are not morally perfect, and flawed characters are not totally depraved (Plutarch, *Cim* 2.45).[293] Within his

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[291] Philip A. Stadter, "Mirroring Virtue in Plutarch's *Lives*," *Polutarchos* 1 (2003/4): 89–90; Timothy E. Duff, "Plutarch's Readers and the Moralism of the *Lives*," *Ploutarchos* 5 (2007).

[292] F. Frazier, "Autour du Miroir. Les Miroitements d'une Image dans l'Oeuvre de Plutarch," in *Virtues for the People: Aspects of Plutarch's Ethics*, ed. Geert Roskam and Luke Van der Stockt (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011), 299; Jean-Pierre Vernant et Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux, *Dans L'oeil du Miroir* (Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, 1997), 119.

[293] Philip A. Stadter, *Plutarch and his Roman Readers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 238; Russell, "Reading," 80. For example, Pericles, while they displayed the virtue of mildness or caution (πραότης) most of the time, Pericles ostracised his opponent Cimon, a person who brought victories and wealth to Athens (Plutarch, *Per.* 9.4). The tone of chapter 9 in Plutarch's *Life of Pericl*es is negative towards Pericles. It is by far the most negative passage of the whole *Life*. See BreeBaart, "Plutarch," 263.
Pericles entertained a liaison with Aspasia with whom he had a son (Plutarch, *Pericles* 24). He appeased the

Lives, he does not overemphasise imperfections to make the subjects relatable (Plutarch, *Cim* 2.4).

Another way Plutarch demonstrates that he wants his mimetic characters to be relatable is through the concept of the ideal reader. The persona of the ideal reader of the *Lives* is one who also observes, enquires, and self-criticises.[294] This intellectual exercise is the distinction Plutarch makes between αἰσθησις (physical senses — Plutarch, *Demetr*. 1.1–2) and τέχνη (the arts — Plutarch, *Demetr*. 1.1, 3):

> αἱ δὲ τέχναι μετὰ λόγου συνεστῶσαι πρὸς αἵρεσιν καὶ λῆψιν οἰκείου τινός, φυγὴν δὲ καὶ διάκουσιν ἀλλοτρίου, τὰ μὲν ἀφ᾽αὑτῶν καὶ προηγουμένως, τὰ δ᾽ὑπὲρ τοῦ φυλάξασθαι κατὰ συβεβηκὸς ἐπιθεωροῦσι·
>
> The arts, on the other hand, which proceed by the use of reason to the selection and adoption of what is appropriate and the avoidance and rejection of what is alien to themselves, contemplate the one class of object with direct intent and by preference, and, yet incidentally contemplate the other class also, and in order to avoid them (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 1.2b).

The distinction between αἰσθησις (the physical senses) and τέχνη (the practitioner of arts) sets apart the casual from the serious reader. The casual reader responds passively to the stimuli. The serious reader actively responds using reason to observe and select what is appropriate for mimesis or improper for avoidance.[295] Plutarch positions himself as the

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Athenians by giving them money and a parcel of land that he had conquered (Plutarch *Per*. 34.1). Fabius abandoned his cautiousness and sought the love of honour (Plutarch, *Fab*. 22.5; 25.3). Philopoemen was prone to anger (Plutarch, *Phil* 3.1).
Plutarch is quite careful when he talks about Aspasia. It seems that Plutarch tries to the best of his ability to shield Pericles when talking about Aspasia. He uses the word 'seems' to infer that it was probable that their relationship was sexual. He does the same when talking about the son that they might have had together (Plutarch, *Per* 24.6). See also Madeleine Henry, *Prisoner of History: Aspasia of Miletus and her Biographical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 69–71.

[294] Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 35–36; Chrysanthos S. Chrysanthou, *Plutarch's 'Parallel Lives': Narrative Technique and Moral Judgement* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 35–37.

[295] Timothy E. Duff, "Plato, Tragedy, the Ideal Reader and Plutarch's Demitros and Antony," *Hermes* 132, no. 3 (2004): 272–73; 78–79; Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 45–47.

ideal reader (Plutarch, *Aem*. 1.1). [296] Having described himself as the ideal reader, Plutarch invites his readers on the same journey of discovery. Plutarch's use of the we-constructions in the prologues and of *synkrisis* indicate that he wants his readers to share a similar objective in reading the *Lives*.[297] The reader of the *Lives* must use his intellect, be critical like Plutarch and determine what is beneficial.

As an example, relatability means that Plutarch wants readers of his *Lives of Pericles* and of *Fabius*, to judge and see how the virtue of πρᾳότης (prudence) was more profitable than recklessness or over-boldness (προπέτεια, θρασύτης). Plutarch hopes that the readers will apply to their lives Pericles' and Fabius' virtue, such as exhibiting πρᾳότης, while managing their households or dealing with their family's finances.

Since for Plutarch *Lives* was a didactic and moralistic exercise, he attempts to bring the reader to mimesis or *aphormē* by fostering union or disjuncture between the reader and the character. The reader can only receive the great men of the past to improve (κοσμέω) their own lives and assimilate (ἀφομοιόω) the virtues if the subjects of the *Lives* are seen as relatable. The characters' relatability is essential in creating a desire for mimesis or *aphormē* in the reader.

6.4 Category 4 —Illustrative Action as a Demonstration of Virtues or Vices

In ancient Greek literature, actions were often the vehicle for demonstrating virtues or vices.[298] In the prologue to the *Parallel Lives of Demosthenes and Cicero*, Plutarch tells his readers his intention of examining the actions of his subjects (Plutarch, *Dem*. 3.1). These

[296] Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 36. Since Plutarch wanted to help men in politics, Plutarch himself probably benefited from the examples of his heroes in his role as a magistrate and an ambassador.

[297] Duff, "Plato," 278. Christopher Pelling, *Plutarch and History: Eighteen Studies* (Havertown: Classical Press of Wales, 2011), 267–78.

[298] Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 13.

premises are further explored in the prologue to the *Lives of Alexander and Caesar*. There he notes that small deeds are far more significant in revealing virtue (Plutarch, *Alex.* 1.3).[299] Plutarch's prologue to the *Lives of Pericles and Fabius Maximus* advocates that virtuous deeds lead to imitation.[300] He further distinguishes between virtuous deeds and other deeds. Virtuous deeds incite admirers of virtue to emulate virtuous people (Plutarch, *Per* 1.4 – 2.4).

6.4.1 Pericles' Actions Illustrate his Virtue (πραότης), thus Making him Mimetic while Encouraging the Virtue of πραότης

The actions of Pericles as related by Plutarch, characterise him as praiseworthy, thus encouraging the imitation of his virtue (πραότης).[301] Plutarch displays Pericles' πραότης in the context of war.[302]

During the Samian war, Pericles laid siege to the city of Samos instead of engaging in direct conflict.[303] The siege cost him time and money. However, he preferred the siege strategy instead of jeopardising the lives of his fellow citizens: δαπάνῃ καὶ χρόνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τραύμασι καὶ κινδύνοις τῶν πολιτῶν περιγενέσθαι και σθνελεῖν τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενος ('preferring to get the upper hand and capture it at the price of money and time, rather than of the wounds and deadly perils of his fellow-citizens') (Plutarch, *Per*. 27.1). His siege

[299] Plutarch justifies his interest in the incidental events as they reveal virtue (Plutarch, *Alex*. 1.2). See also Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 14–15.

[300] Duff, "Critical Reader," 76.

[301] In the prologue to the *Lives of Alexander and Caesar*, Plutarch indicates that virtue is revealed in little matters (Plutarch, *Alex*. 1.2). See also Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 14–15.

[302] Pericles πραότης does mean that he rejected warfare as Plutarch underlines his bravery in war (Plutarch, *Per*. 7.1). However, what distinguished him from others is that he would not engage in battle when ill-prepared. He was prudent and did not endanger any of his men. See Vincent Azoulay, *Pericles of Athens*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 37.

[303] His πραότης was also evident during the expedition to Chersonesus, as Pericles did not expose his soldiers (Plutarch, *Per.* 19.1–4). As noted in section 6.4.1, Pericles' action is heightened as it is compared to Tolmides, who lost his life and the life of most of his men in his expedition.

strategy illustrates his πραότης as he wanted to capture the city without endangering his fellow citizens.

During the Peloponnesian War, Archidamus, the king of Sparta, invaded Attica. He ravaged the countryside and camped at Acharnae, within ten kilometres of Athens (Plutarch, *Per*. 33.2–4), to provoke angry pride in the Athenians, inciting them to come out of their city and fight.[304] Faced with the Athenians' eagerness to fight the Peloponnesians, Pericles again displayed πραότης by restraining the Athenians, reminding them that, δένδρα μὲν τμηθέντα καὶ κοπέντα φύεται ταχέως, ἀνδρῶν δὲ διαφθαρέντων αὖθις τυχεῖν οὐῤᾴδιόν ἐστι (trees, though cut and looped, grew quickly, but if men were destroyed, it was not easy to get them again) (Plutarch, *Per*. 33.4).

Pericles' strategy to keep the Athenians within the city walls instead of an engaging in an open fight during the Peloponnesian War was motivated by his desire not to compromise the city (Plutarch, *Per*. 33.3–4). That decision brought strong criticisms from brawlers, malcontents, friends and enemies. They accused Pericles of being a ἄνανδρον (coward) (Plutarch, *Per*. 33.5–6).[305] Pericles met the ἀδοξίαν (shame) and ἀπέχθεια (hatred) with his typical πρᾶος (mildness) and σιωπή (calm). Instead of fighting on land, Pericles sent ships to fight the Lacedaemonians at sea (Plutarch, *Per*. 34.1), resulting in the withdrawal of the Lacedaemonians from Attica as Pericles predicted (Plutarch, *Per*. 34.2).

His prudence was again displayed when he curtailed Athenian expansions. The Athenians wanted to conquer Egypt, and respected generals such as Alcibiades promoted an expedition into Sicily. Others wanted Athens to organise expeditions to conquer Tuscany

[304] The strategy was based on the superior army of the Spartans. The Spartans had a superior army of sixty thousand men (Plutarch, *Per*. 33.4)

[305] David Lévystone, "Remparts et Philosophie aux Ve et IVe siècles av. J.C.," *Mnemosyne* 72, no. 5 (2019): 742.

and Carthage (Plutarch, *Per.* 20.2–3) but Pericles restrained them and instead advocated securing the areas they had already won in Greece, and ultimately his strategy proved salvific for Athens (Plutarch, *Per.* 21.1).

In the *Life of Pericles*, Plutarch illustrates Pericles' virtue (πραότης) in matters of war and policies. Pericles' πραότης was displayed during the Chersonesian expedition, the Samian War, and the Peloponnesian War. His strategies based on his πραότης did not endanger his soldiers, the people, or the city. He again displayed his πραότης in politics, prioritising a policy that would enhance Athenian alliances and place maintaining control of their territory ahead of the expansion of the empire.

6.4.2 Fabius' Actions as a Portrayal of Virtues

As he did for Pericles, Plutarch focuses on Fabius' actions to demonstrate his πραότης (Plutarch, *Per*. 1.4) and portrays him as a praiseworthy mimetic character. Plutarch illustrates Fabius' πραότης by relating Fabius' starvation strategy in his military confrontation with Hannibal. Fabius' strategy denied Hannibal an open fight even though Hannibal was disadvantaged by having a smaller army. Instead, Fabius wore Hannibal's army out by consistently depriving it of battle.[306] Fabius' strategy attracted abuse and criticism from Roman citizens, his soldiers, and his enemies. Despite the abuse and criticisms, Fabius's was undeterred (Plutarch, *Fab.* 5.2–4). Hannibal, understanding that Fabius' strategy would bring him to ruin, tried to entice Fabius to battle, but Fabius' resolve not to engage remained unchanged (Plutarch, *Fab.* 5.3). After Hannibal vanquished Varo and

[306] He pitched his army camp at a reasonable distance to avoid battle while making Hannibal aware of his presence (Plutarch *Fab*. 5.1). As a consequence of the tactics adopted by Fabius, his army did not have to engage the enemy while simultaneously allowing them to be aware of his presence (Plutarch, *Fab.* 5.2–4).

Paulus Aemilius (Plutarch, *Fab*. 16) and continued his military conquest in the rest of Italy, Fabius kept to his strategy and continued to refuse war with Hannibal (Plutarch, *Fab*. 19.3).

In his political life, Fabius also demonstrated his calm temperament. For example, when the Senate refused to pay for two hundred and forty Romans as part of a prisoner exchange with Hannibal, Fabius, although resentful, remained calm and composed (πρᾶος) (Plutarch *Fab*. 7.5). Another illustration of his mildness is a political story. Plutarch recalls that Fabius lost the confidence of the people of Rome (Plutarch, *Fab*. 7.2), leading to the appointmmet of Minucius as co-dictator with Fabius.[307] Yet despite this humiliation, Plutarch notes that Fabius endures ἔφερεν ἀπαθῶς καὶ ῥᾳδίως ('the situation calmly and easily') (Plutarch *Fab*. 10.2).

In *Life of Fabius*, Plutarch illustrates Fabius' main virtue — πραότης — through actions taken in the course of military conflict and political life. His military strategy consisted of avoiding open war with Hannibal. In political life, he restrained his compatriots' eagerness to fight. Ultimately, his virtue proved the salvation of the city of Rome.

6.4.3 Demetrius' Actions Demonstrated his Vices and Discouraged the Readers from Emulating him

Plutarch focuses on Demetrius' lack of self-restraint in matters of pleasure, and luxury alerting the reader to his vices, thus presenting him as a character to be avoided

[307] Fabius showed similar πραότης when faced with criticisms. When Minucius' ridiculed and slandered him (Plutarch, *Fab*. 5.5), Fabius dismissed Minicius' slanders with the same πραότης. He said, δειλότερος ἢ νῦν εἶναι δοκῶ γενοίμην, εἰ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας φοβηθεὶς ἐκπέσοιμι τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ λογισμῶν. καίτοι τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος οὐκ αἰσχρὸν δέος, ἡ δὲ πρὸς δόξαν ἀνθρώπων καὶ διαβολὰς καὶ ψόγους ἔκπληξις οὐκ ἀξίου τηλικαύτης ἀρχῆς ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ δουλεύοντος ὧν κρατεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ δεσπόζειν κακῶς φρονούντων προσήκει ('I should be a greater coward than I am not held to be if, through fear of abusive jests, I should abandon my fixed plans. And verily fear which one exercises on behalf of his country is not shameful; but to be frightened from one's course by the opinions of men, and by their slanderous censures, that marks a man unworthy of so high an office as this' (Plutarch, *Fab*. 5.6).

(*aphormē*).[308] Plutarch illustrates Demetrius' sexual depravity and lust for self-gratification with several anecdotes.[309] For example, during the siege of Megara, Demetrius left the camp and travelled one hundred and fifty kilometres to Patrae to engage in a sexual liaison with Cratesipolis (Plutarch, *Demtr*. 9.3).[310] His impiety towards the virgin deity Athena also illustrates his sexual perversion. When Athenians granted him the honour of residing at Parthenon, it was said that the goddess Athena offered him hospitality (Plutarch, *Demtr*. 23.3). Instead of showing reverence for Athena, he indulged in a life of debauchery with well-known prostitutes (ταῖς πόρναις ἐκείναις, συνακολασσταίνοι) (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 24.1).[311] These wanton actions highlight Demetrius's lack of self-control.

Plutarch also portrays Demetrius as a mimetic character to be avoided by giving examples of his love of opulence.[312] He shows Demetrius' love of luxury by describing his

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[308] Marlein Van Raalte, "More *Philosophico*: Political Virtue and Philosophy in Plutarch's *Lives*," in *The Statesman in Plutarch's Greek and Roman Lives*, ed. Lukas de Blois, Mnemosyne Suppl. 250 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 86; T.S. Schmidt, *Plutarque et les Barbares: La Rhétorique d'une Image* (Louvain, Namur: Éditions Peeters, 1999), 108.

[309] It is worth noting that Plutarch, unlike Setonius or Tacitus, does not normally discuss the sexual behaviour of his subjects. In Demetrius' case however, Plutarch includes his sexual decadence because of his notoriety and because it ultimately led to his demise. See Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 94–97; Müller, "Aphrodite," 42.

[310] Cratesipolis was the ex-wife of Polyperchon, son of Alexander, who was known for her beauty. Wheatley, "Cratesipolis," 1; Wheatley and Dunn, *Demetrius*, 122; R. Flacelière and É. Chambry, *Plutarque. Vies. Tome XIII: Démétrios-Antoine* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1977), 3–4.

[311] Kenneth Scott, "The Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes: Part II," *AJP* 49, no. 3 (1928): 217; Müller, "Aphrodite," 43–44; Wheatley, "Lamia," 36. Demetrius should not be confused with the Athenians' desire for sex. It was socially acceptable for men to seek sexual experiences. Incidentally, some relationship with a mistress was even tolerated. However, they were critical of men who showed no self-restraint in seeking sexual gratification. See Roisman, *Manhood*, 166–68.
Those are two examples of Demetrius uninhibited lifestyle. However not all women in the life of Demetrius provide evidence of his decadence. Having mistresses such as Lamina and Leaina by his side served as a demonstration of his power. Ann-Cathrin Harders, "Ein König und Viele Königinnen? Demetrios Poliorketes und seine Ehefrauen," in *Matronage. Handlungsstrategien und soziale Netzwerke von Herrscherfraun im Altertum in diachoner Perspekive*, ed. C. Kunst (Rahden: Westfalen, 2013), 43.

[312] Plutarch stipulates that a politician should avoid luxury (Plutarch, *Praec.ger. rei publ.* 823B). See Geert Roskam, "Plutarch's *Life of Agis,* On the Honourable Course of a Beginning Politician," in *The Statesman in Plutarch's Greek and Roman Lives*, ed. Lukas de Blois, Mnemosyne Suppl. 250 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 237. Luxury is rather a feature of the Barbarian kings. See Anastasios G. Nikolaidis, "Ἕλληνικός - βαρβαρικός: Plutarch on Greek and Barbarian Characteristics," *Wiener Studien* 99 (1986): 236–38. Manuel Tröster,

choice of clothing. His headgear was a διαδούμενον περιττῶς καυσίαις διμίτροις('double-mitred board-brimmed hat'), he wore χρυσοπαρύφοις ἁλουργίσιν ('purple robes with shots of gold') and made sure that he always walked on purple by wearing πορφύρας ἀρκάτου συμπεπιλημένης χρυσοβαφεῖς πεποιημένον ἐξβάδας ('gold-embroidered shoes of the richest purple felt,') (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 41.4).[313]

Demetrius continues to be portrayed as a mimetic character to be avoided because of his domineering attitude. One such example is his account of Cleanetus, in which it is said that Demitrius interfered with the Athenians' internal affairs to dismiss his father's fine.[314] The Athenians responded by promulgating an edict prohibiting Demetrius' letters to the assembly. The edict so angered Demetrius that he made the Athenians rescind their edict and killed or exiled those who introduced and supported it.[315] Stratocles then sponsored another edict allowing Demetrius' letters to be read before the assembly where he was declared guiltless (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 24.4).

"Hellenism and *Tryphê* in Plutrach's Life of Lucullus," in *The Statesman in Plutarch's Greek and Roman Lives*, ed. Lukas de Blois, Mnemosyne Suppl. 250 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 305.That said, Plutarch is not against luxury. He acknowledges that freedom from tyranny or war brings some luxury (Plutarch, *An seni* 784F). He considers vulgar luxury as a vice (Plutarch, *Dion* 4.6). It is an aspect of life where one should show self-restraint. See also Jan Opsomer, "Virtue, Fortune, and Happiness in Theory and Practice," in *Virtues for the People: Aspects of Plutarch's Ethics*, ed. Geert Roskam and Luke Van der Stockt (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011), 163; Van Raalte, "Virtue," 81–86, 91,98.

[313] Shane Wallace, "Court, Kingship, and Royal Style in the Early Hellenistic Period," in *The Hellenistic Court: Monarchic Power and Elite Society from Alexander to Cleopatra*, ed. Lloyd.Llewellyn-Jones & S. Wallace Andrew Erskine (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2017), 14.

[314] His father was fined fifty talents (Plutarch, *Demetr* 24.2). His domineering attitude was also evident in his over-ambitious attempt to rule over the whole of Aleander's empire. Rolf Strootman, "Men to whose Rapacity Neither Sea nor Mountain Sets a Limit: The Aims of the Diadochs," in *The Age of the Successors and the Creation of the Hellenistic Kingdoms (323–276 BC)*, ed. H. Hauben and A. Meeus (Leuven, 2014).

[315] It is Demetrius' irrational and very harsh treatment of his enemies that prompts this countermand among the Athenians and Stratocles. See Andrew J. Bayliss, *After Demosthenes: The Politics of Early Hellenistic Athens* (London: Bloomsbury Publishers, 2011), 168–72; Paschalis Paschidis, *Between City and King: Prosopographical Studies on the Intermediaries Between the Cities of the Greek Mainland and the Aegean and the Royal Courts in the Hellenistic Period (322–190 BC).* Μελετηματα 59, (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation/De Boccard, 2008), 97.

The actions recorded by Plutarch demonstrate a recurring pattern of vice or virtue. Pericles displayed his πραότης for the benefit of the Athenians, and Fabius used his πραότης several times to save Rome. Demetrius' wantonness and love for honour are narrated by Plutarch in various stories.

6.5 Category 5 — *Synkrisis*: Compare and Contrast Two Characters to Establish one Character's Virtue or Vice

Another mimetic category that is observable in Plutarch is an internal *synkrisis*. A *synkrisis* compares two characters side by side. The object of an internal *synkrisis* is to establish the moral superiority of one character over the other. Comparisons feature prominently in Plutarch's *Lives*. Plutarch employs two comparison techniques—a formal *synkrisis* and an internal *synkrisis*. The formal *synkrisis* is written at the end of the *Parallel Lives* and compares the lives of the two primary subjects.[316] An internal *synkrisis* compares minor or foil characters in the stories about the titular character in any given life.[317] The internal *synkrises* are at most times narratives placed in proximity of each other.

6.5.1 Comparison in *Life of Pericles* Points to Pericles' Superior Virtue.

In *Life of Pericles*, Plutarch in one episode contrasts the demise of Tolmides at the battle of Coroneia (Plutarch, *Per*. 18.2–3) with Pericles' success in the expedition to the Chersonesus (Plutarch, *Per*. 19). Those episodes are placed side by side and distinguish

[316] Plutarch defines the formal *synkrisis* when he says, ἢ βίους βίοις καὶ πράξεσι πράξεις ὥσπερ ἐργα μεγάλης τέχνης ('lives beside lives, actions beside actions, like great works of art' (Plutarch, *Bravery of Women.* 243b—d). Plutarch uses a unique literary technique called formal *synkrisis* at the end of most of his paired *Lives*. Only four of his *Parallel lives* do not have a formal *synkrisis*. These are *Themistokles-Camillus*, *Pyrrhos-Marius*, *Phokion-Cato the younger* and *Alexander-Caesar*. The *synkriseis* help to direct the reader towards the promotion of virtues and the avoidance of vices. The formal *synkrisis* allows the reader to compare how a particular virtue is performed in different contexts. Thus, through *synkrisis*, the reader can understand the different nuances of the virtue. For example, the comparison between Pericles and Fabius allows the reader to contrast the two heroes' virtue (πρᾳότης) in different contexts and time periods. Duff, "Structure," 253–59; Tatum, "Plutarch's Lives," 1–3, 8; Stadter, "Plutarch," 156–57.

[317] Beck, "Interne," 467–89.

between Pericles' prudence and the recklessness of Tolmides. Furthermore, the phrase ὡς Τολμίδης ('as Tolmides') (Plutarch, *Per*. 19.2) is a clear marker of Plutarch's intention to compare the two. Tolmides used his reputation, built on his previous military successes, to persuade the men to join him.[318] Pericles tried to dissuade Tolmides in the Athenian assembly, advocating for prudence.[319] Tolmides' campaign resulted in a disaster in which Tolmides and many of his brave soldiers are killed (Plutarch, *Per*. 18.3). On the other hand, in his expedition to Chersonesus, Pericles brought victory to the Greeks and did not endanger any of his soldiers (Plutarch, *Per*. 19.4). Those two narratives contrast Tolmides with Pericles and compare the outcomes of their behaviour (Plutarch, *Per.* 19.1–4).

6.5.2 Comparison in *Life of Fabius* Points to Fabius' Superior Virtue

In his *Life of Fabius*, Plutarch provides the reader with an internal *synkrisis* by contrasting Fabius' πραότης with the leading generals of Rome who act as foil characters in the narrative. The first of the generals is the consul Gaius Flaminius. He is characterised as fiery, ambitious and elated by great success (θυμοειδεῖ καὶ φιλοτίμῳ μεγάλαι ἐπαιρόμενον εὐτυχίαις (Plutarch, *Fab*. 2.4–3.3). Second is Marcus Minucius, the master of Horse and later co-dictator with Fabius (Plutarch, *Fab*. 4.1–13.5). Minucius is characterised by his θράσος ('rashness') and θρᾶσύνω ('overboldness') (Plutarch, *Fab*. 5.4 and 11.4).[320] The third is co-

[318] 'καὶ πεπαικότα τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτους ἐθελοντὶ στρατεύεσθαι and that he had persuaded the bravest and most ambitious men of military age to volunteer for the campaign' (Plutarch, *Per* 18.2).
According to Pausanias, Tolmides was a successful commander of Athenian fleets during the first Peloponnesian War. He inflicted a lot of destruction on his enemies, and also invaded Boeotia and was quite successful in ravaging the land and putting Chaeronea to a siege. When he advanced to the territory of Haliartus, he was killed, and his army was decimated. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.27.5; Thucydides 1.108.5; See also Martin, *Pericles*, 152.

[319] Pericles did not want to risk losing the Athenians' naval force and the territories that Athens controlled for the conquest of central Greece. See Donald Kagan, *Pericles of Athens and the Birth of Democracy* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1991), 119.

[320] Plutarch notes three ways in which he was rash and overbold. 1. He sought to fight at inopportune times or seasons that were not favourable (φιλομαχῶν ἀκαίρως). 2. He led δημᾶγογέω soldiers to 'mad

consul Terentius Varro (Plutarch, *Fab*. 14.1–16.8). Terentius was also known for his reckless haste and over-boldness (προπέτεια, θρασύτης — Plutarch, *Fab*. 14.1). The fourth, Aemilius Paulus' was a co-consul with Varro. Public opinion influenced his decision to fight Hannibal (Plutarch *Fab*. 14.4). The fifth was Claudius Marcellus. He shared an equal ranking with Fabius. They were both equally admired in Rome (Plutarch, Fab 19.1). Marcellus was a man 'φιλοπτολέμους᾽καὶ ᾽ἀγερώχους,' ('fond of battle and eager for the fray'). His style was ' (παραβόλῳ καὶ ἰταμῷ' ('venturesome and reckless' Plutarch, *Fab* 19.1–3). In contrast to each of those foil characters Plutarch shows that Fabius was not swayed by public backlash (Plutarch *Fab*. 5.6) and keep to the Fabian strategy, depriving Hannibal of battle (Plutarch *Fab*. 19.1–3). These internal *synkrisis* contrast competing courses of action by men of almost similar status against the forces of Hannibal during the Second Punic War. The contrasts allow readers to differentiate between Fabius and the other foil characters.

6.5.3 Comparison in the *Life of Demetrius* Shows his Vices

In the *Life of Demetrius,* Plutarch's placement of the Cratesipolis narrative and the meeting of Demetrius with the philosopher Stilpo enable a *synkrisis* comparing Demetrius and Stilpo.[321] The point of comparison is the material possessions of Demetrius and Stilpo. They were both robbed. Demetrius was robbed of his possession by as a consequence of his vice. At the same time, despite the pillage of his city, Megara, and the plundering of Stilpo's property (Diogenes Laertius, 2.115), Stilpo affirmed οὐδένα γὰρ εἶδον ἐπιστάμαν ἀποφέροντα ('I saw nobody carrying away knowledge') (Plutarch, *Demtr*. 9.5). Stilpo's

impetuosity' (μᾶνῖκός) and empty hopes (κεινῶν ἐλπίδων) (Plutarch *Fab*.5.4). 3. He indulged in his arrogance and boldness (φρόνημα καὶ θράσος ἀνειμένος (Plutarch *Fab*. 5.5).

[321] Since doubts have been raised about the chronology of the incident at Cratesipolis, its appearance in close proximity to Stilpo narrative favours the *synkrisis*. On doubts about the chronology see Wheatley and Dunn, *Demetrius*, 123; Rose, "Commentary," 160–61.

answer reveals a contrast between possession of knowledge and material goods. Plutarch also contrasts Demetrius' inaccessibility to the masses with Philip's accessibility (Plutarch, Demetr. 42.1–3).[322]

Although formal *synkrisis* is a feature of Plutarch's Parallel *Lives*, the reader may also appreciate that Plutarch compares foil characters and the heroes through an internal *synkrisis*. These internal *synkrisis* identify the differences with foil characters allowing the virtues or vices of the heroes to emerge allowing the reader to evaluate if a hero is a mimetic character for emulation or *aphormē*.

6.6 Category 6 — Cause-and-Effect to Demonstrate the Consequence of a Virtue or Vice.

As previously observed (section 4.6 and 5.6), the cause-and-effect category explores the relationship between an action and the outcome. A reader assesses the outcome resulting from an action or motivation before evaluating if a character is worthy of emulation or *aphormē*. In the following section, the use of cause-and-effect in Plutarch's narratives of the lives of Pericles, Fabius and Demetrius is examined.

6.6.1 Category 6 – Cause-and-Effect: Pericles' Virtue Results in the Protection of Athens and the City, while the Vices of the Foil Characters Imperil Athenians

In *Life of Pericles*, Plutarch uses cause-and-effect to highlight Pericles' virtue. Two examples will illustrate the cause-and-effect construct. The first is given in Plutarch's

[322] For Plutarch, one of the politician's virtues is approachability (Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 823A). The guest appearance of the dead Alexander in Demetrius *βίος* facilitate a *synkrisis* between Demetrius and Alexander. In The *synkrisis* enhences Demetrius vice and exalts Alexander's virtue. (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 25.3; 29.1; 41.3—4). Dámaris Romero-González, "As Alexander says. The Alexander-dream motif in Plutarch's Successors' "*Lives*"," *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios griegos e indoeuropeos* 29 (2019): 156; Mallory Monaco Caterine, "Alexander-Imitators in the Age of Trajan: Plutarch's Demetrius and Pyrrhus," *CJ* 112, no. 4 (2017): 409.
Another *synkrisis* between Democles and Demetrius demonstrates Demetrius's vice is. Plutarch praises Damocles' modesty and virtue while censuring Demetrius's vice. (Plutarch *Demetr*. 24).

narration of Tolmides' recklessness resulting in not only his own his death but also the death of many of his brave soldiers. Unlike Tolmides, Pericles' characteristic πραότης (self-control) led him to avoid endangering his soldiers in similar battles (Plutarch, *Per.* 19.1–4).[323] Moreover Plutarch heightens the result of Pericles πραότης by showing that his successful expedition brought salvation to the Greeks, secured the Isthmus Sea, blocked the Thracians' incursion, stopped the war between the barbarians and the Greeks, and circumnavigated the Peloponnesus (Plutarch, *Per.* 18.2–19.3).[324]

Another example of cause-and-effect is demonstrated in the war against the Samians. Pericles demonstrated his prudence by avoiding direct fighting, which would endanger his soldiers. Instead, Pericles laid siege to the city. As a result, he did not lose any soldiers and after eight months the Samians surrendered (Plutarch, *Per*. 28.1).

6.6.2 Fabius' Virtue Results in the Successful Defence of Rome, and the Vices of the Foil Characters Result in Disaster

Plutarch narrates the effects of Fabius' strategies and those of the other Roman generals during the Second Punic War. In accord with his fiery and ambitious nature and bolstered by his successes against the Gauls, Flaminius pressed on to fight Hannibal.[325] Instead, Fabius chose to wait rather than engage in battle (Plutarch *Fab*. 2.5). The impulsive

[323] Plutarch further notes, οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐδ᾽ ἀπὸ τύχης πρόσκρουσμα συνέβη περὶ τοὺς στρατευομένους 'nothing untoward befell, even as result of chance, those who took part in the expedition' (Plutarch, *Per.* 19.4).

[324] Plutarch reports that Pericles was admired even by foreigners for circumnavigating the Peloponnesus (Plutarch, *Per* 19.2). Since most of the city-states were not far from the sea, the sea was crucial to the ancient Greek civilisation. The control of the sea was crucial for the commercial interest of the Greeks and provided some livelihood through fishing. See Frank Frost, *Greek Society* (London: D. C. Heath and Company, 1971), 23–25. The sea was also vital to the security and prosperity of Athens. It received its food supply and revenues from dependent states by means of the sea. Kagan, *Peloponnesian War*, 235.

[325] Susan G. Jacobs, *Plutarch's Pragmatic Biographies: Lessons for Statesmen and Generals in the Parallel Lives*, CSCT 43, (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 171.

and reckless behaviour of Flaminius resulted in his own death, the deaths of fifteen thousand men and many others taken as prisoners (Plutarch *Fab*. 3.3).[326]

Plutarch shows that Minucius's θράσος ('rashness') resulted in defeat. His rashness made him a man eager to fight even in inopportune times (φιλομαχῶν ἀκαίρως) (Plutarch *Fab*. 5.4). Minucius' eagerness resulted in his army's 'ἀδιήγητος κατεῖχε ταραχὴ καὶ πτοία' ('indescribable confusion and fright') (Plutarch, *Fab*. 11.4) and ultimate defeat.[327] Twice, Plutarch links the defeat to the rashness of Minucius. First, he says that this defeat broke the rashness of Minucius (τοῦ Μινοθκίου τὸ θράσος κατακέκλαστο) (Plutarch *Fab*. 11.4).[328] Then he notes the words of Fabius who affirms that βράδιον δ' ἢ αὐτὸς ἔσπευδε Μινούκιος ἑαυτὸν ἀπολώλεκε ('his own rash eagerness has Minucius destroyed himself') (Plutarch *Fab*. 12.2).[329] These details, which are more substantial in Plutarch than in Livy, emphasise the results of the rashness of Minucius.

Terentius Varro and Paulus Aemilius were the consuls who engaged Hannibal at the Battle of Cannae. They both engaged in the war against Hannibal, contrary to Fabius' strategy, who wanted to deprive Hannibal of the opportunity for open battle (Plutarch *Fab*. 14.2–3). The result of the Terentius' and Paulus' action was manifold. They experienced a severe defeat, with fifty thousand men out of an army of eighty thousand killed and four

[326] Françoise Frazier, "The Perils of Ambition," in *A Companion to Plutarch*, ed. Mark Beck (West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2014), 492.

[327] One finds a similar incident with Marcellus. Marcellus was 'φιλοπτολέμους᾽καὶ ᾽ἀγερώχους' ('fond of battle and eager for the fray'). His style was 'παραβόλῳ καὶ ἰταμῷ' ('venturesome and reckless'), while Fabius remained true to his strategy of depriving Hannibal of battle (Plutarch *Fab*. 19.1–3). Hannibal laid an ambush for both Marcellus (Plutarch *Fab*. 19.5) and Fabius (Plutarch *Fab*. 19.6). Marcellus was killed in the ambush, but Hannibal 'had no success against Fabius' (Plutarch *Fab*. 19.5–6).

[328] The use of the noun θράσος ('boldness' here seems to be deliberate as it echoes Plutarch's characterisation of Minucius earlier in 5.4 and shows the consequence his rashness. The noun θράσος is only used twice in Plutarch's *Life of Fabius*. Both times, it is used to describe Minucius (Plutarch *Fab*. 5.4 and 11.4).

[329] A comparison between Livy's and Plutarch's accounts of the battle in the selectivity section has revealed that Plutarch is generally more economical with the battle details. However, in this narrative, he offers substantial comment on the result of Minucius's rashness.

thousand taken captive (Plutarch *Fab*. 16.8). Hannibal previously did not have an Italian city, a trading place or a seaport to supply his army which now controlled most of Italy (Plutarch *Fab*. 17.2). Finally, Hannibal was now within striking distance of Rome.

Plutarch's ultimate concern in the *Life of Fabius* is not the defeat the enemy but the successful defence of Rome.[330] In that regard, Plutarch shows the success of Fabius' strategy in protecting Rome from Hannibal. He also narrates the demise and destruction of those eager to fight Hannibal, thus placing Rome in great danger.

6.6.3 Demetrius' Vice Brings Shame to Himself

Demonstrating cause-and-effect in the *Life of Demetrius*, Plutarch links Demetrius' ἀκρᾶσία (intemperance) and his near escape in the most shameful way with the words 'ἅλωσιν ἐξ ἀκρασίας ἁλῶναι' ('in consequence of his rash behaviour', Plutarch, *Demetr*. 9.4). This experience occurred when he went to Patrae to canoodle with Cratesipolis. Seeing his vulnerability, his enemies attacked him. He escaped in disgrace, putting on shabby clothes as a disguise. At the same time, his tent and belongings fell into the hands of his enemies (τὴν δὲ σκηνὴν ωετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ᾠχοντο λαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 9.4).

Plutarch also shows the disastrous effect of flatteries and the bestowal of honours on Demetrius and other kings. After receiving accolades from the Athenians, Demetrius became 'ἐπαχθῆ καὶ βαρὺν ἐποίησαν τῶν τιμῶν ταῖς ἀμετρίαις ἃς ἐψηφίσαντο' ('odious and obnoxious by the extravagance of the honours which they voted him') (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 10.2). Plutarch recalls a similar result when the Diadochi assumed the title of king. They behaved with 'ὄγκον…καὶ βαρύτητα' ('pomposity and ostentation') (Plutarch, *Demetr*.

[330] Matthew B. Roller, *Models from the Past in Roman Culture: A World of Exempla* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 178.

18.3) and became harsher in their judicial decisions., Plutarch attributes his change of attitude to flattery that the title of king brought to their name (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 18.4).[331]

6.6.4 Conclusion of Cause-and-Effect as a Way of Demonstrating the Consequence of Virtue or Vice.

In the parallel *Lives of Pericles and Fabius*, Plutarch shows the consequences of the of the Roman generals who disregarded Fabius' and Pericles' πραότης. Their actions led to the deaths of thousands of soldiers and the weakening of their respective cities. In contrast, Fabius' and Pericles's virtuous actions resulted in the safety and salvation of the Romans and Athenians. In the case of Demetrius, Plutarch shows that his various vices had catastrophic consequences. The cause-and-effect category encourages the reader to uphold virtue and shy away from those vices.

6.7 Evaluation of Characters as Related to Mimesis

Plutarch, as Thucydides and Nepos before him, offers various ways by which a character is evaluated.[332] In this section the various ways by which Plutarch offers an evaluation of his subject to members of the internal audience through his narrator's voice are explored.

6.7.1 Category 7 — Evaluation by Internal Audience Assisting Readers to Evaluate Characters

Evaluation by the internal audience focuses the assessment of the subject in the text by contemporaries of the mimetic characters. This category answers the question, what did

[331] The use of the word βαρύς in both narratives Plutarch, *Demetr*. 10.2; 18.3) shows the similitude in the consequence of flatteries.

[332] Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 1; Gill, "Character-Development," 473.

the contemporaries think of Plutarch's subject? That evaluation may come from minor characters, foil characters or onlookers.[333]

6.7.1.1 Pericles' Virtue is Praised by his Contemporaries.

Like other ancient authors, Plutarch offers an evaluation of the hero made by his contemporaries. For example, at the news of the death of Tolmides, the Athenians, who had been critical of Pericles' prudent approach, now commend and acknowledge his prudence and patriotism (μεγάλην τοῦτο τῷ Περικλεῖ μετ᾽ εὐνοίας δόξαν ἤνεγκεν, ὡς ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ καὶ φιλοπολίτῃ (Plutarch, *Per.* 18:1–3).[334] This acknowledgement vindicates Pericles' approach.

Again, during the Peloponnesian war, most of the Athenians criticised Pericles' decision not to face the Lacedaemonians in battle (Plutarch, *Per*. 33.5–6). However, after Pericles' attack at sea forced the Lacedaemonians to withdraw from Attica, the Athenians perceived the value of Pericles' strategy as the Lacedaemonians could not have prolonged the war but had to give up because of their loss at sea (Plutarch, *Per*. 34.2).

The internal audience is praised Pericles on his death bed, his friends and some citizens of Athens praised his excellence and power (Plutarch, Per. 38.3–4). At the death of Pericles, even his opponents admired (θαυμαστὸς) his greatness and his πραότης (Plutarch, *Per*. 39.1). They also confessed that no other leader had equalled his dignity and gentleness. They acknowledged that his actions, which they had criticised as tyrannical, saved the constitution and kept corruption away (Plutarch, *Per*. 39.4–5).

[333] Christopher B. Pelling, *Plutarch: Life of Anthony*, ed. Christopher B. R. Pelling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 40, 138, 68.

[334] Following the demise of Tolmides, Pericles was elevated to leading general. Martin, *Pericles*, 160.

6.7.1.2 Fabius' Virtue is Praised by his Contemporaries

Fabius' virtue was recognised by his enemies and his friends alike. At the battle of Geronium, Plutrach has even Hannibal recognising Fabius' superior military strategy. He said, οὐκ ἐγὼ μέντοι προὔλεγον ὑμῖν πολλάκις την ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων ταύτην καθημένην νεφέλην, ὅτι μετὰ ζάλην ποτὲ καὶ καταιγιδων ὄμβρον ἐκρήξει ('verily, did I not often prophesy to you that the cloud which we saw hovering above the height would one day burst upon us in a drenching and furious storm?' (Plutarch, *Fab*. 12.4). When Fabius died, he was honoured with a state funeral. Every Roman citizen contributed financially, not because Fabius was destitute, but because they acknowledged that a father had died (Plutarch, *Fab*. 27.2).

6.7.1.3 Demetrius' Vices are Ridiculed by his Contemporaries

Plutarch portrays Demetrius as a person of bad morals. He therefore gives examples of how members of the internal audience evaluated Demetrius with disdain. Three illustrate their contempt for Demetrius. The first example is the contempt of Philippides, the comic poet who ironised that Demetrius used the Parthenon as a house of ill repute. He said that Demetrius ὁ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πανδοκεῖον ὑπολαβὼν καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας εἰσαγαγὼν ('took the acropolis for a caravansary and introduced to its virgin goddess his courtesans' (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 26.3). These comments are meant to denigrate Demetrius as Philippides spoke out against the impieties committed by Athenians.

The second example observed is when the subjects of Demetrius were offended (Βᾰνύνω) and vexed at his luxurious lifestyle (τρυφὴν καὶ δίαιταν ἐβαρύνοντο) (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 42.1). Luxury was not foreign to the Macedonian elite during the time of Alexander.[335] Yet despite the luxury enjoyed by the elite, Demetrius' subjects and the

[335] Carol J. King, *Ancient Macedonia* (London: Routledge, 2018), 33; Rose, "Commentary," 303.

soldiers were tired of the lavish lifestyle of Demetrius, ‘γὰρ ἤδη Μακεδόνας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου τρυφῆς πολεποῦντας’ (‘for the Macedonians, they said were tired of waging war in support of his luxurious way of living’) (Plutarch, *Demtr*. 44.6).[336]

The third example is when Demetrius' amorous relationship with Lamia brought him ridicule.[337] Lamia was ridiculed by the comic poets who called her Ἑλέπολιν ἀληθῶς προσεῖτε’ (‘a veritable City-taker’) (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 27.2). The Athenians’ ambassadors mocked Demetrius’ relationship with the prostitute Lamia. When Lysimachus showed the ambassadors his scars from his fights with lions, they lampooned Demetrius, saying that their ‘τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλέα δεινοῦ θηρίου δήγματα φέρειν ἐν τῷ τραχέλῳ, Λαμίας’ (‘king also carried, on his neck, the bites of a dreadful wild beast — a Lamia’) (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 27.3).

6.8 Competing Evaluation Given by Internal Audience

Plutarch offers competing and contrasting evaluations made by contemporaries. Some examples below from the respective *Lives of Pericles* and *Fabius* will illustrate the competing evaluations. This is followed by the formulation of a rule to discern which evaluation stands out as superior and affirms the mimetic virtue of a character.

6.8.1 Competing Evaluation in *Life of Pericles*

An example of a competing evaluation is found in the *Life of Pericles*. When Pericles tried to restrain and dissuade Tolmides from engaging in the Boeotian campaign, his efforts brought him moderate rebuke (μετρίως εὐδοκίμησε Plutarch, *Per*. 18.3). But when the people became aware of the defeat of the army and the death of Tolmides, they formed a

[336] Rose, "Commentary," 304.

[337] Lamia was older than Demetrius and was part of the booty when he defeated Ptolemy, taken by Demetrius as one of his prostitutes in the Parthenon (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 16.3). Wheatley, "Lamia," 30.

more favourable opinion of Pericles (εὐνοίας δόξαν – Plutarch, *Per*. 18.3), qualifying him as a 'ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ καὶ φιλοπολίτῃ' ('man of discretion and patriotism') (Plutarch, *Per*. 18.3).

Another example of competing evaluation is found during the plague that gripped Athens in 430 BCE. During the plague, the Athenians were exasperated (χαλεπῶς διακειμένους) (Plutarch, *Per*. 35.3) and angered (ὀργή) (Plutarch, *Per*. 35.4) by Pericles. They stripped him of his command and fined him (Plutarch, *Per*. 35.4) replacing him with other generals. Soon after, the Athenians evaluated the other generals and realised that there was no one as competent or adequate as Pericles, and the Athenians yearned (ποθέω) for Pericles (Plutarch, *Per*. 37.1).

6.8.2 Competing Evaluation in *Life of Fabius*

The reader is also confronted with some conflicting appraisals of Fabius. For adopting the Fabian strategy, which consisted of depriving Hannibal of war, Fabius was despised by the Romans, abused by his soldiers, and ridiculed as a man of no courage by his enemies (Plutarch, *Fab.* 5.2). In contrast, Hannibal understood the cleverness of Fabian's tactics and forecasted that it would lead to the defeat of the Carthaginians (Plutarch, *Fab*. 5.3).

In another instance, Minucius, gave conflicting evaluations in different situations. Minucius's evaluation of Fabius before the battle of Geronium (Polybius 3.100–107) is different from his assessment after the battle. Initially, Minucius evaluated Fabius' advice as an εἰρωνείαν γεροντικήν ('old man's dissimulation') (Plutarch, *Fab*. 11.1). Plutarch notes Minucius confession to Fabius and his soldiers after he was soundly beaten and rescued by Fabius in these words: δύο νίκας, ὦ δίκτατορ, τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ νενίκηκας, ἀνδρείᾳ μὲν Ἀννίβαν, εὐβοθλίᾳ δὲ καὶ χρηστότητι τὸν συνάρχοντα ('dictator, you have on this day won two victories, one over Hannibal through your valour and one over your colleague through

your wisdom and kindness') (Plutarch, Fab. 13.4). He then turned his army over to Fabius and demonstrated his gratitude by calling him πατέρ ('father') and his soldiers acknowledged Fabius as their πάτρωνας ('patron') Plutarch, *Fab*. 13.1–3).[338]

6.8.4 Rule to Detect Superior Evaluation by Internal Audience.

When faced with conflicting evaluations by the internal audience, the evaluation closest to Plutarch's perspective, as reflected in the plot, is the most authoritative for Plutarch. Like Thucydides and Nepos, Plutarch establishes the narrative moralising purpose through the plot. Among competing evaluations, the evaluation closest to the plot indicates the moral intent of Plutarch. A reader would thus be able to ascertain whether a character is apt for emulation or *aphormē*.

6.9 Evaluation through Authoritative Figures or Gnomic Sayings

Plutarch uses sayings of influential individuals of the past or gnomic maxims to characterise his subjects. A gnomic maxim is a timeless axiom that is viewed as authoritative. Since gnomic sayings are viewed as authoritative by the readers, it helps the audience to evaluate a character's worthiness or unworthiness. These authoritative sayings may come from influential, recognisable wise people from the past, such as philosophers, or from a sacred book. Characters evaluated by means of gnomic sayings or authoritative figures would be considered either virtuous or evil and thus apt for mimesis or *aphormē*.

In *Life of Pericles*, Tolmides showed an eagerness to fight. Pericles advised caution by uttering the conventional wisdom about the passage of time: 'he would yet do well to wait

[338] Plutarch notes that it was the τοῦτο δ᾽ἔστι τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις προσφώνημα πρὸς τοὺς ἀπελευθρώσαντας ('name by which freedmen address those who have set them free') (Plutarch, *Fab*. 13.3). Besides its literal meaning of father, the term πατέρ attributes an honorific title, demonstrating thankfulness for a patronlike support. Benedict H. M. Kent, "Client, Agent and Broker: An Analysis of Subordination in Paul's Christology from a Graeco-Roman Perspective" (PhD diss., Univeristy of Manchester, 2017), 87.

for that wisest of all counsellors, time' (Plutarch, *Per*. 18.2). Plutarch advises his reader that it is a well-known maxim with the words, τὸ μνημονεθόμενον εἰπών ('uttering then that well remembered saying,') (Plutarch *Per*. 18.2).

Plutarch uses Euripides' saying, οὐ σμικρὸν κακόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ φρονίμων στρατηγῶν ('put friends to the test, but also prudent generals') (Plutarch, *Fab*. 17.3) to justify Fabius' strategy in the face of Hannibal's threat. This Aaxiom is repeated in Plutarch, *Them*. 2.2; *Alc*. 9.1; *Cor*. 1.3. When Fabius endured Minicius' being co-dictator with him, everyone thought he would feel dishonoured. However, Plutarch uses the axiom μήτε ὑβρίζεσθαι μήτε ἀτιμοῦσθαι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ σπουδαῖον ('a sincerely good man can neither be insulted nor dishonoured') (Plutarch, *Fab*. 10.2), to show that Fabius was still right to continue with his strategy.

Gnomic or authoritative sayings were not observed in Nepos or Thucydides as a category of characterisation. This technique is used by Plutarch but will not constitute a category in this analysis.

6.10 Category 7 — Evaluative Language Serves as Direct Characterisation

Evaluative language appraises a character through words. In his *Lives*, Plutarch uses evaluative language to attribute praise or blame to his characters. They act as prescriptive indicators of Plutarch's assessment of a character's morality.

6.10.1 Pericles Evaluative Words Affirm His Virtue.

In *Life of Pericles*, Plutarch describes Pericles as a man with φρόνηωα δ᾽εὐγενὲς ('a noble spirit') (Plutarch, *Per*. 10.6), ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ ('a sensible, sage man'),[339] and φιλοπολίτης ('patriotic') (Plutarch, *Per*. 18.3), ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ φιλοκίνδῦνος ('brave and

[339] The virtue of πραοτής is one of the virtues of the sage in the stoic tradition and valued by Plutarch. See Jacqueline de Romilly, *La Douceur dans la Pensée Grecque* (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1979), 300–07.

enterprising') (Plutarch, *Per*. 7.1). He is revealed as causing φοβερός ('fear') to his enemies but is ἀσφαλής, and δραστήριος ('safe' and 'efficient') to his citizens (Plutarch, *Per*. 19.4).

6.10.2 Fabius' Evaluative Words Affirm His Virtue.

In his *Life of Fabius*, Plutarch describes Fabius as the ideal general whose virtues improve the common good, while some foil figures are seen as a threat to the livelihood of the Romans. He says Fabius' courage is φρονίμῳ τὸ θαρραλέον ('tempered with prudence') (Plutarch, *Fab.* 3.6) and a man of γνώνη καὶ πρόνοιᾳ ('superior judgement and foresight') (Plutarch *Fab*. 7.2). When Minucius is given the same powers of a dictator as Fabius, Plutarch describes Fabius as ἀπαθής and ῥᾴδιος ('calm' and 'easy') (Plutarch *Fab*. 10.2).

Some foil characters in *Life of Fabius* are described with pejorative words. Gaius Flaminius is θυμοειδεῖ ('fiery') and φιλοτίμῳ μεγάλαις ('ambitious') (Plutarch, *Fab.* 2.4). Minucius is θρᾶσύω ('over-bold or rash') and indulges 'ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς φηόνεμα καὶ θράσος' ('his arrogance and boldness') (Plutarch *Fab*. 5.4, 5).[340] Minucius fills himself with μεγαλαυχίαχ ἀμέτρου ('measureless boastfulness') (Plutarch *Fab*. 9.2). He is also called a man with 'οὐχ φιλοτιμίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον' ('diseased military ambition') (Plutarch *Fab*. 10.2). Terentius is characterised as one 'βίου δὲ διὰ δημοκοπίαν καὶ προπέτειαν ἐπισήμου… ἀπειρίᾳ και θρασύτητι' ('whose life was conspicuous for servile flattery of the people and for rashness') (Plutarch *Fab*. 14.1). Paulus is experienced but susceptible to public opinion and lacks the courage to confront Varro (Plutarch *Fab*. 14.3).

[340] Boldness is equated with rashness or recklessness and is often seen as a vice in Plutarch. It is contrary to courage, wisdom or prudence. See Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 30, 154, 268, 306. Monaco, "Bema," 116.

6.10.3 Demetrius – Evaluative Words Reveal Demetrius' Vices and Foil Characters Show Virtue

In the *Life of Demetrius*, honours given to the Diadochi make them 'ὄγκον…καὶ βαρύτητα' ('pompous and ostentatious') (Plutarch *Demetr*. 18.3). In times of peace, Demetrius devoted himself to ἡδονὰς ἀνειμένως αὐτῷ καὶ κατακόρως ('pleasure without restraint and intemperately') (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 19.3). Democles, a young man who preferred death instead of being defiled by Demetrius is called ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην ('modest and virtuous') (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 24.2). Demetrius' sexual depravity is described as συνἄκολασταίνω ('dissolute life') (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 24.1).

Evaluative language expresses a judgment or opinion about something or someone, indicating a positive or negative assessment. Evaluative language follows the moralising theme of Plutarch and draws the reader's attention to his observation of the characters. Evaluative language attributes praise or condemnation, thus revealing which character is worthy of emulation or which warrants avoidance.

6.11 Narrator's Voice as a Guided Evaluation Directly Characterizing his Subjects.

Plutarch uses his narrator's voice to guide his audience to assess correctly the different characters' actions or motivations. It allows the reader to appreciate whether a character inspires one to mimesis or *aphormē*. Since Plutarch is a credible narrator, his narrator's evaluation guides his audience to characterise his subject correctly.[341]

[341] Unreliable narrators have limited knowledge, personal involvement and have debatable value systems. See Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative*, 100–04. Plutarch has a knowledgeable understanding of his subjects, does not have personal involvement with most of his subjects and does not have a major conflicting value system. He can thus be seen as credible narrator. It is worth noting that not all Plutarch's use of narrator's voice is evaluative. See Duff, "Critical Reader," 66; Christopher BR Pelling, "Plutarch," in *Narrators, Narratees, and Narratives in Ancient Greek Literature*, ed. Irene J. F. de Jong, René Nünlist, and Angus Bowie (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 404–05.

6.11.1 Pericles — Plutarch's Narrator's Voice Underscores his Virtue.

As noted, chapter 15 in *Life of Pericles* is a pivotal chapter in which Plutarch informs his readers of a transition in Pericles. He says, οὐδέθ᾽ ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν οὐδ᾽ ὁμοίως χειροήθης τῷ δέμῳ καὶ ῥᾴδιος ὑπείκειν καὶ συνενδιδόναι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ὥσπερ πνοαῖς τῶν πολλῶν ('was no longer the same man as he was before, nor alike submissive to the people and ready to yield and give in to the desires of the multitude' (Plutarch, *Per*. 15.2).[342] Furthermore, from that point onwards, Pericles displays his fundamental virtues of prudence and patience and his 'saving caution' – (ἐν δὲ στρατηγίαις εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν).[343] His primary purpose was to seek the Athenians' best interest (χρώμενος αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον) (Plutarch, *Per.* 15.2). Plutarch's use of his narrative voice in this passage guides his audience to distinguish between the earlier Pericles and the Pericles that they will encounter from Chapter 15 onwards.

As the Spartan league became uneasy about the Athenian expansion, Pericles convened a council of Greek cities at Athens to discuss the peace and common welfare of the Greeks (Plutarch, *Per*. 17.1). While the council never took place because of the opposition of Sparta, Plutarch uses his narrator's voice to indicate that he referenced this event to show Pericles' disposition and greatness of mind (τοῦτο μὲν οὖν παρεθέμην ἐνδεικνύμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνη) ('I have cited this incident,

[342] After becoming the first citizen of Athens, he changed his approach, ruling in an aristocratic and kingly manner, and, forsaking his former ways, he did not give in to the pressure of the multitudes. As the readers read those lines he/she might expect that as Pericles changed, he would rule with the goals and objectives of the aristocratic party, yet those examples are missing in Plutarch's portrayal of Pericles over the rest of the biography. BreeBaart, "Plutarch," 271.

[343] Stadter, *Commentary*, 187.

howeer, to show forth the man's disposition and the greateness of his thoughts/) (Plutarch, *Per*. 17.3).[344]

Plutarch further underscores Pericles' prudence as a general when he observes that as a στρατηγία (general), 'εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, οὔτε μάχης ἐχούσης πολλὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ κίνδυνον ἑκουσίως ἁπτόμενος, οὔτε τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παραβάλλεσθαι χρησαμένους τύχῃ λαμπρᾷ καὶ θαυμασθέντας ὡς μεγάλους ζηλῶν καὶ μιμούμενος στρατηγούς ('he was famous above all things for his saving caution; he neither undertook of his own accord a battle involving much uncertainty and peril, nor did he envy and imitate those who took great risks') (Plutarch, *Per*. 18.1.1).[345]

When Pericles is accused of tyranny, Plutarch intervenes in his narrator's voice, countering by pointing out that Pericles presided over Athens for forty years when great leaders such as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides and Thucydides could have led Athens (Plutarch, *Per*. 16.1).[346] In addition he notes that Pericles was responsible for most of their treaties, their army, peace, and wealth during his long and continuous tenure and yet was untainted by corruption (Plutarch, *Per*. 16.2–3).

When Pericles is confronted with criticism, Plutarch again uses his narrator's voice to defend him. For example, after Pericles' Funeral Oration, Elpince, the sister of Cimon, ridiculed him (Plutarch, *Per*. 28.4). Plutarch corrects Elpince's evaluation of Pericles,

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[344] Plutarch's choice of the first person singular παρεθέμην (I have laid before) is a signal that he is using his narrator's voice.

[345] Plutarch's use of his narrator's voice to highlight the virtue of Pericles can be observed throughout his writing on Pericles. See ἀσφαλὴς δὲ καὶ δραστήριος τοῖς πολίταις (Plutarch, *Per*. 19.4) or οὐδὲν γὰρ οὗδ' ἀπὸ τύχης πρόσκροθσμα συνέβη περὶ τοὺς στρατεθομένους (Plutarch, *Per*. 19.4. Plutarch also offers a judgement of Pericles' decision to restrain the Athenians' desire to conquer other lands by noting that it proved to be the right decision (ὅτι δ' ὀρθῶς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Αθηναίων σθνεῖχεν (Plutarch, *Per*. 22.1).

[346] Richard Klein, "Die Innenpolitische Gegnerschaft Gegen Perikles," in *Perikles Und Seine Zeit*, ed. Gerhard Wirth (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1979), 503; BreeBaart, "Plutarch," 268.

highlighting the magnitude of Pericles' accomplishment by reminding readers of two facts: Agamemnon took ten years to subdue the city of Samos, while Pericles only took nine months, and Thucydides says that Samos came very close to winning the war (Plutarch, *Per*. 28. 5–6).

6.11.2 Demetrius – Narrative Voice

Plutarch guides his readers to see Demetrius' character as inconsistent. He describes him as a man who could be a formidable warrior and completely given to his intemperate passion in times of peace. He says,

> εἰς ταῦτα καὶ σχολάζων ἐχρῆτο πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀνειμένως αὐτῷ καὶ κατακόρως, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις ὡς οἱ φύσει σώφρονες ἔνηφε (Plutarch, *Demtr*. 19.3).
>
> Demetrius plunged deep into these excesses and devoted his leisure to his pleasures without restraint and intemperately, yet in time of war he was as sober as to those who were abstemious by nature.
>
> ἐκεῖνος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἡδονῇ διδοὺς ἁπλῶς ἑαυτόν, τὰ δὲ σπουδῇ, καὶ θάτερα τῶν ἑτέρων ἄκρατα μεταχειριΖόμενος, οὐχ ἧττον ἦν δεινὸς ἐν ταῖς τοῦ πολέμοθ παρασκευαῖς (Plutarch, *Demtr*. 19.6).
>
> Demetrius, giving himself up completely, now to pleasure and now to duty and keeping the one completely separate from the other, was no less formidable in his preparations for war.

In both passages, Plutarch describes Demetrius as completely formidable and sober in times of war, but also intemperate in times of peace.

In *Life of Demetrius*, Plutarch guides his readers by showing the excessive debauchery of Demetrius, saying,

> τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν τις ἦν ἡ τοῦ Δημητρίου τιμὴ τε Φίλαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας γαμετὰς ὥστε πολλαῖς ωὲν ἀνέδην ἑταίραις, πολλαῖς δὲ ἐλευθέραις συνεῖναι γυναιξί, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ περὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ταύτην κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι τῶν τότε βασιλέων (Plutarch, *Demetr*. 14.3).

> However, so slight was the respect Demetrius paid to Phila and to the rest of his wives, that he consorted freely with many courtesans, as well as with many women of free birth, and as regards this indulgence he had the worst reputation of all the kings of his time.

Although Demetrius' seeking a rapid initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries was irregular it was not unprecedented (Plutarch, *Demtr*. 26).[347] Plutarch, however, uses his narrative voice to condemn Demetrius because he acted in contravention of the divine and human laws (θεμῖτός) (Plutarch, *Demtr*. 26.1).[348]

Plutarch's narrative voice intrudes into his narrative to interpret or evaluate the hero's action or motivation. His narrator's voice also offers an alternative view to correct perceptions or criticisms. As a reliable narrator, his narrative voice identifies whether a character is praiseworthy or blameworthy and thus is valuable for mimesis.

6.12 Stock Virtue/Vice

Stock virtues are ethical standards that would be identified, accepted and understood by the readers. As mentioned previously, there were four cardinal virtues in antiquity.

6.12.1 Stock Virtue —Temperance

Plutarch portrays Pericles and Fabius Maximus as men who exhibited self-control. After Plutarch portrays an absence of greed in Pericles as he helped many poor people (Plutarch, *Per.* 16.6) and could not be bribed by the Samians and Persian satrap (Plutarch, *Per*. 25.2). The absence of greed also showed self-control.[349] Fabius used his land sale proceeds to trade prisoners with Hannibal and refused the reimbursement when the

[347] Wheatley and Dunn, *Demetrius*, 225; Rose, "Commentary," 235.

[348] Another use of Plutarch's narrative voice to discredit Demetrius is found in 42.6.

[349] Avarice was seen as a form of Greed. Roisman, *Manhood*, 174.

liberated prisoners offered to repay him (Plutarch, fab. 7.5).[350] When Fabius defeated his enemy and he showed self-mastery.[351]

6.12.2 Stock virtue — Courage

Minucius, who was granted equal power to Fabius as co-dictator (Plutarch, *Fab*. 10.1) went into face-to-face battle with Hannibal with disastrous consequences. Fabius Maximus, despite his prudence, fought Hannibal and saved Minucius (Plutarch, *Fab*. 1.12). After the battle Minucius returned to Fabius and credited him with two stock virtues: ἀνδρεῖος (courage) and εὐβουλία (wisdom) (Plutarch, *Fab*. 13.4).

6.12.3 Stock Vice — Lack of Self-control.

Wantonness, lust and extravagance were examples of lack of self-control.[352] These characteristics were present in Demetrius.[353] Despite the fact that Plutarch does not normally talk about his characters' sexual behaviour, he offers multiple examples of Demetrius's wantonness, lust and extravagance to demonstrate his bad character.[354] If temperance means the submission of one's passion, Demetrius represents the opposite of temperance.

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[350] Generosity with money is a trademark of many of Plutarch's heroes, e.g. Phocion and Epaminondas (Plutarch, *Arat*. 19.3), Philopoemen (Plutarch, *Phil*. 15.9–12), Lucculus (Plutarch, *Luc*. 2.6–9), Aristides (Plutarch, *Arist*. 9.24–25), Cicero (Plutarch, *Cic*. 7.3, 36.3) and Alexander (Plutarch, *Alex*. 57.1–2). Xenophontos, "Περὶ ἀγαθοῦ," 168–69.

[351] An example of Fabius' self-control is noted by Plutarch who affirms that after saving Minucius from Hannibal, Fabius did not indulge 'in a single haughty or invidious word' (Plutarch, Fab. 13.1).

[352] Conway, *Behold*, 24.

[353] Sexual debauchery was seen as a stock feature of tyrannical behaviour. The Greek definition of a stock tyrant is one who gains huge power but is plagued with debauchery. See Philip Holt, "Sex, Tyranny, and Hippias' Incest Dream," *GRBS* 39 (1988): 226; Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 96; Victoria Wohl, *Love among the Ruins: The Erotics of Democracy in Classical Athens* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 221; Sheila L. Ager, "Familiarity Breeds: Incest and the Ptolemaic Dynasty," *JHS* 125 (2005): 26.

[354] Demetrius's extravagance is flagrant when he makes a hefty financial requisition from the Athenians to procure soap for Lamia and other courtesans (Plutarch, *Demetr.* 27.1). The requisition of funds from the city to maintain an extravagant lifestyle is the mark of a tyrant. See Rose, "Commentary," 267.

6.13 Limit of Mimesis in Plutarch

Having observed the categories of mimesis in Plutarch, it is also apparent that Plutarch's understanding of mimesis is not limitless. Two concepts are key to the limit of mimesis. These are not all characters who are worth imitating and the specific deeds of Plutarch's subject cannot be imitated. With regard to characters, in the proem of the *Lives of Pericles and Fabius Maximus*, Plutarch cites as an example that the love for dyes or perfumes does not lead to the imitation of the dyer and the perfumer. He says, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὐναντίον χαίροντες τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καταφρονοῦμεν (while we delight in the work, we despise the workman) (Plutarch, *Per*. 1.4). For Plutarch, mimesis seeks to imitate virtuous characters as virtuous deeds lead to the mimesis of the character (Plutarch, *Per*. 1.4). Aspasia is an example of a non-mimetic character in Plutarch (Plutarch, *Per*. 24).

Another limit is the restriction of mimesis to virtues of the characters. This strong interest in the imitation of the virtue of characters is stated in Plutarch's programmatic statements for his *Lives*.[355] There he asserts:

> δὲ τῇ περὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν διατριβῇ καὶ τῆς γραφῆς τῇ συνηθείᾳ παρακευάζομεν ἑαυτούς,τὰς τῶν ἀρίστων και δοκιμωτάτων μνήμας ὑποδεχομένους ἀεὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς, εἴ τι φαῦλον ἢ κακόηθες ἢ ἀγεννὲς αἱ τῶν συνόντων ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁμιλίαι προσβάλλουσιν, ἐκκρούειν καὶ διωθεῖσθαι, πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν παραδειγμάτων ἴλεω καὶ πρᾳεῖαν ἀποστρέφοντες τὴν διάνοιαν (Plutarch, *Aem*. 1.3).
>
> The study of history and the familiarity with it which my writing produces, enables me, since I always cherish in my soul the records of the noblest and the most estimable characters, to repel and put far from me whatever base, malicious, or ignoble suggestion my enforced associations upon me, calmly and dispassionately turning my thoughts away from them to the fairest of my examples.

[355] Even though we are unable to refer to Plutarch's initial programmatic statement for the paired *Lives*, as the introduction to the first paired *Lives* (Epaminondas and Scipio), remains inaccessible to us today, his purpose can be gathered through explanations he has given at length in other *Lives*. We also do not have any reason to think the statement in the now lost *Life of Epaminondas—Scipio* was more elaborate than other assertions that Plutarch made in other places. See Tatum, "Plutarch's Lives," 1.

The above text sheds shed light on Plutarch's choice to narrow mimesis to virtue and vices. As a model reader, Plutarch uses virtuous subjects in his quest for moral improvement.[356] Plutarch again stipulates his emphasis on virtue as opposed to the emulation of illustrious deeds or great conquest in the prologue of the *Lives of Alexander and Caesar* (Plutarch, *Alex*. 1.2–3).

Mimesis is limited to virtues or vices because most of Plutarch's readers would not be able to imitate fully the subjects of his *Lives*, particularly the great military leaders or statesmen. Plutarch and most of his readers were not military leaders.[357] As such, most of them would not be able to replicate the deeds of state or military leaders in Plutarch's narratives. For example, none of his readers had to fight Hannibal as Fabius Maximus did. Instead of military leaders, his readership would be members of the elite society who were competing against each other, looking for favours, trying to convince assemblies and threatened by others' envy. Some of them might even be vulnerable to the impatience of youth.[358] So Plutarch, in narrowing his focus to virtues and vices, might have hoped that the *Lives* would permit the readers to obtain moral insights that led to mimesis or *aphormē* of his subjects' virtues or vices in different contexts. Returning to the example of Fabius,

[356] Plutarch sees his writings as a mirror (ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ) reflecting virtues that prompt their imitation (Plutarch, *Aem*. 1.1). see, Duff, *Plutarch's Lives*, 31; Frazier, "Autour du Miroir," 324–25; Mark Beck, "Plutarch's Use of Anecdotes in the "*Lives*"" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 1998), 2–3 (9902440). Geiger, "Plutarch's," 168.

[357] Plutarch was a Greek who held Roman citizenship. He lived in Chaeronea for most of his life and led a philosophical school there. As a young person, he was an envoy to the proconsul of Achaea (Plutarch, *Prae. Ger. Reip*. 20). He served as a magistrate in his hometown of Chaeronea and later was appointed as the procurer of the province of Achaea. In his later years, perhaps until his death, he became a priest at Delphi and worked as a priest of Apollo. See Stadter, *Commentary*, xxi–xxii; George Karamanolis, "Plutarch," ed. Edward N. Zalta, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2013), http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/plutarch/. Stadter, "Plutarch and Rome," 20.

[358] Pelling, "Political," 153.

Plutarch did not expect his readers to adopt the Fabian military tactic. Instead, he expected them to cultivate the virtue of prudence (*praotēs* – πραότης) within their current context.[359]

Plutarch's Greek subjects of the *Lives* such as Philopoemen defended Greece against foreign nations or conquered foreign lands. Some even fought Roman occupation. Exact mimesis of those deeds would be problematic and dangerous during Roman rule. For example, an exact imitation of the deeds of Philopoemen would mean encouraging Greek freedom from Roman rule. This would be challenging during the Roman administration.[360]

Plutarch's concept of mimesis was thus limited to moral improvement. It excluded imitation of mighty deeds, military strategy or conquest. His intention was for his readers to emulate the attitudes that were reflected in the character and conduct of his biographical subjects.

6.14 Conclusion — Plutarch's Mimesis Categories

Plutarch sees biography as a way to shape the lives of his implied audience. By focusing on the life of a Greek or Roman hero, Plutarch prompts his reader to adopt the behaviour, attitudes or virtues of the hero.[361] Through the narrative, Plutarch progressively reveals how a character portrays the virtue or vice for mimesis or *aphormē,* respectively. For example, in his dual life of Pericles and Fabius, Plutarch develops the virtue of mildness or caution (*praotēs* – πραότης) in different pericopes through their interaction with different foil characters. The development of Plutarch's narrative enabled the discovery of categories

[359] von Kevin Straßburger, "Quintus Fabius Maximus Ein Leben in Dienst der res Publica?" (PhD diss., Universität Leipzig, 2018), 20.

[360] Christopher Pelling, "Plutarch on the Great Battles of Greece," in *A Man of Many Interests: Plutarch on Religion, Myth, and Magic: Essays in Honor of Aurelio Pérez Jiménez*, ed. Delfim F. Leão and Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 94.

[361] Stadter, *Readers*, 235–36.

that help a mimetic analysis. The analysis of Plutarch's narrative enabled evaluation through gnomic sayings and competing evaluations categories.

While Plutarch wishes that his mimetic subjects are relatable, he does not wish for the reader to become like the mimetic subject but rather model his/her behaviour to emulate the subject's virtue or disassociate from the subject's vice.

As with the Thucydides and Nepos, the mimetic constructs identified in Plutarch are plot, selectivity, relatability, illustrative actions, cause-and-effect, evaluation by internal audience, evaluative vocabulary, narrator's guided evaluation, *synkrisis* and stock virtue. In this work judgement is reserved about differences, nuances, and variations of these constructs within the works of Thucydides, Nepos and Plutarch. For all three authors, the mimetic constructs will be fully defined in the following chapter. Furthermore, as observed in the two previous chapters, the questions integral to mimetic analysis outlined in the methodological chapter will also be discussed in section 7.9.

7 Characteristics of Key Concepts Relating to Mimesis from Selected Greco-Roman Writers

To a large degree the presuppositions of ancient historiographers or biographers determine the approach they take as they recount the narrative of their respective characters. Their presuppositions in turn emanate from the literary milieu in which their characters are *exempla* of virtues or vices. While separated by decades and socio-historical context, Thucydides, Nepos and Plutarch all champion moral living through the narration of the virtues and the vices of their characters. Their insistence on moral didacticism drawn from their world view has helped in the development of mimetic categories that help shape and influence their readers.

A principal objective in this work is to establish the categories of mimesis used by Thucydides, Nepos and Plutarch. In the previous chapters (4–6) categories of mimesis were discerned and tested in selected readings from the three Greco-Roman authors. Table 1 (below) shows the mimetic categories they employed.

Table 1. Mimetic Categories in Thucydides, Nepos and Plutarch

		Thucydides	Nepos	Plutarch
Category 1	Plot	Yes	Yes	Yes
Category 2	Selectivity	Not observed	Yes	Yes
Category 3	Relatability	Yes	Yes	Yes
Category 4	Illustrative action	Yes	Yes	Yes
Category 5	*synkrisis*	Yes	Yes	Yes
Category 6	Cause-and-effect	Yes	Yes	Yes
Category 7	Evaluation by internal audience	Not observed	Not observed	Yes
Category 8	Evaluative Vocabulary	Yes	Yes	Yes
Category 9	Narrator's guided evaluation	Yes	Yes	Yes
Category 10	Stock virtue or vice	Yes	Yes	Yes

7.1 Plot – Category 1

For a definition of "plot", see section 3.3. In the context of a mimetic analysis, the plot offers a vital lens that shapes the perspective from which characters, actions, or motivations can be judged to be praiseworthy or blameworthy.

7.2 Compositional Selectivity — Category 2

Compositional Selectivity recognises that the selection of events is paramount in the rhetorical process in any historical or biographical work. Using compositional selectivity, the authors Plutarch and Nepos determine which events to include, what characters should be part of the narration, what dialogues to incorporate, what specific words should be emphasised and what grammatical constructs should be used. They also decide what

events, characters, and dialogues should be omitted. The events selected act as building blocks to shape the narrative and fulfil the author's ultimate purpose. In other words, the selected elements make a story distinctive from other stories. Through the process of selection, these two authors shape their narratives, develop the plots, and give force to the narrative discourses. Selectivity also develops the literary motif or ideological agenda implied by the text. In the discussion of the Greco-Roman material in sections 5.2, 6.2 selectivity is detected by comparison with other ancient texts. It is noted how the three authors discussed shape their heroes and choose events that give force to the moralising agenda of the literary work.

Selectivity serves three rhetorical purposes in mimesis. (1) It shapes the plot, (2) highlights the character's virtues and vices and not military accomplishments,[362] and (3) it accentuates the virtue or vice of the given character.[363]

7.3 Relatability — Category 3

Relatability refers to the reduction of distance between the characters and the readers so that the experience of the character can resonate with the implied reader. The purpose of making a hero relatable is to encourage the readers to imitate the moral behaviour of the hero. The *exempla* chosen by a writer often operate in a different geographical location, time and circumstance from the readers. The characters occupy different roles or rank. Most readers do not share the position or power of Pericles, Fabius or Lysander. Relatability appreciates that despite the distance in the narrative, characters have mimetic properties for the readers. The readers view characters' virtues and context as

[362] Chrysanthou, *Narrative*, 30. The prevalence of compositional selectivity is also acknowledged by Plutarch in *Cim.* 2.5.

[363] Van Der Stockt, "Compositional," 324; Duff, *Plutarch's lives*, 22–26.

appropriate, apt and applicable to their situation. Thus, once the readers distil what is relevant in the character and their context, they apply the moral lessons to their circumstances. Relatability does not mean that a reader will emulate every feature of a character. When readers see that a character is inspirational, they grapple with their own realities and decide which features apply to them and are appropriate for emulation.

7.4 Illustrative Action – Category 4

An illustrative action is a concrete historical deed executed by a character in a literary work. That action often illustrates a character trait.[364] A character exemplifies a particular virtue or vice through their actions. A virtuous action for Thucydides, Nepos and Plutarch is one that promotes the common good. It is often linked to the safety and security of the people. Illustrative actions serve three purposes. (1) They reveal the character of a person, thus determining whether a hero is virtuous or depraved. (2) They allow the reader to judge whether a character is apt for imitation or *aphormē*. (3) They inform the readers about virtues and vices. Not all actions can be employed for mimesis or *aphormē*. Only actions that embody an ethical norm are the prime vehicles of virtues or vices and thus relevant for mimesis and aphormē.

7.5 Internal *Synkrisis* (Compare and Contrast) — Category 5

Comparison (*Synkrisis*) is at the heart of Greco-Roman composition. It was taught to young boys as part of the fourteen exercises in the *progymnasmata*. It was fundamental to Herodotus' historical writings.[365] It was also used extensively by Plutarch.[366] The category

[364] Derek Brewer, "The Gospels and the Laws of Folktale: A Centenary Lecture, 14 June 1978," *Folklore* 90, no. 1 (1979): 42.

[365] Thomas Harrison, "The Moral of History," in *Interpreting Herodotus*, ed. Thomas Harrison and Elizabeth Irwin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 351.

[366] Beck, "Interne," 467–87.

synkrisis differentiates between the actions of foil characters and heroes. It serves three main purposes. *Synkrisis* helps to sharpen the hero's personality profile. The character of the hero becomes evident when differences from the foil characters emerge. It assists in developing an understanding of the virtue or vice of the hero. When associated with the cause-and-effect category, *synkrisis* helps the readers to appreciate the result of the hero's virtue or vice and thus their aptness for mimesis or *aphormē*.

7.6 Cause-and-Effect — Category 6

In cause-and-effect a relationship is established between action and result. It demonstrates a highly predictable outcome of specific actions and or characters' traits. It allows a reader to benefit from hindsight, which is probably unavailable to the hero in pursuing virtue and avoiding vice.[367] It does not analyse one group's moral worthiness over another through victory or defeat at war. It goes further than success in war and analyses the outcome of the victory. If the victory results in the greater good, the character responsible for the greater good is seen as virtuous. The example of Lysander's using his victory to establish a tyrannical decemviral government illustrates a non-virtuous outcome, and Lysander is judged to be a character apt for *aphormē*.

7.7 Evaluation

Evaluation is crucial to mimesis or *aphormē*. It involves the delivery of judgment on the moral virtue of characters. Ancient authors attributed praise and blame to condition people to follow or disassociate from the models presented.[368] That evaluation becomes the

[367] That hindsight is possible because of the difference between the time when the story happened and the time of narration. See Gribble, "Narrator," 50.

[368] A. J. Woodman, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2003), 97; Penner, *Praise*, 165–66. Fornara, *Nature*, 117.

basis for mimesis or *aphormē*. The study of the three ancient authors has discerned four categories of evaluations employed by those writers.

7.7.1 Evaluation by the Reaction of the Internal Audience — Category 7

Evaluation by the internal audience refers to actors who share the narrative space and provide feedback on mimetic characters. They are often the character's contemporaries. The internal audience's reaction that aligns with the work's moral point of view serves as an evaluation that guides a reader's assessment of the character.[369]

When a narrative contains conflicting evaluations from the internal audience, the assessment that aligns closest to the plot is to be considered as most authoritative. That assessment should be considered for the mimetic evaluation of a character. This is an obvious and logical step as no implied author intends to give an authoritative weigh to a view contrary to the work's evaluative point of view. Consequently, when an author narrates conflicting evaluations, the main criterion to evaluate the weightier evaluation is to ascertain which evaluation corresponds with the author's viewpoint. These internal evaluators become the mouthpiece of the narrator. For example, in *Life of Fabius*, Plutarch offers a conflicting evaluation of Fabius from the same person — Minucius. Minucius initially evaluates Fabius' advice as εἰρωνείαν ἡγεῖτο γεροντικήν, ('old man dissimulation') (Plutarch *Fab*. 11.1). After being saved from Hannibal, the same Minucius praises Fabius (Plutarch, *Fab*. 13.4). Since Minucius' second evaluation is congruent with Plutarch's assessment of Fabius, the second evaluation by Minucius carries more weight than the initial assessment. Minucius' second assessment echoes Plutarch's perspective on Fabius' virtue.

[369] Duff, "Critical Reader," 66.

7.7.2 Evaluation through Authoritative Writings

Evaluation through authoritative writings evaluates an action or a virtue through the words of an older work that is already seen as authoritative.[370] Although at times observed in Plutarch, this evaluation is difficult to observe, probably because of the distance between today's readers and ancient readers.

7.7.3 Evaluative Vocabulary as Words in a Narrative Praising or Condemning a Character — Category 8

Evaluative vocabulary refers to value-related terms or ethically loaded words. They form language of praise or blame. When used in a narrative, they demonstrate approval or condemnation of an action or a character. The more evaluative words used to evaluate a character, the more precise the characterisation of a subject becomes. This is equivalent to Hays' volume test.[371] At some point in the narrative the narrator, heroes, foil characters, minor characters, or groups utter evaluative words. Establishing a hierarchy of importance is crucial in assessing evaluative vocabulary. Two factors should account for the weight of the evaluative vocabulary. First, the evaluative vocabulary that aligns best with the plot is the most authoritative. Second, when used by the reliable narrator or a virtuous character, the use of evaluative vocabulary constitutes an authoritative characterisation of the subject.[372]

[370] Rutherford, "Learning," 59.

[371] Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 24–30.

[372] Unreliable narrators are those that contradict themselves. Thus, their opinion is not authoritative. See Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative*, 100–05; Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism*, 132.

7.7.4 Narrator's Guided Evaluation as an Authoritative Appraisal Approving or Disapproving a Character – Category 9

The narrator's guided evaluation occurs when a reliable narrator, using his narrative voice, makes an intrusion into the narrative to offer a direct personal insight.[373] The direct insertion potentially reveals something a narrative alone cannot unveil. When the narrator uses his narrative voice evaluatively, it takes the form of praise (approval) or criticism (disapproval). The narrator's evaluation shapes the reader's perception of a character or event, demonstrating a virtue or a vice as endorsed or denounced by the narrator. It can sometimes present an alternative view of a character or event. It may be noted that Thucydides uses his narrator's voice to evaluate a character infrequently, while Plutarch and Nepos use their evaluative narrators' voices repeatedly.[374] The narrator's guided evaluation constitutes one of the most authoritative prescriptive moralising assessments.[375] It often exerts one of the most significant influences on a reader's assessment of a character.

7.8 Stock Virtue or Vice – Category 10

Stock virtues or vices are actions evaluated as good or bad based on a prior collective understanding established within a given milieu (Cicero *de O*r. 3.27.106). Since stock virtues or vices are commonly shared ethical values, actors in a narrative are judged as worthy or non-worthy of imitation based on whether they display stock virtues or vices.

[373] Not all the uses of the narrator's voice are evaluative. The narrator can use his narrator's voice to give a commentary or an explanation, or to move the narration along.

[374] Grethlein, "Unthucydidean," 300; Gribble, "Narrator," 41–43; Yoder, *Roman*, 50 n195.

[375] The narrator ascertains a great degree of authority in the text. He is often omniscient and infallible. Clouston, *Ancient*, 22–23.

7.9 Process for a Mimetic Analysis Drawn from the Methodological Chapter.

In the methodology chapter (3) three questions relating to the process for a conducting a mimetic analysis are posed. Their objective is to guide the formulation of a method to determine how the three selected Greco-Roman authors integrated the categories of mimesis to communicate mimesis to their implied audience. The questions were:

- How do implied authors make their characters mimetic?
- What strategies are implemented to guide the implied audience to mimesis — imitation/disassociation from the mimetic character?
- What virtues are encouraged?

Having established the categories of mimesis in the selected writings of Plutarch, Nepos and Thucydides, it is now attempted to answer these three questions using the writings selected from the three authors.

7.9.1 How do Implied Authors make their Characters Mimetic?

Ancient authors appealed to the natural impulses of their implied readers to imitate or disassociate from mimetic characters. In the writings of the authors examined above, the respective authors rendered their subjects' mimetic by revealing their characters through implicit and explicit categories. The implicit historical narrative in the context of mimesis encompasses the following categories (see below for further explanation): Plot (category 1), illustrative action (category 4), *synkrisis* (category 5), and stock virtue (category 10). An author makes a character explicitly mimetic through the following categories: Evaluation by the internal audience (category 7), the narrator's use of evaluative vocabulary (category 8) and the narrator's guided evaluation (category 9).

1. Plot (category 1). As events from the subject's life are arranged temporally and causally in a consistent way, the moral choices of the subject emerge. That subject is thus mimetic.
2. Illustrative action (category 4): The historical narrative depicts illustrative actions that demonstrate a character's proclivity towards virtue or vice. The illustrative actions thus demonstrate whether a subject is acting virtuously. As established in previous discussions, the display of virtues by an author's subject engenders in a reader a mimetic desire (Plutarch, *Per*. 1.4). This purpose is expressed by Plutarch when he points out that virtuous deeds lead to mimesis of character as the reader desires to imitate the doer of those virtuous actions (Plutarch, *Per* 2.2).
3. *Synkrisis* (category 5). By comparing and contrasting a subject with a foil character, an author intends to establish the subject as mimetic.[376] Virtuous behaviour inspires imitation, while the portrayal of a subject's vices incites *aphormē*.
4. Stock virtue (category 10). If a subject displays a stock virtue, then the author is showing the subject to be morally superior and, as such, making them mimetic. The portrayal of a character displaying a stock virtue or vice will likely be seen as mimetic by the readers. If a character displays a stock virtue, it will be seen as appropriate for mimesis; if a character displays a stock vice, it will be seen for *aphromé*.
5. Evaluation by internal audience (category 7). When an authoritative member of the internal audience's evaluation of a narrative character aligns with the

[376] In section 6.1.2, a foil character is defined as a minor character whose main purpose is to reveal aspects or attributes of the main character.

author's narrative strategy, that evaluation enables the reader to recognise the character as mimetic.

6. Evaluative vocabulary (category 8). Evaluative vocabulary praises or blames characters or their actions. By praising or blaming characters or their actions, the author shows that the character is appropriate for imitation or disassociation.
7. The narrator's evaluative voice (category 9). The narrator's voice functions as a guiding force influencing the reader's perception of a character. Therefore, when a reliable narrator, through the narrator's voice, explicitly depicts a character as virtuous or lacking virtues, the character is mimetic.

7.9.2 Strategies Implemented to Guide the Implied Audience to Mimesis — Imitation/disassociation from the Mimetic Character

The implied authors guide their implied audience to mimesis of the mimetic character through relatability (Category 2). Relatability encourages the implied audience to imitate the hero's virtue or disassociate from the vice of the character, despite living in different times and contexts.

7.9.3 What Virtues did they Encourage?

Thucydides, Nepos and Plutarch encourage virtues by using the following mimetic categories: Plot (category 1), compositional selectivity (category 2), illustrative action (category 4), *synkrisis* (category 5), and cause-and-effect (category 5), stock virtue (category 10).

1. Plot (category 1). Through the plot, the author continuously reveals a subject's virtue or vice. The continuous display of virtues or vices heightens the virtue or vice.
2. Compositional Selectivity (category 2). Through compositional selectivity, specific events from the hero's life are chosen by the author to explore virtue(s) or

vice(s). Compositional selectivity magnifies the virtue(s) or vice(s) explored in the narrative.

3. Illustrative action (category 4). If a subject constantly displays a virtue(s) or vice(s) through their actions, then their actions focus on that virtue or vice. That focus amplifies the virtue and vice and underscores its importance.
4. *Synkrisis* (category 5): When an author compares a character's approach to a situation with that of a foil character, that comparison highlights the difference between the character and the foil character. When that difference highlights a virtue, then that virtue is recommended. Conversely, if it highlights a vice, then that vice is condemned.
5. Cause-and-effect (category 6). If a character's action results in virtue, then the author is encouraging the readers to display the same virtue. Conversely, if the end result of an action is a vice, then the author is urging a disassociation from that vice.
6. Stock virtue (category 10). A stock virtue is established through a collective understanding. When ancient authors portray a character displaying virtues considered as stock in the ancient world, it is likely that they are encouraging that virtue.

The categories in sections 7.9.1 and 7.9.3 operate best when used synchronously. Each category in those two sections, taken on its own, can make a character mimetic and signal the virtue encouraged to the reader. The mimetic value of a character or virtue to be followed is amplified as the different categories work together, complementing each other. In that regard, the various categories are not mutually exclusive; they are presented as being inextricably intertwined for the purpose of mimesis. For example, the category

illustrative action alone allows the readers to recognise that a character is mimetic. It also allows them to identify the virtue being encouraged. When the category "illustrative action" is considered alongside other categories, such as "*synkrisis*," and "cause-and-effect," viewed together, they solidify both the mimetic subject and the virtue being encouraged in the reader's understanding.

8 Mimesis and the Gospel of Luke

In chapters 4–6, categories of mimesis were established from the study of selected passages in Thucydides, Nepos, and Plutarch. Those categories were used to determine how these authors made their characters mimetic, strategies used to guide the implied audience to mimesis, and the virtues they presented as ideals for their implied readers. It will now be argued that the Gospel of Luke emerged from a Greco-Roman milieu in which mimesis of character was significant. These categories of mimesis will now be used as a starting point in looking for mimesis in passages selected from the Gospel of Luke, starting with the category of plot.[377]

The mimetic analysis of the Gospel of Luke will include characters in two miracles of Jesus, namely the healing of the bent-over woman (Luke 13:10–17), the healing of the blind

[377]Limited empirical evidence exists on the identity of the real author. Scholars contend that he was a gentile. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I–IX*, vol. 28, AB, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 42–47; NIckolas A. Fox, *The Hermeneutics of Social Identity in Luke-Acts* (Eugene, Or: Pickwick Publications, 2021), 5. Basing himself on the literary style of the prologue and the sea voyage narration in Acts 27, Esler reckons that the author was part of the elite of the Greco-Roman society. Esler, *Community*, 184.
In Luke, the presence of numerous pericopes addressing the economically destitute and the marginalised by society demonstrates that the message of the Gospel appeals to those who are socioeconomically marginalised. Darrell L. Bock, *Luke 1:1–9:50*, 2 vols., BECNT 1, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1994), 35; Paul A. Hertig, "The Jubilee Mission of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke: Reversals of Fortunes," *Missiology* 26, no. 2 (1998): 167–77. Those marginalised due to poverty or social circumstances will be comforted in reading some narratives in the Gospel of Luke. Hanna Roose, "Umkehr und Ausgleich bei Lukas: die Gleichnisse vom Verlorenen Sohn (Lk 15.11–32) und vom Reichen Mann und Armen Lazarus (Lk 16.19–31) als Schwestergeschichten," *NTS* 56, no. 1 (2010): 14.

person (Luke 18:35–43), and the passion narrative. These sections are selected because they persuasively establish the presence of mimesis in the Gospel of Luke. The passion narrative is significant because from the beginning of the Lukan narrative, the reader has been prepared for dramatic unfolding events in Jerusalem (Luke 9:22, 44, 51, 18:32–33; 19:44).[378]

8.1 Category 1 Plot: Plot of Luke as the Accomplishment of the Plan of God

In section 3.3 "plot" was identified as essential to mimesis. It follows from the assertion by Aristotle that the plot is crucial in identifying characters who show virtues or vices (Aristotle, *Poet*. 1450a). Ascertaining Luke's plot is therefore critical in a mimetic study for the purpose of identifying mimetic characters and virtues or vices. Luke's plot will be determined by examining three pericopes: Nazareth sermon (Luke 4:18–29), John the Baptist's inquiry (Luke 7:18–20) and the characterisation of οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ νομικοὶ ('the Pharisees and lawyers') as rejecting the plan of God (Luke 7:30). These pericopes are plot-revealing for the Lukan narrative.

The most determinant plot-revealing pericope, namely the Nazareth sermon is a kernel pericope.[379] The Nazareth sermon is noteworthy as it has been identified as programmatic for the Gospel of Luke.[380] It also introduces and reflects on the public ministry

[378] Floyd V. Wilson, "The Journey Motif in Luke-Acts," in *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F.F. Bruce on his 60th Birthday*, ed. W. Ward Gasque, Ralph P. Martin, and F. F. Bruce (Exeter: Paternoster, 1970), 70; James L. Resseguie, "Interpretation of Luke's Central Section (Luke 9:51–19:44) since 1856," *NTS* 18, no. 197172 (1975). The phrase 'to Jerusalem' (Luke 9:51, 53; 13:22; 17:11; 18:31; 19:11, 28) has served as a marker of the dramatic events that will take place in Jerusalem. François Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Fifty–five Years of Research (1950–2005)*, 2nd ed. (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2005), 152; Tannehill, *Unity*, 1; McComiskey, *Lukan*, 204–88.

[379] Most Biblical narratives have one plot. Bar-Efrat, "Observations," 163. Chatman differentiates between kernel and satellite events. For Chatman, kernel events are plot-defining. Without them, the logic of the story is taken away. Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), 53–56; Matera, "Plot," 237–38.

[380] Holly Beers, *The Followers of Jesus as the Servant Luke's Model from Isaiah for the Disciples in Luke-Acts*, LNTS 535, (Leiden: Bloomsbury, 2015), 103–04; Ju Hur, *Dynamic Reading of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts* (London: Bloomsbury, 2004), 181. Bock reckons that 'the passage portrays God's plan and Jesus' role in it.'

of Jesus and efficiently allows the identification of the plot.[381]

Luke's plot has been the subject of some debate.[382] In this work it will be asserted that the plot of Luke is the accomplishment of the plan of God.[383] Furthermore, Luke's plot

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Bock, *Luke*, 394; John Nolland, *Luke*, Word Biblical Commentary v. 35, (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1989), 195; Compared to its placement in Mark and Matthew, Luke relocates the Nazareth pericope to the beginning of Jesus' ministry. Assuming Mark and Matthew (Mark 6:1–6 and Matt 13:53–58) placed the Nazareth narrative chronologically, the relocation of the Nazareth manifesto at the beginning of the public ministry of Jesus is anachronistic. William H. Shepherd, *The Narrative Function of the Holy Spirit as a Character in Luke-Acts*, SBLDS 147, (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1994), 135; Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, NIGTC, (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978), 179–80; Monique Cuany, ""Physician, Heal Yourself!" — Jesus' Challenge to His Own," *NovT* 58, no. 4 (2016): 348.

[381] The quote from Isaiah (Luke 4:18–19) summarises Jesus' public ministry. Robert C. Tannehill, "Israel in Luke-Acts: A Tragic Story," Literary Criticism, *JBL* 104 (1985): 69–85; John C. Poirier, "Jesus as an Elijianic Figure in Luke 4:16–30," *CBQ* 71, no. 2 (2009): 359; Francis J. Moloney, "The Scriptural Basis of Jubilee, Part II: The Second Testament: At What Price?," *ITQ* 65, no. 3 (2000): 231–32. Although Pao focuses mainly on the book of Acts, he concurs that the quote from Isaiah is crucial for Luke's double narrative. David W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 250. Hertig observes that 'there is no better way to get to the heart of Jesus' mission than to study Jesus' inaugural address.' Hertig, "Jubilee," 167.
In Acts 10:38, Peter summarises Jesus' public ministry by echoing Luke 4:16–30. Green, *Luke*, 207; Bock, *Luke*, 394.

[382] Jack Kingsbury narrows the plot to the element of conflict. Kingsbury sees the opponents of Jesus as the Jewish authorities — the Pharisees, Sadducees, high priests, chief priests, elders, scribes (lawyers, teachers of the law), rulers of the people and the officers of the temple. Jack Dean Kingsbury, "The Plot of Luke's Story of Jesus," *Int* 48, no. 4 (1994); Kingsbury, *Conflict*, 21, 34–36; Dinkler, "Character," 699; Bar-Efrat, *Narrative*, 94; Norman R. Petersen, *Literary Criticism for New Testament Critics*, GBS. New Testament Series, (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1978), 83, 85; Joseph B. Tyson, "Conflict as a Literary Theme in the Gospel of Luke," in *New Synoptic Studies: The Cambridge Gospel Conference and Beyond*, ed. William R. Farmer (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983), 313.
While it is acknowledged in this study that conflict is an important motif in the Gospel of Luke and plays a significant role in allowing a plot to emerge, as affirmed by Aristotle (Aristotle *Poet*. 18.1), it is not posited that conflict is the plot of the Gospel of Luke. Three points are worth noting. First, Kingsbury does not consider Luke's whole narrative discourse when he identifies the plot as conflict. A clearer picture emerges once one considers the narrative discourse in Luke and not just the conflict narratives. Framing Luke's plot as conflict is too broad a category, as most historical writings revolve around conflict. Furthermore, conflicts are essential to narratives, and the combination of conflict and its denouement is vital to most narratives. See Michelle Gellrich, *Tragedy and Theory: The Problem of Conflict Since Aristotle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Publishing Press, 1988), 61. Peter Burian notes that conflict is 'the starting-point of storytelling.' Peter Burian, "Myth into Muthos: The Shaping of Tragic Plot," in *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*, ed. P. E. Easterling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 181.
Other scholars have identified the plot of Luke as fulfilment of past promises of the Old Testament. For example, Green writes, 'Luke's agenda is not to write the story of Jesus… Rather, his design is to write the story of the continuation and fulfilment of God's project.' Joel B. Green, *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke*, New Testament Theology, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 47. His perspective on the plot shared by M.W. Mittelstadt, *The Spirit and Suffering in Luke-Acts: Implications for a Pentecostal Pneumatology* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 5, 82. The fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies is prominent in Luke, where these fulfilments continue to demonstrate that God's purpose announced in the Old Testament is now being accomplished.

[383] The following scholars have also identified the plot of Luke as the accomplishment of the purpose of God. Hur, *Dynamic*, 184. Tannehill identifies Luke's plot as 'the controlling purpose of God.' Tannehill, *Unity*,

is a testing plot in which Jesus and other God-fearing characters, including Mary, Simeon, Anna, John the Baptist, and the disciples are challenged to follow God's plan.[384] Their choices result from their resolve to carry out the plan of God. In the following section the Nazareth sermon (Luke 4:16–30), John the Baptist's inquiry (Luke 7:18–20), and the characterisation of οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ νομικοὶ as rejecting the plan of God (Luke 7:30) are analysed to ascertain the plot of Luke's Gospel.

8.2 Plan of God announced in Nazareth Manifesto

As a kernel-plot-revealing pericope, the Nazareth manifesto is central to the identification of the plot. The plan of God is identified through the verb εὐαγγελίζω (Luke 4:18c). It expresses one of the primary activities of Jesus throughout the Gospel of Luke.[385] Jesus' teaching is linked to the plot of Luke as it emphasises the coming salvation or kingdom, reversal, and good news to the poor and marginalised.[386]

The infinitive of purpose clauses (κηρύξαι, and τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει) (Luke 4:18) are epexegetical. They explain one of the ways the plan of God will be executed in Jesus' mission.[387] The removal of ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένος τὴν καρδίαν (Isa. 61:1c) and addition of κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν taken from Isaiah 58:6 is consistent with Lukan

1, 2; John T. Squires, *The Plan of God in Luke-Acts*, SNTSMS 76, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Bock considers that the accomplishment of the plan of God is much more prominent in the Gospel of Luke than in any of the Synoptic Gospels. See Bock, *Luke*, 27.

[384] A testing plot is one in which the main character is tested 'to compromise or surrender his noble ends.' Norman Friedman, "Forms of the Plot," *The Journal of General Education* 8, no. 4 (1955): 250; Gerald Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology*, Rev. ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 73.

[385] Luke 5:3–12; 6:20–26; 7:22; 10:25–37; 15:3–32; 16:1–13; 18:1–8.

[386] Rachel L. Coleman, *The Lukan Lens on Wealth and Possessions: A Perspective Shaped by the Themes of Reversal and Right Response*, BibInt 180, (Leiden: Brill, 2020); Chi-ying Wang, "Hearing from Mary and Hannah: The Reversal Motif in the Gospel of Luke with Special Reference to 1–2 Samuel" (PhD diss. Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2022), 135–41.

[387] Piotr Blajer, "Luke's Skillful Account of the Unsuccesful Inaugural Speech in Nazareth: A Narrative Study of Luke 4:16–30," *Liber Annuus* 71 (2021): 193–94.

emphasis on liberty for the oppressed (Luke 8:2, 43–48; 13:10–11), the marginalised (Luke 5:27–29; 7:37–39, 44; 15:1; 19:1–10), and the poor (Luke 4:20–23; 14:12–14).[388]

Those purpose clauses focus primarily on the healing ministry of Jesus.[389] The healing ministry of Jesus is plot-revealing as most miracles offer liberation to oppressed people.[390] Luke emphasises that point in the immediate context of the Nazareth Sermon (Luke 4:31–41). Events in the immediate context align the activities of Jesus with his programmatic statement and demonstrate the plan of God being accomplished.[391] For example, the choice of the word συνέχω (Luke 4:38) to describe Peter's mother-in-law's sickness links with ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυσμένους (Luke 4:18) in the programmatic statement.[392] Again, Luke establishes a verbal link with the programmatic statement by preferring ἀφίημι to θεραπεύω (Luke 4:39; cf Luke 4:18).[393] As people are healed, they are being freed from the Devil, the miracles in the immediate context of the Nazareth continue to affirm that the plan of God is being accomplished.

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[388] Michael Prior, *Jesus, the Liberator: Nazareth Liberation Theology*, Biblical Seminar 26, (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995), 135. Most of Jesus' healing ministry is found in the Galilean narrative, and most of Jesus' teachings about the kingdom are found in the journey narrative.
Some argue that the change may be redactional, while others argue it is traditional. See Dennis M. Hamm, "Sight to the Blind: Vision as Metaphor in Luke," *Bib* 67, no. 4 (1986): 459; Rainer Albertz, "'Die "Antrittspredigt"Jesu im Lukasevangelium auf ihrem alttestamentlichen Hintergrund," *ZNW* 74 (1983): 191–98. Hertig, "Jubilee," 168.

[389] Bock, *Luke*, 394.

[390] He frees people from demons (Luke 4:31–37; 8:26–33; 9:37–43), leprosy (Luke 5:12–16) or other sickness (6:7:1–10; 8:43–44; 13:10–17; 14:1–6) and from death (Luke 7:11–17; 8:49–56). The feeding of the five thousand (Luke 9:12–17) is the only miracle that does not involve liberation.

[391] Within the immediate context, Luke inaugurates Jesus' public ministry with Jesus' preaching (Luke 3:31–32, 42–44) and three short healing stories. Those three stories illustrate freedom from literal, physical oppression (exorcisms — Luke 4:31–36, 41), healing — Luke 4:38–40). Blajer, "Skillful," 191; Beers, *Followers*, 105.

[392] Συνέχω means 'Distressed by the force of circumstances, seize, attack, distress, torment.' "Συνέχω," *BDAG*, 971 Luke does not use νόσος (sick) to describe Peter's mother-in-law's illness. The use of συνέχω is Lukan, as Mark and Matthew prefer to describe Peter's mother-in-law as κατάκειμαι (Mark 1:30) and βάλλω (Matt 8:14).

[393] "ἀφίημι," *BDAG*, 156; Beers, *Followers*, 105; Tannehill, *Unity*, 1, 203, 05.

Another indication that Luke sees the accomplishment of the plan of God as the plot of Luke is the introduction of the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy in the Nazareth sermon by the words of Jesus, σήμερον πεπλήρωται ἡ γραφὴ αὕτη ἐν τοῖς ὠσὶν ὑμῶν (Luke 4:21). The fulfilment of Old Testament scriptures supports the case that Jesus' earthly ministry accomplishes the plan of God announced by Old Testament prophets. The concept of the fulfilment of scripture is a Lukan motif demonstrating divine foreordination.[394]

Furthermore, the Nazareth manifesto is plot-revealing as it links with Luke's universal salvation theme.[395] Universal salvation is a significant theme in the Gospel of Luke (Luke 2:32; 3:6; 24:47).[396] In the Nazareth narrative, the two illustrations from Israel's history reveal God's purpose beyond Israel (Luke 4: 25–28).[397] Elijah and Elisha are the two prophets who accomplished God's plan among the Gentiles (Luke 4: 26–27). Therefore, just as God performed his work outside of Israel, the Nazareth sermon announces God's

[394] Promise-fulfilment is observable throughout the Gospel (Luke 1:13–17; 3:4; 7:27; 18:31–33; 22:37; 24:26–27). Scholars have identified various ways the promise-fulfilment motif is portrayed in the Gospel of Luke. For example, some have viewed Luke's fulfilment motif as a 'proof-from prophecy' in which the Old Testament prophecies find fulfilment in the Lukan corpus. See Brigid Curtin Frein, "Narrative Predictions, Old Testament Prophecies and Luke's Sense of Fulfilment," *NTS* 40, no. 1 (1994); P. Schubert, "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24," in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann*, ed. Walther Eltester (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1957), 173, 76; Darrell Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern: Lucan Old Testament Christology*, JSNTSup 12, (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 82; Strauss, *Davidic*, 86, 192–93; Jeffrey G. Sobosan, "Completion of Prophecy: Jesus in Lk 1: 32–33," *BTB* 4, no. 3 (1974): 320; Anthony J. MacPherson, "Daniel's Seventy Weeks in Luke 1–2: Allusion or Illusion? Fulfilment or Prefiguration?," *Neot* 57, no. 1 (2023): 165–84.

[395] It has been recognised that Luke places a greater emphasis on salvation than Mark and Matthew. See Howard I. Marshall, "Salvation," in *DJG*, ed. Joel Green, Scot McKnight, and Howard I. Marshall (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1998), 723; F. S. Malan, "Salvation in the New Testament. Emphases of the Different Writers," *Theologia Viatorum* 17 (1989).

[396] F. P. Viljoen, "Luke, the Gospel of the Saviour of the world," *Dutch Reformed Theological Journal* 44, no. 1_2 (2003): 203; Tannehill, *Unity*, 1, 3; Gert J. Steyn, "Soteriological Perspectives in Luke's Gospel," in *Salvation in the New Testament: Perspectives on Soteriology*, ed. J. G. Van der Watt, NovTSup 121 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 75–76; Richard Glöckner, *Die Verkündigung des Heils beim Evangelisten Lukas* (Mainz: Matthias Grünewald, 1975), 235.

[397] Luke 4:25–27 is the interpretative key to the Nazareth sermon. Jeffrey S. Siker, ""First to the Gentiles": A Literary Analysis of Luke 4:16–30," *JBL* 111, no. 1 (1992): 83–85; Poirier, "Elijianic," 353–63. Johnny B. Awwad, "The Significance of the Death of Jesus in the Plan of God in Luke-Acts: A Door and a Model for the Gentile Mission" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1996), 7–8; Tannehill, *Unity*, 1, 1–3; Justin L. Daneshmand, "The Elusive Jesus of Luke-Acts in its Ancient Mediterranean Literary Context" (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2020), 155.

message must be proclaimed in Nazareth and all parts of the world. The proclamation of salvation to all nations becomes a central theme developed in the narratives of Luke-Acts.

8.2.1 Concern for the Poor: A Lukan Theme Introduced in the Nazareth Narrative

Another way the Nazareth account is plot-revealing is by its introduction of several significant narrative themes that are further developed in the rest of the narrative. A prominent theme of Luke introduced in the Nazareth sermon is the concern for the poor.[398] The theme is introduced here through the words εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχός (Luke 4:18).[399]

"The poor" is a generic group that includes the blind, the lame and the deaf. Their importance in the third gospel is highlighted by comparison to the book of Acts, where they are almost absent.[400] Moreover, the concern for the poor is linked to the plan of God through the Jubilee motif in the reading from Isaiah 61:1–2.[401] The Jubilee in the Old Testament was God's plan for the release of the captives, a reversal of poverty, and a time of grace (Lev. 24:10–17, 23–31, 35–43, 47–55).[402] Literally, πτωχός means the economically

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[398] The poor in the Lukan account play the role of foil characters as they reveal the messianic credentials of Jesus. Thomas E. Phillips, "Reading Recent Readings of Issues of Wealth and Poverty in Luke and Acts," *CurBS* 1, no. 2 (2003); Christopher M. Hays, *Luke's Wealth Ethics: A Study in their Coherence and Character*, WUNT 2/275, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 70–188; Vincenzo Petracca, *Gott oder das Geld: die Besitzethik des Lukas*, vol. 39 (Tübingen: Francke, 2003), 23–283; Coleman, *Wealth*, 48–53.

[399] "The poor" is a generic appellation that includes all those neglected: the blind, lepers and people who are deaf. Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 28, 250–51.

[400] Roth, *Blind*, 142, 50–51; James A. Bergquist, "Good News to the Poor: Why Does This Lucan Motif Appear to Run Dry in the Book of Acts?," *Trinity Seminary Review* 9 (1987).

[401] François Bovon, Helmut Koester, and James E. Crouch, *Luke: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1–9:50*, trans. Christine M. Thomas, Hermeneia, (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2002), 153; Donald B. Kraybill, *The Upside-Down Kingdom* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1978), 97.

[402] The Jubilee is not merely economic liberation but also spiritual liberation. Kraybill states, "The Jubilee portrays the biblical vision of spiritual and social integration. There are not two separate compartments for religion and economics. The two are woven together into one cloth in the Jubilee model." Kraybill, *Upside-Down*, 105; Moloney, "Jubilee," 171, 232–35.
The case for the jubilee motif is reinforced by the words release (ἀφεσις — Luke 4:18) and favour (δεκτός — Luke 4:19). The word ἀφεσις is used in the context of the Jubilee in Lev 25:10 (LXX). Hertig, "Jubilee," 171; Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 28, 223. "LXX" is used in this study to designate the Greek version of the Old Testament. It is recognised that there were many versions of the Greek of the Old Testament and that the various New

destitute. Metaphorically, it means 'lacking in spiritual worth' or 'being extremely inferior in quality, miserable, shabby.'[403] In the Lukan narrative, Jesus ministers to metaphorically poor such as the tax collectors (Luke 5:27, 29–30; 15:1; 18:10–13; 19:2–10), and also he ministers to the literally economically poor such as the Leper (Luke 5:12–16), the crippled man (Luke 6:6–10), the widow of Nain (Luke 7:11–17) and the crippled woman (Luke 13:10–17).

8.2.2 Conflict Theme Introduced in the Nazareth Narrative.

The Nazareth narrative is plot-revealing as it introduces the theme of conflict through Jesus' engagement with the people in the synagogue (Luke 4:28–29).[404] As noted earlier, conflict in a narrative is often plot-revealing. The conflict between Jesus and those attending the synagogue inhibits the accomplishment of the plan of God. Jesus is unable to accomplish God's plan in Nazareth because οὐδεὶς προφήτης δεκτός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ (Luke 4:24b).[405]

From Luke 5:17–26, Luke emphasises conflict with the religious authorities that increases in frequency and intensity until Jesus' death (Luke 19:47–48).[406] The conflict in the Nazareth account foreshadows the recurrence of conflicts in Luke.[407] As in the Nazareth

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Testament authors might have had access to a version different from what we have today. Susan E. Docherty, *The Use of the Old Testament in Hebrews: A Case Study in Early Jewish Bible Interpretation*, WUNT, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 124–27.

[403] 'πτωχός' *BDAG.* 896. See also Bock, *Luke*, 35; Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 28, 251.

[404] Conflict with the those in the synagogue is indicated by the genitive of content θυμοῦ (wrath) in the phrase ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες θυμοῦ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ (Luke 4:28). Michael C. Parson, M. M. Culy, and J. J. Stigall, *Luke: A Handbook on the Greek Text* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2010), 150.
The conflict reaches a crescendo as the people attempt to throw him down a cliff (Luke 4:29). J. Bajard, "La Structure de la Péricope de Nazareth en LC., iv, 16–30," *ETL* 45 (1969): 168–69.

[405] Conflict is apparent in the following passages: Luke 5:21, 30; 6:2,7, 11;7:38; 10:25–29; 13:14; 14:1–6; 16:14; 19:45–20:26; 22:3–6; 23:1–2. When δεκτός (Luke 4:24) is understood as the appropriate time for the benefit of the recipients, one understands that Jesus' presence could not benefit the people of Nazareth. Bajard, "La Structure de la Péricope de Nazareth en LC., iv, 16–30," 168–69.

[406] Petersen, *Literary*, 83; Shepherd, *Narrative Function*, 137; Darrell L. Bock, *Luke 9:51–24:53*, 2 vols., BECNT 2, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1996), 37. The theme of conflict can be found in Luke 5:17–26; 6:1–11; 7:36–50; 10:25–37; 11:37–54; 14:1–24; 19:45–20:8; 20:1–8, 19–44.

[407] McComiskey, *Lukan*, 305–07; Kingsbury, "Plot," 370.

narrative, the conflicts with the socio-religious authorities inhibit the accomplishment of the plan of God.

8.2.3 Misunderstanding of the Identity and Ministry of Jesus as a Theme of Luke Introduced in the Nazareth Narrative.

Closely related to the theme of conflict, the misunderstanding of Jesus' identity and mission is introduced in the Nazareth narrative. Significantly, Luke uses the theme of misunderstanding as a hindrance to the accomplishment of the plan of God.[408] It is thus a plot-revealing device.

Luke presents misunderstanding in the Nazareth narrative by pivoting the reaction of the internal audience from amazement to anger. The feeling of amazement (ἐθαύμαζον) at τοῖς λόγοις τῆς χάριτος ἐκπορυομένοις ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ (Luke 4:22) indicates an initial positive reaction.[409] This initial reaction quickly changes to two types of misunderstanding in the Nazareth manifesto. Members of the internal audience first misunderstand the scope of Jesus' mission and then misunderstand his identity.

Concerning his mission, the people in the synagogue understood the reading from Isaiah as responding to their desire for freedom from oppressors and the judgement of their enemies. The proverb quoted by Jesus illustrates that the synagogue attendees misunderstood his mission. They expected Jesus to perform miracles that he performed

[408] Brigid C. Frein, "The Literary and Theological Significance of Misunderstanding in the Gospel of Luke," *Bib* 74, no. 3 (1993): 328,37. Wilson illustrates the theme of misunderstanding in Luke through the recurrent confusion about the meaning of the cross in the Gospel of Luke. Benjamin R. Wilson, *The Saving Cross of the Suffering Christ: The Death of Jesus in Lukan Soteriology*, BZNW 223, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016).

[409] Contra Prior and Herting see the crowd's astonishment as unfavourable. Prior, *Liberator*, 97. Prior's and Herting's position is difficulty to sustain in Luke 4:22a. Syntactically, the word μαρτυρέω (to approve, to speak well) is the main verb of Luke 4:22a. Thus, the word θαυμάζω is more likely an extension of μαρτυρέω and is positive rather than negative. Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 28, 534; Bock, *Luke*, 414.

elsewhere (Luke 4:23). The recalling of the ministry of Elijah and Elisha (Luke 4: 25–27) shows that Jesus' mission is not limited to his hometown but reaches even the Gentiles.[410]

The rhetorical question οὐχὶ υἱός ἐστιν Ἰωσὴφ οὗτος; (Luke 4:22b) expresses a misunderstanding of the messianic identity of Jesus.[411] Luke establishes Jesus' identity as the son of God (Luke 1:35; 3:22; 9:35) and the anointed one (Luke 4:18). The crowd at Nazareth now misunderstands his identity (Luke 4:22), believing that he is the son of Joseph. The misunderstanding of Jesus' mission and identity in the Nazareth pericope refers back at his parents' misunderstanding (Luke 2:48–50) and foreshadows the misunderstanding of Jesus' identity and mission by his disciples (Luke 8:25; 9:45; 18:34), the Pharisees and scribes (Luke 7:39; 5:21; 7:49), Herod (Luke 9:7–9),[412] the crowd (Luke 11:14–15), Cleopas and his fellow-traveller (Luke 24:18–27), all of whom fail to understand the identity and mission of Jesus.[413] The characters that misunderstand Jesus are foil characters whose role in the narrative serve to explain the mission and the identity of Jesus.[414] In the Gospel of Luke the misunderstanding by the members of the synagogue in Nazareth foreshadows the similar

[410] Hertig, "Jubilee," 169; Jean-René Moret, "'Aucun Prophète n'est Propice dans sa Propre Patrie': La Péricope de Nazareth," *NTS* 60, no. 4 (2014): 469–70, 73; Parson, Culy, and Stigall, *Luke*, 136; Michael Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, HNT 5, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebek, 2018), 199; Green, *Luke*, 215–17; Siker, "First," 82.

[411] Contra Cuany argues that "οὐχὶ υἱός ἐστιν Ἰωσὴφ οὗτος" expresses esteem and praise for Jesus as being one of their own. Cuany, "Physician," 350–51. Cuany's view, however, does not reconcile with the immediate context. The question, "οὐχὶ υἱός ἐστιν Ἰωσὴφ οὗτος", might evoke a positive answer—Jesus is indeed Joseph's son. However, in this context, the question casts doubt on Jesus' messianic claims. Luke 4:16–30 shows Jesus' complete rejection after an initial statement of praise. Jesus' rejection prevents him from operating in his hometown (Luke 4:24), causing the members of the Synagogue to be angry with him (Luke 4:28), and finally leading them to attempt to throw him down a cliff (Luke 4:29). Bock, *Luke*, 414–15.

[412] Herod was perplexed (διαπορέω). See "Διαπορέω," *BDAG*, 235.

[413] Bock, *Luke*, 1912; Richard J. Dillon, *From Eye-witnesses to Ministers of the Word: Tradition and Composition in Luke 24*, Analecta Biblica 82, (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 113–14.

[414] Rob James, "Intratextuality in Luke: Connecting the Emmaus Road with the Boy in the Temple," *ExpTim* 132, no. 2 (2020): 69; Brigid C. Frein, "Genre and Point of View in Luke's Gospel," *BTB* 38, no. 1 (2008): 9; Klassen-Wiebe, "Mission," 165; Frein, "Misunderstanding," 336–43.
Foil characters have been defined in section 4.3.1.2 as minor characters whose primary purpose is to reveal attributes about the main character.

misunderstanding of the missiological identity and mission of Jesus by people from all walks of life.

8.2.4 Conclusion of the Nazareth Manifesto

Understanding the Nazareth narrative as Luke's programmatic statement is plot-revealing. It acknowledges that the ministry of Jesus will accomplish the plan of God. Furthermore, themes such as conflict and misunderstanding introduced concisely here reveal the true identity and mission of Jesus and ultimately affirm his role in accomplishing the plan of God.

8.2.5 Plan of God in a Pronouncement Story — John the Baptist's Question about Jesus' Mission

The accomplishment of God's plan is also observed through a pronouncement story occasioned by John the Baptist's question about the Messiahship of Jesus (Luke 7:18–20).[415] The actions of Jesus, summarised by Luke as τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν, χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν, λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται καὶ κωφοὶ ἀκούουσιν, νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται, πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζοντα (Luke 7:22b), echo the programmatic passage of Luke 4:18.[416] This summary statement delineates the significant aspects of Jesus' public ministry (preaching and healing). Jesus' reply to John's disciples acts as a flashback (*analepses*) and a preview (*prolepses*) of the healing and

[415] Nolland identifies the pericope as a pronouncement story. Nolland, *Luke a*, 326. The term, "who is coming", (ὁ ἐχόμενος) has a verbal correspondence with Luke 3:16 and thus echoes John's message about the coming of the Messiah. C. F. Evans, *Saint Luke*, 2nd ed., TPI New Testament Commentaries, (London: SCM Press, 1990), 351; Hans Klein, *Das Lukasevangelium* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 281; Darrell L. Bock, *Luke*, ed. Grant R. Osborne, The IVP New Testament Commentary Series, (Downers Grove, Il: Inter-Varsity, 1994), 136–37.
A pronouncement story is a brief story pair that climaxes in a memorable utterance. See Leland Ryken, *Jesus the Hero: A Guided Literary Study of the Gospels*, Reading the Bible as Literature, (Ashland: Lexham Press, 2021), 34–35;Robert C. Tannehill, "Introduction: The Pronouncement Story and its Types," *Semeia 20* (1981): 1–2.

[416] Green, *Luke*, 207; David Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel* (London: Bloomsbury, 1996), 126.

preaching ministry of Jesus.[417] Thus, in this summary statement, the whole public ministry of Jesus is defined as accomplishing God's plan for the Messiah.

8.2.6 The Plan of God is Revealed Through the Direct Characterisation of οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ νομικοὶ

Luke 7:30 is crucial in identifying the plot as accomplishing God's plan. Using his narrative voice, Luke characterises the Pharisees and the lawyers with the words οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ νομικοὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἠθέτησαν.[418] The term τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ is mainly found in Lukan writing.[419] In Luke-Acts it refers to the purpose of (Acts 2:23; 4:28; 5:38-39; 13:36; 20:27).[420] Luke's use of his narrative voice here is evaluative: by being seen as averse to God's purpose, Luke places the Pharisees and the lawmakers (οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ νομικοὶ) as outsiders.[421] The rejection of Jesus by the Pharisees and the lawmakers is a paradox as they were the elite Jews dedicated to the correct interpretation of the law and

[417] John Nolland, *Luke*, Word Biblical Commentary v. 35c, (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1989), 80.

[418] Some scholars advocate that the Third Gospel is inconclusive concerning the Pharisees. Mary Marshall, *The Portrayals of the Pharisees in the Gospels and Acts*, FRLANT 254, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 184; Raimo T. Hakola, "'Friendly' Pharisees and Social Identity in Acts," in *Contemporary Studies in Acts*, ed. Thomas E. Phillips (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009), 181–200; Anthony J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989), 179; John T. Carroll, "Luke's Portrayal of the Pharisees," *CBQ* 50, no. 4 (1988): 604; Jack T. Sanders, *The Jews in Luke-Acts* (London: SCM Press, 1987), 84, 94–95, 127; Robert L. Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987), 84.
Contra the view that the Pharisees are not characterised negatively, Luke's direct characterisation of the Pharisees τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἠθέτησαν (Luke 7:30) indicates that the Pharisees should be viewed negatively. Their negative characterisation is emphasised by the word ἐθετέω. The only use of the verb ἐθετέω in Lukan writing refers to the rejection of Jesus and God (Luke 10:16). F. Scott Spencer, "Preparing the Way of the Lord, Introducing and Interpreting Luke's Narrative: A Response to David Wenham," in *Reading Luke: Interpretation, Reflection, Formation* ed. Joel B. Green, Anthony C. Thiselton, and Craig G. Bartholomew, Scripture and Hermeneutics Series 6 (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2005), 112 n. 24; Justin R. Howell, "The Pharisees and Figured Speech in Luke-Acts" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2016), 289.

[419] Of the twelve New Testament occurrences of τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, only three occur outside Lukan writings (1 Cor 4:5; Eph 1:11; Heb 6:17). Hur, *Dynamic*, 184.

[420] François Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, EKKNT, (Zürich: Benziger Verlag, 1989), 379; Marshall, *Luke*, 299.

[421] Gowler, *Portraits*, 216. The Pharisees are compared to the people and the tax collectors through the contrastive conjunction δὲ (but Luke 7:30). The people and the tax collectors (Luke 7:29) have accepted the baptism of John.

religious tradition.[422] The Pharisees and lawmakers were seen as very pious but, paradoxically, refused to submit to the purpose of God. This characterisation identifies them as villains in the third Gospel.

8.3 Conclusion to the Plot of Luke

Through plot-defining pericopes, the plot of Luke is identified as the accomplishment of the plan of God. It is the teleological intention of the narrative. The plot is designed to offer the unifying rationale of a narrative. The accomplishment of the plan of God becomes the cardinal point of the healing and teaching pericopes. It brings into conflict different forces. The plot, as the fulfilment of the plan of God, becomes central to evaluate characters as commendable or lamentable. Characters who participate in God's plan will be seen as virtuous while those who align themselves against the plan of God will be seen as lacking virtue. Ultimately Jesus, as the character who accomplishes par-excellence the plan of God, is the mimetic hero of the Lukan narrative.

[422] David E. Garland, *Luke*, Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2011), 315; Bock, *Luke*, 678–79; Klein, *Lukasevangelium*, 289.

9 Miracles Presenting Mimetic Characters that Exhibit Virtues or Vices

In the Gospel of Luke, miracles stories offer defined mimetic characters who exhibit positive or negative examples that are either praiseworthy or blameworthy.[423] If mimesis is important in Luke, one would expect it to be prevalent in the miracle stories as they present characters that serve as *exempla*. The following chapter focusses on two miracles: the straightening of the bent-over woman (Luke 13:10–17) and the healing of the blind beggar (Luke 18:35–43). The treatment of miracles is critical to the study of mimesis in Luke given that the Gospel of Luke records no less than twenty accounts of miracles, establishing it as an important feature of the Gospel.[424] Those two stories grapple with a common handicap in the ancient world—individuals who are burdened by physical deformities.[425] These two

[423] A miracle can be defined as a broad spectrum of phenomena outside of natural law. In the Gospel of Luke, it is an intentional divine intervention contributing to the health and welfare of a group or individual. See Graham H. Twelftree, "The Miraculous in the New Testament: Current Research and Issues," *CurBR* 12, no. 3 (2014): 323; D. Basinger, "What is a Miracle?," in *The Cambridge Companion to Miracles*, ed. Graham H. Twelftree (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 19; Richard L. Purtill, "Defining Miracles," in *In Defence of Miracles: A Comprehensive Case for God's Action in History*, ed. R. Douglas Geivett and Gary R. Habermas (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1997), 62–63.

[424] The miracles in Luke are found in Luke 4:31–36, 38–39, 40–41; 5:1–11, 12–14, 17–26; 6:6–11; 7:1–10, 11–17; 8:22–25, 26–39, 49–56; 9:10–17, 37–43; 11:14–23; 13:10–17; 14:1–6; 17:11–19; 18:35–43; 22:50–51. Graham H. Twelftree, *Jesus the Miracle Worker: A Historical & Theological Study* (Downers Grove, Il: InterVarsity Press, 1999), 144; Eben Scheffler, *Suffering in Luke's Gospel* (Zürich, Switzerland: Theologischer Verlang, 1993), 87.

[425] For example, the occurrence of monster markets where people with no calves, weasel-arms, three eyes or an ostrich head were sold to the elite highlight the commonality of deformed individuals in the ancient world. Lisa Trentin, "Deformity in the Roman Imperial Court," *G&R* 58, no. 2 (2011): 197. Factors such as environment, local climate, water or food supply and plagues were leading causes of infirmity in the ancient world. See April Pudsey, "Disability and Infirmitas in the Ancient World: Demographic and Biological Facts in the Longue Durée," in *Disability in Antiquity*, ed. Christian Laes (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2017), 39–49.

miracles provide significant insight for mimesis that is replicated in other miracle stories of Luke. They are representative of other miracles as they fit into the larger context of the Gospel of Luke and align with the plot.[426] Furthermore they align with multiple Lukan themes relevant to miracles, including Lukan soteriology,[427] care for the socially disadvantaged,[428] the emergence of the kingdom of God,[429] conflict between Jesus and Jewish authorities and the reaction of the crowd such as praise or joyful response.[430] In addition, the miracles continue to match the theme of the Jubilee which is a prominent

[426] Both the miracle of the bent-over woman and the healing of the blind beggar fit the plot of Luke. For example, inclusion of δεῖ in Luke 13:16 serves as a marker in the Gospel of Luke indicating actions that align with the divine purpose. As affirmed by Green, *Luke*, 523; Charles H. Cosgrove, "The Divine Δεῖ in Luke-Acts: Investigations into the Lukan Understanding of God's Providence," *NovT* 26, no. 2 (1984): 173.

[427] Bock, *Luke*, 35. The designation of the healed bent-over woman as a daughter of Abraham links this miracle to God's continued faithfulness to Abraham (Luke 1:55, 73). See Julie Nicole Newberry, *Lukan Joy and the Life of Discipleship: A Narrative Analysis of the Conditions that Lead to Joy According to Luke* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2022), 225.

[428] Many of the Lukan miracle stories feature the relief of the suffering of marginalised individuals to emphasise the inclusion of outsiders such as widows, lepers, the demon-possessed, women, or people with disability (Luke 4:31–36, 38–39, 40–41; 5:12–14, 17–26; 6:6–11; 7:1–10; 8:22–25, 49–56; 11:14–23 13:10–17; 14:1–6; 17:11–19; 18:35–43). William Barclay, *The Gospel of Luke*, Rev. ed., The Daily Study Bible, (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1975), 1; Craig L. Blomberg, *Neither Poverty nor Riches: A Biblical Theology of Material Possessions*, New Studies in Biblical Theology 7, (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1999), 223.

[429] Keith A. Reich, *Figuring Jesus the Power of Rhetorical figures of Speech in the Gospel of Luke*, BibInt 107, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 98. The conjunction οὖν links the miracle of the bent-over woman with teaching about the kingdom of God within the immediate context. There, the sowing of the mustard seed is represented by the healing of the woman. Florian Wilk, *Jesus und die Völker in der Sicht der Synoptiker*, BZNW 109, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 215; Green, *Luke*, 518. In a similar way, the healing of the blind beggar demonstrates that the kingdom of God is already at work.

[430] See Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, trans. Bertram Lee Woolf, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 1971), 97–98; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV*, vol. 28A, AB, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 1011.
Both praise and joy have been identified as important motifs in the Gospel of Luke. See Kindalee Pfremmer De Long, *Surprised by God: Praise Responses in the Narrative of Luke-Acts*, BZNW, Volume 166, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009); Dennis M. Hamm, "The Tamid Service in Luke-Acts: The Cultic Background Behind Luke's Theology of Worship (Luke 1:5–25; 18:9–14;24:50–53; Acts 3:1; 10:3, 30)," *CBQ* 65, no. 2 (2003): 219–31; David H. Wenkel, *Joy in Luke-Acts: The Intersection of Rhetoric, Narrative, and Emotion*, PBM, (Milton Keys: Pathernoster, 2015), 18; Anke Inselmann, *Die Freude im Lukasevangelium: Ein Beitrag zur Psychologischen Exegese*, WUNT 2/322, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 1; Newberry, *Lukan Joy*, 1–491.
In the miracle of the healing of the bent-over woman, the woman praises God and the crowd expresses joy and praise. In the miracle of the healing of the blind beggar, the healed blind person witnesses and praise God. Both joy and praise are relevant themes in the Gospel of Luke.

feature in Luke.[431] Significant to mimesis, the miracles chosen allow the emergence of categories proposed in the methodology.

Having noted the importance of miracles in a study of mimesis in Luke, it is now appropriate to investigate mimesis in the healing of the bent-over woman (Luke 13:10–17). The analysis of Luke's characterisation will follow the categories enumerated and tested in the analysis of the Greco-Roman writings (chapters 4–6). At the end of the analysis of the miracle stories (section 9.3), some observations will be made relating to mimesis. These observations will address the three questions arising in the methodological section, i.e., (1) how do narratives make their characters mimetic?, (2) what strategies do first-century narratives use to guide the implied audience to mimesis (imitation/ disassociation) from the mimetic character? and (3) what virtues are encouraged in the narratives?

9.1 Healing of the Bent-over Woman in Luke 13:10–17.

Luke 13:10–17 belongs to the Lukan *Sondergut.* The miracle is set in the context of a society in which it was a norm that men publicly disregarded women.[432] The attention given to this miracle reflects the prominent importance given to women in the Gospel of Luke,[433]

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[431] N. K. Houghtby-Haddon, *Changed Imagination, Changed Obedience: Social Change, Social Imagination, and the Bent-Over Woman in the Gospel of Luke* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011), 48–49; Christopher R. Bruno, "Jesus is Our Jubilee... But How? The OT Background and Lukan Fulfillment of the Ethics of Jubilee," *JETS* 53, no. 1 (2010): 81–101.

[432] Bock, *Luke*, 1215–16.

[433] The notable role of women can be noted through the literary feature of Luke's paralleling male and female characters. This miracle is set in parallel with the person with dropsy (Luke 14:1–6). John Nolland, *Luke*, World Biblical Commentary v. 35b, (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1989), 722–23; Bock, *Luke*, 1215–16. Zechariah is in parallel with Mary (Luke 1:11, 28), Simon with Anna (Luke 2:25–38). Jesus' raising the centurion's servant is paired with his raising the son of the widow from Nain (Luke 7:1–17). Simon the pharisee and the sinful woman are contrasted (Luke 7:36–50). Luke offsets the disciples accompanying Jesus in his ministry with the female followers of Jesus (Luke 9:1–3). The woman bent over is contrasted with the ruler of the synagogue (Luke 13:10–17). The scribes are compared to the poor widow (Luke 20:45–21:4). Although parabolic characters, the good shepherd is contrasted to the woman with ten coins (Luke 15:1–10). See Forbes and Harrower, *Raised*, 115; Bock, *Luke*, 35; Ben Witherington, *Women in the Ministry of Jesus: A Study of Jesus' Attitudes to Women and Their Roles as Reflected in his Earthly Life*, SNTSMS 51, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 45, 75; Mary Rose D'Angelo, "Women in Luke-Acts: A Redactional View," *JBL* 109, no. 3

The miracle is divided into two sections of a unified narrative.[434] The first section narrates the healing of a deformed person, and the second is about the controversy over the right to heal on the Sabbath.

Three characters are relevant to this pericope: Jesus, the synagogue ruler (ἀρχισυνάγωγος) and the bent-over woman. Of those, only two characters, Jesus and the synagogue ruler, emerge as mimetic. Jesus, as the main mimetic character, exemplifies virtues of compassion for the marginalised and obedience to the will of God.[435] The ἀρχισυνάγωγος is a mimetic figure to be avoided (*aphormē*). As will be observed later, his objection to the miracle occurring on the Sabbath makes him a false hero.[436] In opposing the healing, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος is an antagonistic minor mimetic character.

(1990): 443–48.
The Gospel of Luke also portrays powerless, destitute, and vulnerable women as responsive to the message of Jesus. Of the women portrayed in Luke, Anna and the woman of Nain were widows (Luke 2:37; 7:12; 21:2–3), a sinful woman responds to Jesus' forgiveness (Luke 7:36–50), Mary Magdeleine had seven demons exorcised from her (Luke 8:2). In the infancy narrative, one reads of the righteousness of Elizabeth and Anna. Mary is favoured by the lord. On the journey narrative, Jesus is supported by women and heals the woman who is bent over. See Bock, *Luke*, 35.

[434] The unity of this story has been questioned by some. E. Schweizer for example argues that verses 14–16 of Luke 13 are not from the implied author. Edward Schweizer, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, Das Neue Testament Deutsh 5, (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht, 1982), 146. Bultmann, Dibelius and Lohse contend that 13:10–16 is not connected with Luke 13: 17 and that it is built around the saying in v. 15. Rudolf K. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, trans. John Marsh (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1963), 12. Contra, scholars have demonstrated the unified structure of this pericope. Green argues for a unified narrative on the basis of a parallelism. Joel B. Green, "Jesus and a Daughter of Abraham (Luke 13:10–17): Test Case for a Lucan Perspective on Jesus' Miracles," *CBQ* 51, no. 4 (1989): 648. Marshall argues for the unity of the pericope on the basis of Lukan style and purpose. Marshall, *Luke*, 556–57. O'Toole and Parsons also argue for the unity of the narrative based on a diptych structure. While it is unlikely to follow the pattern of a diptych structure, they have successfully shown the correspondence between the miracle of straightening the woman and the controversy with the ἀρχισυνάγωγος. See Robert F. O'Toole, "Some Exegetical Reflections on Luke 13:10–17," *Bib* 73, no. 1 (1992): 85–87.

[435] The emphasis on Jesus is a feature of Lukan miracles. See Paul J. Achtemeier, "The Lucan Perspective on the Miracles of Jesus: A Preliminary Sketch," Literary Criticism, *JBL* 94 (1975): 551–52.
Jesus here is the executor of God's will. See François Bovon, *Luke 2: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 9:51–19:27*, trans. Donald S. Deer, ed. Helmut Koester, Hermeneia, (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2013), 279.

[436] A false hero 'pretends to have accomplished what, in fact, the hero accomplishes.' Prince, *Narratology*, 42.

The bent-over woman enters the scene as a character ficelle.[437] She is a character ficelle as her physical condition influences events and characters. Her condition allows Jesus to emerge as a compassionate healer and someone who accomplishes God's purpose.[438] Furthermore, her physical condition and presence in the synagogue on the Sabbath serve as a background for the ensuing discussion between Jesus and the ἀρχισυνάγωγος. Her condition is also at the base of the *qal wa-homer* argument made by Jesus (Luke 13:15–16). Her healing becomes a catalyst for the question about what is necessary on the Sabbath (Luke 13:14–16). As a character ficelle, she is not mimetic.

The narrator introduces the woman by describing her physical condition as πνεῦμα ἔχουσα ἀσθενείας ἔτη δεκαοκτὼ καὶ ἦν συγκύπτουσα καὶ μὴ δυναμένη ἀνακύψαι εἰς τὸ παντελές (Luke 13:11). The narrator's insight reveals four dimensions to the woman's condition. First, she suffered a medical problem. The physical description of her sickness is specific and unique.[439] The severity of her sickness is emphasised by the word παντελές.[440] She is identified through her condition and not by her social group (γυνὴ πνεῦμα ἔχουσα

[437] The main function of a character ficelle '… is to throw light on the meaning or significance of the situation and events narrated'. Prince, *Narratology*, 42.

[438] The role of the woman as a ficelle character is evident as Luke places an emphasis on her physical condition when he identifies her as the woman with her sickness. Scholer points out that Luke mentions more women by name than any of the other Gospels, the fact that the woman is anonymous shows that the story emphasises her sickness. In emphasising her sickness, Luke makes her an ideal foil character. In the Gospel of Luke, the women who are named are Elizabeth (Luke 1:5, 24, 40–41), Mary (Luke 1:27, 38–56; 2:5), Anna (Luke 2:36), Mary Magdala, Joanna and Susanna (Luke 8:2–3) and Mary and Martha (Luke 10:38–42). On naming the women, see D. M. Scholer, "Women," in *DJG*, ed. Joel B. Green and Scot McKnight (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992), 886.

[439] The *hapax legomenon* συγκύπτω (Luke 13:11) refers to a condition hardly mentioned in ancient writings. Edwards notes that no other Bible text references this sickness. See James R. Edwards, *The Gospel According to Luke* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2015), 386. Among ancient writings, only John of Damascus describes a physical condition in an old person encountered by the King's son. John of Damascus however does not indicate that the old person's ailment was a chronic disease. (John of Damascus, *Vita Barlaam et Joseph* 5.33). In modern times, Wilkinson has identified the disease as ankylosing spondylitis. John Wilkinson, "The Case of the Bent Woman in Luke 13: 10–17," *EvQ* 49, no. 4 (1977): 200.

[440] The term 'παντελές' means complete or perfect. Here it emphasises the severity of her sickness: She was unable to stand straight. Marshall, *Luke*, 557; Forbes and Harrower, *Raised*, 115.

ἀσθενείας ἔτη δεκαοκτὼ) (Luke 13:11).[441] The double statement about her illness (ἦν συγκύπτουσα καὶ μὴ δυναμένη ἀνακύψαι εἰς τὸ παντελές) (Luke 13:11b) points to the severity of her situation. Marshall translates μὴ δυναμένη ἀνακύψαι εἰς τὸ παντελές as 'completely unable to raise herself', emphasising the gravity of her illness.[442]

Second, in the socio-cultural context her condition would normally lead to marginalisation.[443] The hopeless nature of the bent-over woman is construed through her characterisation. The socio-cultural dimension must be understood in the context of physiognomy. In a physiognomic-conscious world, her gender and physical condition were

[441] People in the first-century Mediterranean world were normally identified with a city, region, ethnic belonging, or community. Only the bent-over woman and the woman with the haemorrhage (Luke 8:43) are identified by their illnesses. David M. May, "The Straightened Woman (Luke 13:10–17): Paradise Lost and Regained," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 24, no. 3 (1997): 251; Bruce J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology*, 3rd ed. (Louisville, KY: Westminister John Knox, 2001), 63–69. Marion Mortell, "'"Do you See this Woman?" (Luke 7:44): The Multi-Faceted Witness of Women in Luke's Gospel" (PhD diss., Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick, 2020), 186.

[442] Marshall, *Luke*, 558.

[443] Levine and Witherington dispute Green's assertion that the woman was socially marginalised on the basis that she was able to attend the synagogue in person. See Amy-Jill Levine and Ben III Witherington, *The Gospel of Luke* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 369; Green, *Luke*, 522, 25.
Contra some have argued that the woman was indeed marginalised. Heidi Torgerson, "The Healing of the Bent Woman: A Narrative Interpretation of Luke 13:10–17," *CurTM* 32, no. 3 (2005): 180; Gregory E. Lamb, "Sinfully Stereotyped: Jesus's Desire to Correct Ancient Physiognomic Assumptions in the Gospel According to Luke," *WW* 37, no. 2 (2017): 183. As a sick person and a woman, she would push at the bottom of the social stratum, yet the total marginalisation of this woman is not evident from the narrative. Her participation in the synagogue worship shows that she is not ostracised from the communal synagogue. Seim, "The Gospel of Luke," 736–37; Gabriel Gabati Kibeti, "Narration et Christologie en Lc 13, 10–17: La Guérison de la Femme Courbée," *EstBib* 73, no. 1 (2015): 51. For the inferior social status of a sick woman see J. H. Elliott, "Temple Versus Household in Luke-Acts: A Contrast in Social Institutions," *HvTSt* 47, no. 1 (1991): 99. It seems it is her hopeless state and not her social state that is here emphasised by Luke. Furthermore, her condition meant that she lived with limited resources. See F. Scott Spencer, *Luke* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2019), 348.
It will be argued in this study that the marginalisation of women on the basis of physiognomic considerations was prevalent during the first-century Mediterranean world. It is also argued that the marginalisation of disabled people was not a uniform feature in the ancient world. Members of the elite would not experience a similar degree of marginalisation as they would be supported by their families. See Jane Draycott, "Reconstructing the Lived Experience of Disability in Antiquity: A Case Study from Roman Egypt," *G&R* 62, no. 2 (2015): 200; Christian Laes, C. F. Goodey, and Martha L. Rose, "Approaching Disabilities *a Capite ad Calcem*: Hidden Themes in Roman Antiquity," in *Disabilities in Roman Antiquity Disparate Bodies, a Capite ad Calcem*, ed. Christian Laes, C. F. Goodey, and Martha L. Rose, Mnemosyne Suppl. 356 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 8; Edwards, *Luke*, 386.

seen as reflective of her character.[444] In the ancient world, women were deemed morally weaker than men, and her physical disability was associated with possessing an evil disposition.[445] As a result of her condition, she would likely have been judged by her contemporaries as morally weak or to have an evil disposition.[446] In addition, as a disabled woman, she would also have been considered cursed by God.[447] In keeping with the cultural assumptions of the time, the woman would also be subject to humiliation because of her disability.[448]

Third, the mention of the timespan of her suffering (δεκαοκτώ) (Luke 13:11, δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτη) (Luke 13:16) highlights the history of her suffering and the hopelessness of her

[444] Physiognomics refers to the practice of drawing conclusions about a person's moral character based on their physical traits. As affirmed by: Chad Hartsock, *Sight and Blindness in Luke-Acts the Use of Physical Features in Characterization*, BibInt 94, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 7; Christian Laes, "Silent History? Speech Impairment in Roman Antiquity," in *Disabilities in Roman Antiquity Disparate Bodies, a Capite ad Calcem*, ed. Christian Laes, C. F. Goodey, and Martha L. Rose, Mnemosyne Suppl. 356 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 164. For the prevalence of Physiognomics in the ancient world, see Jon Hesk, *Deception and Democracy in Classical Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 218–27; Elizabeth C. Evans, *Physiognomics in the Ancient World*, vol. 59, Transactions of the Americal Philosophical Society, (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1969).
It was not uncommon for writers in the ancient times to link the absence of virtue in emperors with any physical deformity and conversely good emperors were portrayed as having physical integrity. See Trentin, "Deformity," 198–201.

[445] Sirach links people with bent back to deceitfulness and evil disposition (Sir 19:26–29). In Pseudo-Aristotle, a link is made between individuals who have a bent back and their lacking virtue. See Mikeal C. Parsons, *Body and Character in Luke and Acts the Subversion of Physiognomy in Early Christianity* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2011), 85; Simon Swain, "The Physiognomy Attributed to Aristotle," in *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam*, ed. Simon Swain and G. R. Boys-Stones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 655. Morally bankrupt Israel is often equated to a woman with disability. See Judith Z. Abrams, *Judaism and Disability: Portrayals in Ancient Texts from the Tanach Through the Bavli* (Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 1998); Pamela Shellberg, *From Cleansed Lepers to Cleansed Hearts: Purity and Healling in Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2015), 63; Roger Nicole, *Biblical Concept of Women*, ed. Walter A. Elwell, Evangelical Dictionary of Theology, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book, 2001), 1282–83.

[446] Parsons, *Character*, 85–86; Spencer, *Luke*, 349.

[447] Malina, *Cultural*, 43–44; Mitzi Minor, "Luke 13:22–30 —The Wrong Question, the Right Door," *RevExp* 91, no. 4 (1994): 553.

[448] Robert Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), 86; Laes, Goodey, and Rose, "Disabilities," 9; Trentin, "Deformity," 202–03.

situation.[449] Fourth, she was bound by Satan (ἣν ἔδησεν ὁ σατανᾶς ἰδοὺ δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτη) (Luke 13:16),[450] implying a spiritual aspect to her sickness.

9.1.1 Category 1 – The Miracle Restoration of the Healing of the Bent-over Woman is Coherent with the Plot of Luke

The miracle of the healing of the bent-over woman is coherent with the established plot of Luke, allowing readers to identify mimetic characters and ideal virtues in the pericope.[451] Several elements of the pericope connect with Luke's plot. The repeated use of the word δεῖ links this pericope with the accomplishment of the purpose of God (Luke 13:14, 16).[452] The alignment of this miracle story with the plot is further demonstrated as the healing is cast as the liberation of the woman from the bondage of Satan (Luke 13:16).[453] The freedom of a person within the context of Satanic activities demonstrates the accomplishment of the purpose of God. A third connection between the miracle and the plot is the timing of the miracle. It is done on a Sabbath. The Sabbath was a celebration of liberation of the children of Abraham from Egypt.[454] Luke's Sabbath healings (Luke 4:31–37;

[449] Annette Weissenrieder, "Jesus's Healings," in *The Jesus Handbook*, ed. Jens Schröter, Christine Jacobi, and Robert L. Brawley (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2022), 271.

[450] In the ancient world, sickness carried an element of shame for the sick person and was viewed as a manifestation of Divine displeasure. Emily A. Lamond, "Disability and the Ancient Roman *Familia*" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2023), 11.

[451] Green, *Luke*, 522. The healing of the bent-over woman follows what Marguerat and Bourquin sees as the larger narrative that coincident with the 'micro-récit.' See Daniel Marguerat and Yvan Bourquin, *Pour Lire les Récits Bibliques. La Bible se Raconte* (Paris: Novalis, 1998), 219.

[452] The word δεῖ in Luke predominantly designates the Divine purpose (Luke 2:49; 4:43; 9:22; 11:42; 12:12; 13:33; 17:25; 22:37; 24:7; 24:26; 24:44); Green, "Daughter," 651; Marshall, *Luke*, 369. Contra Cosgrove sees the use of δεῖ in Luke 13:13, 16 as only indicating ordinary uses of the term and not describing the purpose of God. Cosgrove, "Δεῖ," 173. Against Cosgrove's assertion, within the pericope, both Jesus and the ἀρχισυνάγωγος use the word δεῖ to debate the purpose of God on the Sabbath (Luke 13:14, 16). Therefore, δεῖ in the Luke 13 should be understood as the accomplishment of God's purpose for the Sabbath, thus contrary to Cosgrove's assertion.

[453] Dario Andres Lopez Rodriguez, *The Liberating Mission of Jesus: The Message of the Gospel of Luke*, trans. Stefanie D. Israel (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2012), 98; Green, "Daughter," 654.

[454] Martin Emmrich, *At the Heart of Luke: Wisdom and Reversal of Fortunes* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013), 41–42; John J. Kilgallen, "The Obligation to Heal (Luke 13,10–17)," *Biblica* 82, no. 3 (2001): 406.

38–39; 6:6–11; 13:10–17; 14:1–6) are key to the plot as they disclose the accomplishment of God's purpose.[455] The significance of the link between the healing of the bent-over woman and the plot means that characters in this pericope can be evaluated as praiseworthy or blameworthy as they are judged to follow the purpose of God.

9.1.2.1 Category 4 Actions: The Physical Healing of a Woman Reveals Jesus as Mimetic, Displaying Relatable Virtues

Two actions of Jesus in this pericope depict Jesus as a mimetic figure displaying virtues worthy of emulation. The first is the physical healing (θεραπεύω) (Luke 13:14) of the woman and the second is his response to the ἀρχισυνάγωγος. Both sections of this miracle are equally significant in highlighting Jesus as a mimetic figure and demonstrating his virtues.[456] Furthermore, the miracle story presents Jesus as displaying the virtue of compassion[457] and thereby accomplishing the purpose of God. Both virtues are ideals for the implied audience.

Through the physical healing (Luke 13:11–13), Jesus' actions identify him as mimetic, displaying virtues to be emulated. Jesus initiates all the actions culminating in the miracle.[458] He sees the woman,[459] calls her, and talks to her (Luke 13:12).[460] He heals her by placing his

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[455] The Sabbath healings in Luke are also strongly connected with the programmatic statement of Luke 4:16–30; Emmrich, *Wisdom and Reversal*, 41–42.

[456] Green, "Daughter," 645–47. Contra O'Toole who argues that Luke places a greater emphasis on the teaching rather than the healing. O'Toole, "Exegetical," 88; Achtemeier, "Lucan," 558. In presenting Jesus as a mimetic figure both sections are equally important. In presenting the ἀρχισυνάγωγος as a mimetic character to be avoided, the second section of the narrative is more pertinent as it focuses on the actions of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος.

[457] Vincent Taylor contends that the healing miracles primarily emphasises the compassion of Jesus. Vincent Taylor, *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition: Eight Lectures*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1935), 133.

[458] Bovon, *Luke*, 280; Nolland, *Luke b*, 724.

[459] In the Gospel of Luke when Jesus responds to a need that he sees, it serves as an announcement of hope (Luke 7:23; 17:14). Seeing by characters other than Jesus does not carry the same connotation of hope (Luke 9:49,54; 10:31, 32). See Newberry, *Lukan Joy*, 242; Green, *Luke*, 522.

[460] Gabati Kibeti, "Narration," 47; Mortell, "Multi-Faceted," 187; Dennis M. Hamm, "The Freeing of the Bent Woman and the Restoration of Israel: Luke 13.10–17 as Narrative Theology," *JSNT* 10, no. 31 (1987): 25; Green, *Luke*, 522; Bock, *Luke*, 1215–16.

hand on her (Luke 13:12). The nominative participle ἰδὼν brings Jesus to the centre of the miracle story and confirms his role as the main character of this pericope. The nominative ὁ Ἰησοῦς linked to the indicative active verbs ἰδὼν, προσεφώνησεν, εἶπεν (Luke 13:12), ἐπέθηκεν (Luke 13:13) and ἐθεράπευσεν (Luke 13:14) confirms the miracle as an action done at the initiative of Jesus. Jesus' action changes her from her crippled state (συγκύπτω) (Luke 13:11) to a restored state (ἀνορθόω) (Luke 13:13). The initiation of those actions tacitly identifies two virtues of Jesus. At the outset, the miracle shows his compassion for the woman and then he is proactively involved in accomplishing the purpose of God.

The second action of Jesus that contributes to identifying him as mimetic and highlights his virtues involves his response to the ἀρχισυνάγωγος. There, Jesus continues to take centre stage as he initiates a response to the objection of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος even though the latter did not directly address him (Luke 13:15–16). The nominative case of ὁ κύριος is further confirmation that Jesus initiates the response.

In his response, he offers a counterinterpretation of the timing of this Sabbath miracle, interpreting it as the accomplishment of the purpose of God. Four clues identify this miracle as the accomplishment of the purpose of God. First, the nexus of words ἀπολύω (Luke 13:12), λύω (Luke 13:15,16) and ἔδησεν ὁ σατανᾶς (Luke 13:16) frame Jesus' miracle as the woman's liberation from Satan's bondage. Second, the miracle serves as a reminder of Jesus' programmatic statement in his Nazareth sermon. Third, the narrative setting of this miracle — the Sabbath and a synagogue — and healing to people otherwise captive, echoes the narrative setting of the Nazareth sermon.[461] The reinterpretation of the miracle as

[461] O'Toole, "Exegetical," 92; Jennifer Garcia Bashaw, "'"When Jesus Saw her . . .": A Hermeneutical Response to #MeToo and #ChurchToo," *RevExp* 117, no. 2 (2020): 291. Even though Luke 4:44 asserts that Jesus regularly preached in the synagogues (καὶ ἦν κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς τῆς Ἰουδαίας), only four times Luke records Jesus teaching in a synagogue (Luke 4:16–28; 4:31–37; 6:6–11; 13:10–17). Luke 4:31–37;

loosening (λύω) the bond of the woman ἣν ἔδησεν ὁ σατανᾶς ἰδοὺ δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτη — Luke 13:16, fulfils the provision of his Nazareth statement; αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν (Luke 4:18c).[462] The use of λύω (loose), δέω (bound) and δεσμός (bondage) also demonstrate deliverance and further the conceptual link with the programmatic statement of Luke 4:16–21 where freedom is proclaimed to the captive (κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν — Luke 4:18).[463] Luke, therefore, through the healing of the bent-over woman, offers a 'dramatic intra-Gospel' demonstration of the programmatic statement.[464] Fourth, the use of the verb δεῖ (Luke 13:16) strengthens the idea of accomplishing the purpose of God.[465]

9.1.2.2 Category 4 — Action: Disapproving Speech of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος Presents him as a Character to be Avoided.

The disapproving speech of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος reveals him as a mimetic character to be avoided. His speech is a legal objection about the timing of the miracle because it occurred on the Sabbath. Tacitly it contrasts with the virtues found in Jesus. His speech shows a lack of compassion for the woman and a resistance to the accomplishment of the

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6:6–11 and 13:1–10 echo the narrative setting of the Nazareth sermon – Sabbath and Synagogue. Furthermore, the miracles also link with the programmatic statement of the Nazareth sermon as they narrate the freeing of an oppressed person — from the devil or a disabilty — on the Sabbath.

[462] It has been recognised by many commentators that αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν (Luke 4:18c) is not a direct quote from Isaiah 61:1–2 but an import from Isaiah 58:6c. This import allows the word ἄφεσιν to be mentioned twice in Luke 4:18, demonstrating its importance to Luke's thought and writing. see Green, *Luke*, 210. Marshall, *Luke*, 182. Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 28, 529. Bobby Worthington, "The Identity of the Poor in Luke 4:18, Jesus' Mission, and the Mission of the Church," *CTR* 19, no. 2 (2022): 25; Markus E. Locker, "'Entlassen' aber Woraus?: Lukas 4,18–19: Gelesen in der 'Kraft des Höchsten'," *BN* 178 (2018): 128. Contra Turner does not think that Luke replaces Isaiah 61:1d with Isaiah 58:6 in Luke 4:18c. Max Turner, "The Work of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts," *Word & World* 23, no. 2 (2003): 16. It appears that Turner is overstating the importance of the word ἄφεσις and that the programmatic statement merges Isaish 61:1 and Isaiah 58:6 to highlight the importance of ἄφεσις.

[463] Hamm, "Freeing," 34. Garland, *Luke*, 199. On Luke's programmatic statement see Nolland, *Luke a*, 195.

[464] May, "Straightened," 256; Sam J. Rogers, "Jesus' Identity in the Sabbath Miracles in the Gospel of Luke," *Africanus Journal* 8, no. 2 (2016): 29–31; Walter E. Pilgrim, *Good News to the Poor: Wealth and Poverty in Luke-Acts* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2011), 63; Herold Weiss, "The Sabbath in the Synoptic Gospels," *JSNT* 12, no. 38 (1990): 20.

[465] Green, "Daughter," 651; Marshall, *Luke*, 556–60.

purpose of God. This is evident through Jesus' *qal wa-homer* argument.[466] In saying that ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τῷ σαφφάτῳ οὐ λύει τὸν βοῦν αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄνον ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν ποτίζει (Luke 13:15), Jesus highlights that the ἀρχισυνάγωγος cares more for farm animals than for the woman.[467] The lack of compassion for the bent-over woman is further heightened by the contrast in Jesus's reply. He contrasts the treatment of farm animals with that of a daughter of Abraham; the animals were bound for a day while she has been bound for eighteen years; they were tied to the feeding trough while she was bound by Satan (Luke 13:15,16).[468] Further, in identifying the woman as bound by Satan, the opposition of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος hinders the accomplishment of the plan of God. Jesus' describing of the woman as a θυγατέρα ἀβραὰμ identifies her as a member of God's people and thus she should not be bound by Satan.[469] The criticism made by the ἀρχισυνάγωγος thus shows his unwillingness for the plan of God to be accomplished in a member of God's community because of his perceived legal requirement of the Sabbath.

The actions of Jesus in healing the bent-over woman reveal him as a compassionate mimetic figure who follows the plan of God. It also highlights his role in following the programmatic statement of the Nazareth sermon. In contrast to Jesus, the opposition of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος makes him a mimetic figure to avoid and his objection demonstrates a lack of compassion and a disregard for the plan of God in allowing Satan to continue binding the woman.

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[466] R. Alan Culpepper, *Luke*, New Interpreter's Bible, (Nashville, TN: Abigdon, 1995), 274; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, ed. Daniel J. Harrington, Sacra Pagina Series 3, (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1991), 212; Green, "Daughter," 552.

[467] Reich, *Figuring*.

[468] O'Toole, "Exegetical," 87; Nolland, *Luke b*, 724.

[469] Bovon, *Luke*, 288–89; David Van Groeningen, "Luke's Use of Abraham as a Social Identity Marker in Luke-Acts" (PhD diss, Stellenbosh University, 2024), 121, 24–26.

9.1.3.1 Category 5— Internal *Synkrisis*: *Synkrisis* Between Jesus and the Synagogue Leader Acclaims Jesus and Condemns the Synagogue Ruler

Two internal *synkrises* significant to mimesis will be analysed.[470] The first internal *synkrisis* compares Jesus and the ἀρχισυνάγωγος (Luke 13:10–17). The second *synkrisis* compares the ἀρχισυνάγωγος with the bent-over woman. The first *synkrisis* acclaims Jesus as a mimetic character to be imitated. Both *synkrises* involving the ἀρχισυνάγωγος (Luke 13:14–16) portray him as a mimetic character to be disassociated from (*aphormē*).[471]

The first *synkrisis* is linked through three distinct markers. The first marker is syntactical. The word ἀποκρίνομαι (Luke 13:14, 15) is syntactically emphatic, and it introduces the contrasting speeches of the synagogue ruler and Jesus. The second marker concerns the matter of what ought to be done on the sabbath day (δεῖ) (Luke 13:14, 16).[472] The third marker within the narrative is the speech of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος, which is a direct challenge to Jesus' action.[473]

The first *synkrisis* compares the ἀρχισυνάγωγος and Jesus' understanding of God's purpose (δεῖ) for the Sabbath.[474] The ἀρχισυνάγωγος claims that the timing of the healing of the woman is forbidden (Luke 13:14–16) on a legal basis as it violates the Sabbath laws.[475] By way of contrast, Jesus links the woman's illness with the binding of Satan (ἔδησεν ὁ

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[470] *Synkrisis* was defined in the discussion of the Greco-Roman authors a comparison between two characters which often helps to determine who is worth emulating

[471] There is another internal *synkrisis* that contrasts the woman's and the ἀρχισυνάγωγος's reaction. See Green, "Daughter," 468.

[472] Green, "Daughter," 651. The use of the word δεῖ by both the ἀρχισυνάγωγος (Luke 13:14) and Jesus (Luke 13:16) to express contrasting views on God's purpose for the Sabbath indicates that it is used in this text as a marker of contrasts.

[473] This challenge would be perceived by readers as a challenge to his honour. See Bruce J. Malina and Richard L. Rohrbaugh, *Social-science Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2003), 282; Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, "Honor and Shame in Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation*, ed. Jerome H. Neyrey (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991), 49.

[474] The word (δεῖ) in this pericope indicates that which is necessary according to God's purpose Green, *Luke*, 523; Cosgrove, "Δεῖ."

[475] According to Marshall, the ruler of the synagogue displayed 'narrow legalism.' Marshall, *Luke*, 559.

σατανᾶς) (Luke 13:15), demonstrating that the timing of the healing fulfils God's purpose for the Sabbath.[476]

Jesus, by his *qal wa-ḥomer* argument (Luke 13:15–16), makes the loosening of the woman (λυθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσμοῦ) (Luke 13:16) fitting for the Sabbath.[477] Thus, if domestic animals could be loosened to get water on the Sabbath, then all the more should a daughter of Abraham be loosened from the bondage of Satan on the Sabbath. Within the context of bondage, the liberation of the woman echoes the Deuteronomic tradition that links the Sabbath with the liberation from Egypt and further points to the accomplishment of the plan of God.[478] The *synkrisis* highlights the ruler's misunderstanding of God's purpose by misapplying the Sabbath law while portraying Jesus as doing the will of God by understanding the true purpose of the Sabbath.

The first *synkrisis* also highlights Jesus' compassion for a disabled woman while establishing the synagogue ruler's lack of compassion. Two elements in Jesus' argument portray the ἀρχισυνάγωγος lack of compassion. First, the *qal wa-ḥomer* argument shows that he cared more about the lot of domestic animals on the Sabbath than that of the woman.[479] Second, since the woman was under Satan's bondage, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος is depicted as someone who allows Satan's dominion to oppress a daughter of Abraham on

[476] Hamm, "Freeing," 26; O'Toole, "Exegetical," 87.

[477] A *qal wa-ḥomer* argument argues that if the lesser is true, the greater is also certain. See Andrew Schumann, "Preface. Philosophy and History of Talmudic Logic," *Studia Humana (Rzeszów)* 6, no. 2 (2017): 5. Bock, *Luke*, 1218; Green, "Daughter," 652; Culpepper, *Luke*, 274; Johnson, *Luke*, 212.

[478] Deut 5:15 teaches, 'remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt, and the Lord your God brought you out from there with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm; therefore the Lord your God commanded you to keep the Sabbath day.' Hamm, "Freeing," 27; Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 28A, 1011.

[479] In a world dominated by physiognomic assessments, Parsons notes that the choice of animals portrayed characters of cowardice, sluggishness, stupidity, laziness, or insolence. Parsons, *Character*, 88–89. If the Lukan readers would view the choice of animals from a physiognomic perspective, then they would perceive that the ἀρχισυνάγωγος ἀρχισυνάγωγος also cares more for animals which represent evil characters than the bent-over woman.

the Sabbath day.[480] Jesus' compassion is evident as he initiates all the actions in this miracle and addresses the woman with a title of ancestral dignity. By calling her θυγατέρα Ἀβραὰμ (Luke 13:16), Jesus affirms her as a member of the Abrahamic community.[481] Her designation by Jesus as a θυγατέρα Ἀβραὰμ and Jesus' actions are indicative of his mercy and compassion. By contrast, the words of disapproval by the ἀρχισυνάγωγος imply a lack of compassion.

9.1.3.2 Category 5 — Internal *Synkrisis*: *Synkrisis* Between the Woman and Synagogue Leader Condemns the Synagogue Ruler

Another *synkrisis* compares the ἀρχισυνάγωγος and the woman.[482] Once more, it points to the synagogue ruler as a mimetic figure to avoid. The bent-over woman and the ἀρχισυνάγωγος represent opposite ends of the spectrum of Jewish society. The synagogue ruler was an authoritative figure. In contrast, the woman's physical condition would lead to some degree of marginalisation.[483] In another contrast, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος was put to shame by the crowd while the woman's healing removed her humiliation. The ἀρχισυνάγωγος is called a ὑποκριτής by Jesus (Luke 13:15) while the woman is called a θυγατέρα Ἀβραὰμ (Luke 13:17).[484] Furthermore the narrator notes that the woman ἐδόξαζεν (Luke 13:13). In comparison, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος became ἀγανακτῶν (Luke 13:14).

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[480] O'Toole, "Exegetical," 88; Levine and Witherington, *Luke*, 391.

[481] Houghtby-Haddon, *Bent-over*, 42–44. As a member of the Abrahamic community, the woman was not supposed to be in bondage. In the first century, it was commonly perceived that those in bondage were alienated from their ancestral heritage. Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 5.

[482] O'Toole, "Exegetical," 87.

[483] J. Shirock Robert, "The Growth of the Kingdom in Light of Israel's Rejection of Jesus: Structure and Theology in Luke 13:1–35," *NovT* 35 (1993): 22; Minor, "Luke 13," 553.

[484] The term daughter of Abraham echoes 4 Maccabees 14:20; 15:28; 17:6; 18:20, where the term daughter of Abraham refers to a virtuous and courageous mother who encourages her sons to accept death instead of violating God's laws. Parsons, *Character*, 87; Houghtby-Haddon, *Bent-over*, 32.

This internal *synkrisis* contrasting the woman and the ἀρχισυνάγωγος adds to his identification as a character to be avoided in emulation.

In this section two internal *synkrisies* were noted. The first contrasts Jesus and the synagogue ruler and the second contrasts the bent-over woman and the ἀρχισυνάγωγος. In both instances the ἀρχισυνάγωγος is seen as a mimetic figure from whom to disassociate. Conversely, Jesus is seen as a mimetic character to be emulated.

9.1.4.1 Category 6 – Cause-and-effect: The Actions of Jesus Result in God's Being Praised and the Crowd Rejoicing

Three relationships of cause-and-effect affirming Jesus as a praiseworthy character are observed in this pericope. First is the reversal of the woman's condition; second is the the woman's praising God as a result of her healing (Luke 13:13); third is the reaction of the crowd at the response of Jesus to the ἀρχισυνάγωγος (Luke 13:17).

The first cause-and-effect construct is observed as the woman is healed after Jesus calls her and places his hand over her (Luke 13:12–13). Since the conjunction καὶ (Luke 13:13) follows Jesus' intervention, it is used here as the marker of cause-and-effect.[485] The cause-and-effect construct is reinforced as the Gospel narrative uses language to describe the healing in a way that reverses the cause of her ailment.[486] The reversal is seen as she became παραχρῆμα ἀνωρθώθη (Luke 13:13) reversing her previous condition ἦν συγκύπτουσα καὶ μὴ δυναμένη ἀνακύψαι εἰς τὸ παντελές (Luke 13:10). The term ἀπολέλυσαι τῆς ἀσθενείας σου (Luke 13:12) also demonstrates that her situation as ἣν ἔδησεν ὁ σατανᾶς (Luke 13:16) is now reversed. The first cause-and-effect construct in this narrative reflects the woman's healing as the result of Jesus' action.

[485] Robert K. McIver, *Intermediate New Testament Greek Made Easier*, 4th ed. (Cooranbong: Barnard Publishing Company, 2024), 313.

[486] Green, *Luke*, 552; Bovon, *Luke*, 286, 88.

The second cause-and-effect relationship is the bent-over woman's praises to God as the result of her healing (Luke 13:13). The conjunction καὶ (Luke 13:13) is again used here as the marker of cause and effect.[487] The response of praise identifies the acceptance of God's gracious work on behalf of someone.[488] Thus, the expression of praise offers an insight into the woman's understanding that the miracle of Jesus is an extension of God's benefaction.[489]

Third, the joyful response from the crowd comes as the result of Jesus' reorientation of the God's purpose for the Sabbath. The expression of joy demonstrates a relationship of cause and effect. Inselmann observes, 'Die Freude stellt daher kein Wert an sich dar – entscheidend ist das sie bergründende Urteil, die Kausalattribution des Affekts.'[490] In Luke, joy results from divine intervention.[491] Since the rejoicing is a public expression, it confers honour towards Jesus.[492] The reversal of the woman's impairment, her praising God as a

[487] McIver, *Intermediate*, 313. Joy in a cause-and-effect construct is also evident in the three parables of Luke 15, where the recovery of a lost sheep, coin or son occasions joy.

[488] De Long, *Surprised*, 1; Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1997), 429. In Luke, praise is often a response by a member of the internal audience as a response to God's action. Luke 5:25–26, 17:15, 18; 18:43; 23:47. For the praise reaction in Luke 5:25–26, see Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 28, 585–86. Praise in an honour and shame society is often the result of benefaction.
The theological passive, ἀνωρθώθη, indicates that God was engaged in this specific miracle. See Elizabeth V. Dowling, *Taking Away the Pound: Women, Theology, and the Parable of the Pounds in the Gospel of Luke*, LNTS 324, (London: T & T Clark, 2007), 167.

[489]Those who have experienced benefactions generally give a public acclamation for favours in response. As observed by Christiane Zimmermann, "Jesus and the People," in *The Jesus Handbook*, ed. Jens Schröter, Christine Jacobi, and Robert L. Brawley (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2022), 302; Green, *Luke*, 522; Jonathan S. Marshall, *Jesus, Patrons, and Benefactors in Roman Palestine and the Gospel of Luke*, WUNT 2/259, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 252–53.

[490] Inselmann, *Die Freude*, 368.

[491] Joy is a constant theme in the Gospel of Luke and is a common expression at the action of Jesus. Newberry, *Lukan Joy*, 28. Green notes that the Gospel of Luke highlights a response in joy and grace to God's gracious act. Green, *Luke*, 86.

[492] Honour was a public recognition. It determined one's status in the community. It was crucial to public roles. Malina and Rohrbaugh, *Social-science*, 369–70.

consequence of her healing and the people's rejoicing at the speech of Jesus reinforce his status as a mimetic model for emulation.

9.1.4.2 Category 6 — Cause and effect: ἀρχισυνάγωγος Suffers Shame as a Result of his Expression of Disapproval

Another cause-and-effect relationship is the conferral of shame upon the ἀρχισυνάγωγος by the crowd.[493] Viewed from the perspective of an honour and shame society, the conferral of shame denotes the ἀρχισυνάγωγος as untrustworthy. It would alert readers to refrain from emulating him. The Gospel writer explicitly links the bestowal of shame to the rebuttal of Jesus with the words, ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ (Luke 13:17). In this narrative, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος expresses his disapprobation that the healing took place on the Sabbath. It is followed by the speech of Jesus rebutting the disapproving speech from the ἀρχισυνάγωγος. The conferral of shame (καταισχύνω) (Luke 13:17) occurs as a consequence of the crowd hearing both speeches. The ingressive imperfect κατῃσχύνοντο stresses the beginning of the action but also indicates a continuous consequence.[494] The word κατῃσχύνοντο in the sentence κατῃσχύνοντο πάντες οἱ ἀντικείμενοι αὐτοῦ (Luke 13:17) indicates communal shame. Viewed from a culture of honour and shame, the allocation of shame on the ἀρχισυνάγωγος amounts to a loss of honour and status and cements the status of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος as a character to be avoided (*aphormē*).

[493] His objection to Jesus' miracle is representative of those from the internal audience who are antagonistic to Jesus' healing — οἱ ἀντικείμενοι (Luke 13:17). Οἱ ἀντικείμενοι is a group distinct from the ὄχλος in this pericope. Zimmermann notes that in the Gospels of Mark, Matthew and Luke the ὄχλος 'serve as literary characters who directly encounter Jesus' teaching and salvific activity on behalf of God.' Generally, their reaction is a positive response to Jesus. See Zimmermann, "Jesus," 301–02.
In representing the views of a greater group, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος thus acts as a mediator for οἱ ἀντικείμενοι. Robert, "Growth," 22. Speaking on behalf of a group fits the role of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος as the mediator for the community. Tessa Rajak and David Noy, "*Archisynagogoi*: Office, Title and Social Status in the Greco-Jewish Synagogue," *JRS* 83, no. 3 (1993): 88.

[494] Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), 544–45.

9.1.5 Evaluation by Internal Audience as a Way of Apportioning Praise or Blame to a Character

As noted in 5.9 and 7.7.1, the evaluation from the internal audience involves the judgement of mimetic characters by other actors in the pericope. When their evaluation aligns with the evaluative point of view of the narrative, it helps to reinforce the portrayal of the mimetic character as praiseworthy or blameworthy. In the Gospel of Luke, the reaction of the internal audience is integral to the literary structure of the miracle stories.[495] In the following the evaluation of the internal audience in the miracle stories is seen through the reactions of the crowd and the woman. In Luke 13:10–17, Luke notes three reactions of the internal audience that are significant for mimesis.

9.1.5.1 Category 7 — Evaluation of Internal Audience: Positive Evaluation of Jesus' Action by the Woman and the Crowd (ὁ ὄχλος) Demonstrates Approval of his action.

The first two reactions to this miracle are positive and continue to portray Jesus as worthy of emulation. The bent-over woman praised God (δόξαζω) (Luke 13:13), and the crowd rejoiced at all the wonderful things (ἔχαίρεν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐνδόξοις) (Luke 13:17). Those two positive evaluations affirm Jesus as a laudable character. Luke's ingressive

[495] Miracle stories follow a three-part structure: (i) he case history; (ii) the technique used to perform the miracle; (iii) the proof of success. Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, trans. John Marsh, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), 209–44; Dibelius, *Tradition*, 82–87; Stephen H. Travis, "Form Criticism," in *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods*, ed. I. Howard Marshall (Exeter: Paternoster, 1977), 156. Miller adds the recorded response of the crowd to the threefold structure of miracle stories observed in Hellenistic miracle stories. Marvin Henry Miller, "The Character of Miracles in Luke-Acts" (PhD diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1971), 50–55. Green and Bock follow Miller's four-part structure Green, "Daughter," 644; Darrell L. Bock, *Studying the Historical Jesus: A Guide to Sources and Methods* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2002), 141. For Taylor, the onlookers' reaction confirms that it is part of the three-part structure of the Hellenistic miracles and is part of the proof that the miracle took place. See Taylor, *Formation*, 24, 121. Scheffler has observed Luke's stress on the reaction of the internal audience. See Scheffler, *Suffering*, 90.
In this miracle story, the three-part structure is apparent. the present participle ἔχουσα (Luke 13:11) introduces the woman's present condition. The phrase ἔτη δεκαοκτὼ καὶ ἦν συγκύπτουσα (Luke 13: 11) provides a history of her condition. The verbs συγκύπτω and ἀνορθόω (Luke 13:13) show the gap between the lived physical condition and how she was meant to be, pointing to the seriousness of her illness. ἐπέθηκεν αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας (Luke 13:13) describes Jesus' method of healing, and the phrase παραχρῆμα ἀνωρθώθη (Luke 13:13) serves as proof that she was healed.

imperfects ἐδόξαζεν (Luke 13:13) and ἔχαίρεν (Luke 13:17) demonstrate continuous rejoicing and praising after the miracle. The expression of praise by the bent-over woman is significant as she is one of four people healed in Luke who praise God.[496] The expression of praise also recognises the working of God through the ministry of Jesus.[497]

The rejoicing of the crowd is an emotional response. It counterbalances the negative emotional indignation of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος (Luke 13:14). In this context, ἔχαίρεν (Luke 13:17) is a verbal expression of praise, congratulation, or rebuke to the ἀρχισυνάγωγος.[498] The ingressive imperfect ἔχαιρεν emphasises the continuous nature of their rejoicing. Both the expression of praise and joy by the bent-over woman and the crowd's joy act as a positive response, affirming Jesus as a trustworthy character. They also serve as an endorsement of his virtue as one following God's purpose and compassion.

9.1.5.2 Category 7 — Evaluation of Internal Audience: Negative Evaluation of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος through the Conferral of Shame Demonstrates the Disapproval of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος's Action

The final reaction by the internal audience towards the ἀρχισυνάγωγος is negative. He suffers shame (καταισχύνω) (Luke 13:17). The ἀρχισυνάγωγος was an authoritative figure in the community. He occupied one of the most visible high offices in Jewish communities.[499] In some synagogues, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος was also a patron of and

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[496] Luke 5:25; 17:15; 18:43; Levine and Witherington, *Luke*, 471.

[497] Zimmermann, "Jesus," 331.

[498] Praise is a verbal expression different from the sentiment of wonder. Gerd Theissen and John Riches, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, trans. John Riches (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1983), 71.
The expression of praise as an expression of thanks can be observed in two other acclamations of Jesus' scenes. After the miraculous catch of fish (Luke 5:1–11), Peter said προσέπεσεν τοῖς γόνασιν Ἰησοῦ λέγων· ἔξελθε ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἁμαρτωλός εἰμι, κύριε (Luke 5:8). At the healing of the ten lepers (Luke 17:11–19), the Samaritan came back, καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσοπον παρὰ πόδας αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ (Luke 17:16).

[499] Rajak, *Jewish Dialogue*, 394. He also occupies a high office with political, religious, and administrative responsibilities. Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (London: Yale

benefactor to the community.[500] Given the combination of the high office and the potential role as benefactor, it is reasonable to assert that the ἀρχισυνάγωγος in Luke 13:10-17 was considered to be an honourable person by the members of the synagogue. As a possible patron and benefactor, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος would also be the recipient of public praise.

Within the context of honour and shame, a speech challenging Jesus would be seen as an interaction that leads to the acquirement of honour or the conferral of shame.[501] Instead of obtaining honour, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος is put to shame καταισχύνω (Luke 13:17).[502] The ingressive imperfect κατῃσχύνοντο stresses the duration of the reaction.[503] The word κατῃσχύνοντο in the sentence κατῆσχύνοντο πάντες οἱ ἀντικείμενοι αὐτοῦ (Luke 13:17) is communal shame. Viewed from a culture of honour and shame, the allocation of shame to the ἀρχισυνάγωγος cements his status as a character to be avoided (*aphormē*).

9.1.5.3 Conflicting Reaction by Internal Audience Shows that the ἀρχισυνάγωγος is a Character to be Avoided

In Luke 13:10–17, the implied author notes three reactions of the internal audience. The bent-over woman praised God, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος was indignant, and the crowd

University Press, 2005), 415–26; Paul Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*, ed. G. N. Stanton, SNTSMS 69, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 104.

[500] Rajak and Noy cite epigraphical data showing that the ἀρχισυνάγωγοι were benefactors because of the financial contribution they made towards the building or restoration of synagogues. Rajak and Noy, "*Archisynagogoi*," 87–93. This position is confirmed by both Levine and Harland. Along with the financial aspect, Levine also attributes to the ἀρχισυνάγωγοι the role of religious, political and administrative leadership. Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 137–38; Philip A. Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2013), 165.

[501] 'Wise speech is expected to be recognised in a synagogue setting, presumably by the members of the public. Unpersuasive rhetoric and opinions are construed as folly, resulting in the acquisition of shame.' See Jordan J. Ryan, "Jesus and Synagogue Disputes: Recovering the Institutional Context of Luke 13:10–17," *CBQ* 79, no. 1 (2017): 54; Louis H. Feldman, "Diaspora Synagogues: New Light from Inscriptions and Papyri," in *Sacred Realm: The Emergence of the Synagogue in the Ancient World*, ed. Steven Fine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 52–53,58–60, 66.

[502] Being put to shame amounts to the humiliation of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος. "Καταισχύνω," *BDAG*, 517.

[503] Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 544–45; Bovon, *Luke*, 281.

rejoiced at all the wonderful things. The second of those reactions conflicts with the other two.

By means of his narrator's voice, the narrator has hierarchically placed the reaction of the bent-over woman and of those at the synagogue above that of ἀρχισυνάγωγος.[504] This allows Luke to present Jesus as a miracle-worker who is superior to the ἀρχισυνάγωγος and thus worth imitating. Conversely, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος is a character not to be emulated.

9.1.6 Category 8 — Evaluative words: They identify Jesus with a Title of Honour and the ἀρχισυνάγωγος with a Title of Shame

There are four evaluative words in this pericope. They are κύριος, ὑποκριτής (Luke 13:15), καταισχύνω, and ἔνδοξος (Luke 13:17). The words κύριος and ἔνδοξος are applied to Jesus and identify him as praiseworthy and thus a mimetic character to be emulated. The words ὑποκριτής and καταισχύνω are used to describe the ἀρχισυνάγωγος, identifying him as blameworthy and a mimetic character to be avoided.

In noting the response of Jesus to the ἀρχισυνάγωγος's emotionally charged diatribe that follows his indignation, Jesus is identified with a title of honour — ὁ κύριος (Luke 13:15).[505] Throughout the Gospel of Luke, Jesus' title of κύριος points to Luke's narrative theological program.'[506] The use of the term κύριος is not used exclusively for Jesus. It is also used for God the Father.[507] The term κύριος creates a doubleness as it relates both to

[504] The narrator has informed his audience that the adversaries of Jesus were put to shame (Luke 13:17).

[505] It is worth noting a textual variant in Luke 15:16 whereby Ἰησοῦς appears in D N Θ ƒ$^{1.13}$ 2542 vg^{mss} sy$^{s.c.p.hmg}$ bo^{pt505}, instead of κύριος.

[506] Kavin C. Rowe, *Early Narrative Christology: The Lord in the Gospel of Luke*, BZNW 139, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 76.

[507] Luke 10:1, 2, 17 and 21 offer examples where κύριος can be attributed to Jesus and the Father.

the Father and Jesus.[508] The use of κύριος, however, creates a unified relationship between the two giving that the term is a designation of Divine authority.[509] The use of κύριος to identify Jesus in the second part of the pericope presents Jesus as one with divine authority. It also identifies him as superior to the ἀρχισυνάγωγος who would have otherwise been the most influential person in the synagogue.[510] Luke's identification of Jesus as Lord gives him special status as one who is unified with the Father and exhibits divine authority. The title of κύριος adds to the confirmation of Jesus in the narrative as being praiseworthy and thus a mimetic figure to be emulated.

The adjective ἔνδοξος is an evaluative word used to describe the acts of Jesus. It means something 'honourable, magnificent, and extraordinary'.[511] In the Old Testament LXX, it is often applied to the works of God or to men of honour. [512]

Opposed to Jesus, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος (Luke 13:14) is identified as a ὑποκριταί (Luke 13:15), signifying that he is a character to be avoided. The word ὑποκριτής is used exclusively in the negative sense in the New Testament. In the *qal wa-homer* argument of Jesus, the duplicity of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος is revealed.[513] It is he who would relieve the cattle

[508] Rowe examines Luke's use of the term κύριος in his Gospel by exegeting most passages where the word κύριος appears and concludes that 'to ask after the identity of the κύριος is to answer θεός and Ἰησοῦς.' Rowe, *Early*, 200–01. Green offers examples of the use of κύριος in the infancy narration of John the Baptist and contends that the word κύριος shows that Jesus shares in God's identity. Joel B. Green, *Conversion in Luke-Acts: Divine Action, Human Cognition, and the People of God* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2015), 2.

[509] Mortell, "Multi-Faceted," 189; Green, *Luke*, 520, 22–23.

[510] James Malcolm Arlandson, *Women, Class and Society in early Christianity: Models from Luke-Acts* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997), 170.

[511] Gerhard Kittel, "Δοκέω, Δόξα, Δοξάζω, Συνδοξάζω,Ἔνδοξος, Ἐνδοξάζω, Παράδοξος," in *TDNT*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964), 2:254.

[512] Myriam sings a hymn to praise God's triumph over the Egyptians (Ex 15:1, 21). It is used in the context of the covenant in which God promises to accomplish marvels (ἔνδοξος) among his people (Ex 34:10). Fitzmyer sees this verse as constituting the Old Testament background for the word ἔνδοξος in Luke 13:17. See Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 28A, 1014.
See Num 23:21; Deut 10:21; Josh 4:4; 1 Chro 11:21, 25; Esther 1:3, 6:9; Nahum 3:10; Isaiah 5:14.

[513] Culpepper, *Luke*, 274; Johnson, *Luke*, 212.

by taking them to water and object to the deliverance of the woman from Satan's oppression.[514] Within the immediate context, the word ὑποκριτής echoes Luke 12:1 where Jesus uses the term ζύμη – Leaven metaphorically to describe the hypocrisy of the Pharisees. In Luke 13:15, Jesus asserts the hypocrisy of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος. He cared more about an ox and a donkey under the bondage of the stall than the woman under the bondage of Satan. The ἀρχισυνάγωγος's decision to oppose the healing miracle by recalling the law typifies the hypocritical attitude of the leaders of the nation.[515] The term ὑποκριτής characterises the ἀρχισυνάγωγος negatively and presents him as a character to be avoided.

Another evaluative word used in this pericope is καταισχύνω (Luke 13:17). In an honour-and-shame context, the conferral of shame is pivotal to the understanding of self-worth. It is the interaction between people that contributes to a person's self-worth.[516]

The evaluative terms in the narrative of the bent-over woman allow the author to focus the audience on Jesus and the ἀρχισυνάγωγος as mimetic characters. The laudatory term, Lord, allows Jesus to be seen as a mimetic character to be imitated. The condemnatory term, hypocrite, presents the ἀρχισυνάγωγος as a character to be avoided.

9.1.7 Category 9 — Narrator's voice

The narrator voice in Luke is the most reliable voice.[517] The narrator's voice informs the readers of reason for the emotional condition of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος leading to his

[514] Ulrich Wilckens, "Ὑποκρίνομαι, Συνυποκρίνομαι, Ὑπόκρισις, Ὑποκριτής, Ἀνυπόκριτος," in *TDNT*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids, MI: Eedermans, 1964), 8:567.

[515] Marshall contends that this narrative is the conclusion of the section that started in Luke 12:1 and thus illustrates the hypocrisy of the rulers of Israel. See Marshall, *Luke*, 556. In Luke 12:1, not only are the Pharisees identified as hypocrites but the given reason for their hypocrisy is the dissonance between what they practise in private and what they practise in public.

[516] Malina, *Cultural*, 51–70.

[517] Robert L. Brawley, *Luke: A Social Identity Commentary*, T&T Clark Social Identity Commentaries on the New Testament, (London: T&T Clark, 2020), 25.

expression of disapproval.[518] He became indignant (ἀγανακτέω) Luke 13:14).[519] It is revealed that behind his negative emotion lies a concept of the Sabbath which generates (ὅτι) his legal objection to the healing taking place on the Sabbath (Luke 13:14).[520] Thus the narrator's voice in this miracle is not significant to mimesis.

Luke also uses his narrator's voice to inform the audience of the outcome of the interaction between Jesus, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος and the crowd. The opponents of Jesus were put to shame (καταισχύνω —Luke 13:17).[521]

9.1.8 Conclusion of Bent-over Miracle

The narrative of the healing of the bent-over woman has provided evidence that miracle stories portray mimetic characters who serve as *exempla* of virtue or vice according to their positive or negative behaviour. The miracle has characterised Jesus and the ἀρχισυνάγωγος as mimetic. It also reveals virtues such as compassion, care for the needy, and obedience to the will of God. At the end of the section on miracles the three-questions enumerated in the methodological chapter (3) will be addressed. These questions relate to the way narratives communicate mimesis.

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[518] James Dawsey argues that the narrator's voice in Luke clashes with Jesus and, therefore is untrustworthy. See James M. Dawsey, *The Lukan Voice: Confusion and Irony in the Gospel of Luke* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986), 90–94. It is difficult to reconcile his position with the use of the narrator's voice in Luke which aligns with the Gospel's plot and Jesus' point of view. His position is difficult to maintain. If the narrator is unreliable, then the prologue in Luke 1:1–4 is also unreliable. An unreliable prologue makes the Gospel of Luke untenable. See Roth, *Blind*, 147; John A. Darr, "Narrator as Character: Mapping a Reader-Oriented Approach to Narration in Luke-Acts," *Semeia* 63 (1993): 43–60.

[519] One of the roles of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος was to be a mediator for the community. His high status of gave him the right to act as a mediator on behalf of the community, as suggested by Rajak and Noy, "*Archisynagogoi*," 88. In observing the indignation of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος, the Gospel writer affirms that the ἀρχισυνάγωγος was not, as a mediator, just representing the sentiments of the larger group but was expressing mainly his objection to the miracle.

[520] Jordan Ryan suggests that the objection of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος should be viewed in the light of the role of the Torah during the Hellenistic period. During that period, it was not limited to only the religious life but regulated every part of a Jewish person's life. Jordan J. Ryan, *The Role of the Synagogue in the Aims of Jesus* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2017), 43.

[521] Ryan, "Synagogue," 51.

9.2 Miracle of the Restoration of Sight of the Blind Beggar — Luke 18:35–43.

In this section the mimetic categories will be used to assess Luke's use of mimesis in his story of the miracle of the restoration of sight to the blind beggar. In Luke's account, the healing of the blind beggar is the last miracle performed by Jesus before his final entry into Jerusalem. The story has three visible characters—Jesus, the blind man, and the crowd.[522] Of these three characters, it will be observed that two are praiseworthy mimetic characters worth emulating Jesus and the blind person. Throughout the analysis of this pericope, some categories related to mimesis will emerge.

In Luke, the blind beggar is introduced as a τυφλός τις ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπαιτῶν (Luke 18:35). No indication is given of the cause of his blindness.[523] Luke places the focus on the blind person's physical disability and his occupation. The words, ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπαιτῶν (Luke 18:35), introduce the blind person's occupation. They present him as poor and helpless.[524] Furthermore, the prevalence of physiognomics in the ancient world, as discussed above, the socio-cultural perception of the man by Luke's implied readers would be shaped by his physical condition.[525] As a blind beggar in the first-century Jewish world, he would be perceived as unimportant and even as being punished by God.[526] In this

[522] Tannehill, *Unity*, 1, 92; Roth, *Blind*, 199.

[523] Blindness was common in the first-century Mediterranean world. Its commonality in the ancient world resulted from the amount of dust in the atmosphere, disease, injury, and old age. Lisa Trentin, "Exploring Visual Impairment in Ancient Rome," in *Disabilities in Roman Antiquity Disparate Bodies, a Capite ad Calcem*, ed. Christian Laes, C. F. Goodey, and Martha L. Rose, Mnemosyne Suppl. 356 (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Louise J. Lawrence, *Sense and Stigma in the Gospels: Depictions of Sensory-Disabled Characters* (Oxford Oxford University Press, 2013), 40. Another cause of blindness could be congenital blindness from birth (John 9:2).

[524] There are examples of visually impaired people who were integrated into the society. See Trentin, "Impairment," 90, 108–10.

[525] Hartsock, *Sight*, 125–65; Louise A. Gosbell, *"The Poor, the Crippled, the Blind, and the Lame": Physical and Sensory Disability in the Gospels of the New Testament*, WUNT 469, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 64–70; Trentin, "Impairment," 94.

[526] For the Jewish community, the blind would be excluded from the temple (2 Sam 5:8; Lev 21:16–18). Saul M. Olyan, ""Anyone Blind or Lame Shall Not Enter the House": On the Interpretation of Second

miracle story the blind protagonist is in a desperate position, physically, economically and socially.

The crowd (ὄχλος) in this narrative is a composite character. Their role will be discussed further in 9.2.5.1. There, it will be observed that their role is limited in this miracle story. The following section will examine the pericope of Luke 18:35–45 from a mimetic perspective.

9.2.1 Category 1 – Plot – The Pericope Aligns with the Plan of God in the Gospel of Luke.

Following the identification of Luke's plot as the accomplishment of the plan of God, it is worth observing here that the healing of the blind person is a plot-defining pericope. The healing shows the accomplishment of the plan of God and aligns with Luke's programmatic statement. The healing of the blind beggar is connected to the following statement in the programmatic statement: εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς, ἀπέσταλκέν με, κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν (Luke 4:18).[527] While the restoration of sight to the blind is mentioned in the Nazareth manifesto, this miracle story is the only instance of a blind person being healed in the Gospel of Luke. Luke focusses on the blind

Samuel 5:8b," *CBQ* 60, no. 2 (1998): 218–27. The concept that blindness was a punishment from God was entrenched in Jewish culture. See Avi Rose, ""Who Causes the Blind to See": Disability and Quality of Religious Life," *Disability & Society* 12, no. 3 (1997): 397–98. The concept was not unique to Jewish culture but had a long-standing tradition in the Greco-Roman world. For blindness as divine punishment in ancient Greek society, see Ariadni Tatti-Gartziou, "Blindness as Punishment," in *Light and Darkness in Ancient Greek Myth and Religion*, ed. Menelaos Christopoulos, E. D. Karakantza, and Olga Levaniouk, Greek Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010), 181–92; Daneshmand, "Elusive," 54. An example of someone blinded as the result of divine punishment is Saul of Tarsus. He recovers his sight through divine intervention after his conversion experience (Acts 9:3–18).
It is worth noting that there was no uniform treatment of blindness in the Greco-Roman world. Not all blind individuals were seen as marginalised. Not all causes of blindness in the ancient world were seen as divine punishment. For example, blindness as the result of an injury on the battlefield would have been seen as honourable and evidence of courage and virtue, as evidenced by Évelyne Samama, "A King Walking with Pain? On the Textual and Iconographical Images of Philip II and Other Wounded Kings," in *Disabilities in Roman Antiquity Disparate Bodies, a Capite ad Calcem*, ed. Christian Laes, C. F. Goodey, and Martha L. Rose, Mnemosyne Suppl. 356 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 245–46.

[527] Hamm, "Sight," 458–61.

person's status as poor and marginalised, integrates this with the plot and characterises Jesus as accomplishing the plan of God. The healing of the blind person serves as a plot-defining pericope, illustrating the accomplishment of the plan of God.

9.2.2.1 Category 2 —Compositional Selectivity Highlighting Jesus as a Compassionate Mimetic Character and the Blind man as a Mimetic character with Spiritual Insight as an Ideal Follower of Jesus

Luke's compositional selectivity is evident in this story, and it has implications for mimesis. The story of the blind beggar is present in all three synoptic Gospels.[528] In this section data are drawn from Appendix 1 in which Luke 18:35–43, Mark 10:46-52 and Matt 20:29-34 are compared in three aspects that point to Lukan selectivity: the omissions, the additions, and slight modifications from the Marcan and Matthaean accounts.[529] Neither the study of the Synoptic Problem nor the implied author's treatment of his sources (written or oral) are within the scope of this work . In keeping with Luke's announcement that his approach was meticulous and intentional (Luke 1:1–3), compositional selectivity is seen as offering a potential window into the implied author's purpose. The analysis of the differences between Luke's narrative of the healing of the blind person and those found in Mark and Matthew will offer insights into the implied author's focus on the characterisation of selected subjects.

9.2.2.2 Category 2 — Compositional Selectivity: Findings as Relevant to Mimesis

[528] As noted, this is not a discussion on the synoptic parallel. Of note, those advocating the two-source hypothesis and Farrer hypothesis identify Luke's narrative as closely following Mark's account. See, Marshall, *Luke*, 691–92; Timothy A. Brookins, "Luke's Use of Mark as παράφρασις: Its Effects on Characterization in the 'Healing of Blind Bartimaeus' Pericope (Mark 10.46–52/Luke 18.35–43)," *JSNT* 34, no. 1 (2011): 70.

[529] The discussion of compositional selectivity is reliant on the comparative work done by Robert McIver. His work in the Greek text is instrumental in analysing the compositional difference between Luke and the other synoptic Gospels. See Robert K. McIver, *Verbatim and Gist Parallels Between the Gospels: Coded Greek Synopsis and Selected Statistics*, 3rd ed. (Cooranbong: Avondale Academic Press, 2022), 195–96.

The finding that compositional selectivity is significant for the study of mimesis is supported by a comparison of the three different accounts of the healing of the blind person in the Synoptic Gospels (see Appendix 1). While the three synoptic accounts share many similarities, the differences between the Lukan account and the other synoptics are driven by Lukan selectivity.[530] In the ensuing paragraphs it is shown how those differences between Luke and the other accounts of the Synoptic Gospels shape the characterisation of individuals, show adherence to the plot, and are therefore relevant to mimesis.

Luke focuses on the blind person's infirmity and economic status, characterising him as poor and marginalised. Three omissions in the Lukan narrative indicate Luke's focus on the blind person's marginalisation. To begin, Luke does not frame the miracle by mentioning the large crowd following Jesus (Matt 20:29; Mark 10:46) or the names of the beggar (Mark 10:46). Luke introduces the miracle by mentioning the blind person's infirmity and economic status (Luke 18:35). A second difference is Luke's omission of the blind person's name and the family heritage (Mark 10:46).[531] Third, while Luke overlooks Matthew's inclusion of two blind persons (Matt 20:30) he adds the blind person's occupation (ἐπαιτέω) (Luke 18:35). Those three differences place a greater emphasis on the man's disability and socio-economic situation. In characterising the blind person as marginalised, in Jesus' healing of the blind man, Jesus is the presented as a mimetic character engaged in accomplishing the plan of God by fulfilling the divine prerogative towards the sick.

[530] Not all differences between Luke and the Synoptic Gospels have a bearing on mimesis. Some can be due to Luke's compositional preference. For example, the addition of ἀχθῆμαι (ἀγω) in Luke 18:40, ἐγγίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτόν (Luke 18:40) or the shortening of ὁ δὲ τυφλὸς (Mark 10:51) to ὁ (Luke 18:41) are due purely to compositional preferences and have no bearing on mimesis.

[531]Garland, *Luke*, 741; André Paul, "La Guérison de l'Aveugle (des aveugles) de Jéricho," *Foi et vie (Cahiers Bibliques 9)* 69 (1970): 55–59.

Luke emphasises the virtues of faith and the accomplishment of God's plan. Unlike Matthew, Luke is silent on the emotional state of Jesus and the use of his hand as the method of healing (Matt 20:34).[532] Luke is also silent about the emotional reaction of the blind person (Mark 10:50). These details omitted from the Lukan account allow a greater emphasis on the faith and marginalisation of the blind person (Luke 18:43). As portrayed in above, Luke's focus on the blind man's marginalisation highlights Jesus' healing as the accomplishment of the plan of God.

The Lukan account adds the reaction of praise by the internal audience (Luke 18:43b). It presents Jesus as the agent through whom the plan of God is accomplished. Furthermore, the omission of Mark's ἐν τῃ ὁδῷ (Mark 10:52) in the light of Luke's focus on the journey motif is conspicuous. However, it places a greater emphasis on the positive reaction of the internal audience: δοξάζων τὸν θεόν and ἔδωκεν αἶνον τῷ θεῷ (Luke 18:43b).

Through the Lukan composition, the blind person emerges as an important active character. The addition of ἐπυνθάνετο (Luke 18:36) to ἀκούω (Mark 10:47; Matt 20:30) suggests that in the Gospel of Luke, the blind person takes a more active role.[533]

The blind person is portrayed as an ideal disciple. Within the context of compositional selectivity, two actions mentioned by Luke that are not present in the other Synoptic Gospels highlight the blind person's status as an ideal disciple. The blind person follows Jesus and praises God (Luke 18:43). These two actions identify him as relatable and

[532] Garland, *Luke*, 742; Hamm, "Sight," 463.

[533] πυνθάνομαι (Luke 18:36) denotes to inquire or inquire through questioning "Πυνθάνομαι," *BDAG*, 897; "πυνθάνομαι" *Louw-Nida*, 326. The imperfect use of πυνθάνομαι shows persistent probing from the blind person.

an ideal disciple worthy of emulation. The absence of the word ἀκολουθέω (cf. Matt 20:29) associated with the crowd and the absence of mention of the disciples in Luke (cf. Mark 10:46) leaves the blind person as the only person following Jesus in Luke's narrative (Luke 18:35-43).

Luke's portrayal of Jesus as exercising greater authority identifies Jesus as mimetic. The cumulative use by Luke of the stronger κελεύω (Luke 18:40), his designation as κύριος (Luke 18:41) instead of ῥαββουνί (Mark 10:51), and the use of the imperative ἀνάβλεψον (Luke 18:42) instead of ὕπαγε (Mark 10:52) portray Jesus as more authoritative than is done in the other two Gospels.

Compositional selectivity adopted by Luke identifies Jesus and the blind person as the main mimetic characters of the story. The compositional selectivity highlights the marginalisation of the blind person as a result of his disability and financial situation. It demonstrates that this miracle is congruent with the plot of Luke and portrays the accomplishment of God's plan. Compositional selectivity in Luke is a mimetic device that highlights the blind person's faith and Jesus' compassion.

9.2.3 Category 3 – Relatability: The Blind Person's Faith, Cry for Mercy, and Following Jesus Make Him Relatable

Two actions of the blind person in this pericope are relatable, thus relevant to mimesis. In the first instance, the blind person exercises faith (Luke 18:43). His faith will be defined as a trust-relationship (see section 9.2.4.2). The blind man's faith is relatable to Christians of all ages. The relatability of faith becomes evident through the manifestation of faith of other characters within Luke-Acts. For example, characters in Lukan miracles-stories demonstrate faith (Luke 5:20; 7:9, 50; 8:25, 48; 17:19; 18:42; Acts 3:16; 14:9). Mary is described as one who believed (Luke 1:45). The disciples asked Jesus ᾽πρόσθες ἡμῖν πίστιν᾽

(Luke 17:5). Stephen was characterised as ἄνδρα πλήρης πίστεως (Acts 6:5). Barnabas was also characterised as ὅτι ἦω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ πίστεως (Acts 11:24). At the council of Jerusalem, Gentile believers were identified τῇ πίστει καθαρίσας τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν (Acts 15:9). Furthermore, the centrality of faith to Christians is demonstrated when Jesus in an exhortation admonishes his disciples to have faith (Luke 17:6). By demonstrating faith, the blind person exhibits a virtue that is relatable.

Another relatable action is the repeated cry ἐλέησόν με (Luke 18: 38,39). It is relatable for Christians experiencing sickness. In the Synoptic Gospels people with various maladies cry for mercy. In the Gospel of Mathew, sick people ask Jesus to have mercy on them (Matt 9:27; 15:22; 17:15). In the Gospel of Luke, the cry for mercy by the blind person, parallels the plea of the lepers (Luke 17:13).[534] As Bovon observes, 'Der Hilferuf ἐλέησόν με »hab Erbarmen mit mir«, wird eines der beliebtesten christlichen Gebete.'[535]

9.2.4.1 Category 4 – Illustrative Action: Jesus' Healing Demonstrates the Fulfilment of God's Purpose, Bringing Freedom to the Marginalised

Actions crucial to mimesis are pivotal in identifying a character as praiseworthy or blameworthy. The main action of Jesus in this pericope consists of the healing of the blind person (Luke 18:42).[536] This action identifies Jesus as an agent accomplishing the plan of God. Three observations link the healing to the accomplishment of the plan of God.

[534] Roth, *Blind*, 199.

[535] François Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas: 15,1–19,27*, vol. 3, EKKNT, (Zürich: Benziger Verlag, 2001), 258.

[536] Only at the point of the healing that Jesus becomes an active participant, as until the interaction leading to the healing of the blind person, his presence was only felt in the narrative. See Arthur A. Just, *Luke: 9:51–24:53* (Concordia Publishing House, 1996), 712–13.

First, Jesus, as the healer of blindness, fulfils a specific provision of Luke's programmatic statement, where recovery of sight is explicitly mentioned (Luke 4:16–20).[537] Jesus' command ἀνάβλεψον (Luke 18:42) aligns with the stipulations τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν (Luke 4:18–19) found in the Nazareth manifesto. This connection with the programmatic statement establishes that Jesus' healing accomplishes the plan of God.

Second, the healing of the blind person serves as a tangible response to John the Baptist's question, εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἄλλον προσδοκῶμεν; (Luke 7:19-–22). In his response, Jesus includes the restoration of vision (τυφλοῖς πολλοῖς ἐχαρίσατο βλέπειν – Luke 7:21) as evidence that his ministry fulfils the expectations that the people had of the Messiah. This miracle story offers further evidence that his healing is the accomplishment of the plan of God.

Third, Jesus' action continues to show him as accomplishing the plan of God through another connection with the programmatic statement. It shows Jesus as εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς (Luke 4:19).[538] The word ἐπαιτέω (Luke 13:35) identifies the blind person as financially poor.[539] The present indicative participle (ἐπαιτῶν – Luke 18:35) and the descriptive imperfect ἐκάθητο (Luke 18:35), imply a history of begging, hence his economic

[537] Despite healing the blind being explicitly mentioned in the programmatic statement, this miracle is the only miracle story where Jesus makes a blind person recover their sight. Hamm reliant on his construction of the chiastic structure of Luke 4:16–20 asserts that the recovery of sight is at the centre of the chiasmus. Therefore, for Hamm, the healing of the blind person is crucial in this pericope. Hamm, "Sight," 459.

[538] The importance of the poor is not limited to the programmatic statement. The differences between Matthew's and Luke's beatitudes allow the reader to observe a distinct focus on the poor. Luke's Gospel drives his focus on the importance of the poor by changing Matthew from μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι (Matt 5:3) to μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί (Luke 6:20).

[539] The main economic activity of the first-century Mediterranean world was farming (land and animal). Farming was the lowest level of work in an agrarian society. K. C. Hanson and Douglas E. Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus: Social Structures and Social Conflicts* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1998), 96; Tannehill, *Unity*, 1, 128. The blind person's physical condition precluded farming and thus prevented him from working for a living. Moreover, Lawrence points out that as a beggar, he could have suffered family dislocation. Lawrence, *Disabled Characters*, 40. Lawrence's point is a strong possibility as blindness in ancient times was not always equivalent to poverty. Many prominent Romans suffered from visual impairment and remained active members of society. See Trentin, "Impairment," 108–10.

poverty. In healing the blind person, Jesus accomplishes another specific statement of the prophecy of Isaiah 61:1 quoted in the Nazareth manifesto (Luke 4:19), namely εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς.[540] The action of Jesus continues to accomplish the plan of God as this miracle focusses on the healing of an economically poor blind.

The healing of the blind person also portrays Jesus as a virtuous person. Eye-gouging was associated with evil emperors or masters; conversely, the restoration of sight was associated with good emperors. Suetonius narrates stories of evil emperors such as Nero (Seutonius, *Nero* 51.1) and Domitian (Seutonius, *Dom.* 17.2), who gouged out the eyes of some of their victims. On the contrary, good emperors healed the eyesight of blind people (Seutonius *Vespasianus* 7.2–3; Tacitus *Historiae* 4. 81–82).[541] In the light of the actions of evil emperors gouging out the eyes and good emperors healing eyes, the action of Jesus in this miracle characterises him as laudable and a mimetic model to be emulated.

9.2.4.2 Category 4 – Illustrative Action: Blind Person's Action Shows him Exhibiting Faith and Characterises him as a Mimetic Ideal Disciple

The blind person's actions characterise him as the ideal follower of Jesus who exercises faith and is thus mimetic for the implied readers. The action related to mimesis consists of shouting (βοάω and κράζω) (Luke 18:38, 39) Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ Δαυίδ, ἐλέησόν με (Luke 18:38, 39). By shouting, the blind person expresses persistence and does not allow any obstacle from hindering him.[542] In section 9.2.5.1, it will be observed that this title recalls his royal lineage and messianic role. Lukan scholars have noted a correlation between physical

[540] Edwards, *Luke*, 526.

[541] Trentin, "Impairment," 102–04.

[542] Βοάω indicates a loud use of his voice. "Βοάω," *BDAG*, 180; Garland, *Luke*, 742.

blindness and spiritual blindness.[543] In identifying Jesus as υἱὲ Δαυίδ, the blind person shows that he is not spiritually blind but is able to recognise the identity of Jesus.[544]

His action involves asking for mercy (Luke 18: 38, 39). Having been identified as begging (ἐπαιτέω – Luke 18:35), the crowd would have expected him to ask for alms (ἐλεημοσύνη). Instead, he asks for ἐλεέω (Luke 18:38). Ἐλεέω should be understood in the sense of God's activity on behalf of his people. He then asks the Lord to restore his sight (κύριε, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω) (Luke 18:41).

The blind person's actions are interpreted as exercising faith.[545] When Jesus says ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε (Luke 18:42), He interprets the actions of the blind person as a demonstration of faith. He showed faith by his believing that Jesus could restore his sight. Jesus echoes his request when he grants it (18;41.42). Faith in this miracle story carries the sense of a trust relationship.[546] His expression of faith is likely demonstrated through his previous actions: Calling Jesus υἱὲ Δαυίδ, seeking mercy and asking κύριε, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω (Luke 18:41). His actions demonstrate a trust relationship in Jesus the promised Messiah and in his healing powers.

After his healing Luke recalls another action of the blind person that again portrays him as a mimetic ideal disciple worth emulating. He follows Jesus and glorifies God δοξάζων

[543] Hartsock, *Sight*, 155–60.

[544] The blind person is atypical in the stories about blind people. Hartsock argues that physically blind people in the ancient world would also be judged to be spiritual blindness. The blind person of Luke 18:35–43 instead demonstrates spiritual vision. Reich, *Figuring*, 24; Hartsock, *Sight*, 157–58.

[545] Most of the verbal uses of πιστεύω are perfective aorists showing a complete action. See Christopher Seglenieks, "Faith and Faithfulness in Luke," *ABR* 70 (2022): 40–42; Garland, *Luke*, 742.

[546] Seglenieks, "Faith," 38–39. Theresa Morgan has shown that faith in the Greco-Roman world can mean 'trust, trustworthiness, faithfulness, good faith, credit, guarantee, a legal trust, philosophical proof, and religious belief,' but primarily carries the understanding of relational trust. Teresa Morgan, *Roman Faith and Christian Faith: Pistis and Fides in the Early Roman Empire and Early Churches* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 36–122.

τὸν θεόν (Luke 18:43b). The action of glorifying God has the dual effect of demonstrating the blind person as the follower of God and the recognition that Jesus is the agent through which God accomplishes his plan.

9.2.5.1 Category 5 — *Synkrisis*: Comparing the Titles given to Jesus by the Crowd and the Blind Person.

A comparison of the title given to Jesus by the crowd ("Jesus of Nazareth") and the name given to Jesus by the blind person ("Son of David") reveals another *synkrisis*.[547] The comparison reinforces the blind person's mimetic character as an ideal disciple who is worthy of emulation. The crowd identifies Jesus through an insignificant town Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος (Luke 18:37).[548] The blind person identifies Jesus through an exalted title υἱὲ Δαυίδ (Luke 18:39). The words υἱὲ Δαυίδ identify Jesus as the Messiah.[549] The use of υἱὲ Δαυίδ by the blind person echoes the angel's annunciation to Mary κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν θρόνον Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ (Luke 1:32) and thus cements the understanding of Jesus as the Messiah.[550] In calling Jesus by his messianic title, the blind person shows greater about the messianic identity of Jesus insight than the crowd.

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[547] There are many *synkrises* in this passage. One compares the blind person's ability to see Jesus as the son of David and the disciples' spiritual blindness. Roland Meynet, "Au Coeur du Texte: Analyse Rhétorique de L'aveugle de Jéricho Selon Saint Luc," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 103, no. 5 (1981). Brookins has identified the crowd in this passage as neutral. See Brookins, "Blind Bartimaeus," 82. In the Gospel of Luke, the crowd is an ambivalent character. At times, they are portrayed positively (Luke 11:14; 13:17; 22:6; 23:38), at times they are neutral (Luke 5:1, 3, 15, 29; 6:17, 19; 7, 9, 11, 12, 24; 8:4; 9: 12, 16, 37, 38; 12:13, 54; 13:14; 14:25; 23:4) and at times they are portrayed negatively (Luke 3:7; 9:18; 11:29; 22:47).

[548] Bovon, *Lukas 15,1–19,27*, 3, 257–58; Arthur A. Just, *Luke*, Concordia Commentary, (St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1996), 708.

[549] This is the first time in the Gospel of Luke that someone calls Jesus υἱὲ Δαυίδ. Edwards, *Luke*, 525. Bovon identifies the term son of David as a Christological title for Jesus, and Levine shows that the term son of David was a messianic term used by the early Christians. Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 210–12; Yigal Levin, "Jesus, 'Son of God' and 'Son of David': The 'Adoption' of Jesus into the Davidic Line," *JSNT* 28, no. 4 (2006): 417; Nolland, *Luke c*, 901.The link between υἱὲ Δαυίδ and the messiah during the second temple Judaism can be observed in *Psalms of Solomon* 17:21–32 and 4QpGen[a] 5: 1–6.

[550] Bovon has evoked two possibilities for the meaning of υἱὲ Δαυίδ: it signifies that Jesus is the Jewish Messiah or that he is the son of Solomon. Bovon, *Lukas 15,1–19,27*, 3, 258–59. Charlesworth argues that the blind person's use of υἱὲ Δαυίδ refers to Solomon. Like Solomon, Jesus is also a miracle-healer. James H.

9.2.5.2 *Synkrisis* Between Jesus and οἱ προάγοντες (a section of crowd) Demonstrates Jesus' Compassion.

A short internal *synkrisis* highlighting the different attitudes of Jesus and οἱ προάγοντες portrays Jesus as a mimetic figure showing the virtue of compassion and willingness to accomplish the plan of God. The use of the adjectival participle οἱ προάγοντες has the rhetorical effect of showing that those in front formed a physical barrier between Jesus and the blind person.[551] Following Mark and Matthew, Luke notes that οἱ προάγοντες rebuked him (ἐπιτιμάω) (Luke 18:39; cf Mark 10:48; Matt 20:31), but Luke heightens the contrast by opting for the stronger verb σιγάω (Luke 18:39) instead of Mark's and Matthew's σιωπάω (Mark 10:48; Matt 20:31).[552]

In sharp contrast to οἱ προάγοντες, Jesus stops and commands that the blind person is to be brought to him (Luke 18:40), engages with him (Luke 18:41) and restores his sight (Luke 18:42). These series of actions illustrate Jesus' compassion towards the blind person.[553] To heighten the contrast between the οἱ προάγοντες and Jesus, Luke does not repeat Mark's mention of words of encouragement spoken by the crowd and the disciples to the blind person θάρσει, ἔγειρε, φωνεῖ σε (Mark 10:49–50). The *synkrisis* between the

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Charlesworth, "The Son of David: Solomon and Jesus (Mark 10:47)," in *The New Testament and Hellenistic Judaism*, ed. Peder Borgen and Søren Giversen (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997), 72. There are two reasons why. First, υἱὲ Δαυίδ links with the annunciation scene where Jesus is identified as the one who will take the throne of David and is said by Luke to be of the line of David (cf. Luke 1:27, 32, 69; 2:4), thus linking υἱὲ Δαυίδ to Jesus' messianic role. Garland, *Luke*, 738; Edwards, *Luke*, 525; Roth, *Blind*, 199. Next, the immediate context recalls other people who are spiritually blind and unable to understand Jesus' messianic identity, such as the ruler (Luke 18:18–30) and the disciples (Luke 18:15–17). The blind person's recognition of the messianic identity of Jesus shows a significant counterbalance in the narrative.

[551] Meynet, "l'Aveugle," 700.

[552] σιγάω carries the connotation of keeping something secret, while σιωπάω only means to refrain from speaking. "σιγάω," *BDAG*, 922; "σιωπάω," *BDAG*, 925.

[553] Bock, *Luke*, 1509; Garland, *Luke*, 742. Luke does not explicitly mention compassion as is done in Matt 20:34. This might be due to his tendency not to report on Jesus' emotions. On the absence of emotions in the Lukan Jesus, see David G. George, "Jesus' Lack of Emotion in Luke: The Lukan Redactions in Light of the Hellenistic Philosophers" (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2009), 1.

crowd and Jesus shows the crowd as a corporate character whose actions seek to keep the person in his blindness. Jesus' actions on the contrary illustrate his compassion.

9.2.6.1 Category 6 - Cause and effect: Jesus Links Faith to the Healing

An initial cause-and-effect relationship is observed as Jesus links the healing of the blind person to his faith when he affirms 'ἀναβλέψον ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε' (luke 18:42). The words καὶ παραχρῆμα (Luke 18:43) act as a marker of this cause-and-effect relationship.[554] The linking of faith and healing is a common feature in the Gospel of Luke (Luke 5:20; 7:9, 50; 8:25, 48; 17:19; 18:42).[555] In this text, faith results in physical healing, giving the word "σῴζω" a wider application, encompassing not only physical healing but also spiritual healing.[556] His healing shows Jesus' response to a mighty deed to faith.

9.2.6.2 Category 6 — Cause and effect: the Blind Person Follows and Praises God and the Crowd Praises God Because of the Healing

The next cause-and-effect relation in this pericope is observed in the crowd's positive reaction, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἰδὼν ἔδωκεν αἶνον τῷ θεῷ (Luke 18:43b). The importance of the reaction of the crowd and its link with mimesis will be explored in the next section (9.2.7). The positive reaction of the crowd is due to the immediate healing of the blind person. The conjunction καὶ is the marker of the cause-and-effect relationship.[557]

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[554] παραχρῆμα pertains to a 'time that is immediately subsequent to an action.' "παραχρῆμα," BDAG, 773; "παραχρῆμα," *Louw and Nida*, 643

[555] 'Schleißlich erinnern zwei weitere wichtige Züge der Erzählung an die Heilungen Jesu überhaupt; den im Lukasevangelum wird vom Glauben (10,43; 11, 17; cf. 15.7.9) oftmals, vom abschließenden Rühmen Gottes (11,18) gaz überwiegend innerhalb von Heilungsgeschichten gesprochen.' Florian Wilk, "Apg 10.1–11.18 in lich der Lukanischen Erazählung vom Wirkens Jesu," in *The Unity of Luke-Acts*, ed. Joseph Verheyden, BETL 142 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), 614; Nolland, *Luke c*, 901.

[556] Edwards, *Luke*, 526; Philip Graham Ryken, *Luke*, vol. 2, Reformed Expository Commentary, (Phillipsburg, NJ: P & R, 2009), 297.

[557] The conjunction καὶ is here used as a function marker of cause and effect. McIver, *Intermediate*, 313.

The final cause-and-effect relation is observed in the reaction of the now-healed blind person. After being healed, He ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ δοξάζων τὸν θεόν (Luke 18:43). Here, as observed above, the conjunction καὶ acts as a marker of the cause-and-effect relationship.

9.2.7 Category 7 — Reaction of the Internal Audience: The Healed Blind Person and the Crowd Give Praise to God

The reaction of the people and the blind person as they praise God demonstrates a recognition that they acknowledge that Jesus is the agent through whom the plan of God is fulfilled. The people give praises to God after the miracle (καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἰδὼν ἔδωκεν αἶνον τῷ θεῷ) (Luke 18:43). As noted in the discussion of compositional selectivity, this sentence is an addition to Mark's and Matthew's account emphasising the reaction of the crowd. The use of αἶνος signifies praise in the religious sense.[558] The reaction of the blind person and the people in praising God is a recognition of the restorative power of God that is being manifested through the ministry of Jesus, thus identifying Jesus as the agent of God.[559]

Two reactions are evident in the text: the beggar followed Jesus after receiving his sight and gave him glory (καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ δοξάζων τὸν θεόν Luke 18:43)

9.2.8 Category 8 —Evaluative Vocabulary: Vocabulary Characterises Jesus as Messiah

The blind person uses two titles, υἱὲ Δαυίδ (Luke 18:39) and Lord (Luke 18:41), to accord honour to Jesus. The title υἱὲ Δαυίδ is repeated twice in this pericope (Luke 18: 38, 39). As noted, it was a title that the first-century Christians attributed to the Messiah. It

[558] Heinrich Schlier, "αἶνος," in *TDNT*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids, MI: Eedermans, 1964), 177–78.

[559] Green, *Luke*, 665; Hamm, "Sight," 468.

recognised Jesus as being both regal and the Messiah.[560] It also has strong connections with the infancy narrative in which the angel Gabriel announces to Mary that καὶ δώσει αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν θρόνον Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ (Luke 1:32) and Zechariah, in the *Benedictus,* referring to Jesus says that God has ἤγειρεν κέρας σωτηρίας ἡμῖν ἐν οἴκῳ Δαυὶδ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ (Luke 1:69).[561] It is a title that emphasises the prominence of Jesus in God's plan..

9.2.10 Conclusions from the Healing of the Blind Person

From this examination of Luke's story of the healing of the blind beggar, it is seen that Luke has two mimetic characters— Jesus and the blind person. The blind person exercises faith, while Jesus demonstrates compassion towards the blind person and accomplishes the purpose of God by healing him.

9.3 Conclusions from the Miracles: Categories Observed in Luke's Accounts of Miracles Show Relevance to Mimesis

Miracles in Luke are relevant to mimesis as they effectively identify mimetic characters and indicate virtues that are encouraged. In the following segment the three methodological questions pertinent to mimesis are explored. The answers to those questions will contribute to understanding how Luke communicated to his readers through mimetic characters.

[560] Nolland, *Luke c*, 900; Levin, "Jesus," 417. There cannot be a relationship between Solomon's healing tradition and the use of the term son of David here since Nathan and not Solomon is identified as the son of David in Luke's genealogy. Yuzuru Miura, *David in Luke-Acts: his portrayal in the light of early Judaism*, WUNT 2/232, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 224–26.

[561] Delbert Burkett, "Jesus in Luke-Acts," in *The Blackwell Companion to Jesus*, ed. Delbert Burkett (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 48–49.

9.3.1 How Does Luke Make Characters Mimetic in the Miracles?

As has been demonstrated, characters are viewed as mimetic in implicit and explicit categories. The implicit categories used in the Gospel of Luke in miracle stories to indicate that characters are mimetic are plot (category 1), illustrative action (category 4), *synkrisis* (category 5), and cause-and-effect (category 6). Explicit categories used in the Gospel of Luke in the miracle stories are evaluation by the internal audience (category 7) and evaluative vocabulary (category 9).

Illustrative action (category 4) is the primary implicit category used by Luke to indicate that a subject is mimetic. The importance of actions in designating a mimetic character is evident in the healing of the bent-over woman, where Jesus takes all the initiative leading to the healing (Luke 13:12). It is also evident in the healing of the blind person where the actions of Jesus lead to the healing of the blind person (Luke 18:35–43). Furthermore, the actions of the blind person also make him a mimetic character to be emulated (Luke 18:38–39, 43). Conversely, in the healing of the woman, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος's action makes him a blameworthy character worth disassociating from. The category action is again relevant to designate mimetic characters for emulation or disassociation (*aphormē*).

In addition to action, in Luke plot (category 1) is central to the designation of mimetic characters. The plot of Luke has been identified as the accomplishment of the plan of God (see chapter 8). In the miracle stories, Jesus can be observed as a mimetic figure because, through healing, he accomplishes the plan of God. In contrast, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος and the crowd are mimetic figures to be avoided because they are a hindrance to the accomplishment of the plan of God.

Synkrisis (category 5) is another category Luke uses to designate a mimetic character. Comparisons between Jesus and the ἀρχισυνάγωγος (Luke 13:10–17), Jesus and the crowd (Luke 18:39–41) the blind person and the rich young ruler (Luke 18:18–23; 35–43) invite the reader to see Jesus and the blind person as mimetic characters for emulation, while the ἀρχισυνάγωγος is a character for disassociation.

Evaluation by the internal audience (category 7) is an explicit category that assists in designating a mimetic subject in the miracle stories. In the healing of the bent-over woman, the categories of cause-and-effect (implicit category 6) and evaluation by the internal audience align seamlessly. Both categories present Jesus as praiseworthy and the ἀρχισυνάγωγος as blameworthy. For example, following Jesus' healing, the woman praises God (Luke 13:13). Following the Jesus' answer to the ἀρχισυνάγωγος, the crowd reacts with joy but shames the ἀρχισυνάγωγος (Luke 13:17). Both reactions are the result of actions of Jesus (category 4) and serve as an evaluation on Jesus and the ἀρχισυνάγωγος (category 7).

The evaluative words (explicit category 9) used for Jesus, κύριος (Luke 13:15) and ἔνδοξος (Luke 13:17), characterise him positively and demonstrate that in this narrative, he is a character worth emulating.

These mimetic categories confirm that Jesus is a legitimate and trustworthy character worthy of emulation.[562] They also consistently show that characters such as the synagogue ruler or the crowd are unworthy of emulation.

9.3.2 Strategies Implemented to Guide the Implied Audience to Mimesis — Imitation/disassociation from the Mimetic Character?

The main category used to guide the implied audience to mimesis is relatability (category 2). Jesus' compassion and desire to accomplish God's purpose is relatable to

[562] Green, "Daughter," 646. See also Acts 10:38.

Christians of all ages. The blind person's persistence in seeking help from Jesus and his faith are relatable. His faith as a trust relationship in Jesus is relatable to Christians of all ages. They are virtues that every Christian can apply to their circumstances.

9.3.3 What Virtues are Encouraged by the Implied Author?

In the miracle stories of the Gospel of Luke, virtues are encouraged through the following categories: Plot (category 1), compositional selectivity (category 2), action (Category 4), *Synkrisis* (category 5), and cause-and-effect (category 6).

9.3.3.1 Virtue encouraged: Care for the Marginalised

Both miracles emphasise acceptance of the helpless, marginalised or oppressed, and compassion. The care for the marginalised is consistent with Luke's plot (category 1). In focussing on Jesus' care for the marginalised, the miracle aligns with the programmatic statement of Luke (Luke 4:16–30), thus showing Jesus as fulfilling the purpose of God. Through compositional selectivity (category 2), Luke demonstrates the importance of caring for the marginalised by focusing on the marginalised status of the blind person. The actions of Jesus (category 4) also show his care for those disadvantaged. Both the healing of the bent-over woman and the blind person show Jesus' care for the marginalised.

9.3.3.2 Virtue Encouraged: Compassion is a Virtue that Emerges from the Miracles

The miracle of the healing of the bent-over woman portrays the virtue of compassion.[563] Jesus' compassion is manifested first through his actions as he takes all the initiative to heal the woman (category 4 — actions). Next, his compassion is evident in the internal *synkrisis* (category 5) between the ἀρχισυνάγωγος and Jesus. While the ἀρχισυνάγωγος cared more for animals, Jesus showed better care for the bent-over woman.

[563] Bock, *Luke*, 1212; Stephen Westerholm, *Jesus and Scribal Authority* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1978), 102.

9.3.3.4 Virtue Encouraged: Faith as a Virtue that Characters Either Possess or Lack

Characters in Luke are judged to be mimetic for emulation or disassociation (*aphormē*) as they either have faith or lack faith.[564] Faith in the passages examined is understood as a trust relationship. Compositional selectivity (category 2) and cause-and-effect (category 6) are employed to encourage readers to emulate the virtue of faith. Luke chooses to omit mention of the emotional state of Jesus, the method of healing (Matt 20:34a), and the emotional state of the blind person (Mark 10:50). This omission allows a greater focus on the faith of the blind person. Through the category of cause-and-effect (category 6), a reader can observe the virtue of faith promoted. The blind person's faith in Jesus' ability to restore his sight is the reason for his healing. Faith is also observed in the *Synkrisis* (category 5) between the blind person and the ἄρχων (Luke 18:18–30).

[564] Seglenieks identifies this phenomenon as a 'dichotomous picture of faith' in the Gospel of Luke. He also argues for the Luke's preferring the noun πίστις over the noun πιστεύω. Most of the verbal uses of πιστεύω are perfective aorist showing a complete action. See Seglenieks, "Faith," 40–42. As Morgan points out, while faith is mainly used as a noun in Luke, it does not mean that faith is inactive. Morgan, *Roman*, 395.

10 Jesus' Passion Narrative

In this chapter, following the methodological design, the analysis of mimetic characters in the passion narrative in Luke's Gospel is begun by linking the passion narrative with the plot of Luke. This is followed by an examination of the passion narrative using the categories developed from the study of Greco-Roman works (chapters 4–7) to assist in observing how selected characters are portrayed as apt for emulation or *aphormē*.

Luke's passion narrative contains about 27 actors, but in this chapter the focus will be Jesus as the main character and on Judas, as they are relevant to mimesis.[565] It will be observed that Jesus is praiseworthy and thus a mimetic character to be emulated. Conversely, Judas is a blameworthy mimetic character to be avoided.[566]

[565] Not all actors in the Jerusalem narrative are relevant to mimesis. For example, the servant girl or the anonymous people who accuse Peter (Luke 22:56–59) are minor characters who have no bearing on mimesis.

[566] Contra the observation that Judas is a mimetic character to be avoided, some have argued that Judas is portrayed in a neutral manner in Luke. See J. Massyngberde Ford, *My Enemy is My Guest: Jesus and Violence in Luke* (New York, NY: Orbis Books, 1984), 120. The reason for affirming that Judas is a mimetic figure to be avoided is that he is constantly portrayed in negative terms. For example, Luke uses the pejorative term προδότης in his initial list of disciples (Luke 6:16), whereas Mark and Matthew use παραδίδωμι (Mark 3:19; Matt 10:4). The term παραδίδωμι is not necessarily a negative term. It means to hand over. See "παραδίδωμι**,"** *BDAG*, 761–63. The verb παραδίδωμι is used 32 times in Matthew and 19 times in Mark. It is used in a positively (Matt 11:27; Mark 4:29) as well as negatively (Matt 4:12; Mark 1:14). The term παραδίδωμι, therefore, does not convey Judas' intention as a betrayer. Klassen also argues for the neutral meaning of παραδίδωμι. William Klassen, *Judas, Betrayer or Friend of Jesus?* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1996), 56. On the other hand, προδότης also means to betray. See "προδότης," *BDAG*, 867. It is a word that is always linked with vices. It is included in the catalogue of vices in 2 Tim 3:4. Phrynichus and Astyochus are examples of traitors because of their non-virtuous actions in Greco-Roman history (Plutarch, *Alc*. 25.6). Thus, in characterising Judas as προδότης, Luke depicts Judas in stronger terms than Mark. He also proleptically indicates that Judas is a character who will not display virtue. See Susan Gubar, *Judas: A Biography* (New York, NY: Norton, 2009), 76. Green also points out that the depiction of Judas as a προδότης predisposes the reader to view Judas negatively. Green, *Luke*, 260. In the Gospel of Luke, Judas is a flat character performing only the role of a non-virtuous character who shows no loyalty to Jesus. Kingsbury, *Conflict*, 127. His designation as a betrayer is a powerful negative image. Nolland, *Luke c*, 1088.

10.1 Category 1 – Plot: The Death of Jesus is the Accomplishment of the Plan of God

The passion of Jesus (Luke 24:50–53; Acts 1:6–12), is crucial to the plot of Luke as it becomes the event par excellence that demonstrates that the designed plan of God is accomplished.[567] The passion of Jesus has been a structural marker in each Lukan cycle (Luke 9:22–27; 12:49–53; 18:29–34).[568] Each cycle also ends with a narrative confirming Jesus' intention to follow the plan of God through his passion, thus showing the importance of Jesus' passion to the plot of Gospel of Luke.

Luke further connects the passion of Jesus and the accomplishment of the plan of God through his proleptic pronouncements that indicate that the death of Jesus was part of God's plan in salvation history.[569] In the context of Jesus' passion Luke's use of the verb δεῖ (Luke 9:22; 13:33; 17:25; 22:37; 24:7,26, 44) demonstrates that Jesus' death is out of divine necessity in the accomplishment of the plan of God.[570] Additionally, for Luke, the passion of

[567] Marshall, *Luke*, 562. Squires argues that many events point to the plan of God in Luke and further argues that the passion narrative is crucial in demonstrating the accomplishment of the plan of God in Luke. See Squires, *Plan of God*, 167, 86. In Luke 9:51 αὐτὸς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐστήρισεν τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ and the phrase πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἦν πορευόμενον εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ (Luke 9:53) show Jesus' steadfast desire to accomplish God's plan through his crucifixion. See Shepherd, *Narrative Function*, 134. Contra, Evans affirms that the phrase 'He set his face,' Luke 9:51, alludes to the impending Judgement on Jerusalem. Against Evans' assertion, the immediate context focuses on Jesus' death (Luke 9:21–22; 44–48) and thus offers stronger links to Jesus' passion than to the destruction of the city. Craig A. Evans, ""He Set His Face": Luke 9,51 Once Again," *Bib* 68, no. 1 (1987): 80–84; Mike F. Nola, "Towards a Positive Understanding of the Structure of Luke-Acts" (PhD diss., University of Aberdeen, 1987), 274; Piotr Blajer, "The Limit of the Lukan Journey Section Reconsidered," *Liber Annuus* 64 (2014): 267.

[568] McComiskey, *Lukan*, 28–29.

[569] The proleptic pronouncements relating to Jesus' role in salvation history are: Luke 2:29–35 Simeon's oracles; Luke 4:16–30, the Nazareth pronouncement; Luke 9:21–22 first passion prediction; Luke 9:43b–45 second passion prediction; and Luke 18:31–34 third passion prediction Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 28A, 1410; Wilson, *Cross*, 40–49.

[570] Green notes that the word δεῖ is a 'shorthand for what is necessary for the divine purpose.' Green, *Luke*, 523. Contra, Cosgrove does not see δεῖ as a technical term in Luke-Acts but as a term that carries a wide variety of meanings. However, he argues that the divine "must" is crucial to the Gospel of Luke and does not deny that δεῖ in the passion narrative indicates divine necessity. Cosgrove, "Δεῖ," 174,79–80. The use of δεῖ in the context of Christ's passion demonstrates a strong link with the accomplishment of the will of God. For example, Luke 24:26 (οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν καὶ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ) offers a clear indication that the word δεῖ in the context of the passion of Jesus means divine necessity (see also 22:37; 24:7, 44).

Jesus fulfils the Old Testament prophecies (Luke 18:31–33; 24:25, 44, 46), and indicates that the death of Jesus is foreordained by God and is thus part of God's plan in salvation history.[571] After the ascension, Peter explicitly links the passion of Jesus to the βουλῇ τοῦ θεοῦ (Acts 2:23) indicating that the passion of Jesus follows the plan of God.

Having situated the passion narrative within the plot of Luke, the focus now moves to the characterisation of Jesus and Judas. The mimetic evaluations of Jesus and Judas will be set against the backdrop of the plot's being understood as the accomplishment of the plan of God. Jesus' acceptance of the plan of God makes him a mimetic character that can be imitated. Judas, as the betrayer, is a mimetic character to be avoided (*aphormē*).[572]

10.2 Category 2 — Compositional Selectivity: Difference between Luke's Passion Narrative and the other Synoptic Gospels

Compositional selectivity is a feature of ancient historical or biographical writings. In that respect, Luke's passion narrative shows significant compositional differences from Mark and Matthew, making it distinct. In this section Luke's mimetic intent is identified by observing the differences between Luke's passion narrative and those in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew.[573] A study comparing the Synoptic Gospels that focuses on mimesis is

[571] Squires, *Plan of God*, 184; Michal Beth Dinkler, *Silent Statements: Narrative Representations of Speech and Silence in the Gospel of Luke*, BZNW, 191, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 77.

[572] While the death of Jesus occurs as a fulfilment of scripture, the Lukan writings offer no evidence that Judas, in betraying Jesus, was accomplishing the plan of God. On the contrary, the pronouncement of woe on Judas (Luke 22:22) confirms that Judas does not play a positive role in the passion narrative. Brisio J Oropeza, "Judas' Death and Final Destiny in the Gospels and Earliest Christian Writings," *Neot* 44, no. 2 (2010): 348. Richard Monserrat Blaylock, "Vessels of Wrath: A Biblical-Theological Study of Divine Reprobating Activity" (PhD diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2021), 405.

[573] This section limits itself to the comparison of content rather than the comparison of verb tense, mood, and voice. The comparison of the Greek text of the passion narrative relies on the work of Robert McIver and Marion Soards. McIver, *Verbatim*, 241–59; Marion L. Soards, *The Passion According to Luke: The Special Material of Luke 22*, JSNT 14, (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987; repr., 2015).

not a study aiming to identify the source of Luke.[574] Rather, its purpose is to reveal how Luke's compositional differences help Luke's characterisation of mimetic subjects.[575]

10.2.1 Compositional selectivity — Findings

Building on the discussion in Appendix 2,[576] in this section some insights relevant to mimesis are provided which highlight Luke's distinctiveness in his passion narrative and its significance to mimesis.

Luke places a strong emphasis on the negative characterisation of Judas. The negative characterisation can be observed first the phrase εἰσῆλθεν δὲ σατανᾶς εἰς Ἰούδαν (Luke 22:3) is found in Luke and not the synoptics. It refers to Judas as being possessed by

[574] The compositional differences in Luke's and Mark's passion narratives have created much scholarly debate about Luke's source. Some scholars have argued for a Markan priority. See Jay M. Harrington, *The Lukan Passion Narrative: The Markan Material in Luke 22:54–23:25: A Historical Survey: 1891–1997*, NTTS 30, (Leiden: Brill, 2000). Harrington's voluminous 700-page work surveys the history of scholarship on the sources of Luke. He then focuses on the trial before Herod in Luke 23:6–16 to assert that Luke derived his material from Mark and that any variation results from Luke's redactional composition. Wilson and Taylor also advocate a Markan priority. Wilson, *Cross*, 33; Vincent Taylor, *The Passion Narrative of St. Luke: A Critical and Historical Investigation*, vol. 19, SNTSMS 19, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 44. Soards and Brown argue that Luke rewrote Mark, relying on other oral traditions. Soards, *Passion*; Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave: A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels*, 2 vols., vol. 1, ABRL, (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1994), 64–67, 75. Green and Bovon argue that Luke used Mark and another written source. Green, *Narrative*, 96; François Bovon, "Le Récit Lucanien de la Passion de Jésus (Lc 22–23)," in *The Synoptic Gospels: Source Criticism and the New Literary Criticism*, ed. Camille Focant, BETL 110 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 393–423. Some scholars argue that Luke follows Mark at first, then uses an older source for some material, like the Last Supper scene, and composes some of the material. Bultmann, *Synoptic*, 279–83; Richard S. Ascough, "Rejection and Repentance: Peter and the People in Luke's Passion Narrative," *Bib* 74, no. 3 (1993): 352. Matera argues that Luke redacted Mark. Frank J. Matera, "The Death of Jesus According to Luke: A Question of Sources," *CBQ* 48, no. 3 (1986): 469–85. Trocmé argue that Luke used a different source than Mark. Etienne Trocmé, *The Passion as Liturgy: A Study in the Origin of the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels* (London: SCM Press, 1983). Against the two-source hypothesis, some argue that the differences between the Lukan and Markan passion narratives are so significant that Luke must have used a source other than Mark. See Bock, *Luke*, 1776; Marshall, *Luke*, 847–48.

[575] This study in compositional selectivity differs from Jerome Neyrey's redactional study of the passion narrative. First, unlike Neyrey's work, this section on compositional selectivity will not offer a verse-by-verse commentary on Luke's compositional strategy. Second, unlike Neyrey's study, this study does not identify connections between Luke's passion narrative and narratives in the book of Acts or identify some soteriological themes. This study observes aspects of Luke's mimetic strategy in the passion narrative. See Neyrey, *Passion*, 1–2.

[576] In Appendix 2 Luke's compositional selectivity is examined under the following rubric: content included, omitted, altered or reordered by Luke. Those rubrics are taken from Neyrey and Soards. See Neyrey, *Passion*, 129; Soards, *Passion*, 13–16.

Satan. Second, only the third Gospel records the narrator's words, προήρχετο αὐτοὺς (Luke 22:47). Thus, in Luke, Judas assumes a leading role among the crowd that has come to arrest Jesus. Furthermore, only the Gospel of Luke notes Jesus' rhetorical question to Judas — Ἰούδα, φιλήματι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδως (Luke 22:48). This question stresses Judas' hypocrisy. In addition, the guilt of Judas is heightened as Luke does not record that Judas responded.[577] Fourth, unlike Matthew (Matt27:3–5), Luke does not mention Judas' remorse.

Luke emphasises Jesus' role in accomplishing the plan of God. Luke omits the charge about the destruction of the temple (Mark 14:58; Matt 26:61) to focus on the accusation that Jesus is the Messiah and Son of God and places an emphasis on his Christological identity.[578]

The compositional selectivity of Luke favours an internal *synkrisis* between Jesus and Peter for the following reasons:

i. Luke downplays Jesus' being abandoned by the disciples when he omits Jesus' announcement of the falling away (cf. Mark 14:27—πάντες σκανδαλισθήσεσθε; Matt 26:31 — πάντες ὑμεῖς σκανδαλισθήσεσθε) and does not mention later the actual falling away as done in Mark and Matthew (Mark 14:50; Matt 26:56).[579]

[577] Jesus' question to Judas highlights his hypocrisy and evokes emotions in the reader. The lack of reply from Judas is a technique Luke uses to shame Judas. The agonistic nature of exchanging questions was part of the honour and shame reality in the first-century Mediterranean world. The inability to respond to a question, as in the case of Judas (Luke 22: 48), resulted in shame. Joshua Paul Smith, "'"I Will Also Ask You a Question" (Luke 20:3): The Social and Rhetorical Function of Opposing-turn Questions in the Gospel of Luke," *BTB* 52, no. 3 (2022): 173–75; Reich, *Figuring*, 84–85.

[578] Brendan J. Byrne, "Jesus as Messiah in the Gospel of Luke: Discerning a Pattern of Correction," *CBQ* 65, no. 1 (2003): 90; John J. Kilgallen, "Jesus' First Trial: Messiah and Son of God (Luke 22,66–71)," *Bib* 80, no. 3 (1999): 402.

[579] Cristopher P. Vogt, *Patience, Compassion, Hope, and the Christian Art of Dying Well* (New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 100; Brown, *Death*, 1, 990.

Despite downplaying the disciples' abandonment of Jesus, the denial by Peter (Luke 22:54–62) is retained in the Gospel of Luke.

ii. The removal of the night trial in Luke (cf. Mark 14:53–65; Matt 26:57–68) allows for a narrative sequencing that facilitates a *synkrisis* between Jesus and Peter.

iii. The absence of mention of Peter's cursing and swearing (cf. Mark 14:70; Matt 28:77) has the effect of focussing on his denial of Jesus.[580]

iv. In the Lukan account of Peter's denial the presence of two men (Luke 22:56–59) instead of two women and bystanders, as in Mark 14:66–72 and Matt 28:69–75, shows the validity of their testimony against Peter. The testimony of women was not acceptable in the first century.

Luke demonstrates that the death of Jesus is a travesty of justice. Unlike Mark and Matthew, Luke identifies among the arresting party the officers of the temple police (στρατηγός τοῦ ἱεροῦ — Luke 22:52, cf. Matt 26:55; Mark 14:48). The arrest of Jesus is *ultra vires* as members of the temple police (στρατηγός) had no legal jurisdiction to arrest Jesus. The role of the στρατηγός (Luke 22:52) was linked solely to the temple, and thus, in going to the Mount of Olives to arrest Jesus, they operated outside their authority.[581] Luke places the trial of Jesus before the council on the eve of the of festival.[582] It was illegal to conduct a criminal trial on the eve of a festival.[583] Furthermore, the ommision of witnesses in Luke in

[580]Marshall, *Luke*, 839; Bock, *Luke*, 1786; Garland, *Luke*, 890.

[581] Erika Scrimpshire, "A Redactional Evaluation of Luke's Use of Trial Narratives" (PhD diss., Amridge University, 2023), 63–65.

[582] Mark and Matthew say that hearings were conducted by the Sanhedrin at night (Mark 14:55–59; Matt 26:59–61). See also Shellard, *New Light*, 204.

[583] Jerome Nerey argues that Luke presents the trial at night as a legal proceeding. Neyrey, *Passion*, 71. The Illegality of the night trial is affirmed by Joseph B Tyson, "The Lukan version of the trial of Jesus," *NovT* 3, no. 4 (1959): 253.

the trial of Jesus (cf. Matt 26:59–60; Mark 14:56–59) is another indication that Luke's portrays the trial of Jesus as invalid.

Along with the travesty of justice, there is also an emphasis on Jesus' innocence.[584] Members of the internal audience declare that Jesus is innocent. Unlike Matthew and Mark, Luke does not use his narrative voice to inform the audience of the false witnesses (Matt 26:30) or false testimonies against Jesus (Mark 14:55–56; Matt 26:59). Instead, Pilate declares Jesus to be innocent on three occasions (Luke 23:4; 23:14–15; 23:22), and the penitent criminal also declares Jesus' innocence (Luke 23:40–41). Herod's narrative is unique to Luke, and Herod also finds Jesus to be innocent. The differences in the centurion's confession compared with Matthew 27:54 ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς ἦν οὗτος and Mark 15:39 ἀληθῶς οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος υἱὸς θεοῦ ἦν το ὄντως ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος ἦν (Luke 23:47) reemphasises the innocence of Jesus.

Jesus' last words on the cross as recorded in Luke differ from those in Mark and Matthew. In Luke, Jesus forgives his enemies (Luke 23:34), promises paradise to the penitent criminal (Luke 23:42), and commits his spirit to God (Luke 23:46). These words emphasise Jesus' faith and his commitment to fulfilling the plan of God.

The characterisation of Barabbas as someone who is against Rome is exclusive to Luke's Gospel. The double mention of Barabbas as a φόνος and one who started a στάσις (Luke 23:19, 25) makes his characterisation emphatic. In comparison, Mark mentions that Barabbas is a φόνος and στάσις only once (Mark 15:7), and Matthew does not characterise Barabbas as a murderer or one who started a revolution and identifies him as ἐπίσημος

[584] Peter Rice, "The Rhetoric of Luke's Passion: Luke's use of Common-place to Amplify the Guilt of Jerusalem's Leaders in Jesus' death," *BibInt* 21, no. 3 (2013): 365–75.

(Matt 27:16).[585] The emphatic portrayal of Barabbas encourages a *synkrisis* between him and Jesus.[586] That *synkrisis* is accentuated by the addition of ἀπέλυσεν δὲ τὸν διὰ στάσιν καὶ φόνον βεβλημένον εἰς φυλακὴν ὃν ᾐτοῦντο, τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν παρέδωκεν τῷ θελήματι αὐτῶν (Luke 23:25).

In Luke's passion narrative the crowd (ὄχλος) are presented as a mixed group and not consistently hostile, and therefore, not crucial for mimesis. Mark and Matthew place greater culpability on the chief priests as they stirred the ὄχλος to ask for the release of Barabbas (Matt 27:20; Mark 15:11).[587] The only time when Luke presents the ὄχλος as potentially culpable is in Luke 22:47, when the ὄχλος comes led by Judas. Even here, the ὄχλος is less aggressive than in Mark's and Matthew's account. Mark and Matthew portray the crowd as armed with swords and clubs (Mark 14:43; Matt 26:47).

Luke's rearrangement of the mockery of Jesus by the soldiers in the narrative order places greater emphasis on Jesus as following the plan of God.[588] While Mark and Matthew place the mockery as taking place after the Roman trial and before the crucifixion (Mark 15:16–19; Matt 27:27–30), Luke places the mockery by the soldiers during the crucifixion (Luke 23:36–37). The alteration of the placement of the mockery in the narrative allows Luke to focus on the nature of the mockery. Three different parties in succession — the leaders (Luke 23:35b), the soldiers (Luke 23:36–38), and one of the criminals (Luke 23:29) — question Jesus' ability to save himself.[589] If Jesus saves himself, then he cannot save others,

[585] Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 28A, 1491.

[586] Green, *Luke*, 809.

[587] Luke uses the third person plural of ἀνακράζω, making ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸν λαὸν (Luke 23:13) the subject of ἀνακράζω.

[588] Neyrey, *Passion*, 133.

[589] Byrne, "Jesus," 93.

thus nullifying the plan of God. The rearrangement of the mockery of Jesus also highlights Luke's addition of the Jesus' logion about forgiveness (Luke 23:34).[590]

Luke portrays Jesus' serenity when facing death. The omission of the cry, ὁ θεός μου ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τὶ ἐγκατέλιπές με, (Mark 15:34b) at the point of Jesus' death and its replacement with πάτερ, εἰς χεῖάς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου (Luke 22:46b, portray Jesus as serene when confronted with death as opposed to feeling forsaken.[591] Luke's description of Jesus' action at the time of prayer in the garden of Gethsemané, compared to Mark's and Matthew's records, also depicts him as serene. As Jesus comes to pray, he θεὶς τὰ γόνατα προσηύχετο (Luke 22:41). This is a variation of the more brutal corresponding scene in Mark 14:35 and Matthew 26:39, where Jesus is described as ἔπιπτεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (Mark 14:35) and ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ (Matt 26:39).[592] Luke continues to portray Jesus as serene by omitting the troubled emotional state of Jesus περίλυπός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή μου ἕως θανάτου (Mark 14:34–35). The calmness of Jesus is in contrast to the expression of the intense physical suffering Jesus experiences as he prays on the Mount of Olives (Luke 22:43–44). These verses are, however, subject to an ambiguous textual variant.[593]

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[590] Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave: A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels*, 2 vols., vol. 2, ABRL, (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1998), 902.

[591] Asikainen, *Ideal Masculinities*, 180; Gregory E. Sterling, "*Mors philosophi*: The Death of Jesus in Luke," *HTR* 94, no. 4 (2001): 395–96.

[592] Vogt, *Patience*, 100.

[593] The Western manuscripts include Luke 22:43,44, while most Alexandrian manuscripts do not. Lukan scholarship is divided on whether the text should be included or not. Those who include those verses as part of the original text of Luke are Dibelius, *Tradition*, 201; Lyder Brun, "Engel und Blutschweiß Lc 22 43–44," *ZNW* 32, no. 3 (1933); William Hendriksen, *Exposition of the Gospel According to Luke*, New Testament Commentary, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book, 1978), 990–91; Gerhard Schneider, "Engel und Blutschweiß (Lk 22, 43–44): Redaktionsgeschichte» im Dienste der Textkritik," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 20, no. 1 (1976): 113–15; François Bovon, Helmut Koester, and James E. Crouch, *Luke 3: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 19:28–24:53*, trans. James Crouch, Hermeneia, (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2012), 197–98; Bock, *Luke*, 1763–64; Joel B. Green, "Jesus On the Mount of Olives (Luke 22.39–46): Tradition and Theology," *JSNT* 8, no. 26 (1986): 36. Brun contends that those verses are part of Luke's original as it balances the absence of Mark 14:33–34. Dibelius sees the verses as portraying the martyrdom of Jesus. With not much certainty, Marshall takes the words as original to Luke. Marshall, *Luke*, 831–33. Contra, Ehrman and Plunket, Nolland. Ehrman and Plunkett

In the passion narrative, πειρασμός and προσεύχομαι are both emphasised in Luke. The emphasis can be seen through Luke's selectivity and his rhetorical arrangement. Luke omits Mark's command to the disciples, καθίσατε ὧδε ἕως προσεύξομαι (Mark 14:32), repeated in Mark 14:34 (μέισατε ὧδε καὶ γρηγορεῖτε). Instead, Luke makes minor adjustments to Mark 14:41 and focuses on Jesus' command to his disciples, προσεύχεσθε μῆ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς πειρασμόν (Luke 22:40, 46).[594]

Compositional selectivity is relevant to mimesis as it shows Luke's focus and characterisation. Luke's composition enhances the characterisation of mimetic subjects, focalising on aspects relevant to mimetic subjects.

argue that Luke 22:43–44 is not part of the original text for three main reasons: the verses do not fit with Luke's general tendency to avoid emotions, they might be a Western interpolation, and they do not fit the chiastic structure of the text. Nolland and Evans agree with Ehrman that it does not fit the lack of emotions generally seen in the Gospel of Luke. Bart D. Ehrman and Mark A. Plunkett, "The Angel and the Agony: The Textual Problem of Luke 22:43–44," *CBQ* 45, no. 3 (1983); Nolland, *Luke c*, 1080–81; Evans, *Luke*, 812–13. This textual variant presents the interpreter with a conundrum. It seems complex for a copyist to include such a lengthy statement. Schneider offers eight stylistic reasons why the passage of Luke 22:43–44 is Lukan and not a later insertion. First, the use of ὁράω as a nominative participle ὤρθη, followed by the appearance of angels, is also found in Luke 1:11. Second, ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ is an editorial note from Luke. Third, the verb ἐνισχύω only appears in Luke 22:43 and Acts 9:19. Fourth, the use of γίνομαι as a nominative participle only appears in Lukan writings (Luke 22:40, 24:22b; Acts 12:23b, 13:5). Corresponding verses in Mark do not make use of the participle. Fifth, ἐκτενέστρον (Luke 22:43), the closest parallel, is found in Acts 12:5. Sixth, the use of *hapax* ἱδρώς and θρόμβος is in line with Luke's liking of *hapax*. He has the most *hapax legomena* of the New Testament writers. Seventh, the comparative ὡσει is Lukan. Eighth, καταβαίνοντες is a word used exclusively by the evangelists. In his defence of the authenticity of Luke 22:43–44, Hendriksen has worked independently from Schneider and carries four (Nos 1, 3, 5, 6) of the eight arguments of Schneider. See Gerhard Schneider, "Engel und Blutschweiß (Lk 22, 43–44)," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 20, no. 1 (1976): 112–16. Hendriksen, *Luke*, 990–91. On the other hand, this text does not fit Luke's strategy. Luke has altered Mark through his compositional process and emphasised Jesus' calmness throughout his passion. In Luke, Jesus lacks emotions during his passion. See also Jerome H. Neyrey, "The Absence of Jesus' Emotions — the Lucan Redaction of Lk 22,39–46," *Biblica* 61, no. 2 (1980): 153–71. Luke 23:43–44 would be contrary to Luke's compositional strategy, where, in contrast to Mark, he renders Jesus as calm and composed. In this the view is taken that Luke's compositional strategy offers a more vital argument for excluding those verses than the stylistic reasons argued by Schneider and Hendriksen. The stylistic similarities could be coincidental or the work of someone else well versed in Lukan style.

[594] Sterling notes that corresponding passages in Mark emphasise the struggles of Jesus. However, in Luke, the struggles are transferred to the disciples. Sterling, "Death," 395.

10.3 Category 3 Relatability as Encouraging the Mimesis of Mimetic Characters

In this section it is shown how the selected mimetic characters in the passion narrative are relatable to the implied audience. As previously noted, (sections 4.3, 5.3, 6.3, 7.3 and 9.2.3), relatability allows implied readers to reduce the distance between themselves and the mimetic character. The reduction of distance enables the reader to creatively emulate the mimetic character in a different situation or context from that of the original subject. The following discussion is an exploration of how Luke's passion narrative presents Jesus and Judas as relatable mimetic figure.

10.3.1 Relatability —Jesus is Relatable in Spiritual Discipline and Christian Struggle (prayer and trials).

Trials and prayer (πειρασμός and προσεύχομαι) are two elements that identify Jesus as relatable.[595] Like Jesus, the disciples will face the prospect of πειρασμός (Luke 21:36; 22:40, 46).[596] Jesus' passion and his prediction of the persecution of his disciples foreshadows the disciples' trials. In the passion narrative, petitionary prayer is relatable.[597]

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[595] As observed in 10.2.1, πειρασμός and προσεύχομαι are both emphasised in Luke's passion narrative.

[596] In Luke 21:12, Jesus announces to his disciples that they will face persecution (διώκω), and in Luke 21:36, he instructs his disciples to pray when facing adversity. Green, "Jesus," 39. Wilhelm Ott, *Gebet und Heil. Die Bedeutung der Gebetsparänese in der Lukanischen Theologie.*, SANT XII, (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1965), 85–90.

[597] As Jesus is often found praying in Luke (Luke 3:21; 5:16, 6:12; 9:18, 28, 29; 11:1; 22:32, 41, 46; 23:46), prayer in general is relatable in Luke. Many have established the idea that prayer is exemplary. See Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke* (NY: Scribner, 1896, 1896), xlv. Ott, *Gebet*, 94–99. Stephen S. Smalley, "Spirit, Kingdom and Prayer in Luke-Acts," *NovT* 15, no. 1 (1973): 59. David Crump, *Knocking on Heaven's Door: A New Testament Theology of Petitionary Prayer* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), 181. P. T. O'Brien, "Prayer in Luke-Acts," *TynBul* 24, no. 1 (1973): 111. The mimetic and relatability attributes of prayer are inferred in the disciples' request to learn how to pray like Jesus (Luke 11:1) and Jesus' repeated invitations to pray (Luke 6:28, 11:2; 18:1). Frank J. Matera, "Jesus' Journey to Jerusalem (Luke 9.51–19.46): A Conflict with Israel," *JSNT* 16, no. 51 (1993): 67. The relatability of prayer is also observed in the book of Acts, as followers of Jesus are often found praying in adversity. Green, *Narrative*, 288–93. Brown, *Death*, 2, 165.
Luke's emphasis on Jesus' praying is underlined in his compositional selectivity. For example, Luke is the only Gospel that presents Jesus as praying at his baptism (Luke 3:21), before choosing the twelve (Luke 5:21) and as he goes up to the mountain of transfiguration (Luke 9:28). Smalley, "Spirit." Forbes also notes that after Gethsemane, no other synoptic writer mentions prayer, while in Luke, Jesus prays at the point of death (Luke 23:46). Greg W. Forbes, *The God of Old: The Role of the Lukan Parables in the Purpose of Luke's Gospel*, ed.

Jesus confronts adversity through petitionary prayer (Luke 22:41–42).[598] His prayer is relatable as he commands his disciples to pray (προσεύχεσθε μῆ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς πειρασμόν (Luke 22:40, 46).[599] The second person plural (προσεύχεσθε, Luke 22:40,46), places the responsibility of prayer on the disciples. Jesus' prayer command also forms an *inclusio* (Luke 22:40, 46), bracketing with the prayer of Jesus on the Mount of Olives. The *inclusio* links the prayer of Jesus with that of his disciples, pointing to the relatability of petitionary prayer.

10.3.2 Relatability: Jesus is Relatable in Christian Ethics (Humility, Servanthood and Forgiveness)

The virtue of servanthood renders Jesus relatable to his disciples. In an ethically explicit passage (Luke 22:26–27), Jesus instructs his disciples to become servants through the present imperative γινέσθω (Luke 22:26). The command results from a dispute (φιλονεικία) over position among the disciples (Luke 22:24–27). The dispute reflects the honour and shame system of the first-century Mediterranean world, whereby the greatest are those who enjoy and acquire honour to exercise dominion over others.[600] The words of Jesus, δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν εἰμι ὡς ὁ διακονῶν (Luke 22:27), hark back to the hortatory section

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Stanley E. Porter, JSNTSup 198, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 242. Others have also highlighted the importance of prayer in Luke. Michael W Goheen, *A Light to the Nations: The Missional Church and the Biblical Story* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2011), 96.

[598] The term πειρασμός indicates a time of testing for Jesus (Luke 22:28). His testing is particularly relevant because the passion narrative occurs in the context of satanic activity (Luke 22:3, 31). Green, "Jesus," 31. Forbes, *The God*, 242. O'Brien, "Prayer," 121–26.

[599] Petitionary prayer is understood as a 'request made of God for something specific believed to be good by the one praying.' Petitionary prayer is to be contrasted with prayers of praise or thanksgiving. Eleonore Stump, "Petitionary Prayer," *American Philosophical Quarterly* 16, no. 2 (1979): 81.

[600] Yang Yan, "Honor and Authority Redefined in Luke 22:24–30," in *Matthew, Paul, and Others: Asian Perspectives on New Testament Themes*, ed. William Loader, Boris Repschinski, and Eric Wong (Austria: Innsbruck University Press, 2019), 232–35. Green, *Luke*, 767–68. In that culture of honour and shame, people would seek power or honour through associations with others. In this case, their association with Jesus incites their pursuit of greatness. Alex G. Wright, "Trust and Empowerment in Jesus' Sending of the 72: A Socio-rhetorical Analysis of Luke 9:51–10:24" (PhD diss., Regent University, 2018), 167. The intransitive use of δοκέω reinforced the seeking of honour. Marshall, *Luke*, 811. Don Garlington, "'"Who is the Greatest?"," *JETS* 53, no. 2 (2010): 306.

of this pericope in which Jesus admonishes his disciples to serve (Luke 22:26).[601] The adjectival participle, ὁ διακονῶν, designates Jesus as an *exemplum* of servanthood. Within the immediate context, Jesus models servanthood by serving his disciples (Luke 22:17, 19–20).[602] Within the context of Jesus' passion, his death portrays him as the Isaianic servant of Yahweh.[603] Jesus' servanthood is relatable and becomes a model for genuine discipleship.

The virtue of humility displayed in this text by Jesus also renders him relatable. Humility is a cardinal virtue in the Gospel of Luke.[604] The admonition, ὁ μείζων ἐν ὑμῖν γινέσθω ὡς ὁ νεώτερος (Luke 22:26b), advocates humility since children have a low position in society.[605] Thus becoming like a child would mean assuming a lowly position. The adjectival participle, ὁ διακονῶν, points to Jesus' lowering himself to the position of a servant at a banquet table. In the context of the narrative, Jesus' admonition to be like a child is a call to humility, just as he embodies humility by becoming a servant.

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[601] Yan, "Honor," 235. Bock, *Luke*, 1736. Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 28A, 1411.

[602] Jesus takes the role of the serving staff at a banquet. Matthias Becker, "Der Vergleich des Lebens mit einem Gastmahl als Verhaltensanweisung: Lk 14,7–11 und 22,26–27 im Lichte von Texten Epiktets und Dions von Prusa," *ZNW* 107, no. 2 (2016): 228. In Luke the verb διακονέω is mainly used for serving meals. (Luke 4:39; 8:3; 10:40; 12:37; 17:8; Acts 6:2)

[603] As observed by Robert F. O'Toole, "How Does Luke Portray Jesus as Servant of Yhwh," *Biblica* 81, no. 3 (2000): 328–46; Timothy W. Reardon, "Recent Trajectories and Themes in Lukan Soteriology," *CurBR* 12, no. 1 (2013): 85; James R. McConnell, *The Topos of Divine Testimony in Luke-Acts* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014), 166 n 208.

[604] Humility is a cardinal value in the Gospel of Luke, as it is a virtue observed in the parable of the wedding feast, where Jesus invites his listeners to show humility by not taking the places of honour (Luke 14:7–11). In the story of the healing of the centurion's servant, the centurion shows humility (Luke 7:1–10). The parable of the prayers of the Pharisee and the tax-collector (Luke 18:9–14) is an ethically charged example story that focuses on humility. Darrell Bock, *A Theology of Luke's Gospel and Acts*, ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger, Biblical Theology of the New Testament, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2011), 70,74,76; David Neville, "Rightwising Humility: Reviewing Jesus' Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Agent in Luke 18: 9–14," *St Mark's Review*, no. 256 (2021): 97, 102–04; Catherine J. Wright, *Spiritual Practices of Jesus: Learning Simplicity, Humility, and Prayer with Luke's Earliest Readers* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity, 2020), 92–105; Robert F. Capon, *Kingdom, Grace, Judgment: Paradox, Outrage, and Vindication in the Parables of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 338.

[605] Children were considered powerless in the first-century Mediterranean world. Yan, "Honor." Peter N. Stearns, *Childhood in World History* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), 24; Sharon Betsworth, *Children in Early Christian Narratives*, LNTS 521, (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 8–9, 66.

Jesus' prayer of forgiveness is relatable for Christians of all ages. On the cross, Jesus prays for the forgiveness of his enemies (Luke 23:34). The prayer of forgiveness is relatable, as in Luke 11:4, Jesus instructs his disciples to forgive. Thus, just as Jesus forgives his enemies, the disciples must also forgive.[606] The relatability of the prayer of forgiveness is observed again when Stephen, like Jesus, asks that his executioners be forgiven (Acts 7:60).[607] Thus Jesus' forgiveness is relatable.

10.3.3 Relatability: The Cost of Discipleship is Identified as the Way a Believer can Emulate the Sacrificial Death of Jesus on the Cross.

Jesus' passion is also relatable as a model for discipleship. This is evident as the predictions of Jesus' death in the Gospel of Luke are made in the context of the cost of discipleship (Luke 9:21–23; 12:49–53; 18:29–32).[608] Apart from Jesus' passion predictions, Jesus links discipleship with the cross when he says, ὅστις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου, οὐ δύναται εἶναί μου μαθητής (Luke 14:27). In the Gospel of Luke, the call to take up one's cross should not be viewed as a literal call execution by order of a court or martyrdom by seeking one of the worst forms of punishment administered by the

[606] Brown, *Death*, 1, 32.

[607] Fox, *Social Identity*, 267.

[608] McComiskey, *Lukan*, 225. Contra O'Neill argues that the cross sayings in the Gospel of Luke are not a call for all disciples but for a restricted group of people willing to sacrifice themselves for the sake of others. He says, 'the sayings are restricted in scope to the small group of martyrs who are to prepare themselves to bear the sins of the people who have broken God's law and who deserve God's punishment.' J. C. O'Neill, "Did Jesus Teach that his Death Would be Vicarious?," in *Suffering and Martyrdom in the New Testament: Studies Presented to G.M. Styler*, ed. G. M. Styler, William Horbury, and Brian McNeil (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 15–16. The idea that the death of early Christians has any soteriological values is contrary to Christian beliefs. Moreover, Luke's addition of καθ' ἡμέραν (Luke 9:23, compared to Mark 8:34 and Matt 16:24) makes it impossible to understand the taking up of the cross as a sacrifice for the expiation of sins since a martyr only dies once. The pronoun τις (Luke 9:23) makes the cross saying relevant for disciples of all times and not only for a restricted number of disciples. Cross-bearing is not limited to a select few but is relevant to all disciples who, through self-sacrifice, do not carry Jesus' cross but their own. See Sverre Bøe, *Cross-bearing in Luke*, WUNT 2/278, (Tübigen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 98, 185; Stuart Rochester, *Self-denial: A New Testament View* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2019), 13.
Καθ' ἡμέραν is subject to a textual variant. Its presence in the text is attested by *p)* א^{2a} C D Γ Δ 565. 579. 1424 𝔪 it sy$^{s.hmg}$ sa^{ms} *txt* 𝔓^{75} א*.^{2b} A B K L W Θ Ξ Ψ ƒ$^{1.13608.}$ Its absence from some manuscripts might be due to its absence in parallel cross pronouncements in Mark 8:34 and Matt 16:24.

Romans.[609] The inclusion of the words, καθ' ἡμέραν (Luke 9:23), indicates that the cross ought to be understood metaphorically.[610]

The call by Jesus to take up one's cross in the context of discipleship signifies self-denial. Jesus exemplifies self-denial in the passion narrative through his struggle on the Mount of Olives (Luke 22:42) and crucifixion.[611] Like Jesus, in submission to God's plan, the disciples are encouraged to live a life of self-denial and accept difficulties and burdens as inevitable in discipleship.[612] This linking of cross-bearing and self-denial is evident from Luke 14:26–33. The words, μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἔτι τε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ (Luke 14:26) and πᾶς ἐξ ὑμῶν ὃς οὐκ ἀποτάσσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν (Luke 14:33) epexegetically demonstrate that cross-bearing involves complete self-denial.[613] Thus, the invitation to take up one's cross is not literal but relatable as disciples can creatively reflect a disposition of self-denial.

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[609] If the call to take up one's cross were to be taken literally, it would exclude many Christians who were Roman citizens, such as Paul, since Roman citizens were excluded from crucifixion. Martin Hengel, *Crucifixion in the Ancient World and the Folly of the Message of the Cross*, 1st American ed. (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1977), 39–44.

[610] Michael P. Green, "The Meaning of Cross-Bearing," *BSac* 140, no. 558 (1983): 121.

[611] On the Mount of Olives, although Jesus' wish is that the cup be taken away from him, in an act of self-denial Jesus submits his will to that of his Father and dies on the cross. Vogt sees Jesus' submission to the will of God as an act of self-denial in which he loses his autonomy and hands himself over to the will of God. Vogt, *Patience*, 105–07.

[612] Asikainen, *Ideal Masculinities*, 159; Bock, *Luke*, 852–53; Marshall, *Luke*, 373–74; Bruce J. Malina, "'Let Him Deny Himself' (Mark 8:34 & par): A Social Psychological Model of Self-Denial," *BTB* 24, no. 3 (1994): 106–08; Green, "Cross-Bearing."; Sharyn Dowd, "Luke 9:18–27: 'Daily' Cross-Bearing for Jesus' Sake," *RevExp* 112, no. 4 (2015): 619–21; Bøe, *Cross-bearing*, 104–09; Rochester, *Self-denial*, 13–16. Examples in the New Testament of taking up the cross of Jesus are baptism (Rom 6: 2–12, Col 2:12), embracing suffering (Phil 3:10) and Christian living (1 Pet 2:24).

[613] Some in the early church expressed this self-denial through physical pain, suffering and death, as observed in the book of Acts through the experiences of followers of Jesus such as Peter, Stephen, James and Paul. However, the core of cross-bearing in the Gospel of Luke is self-denial. Green, "Jesus," 41–43; Vogt, *Patience*, 101; Marshall, *Luke*, 592–95; Bøe, *Cross-bearing*, 155–64.

10.3.4 Relatability: Judas' Action Portrays Every Disciple as a Potential Betrayer

The role of Judas in the passion narrative is relatable as all disciples face the danger of abandoning Jesus. As noted in section 10.2.1, Luke's narrative sequence differs from Mark's and Matthew's. Luke places the announcement of the betrayer after the institution of the communion.[614] This alteration of the narrative order enables Judas to take his place at the table as one of the disciples while planning to betray Jesus. It is relatable because any Christian can be in danger of falling away from their faith in Jesus.[615]

The open designation of the betrayer at the Passover (Luke 22:21) also favours seeing Judas as relatable. There the betrayer is identified as ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ παραδιδόντος με μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης (Luke 22:21).[616] This secrecy surrounding the betrayer prompts the disciples to speculate about the betrayer's identity (Luke 22:23). Clivaz identifies Luke's open designation of the betrayer as anaphoric.[617] This anaphoric identification implies that any of the twelve could potentially be the betrayer.[618] Moreover, beyond the group of twelve, Luke's open identification of the betrayer is relatable because it serves as a caution that no disciple is immune from failure.[619]

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[614] In Mark and Matthew, Jesus announces the betrayer, Mark 14:17–20; Matt 26:21–23 and then institutes the Lord's supper Mark 14:22–25; Matt 26:26–27.

[615] Although a widely debated text, Heb 6:4–8 attests that a Christian can fall away.

[616] The identity of Judas as a betrayer is unknown to the disciples but not to the implied audience as Luke has earlier explicitly identified Judas as the betrayer (Luke 22:3–6).

[617] He defines anaphoric as 'un intitule qui renvoye à au moins deux sujects distincts possible en amont.' Clivaz, "Judas," 406. Otherwise defined as the way a word or phrase in a sentence refers back to something mentioned earlier in the text.

[618] Garland, *Luke*, 865; Brawley, *Luke*, 188; Clivaz, "Judas," 408.

[619] Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Luke: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Third Gospel*, ed. Revised (New York, NY: Crossroad Publishing, 2002), 237; R. Alan Culpepper, "The Gospel of Luke: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections," in *New Interpreter's Bible*, ed. Leander E. Keck (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2015), 423; Clivaz, "Judas," 412–13.

10.4 Category 4 – Illustrative Action: Actions Demonstrate the Virtues of Jesus and the Vices of Judas

Illustrative action is a significant category in mimesis. In Luke's passion narrative Jesus' main actions are linked to his death. As observed in section 10.2.1, the differences between Luke's narrative sequence and those in Mark and Matthew effectively place the focus of Luke solely on the trial and death of Jesus.[620] Jesus' steadfastness and resolute submission to the purpose of God portray him as a virtuous mimetic character.[621] On the contrary, Judas's actions portray him as an evil character apt for *aphormē*.

10.4.1 Category 4 — Illustrative Action: Jesus' Main Action — his Death — Portrays Him as a Person of Virtue and one who Accomplished the Purpose of God

The climatic action of Jesus in the passion narrative is his death on the cross. The death of Jesus in Luke is relevant to mimesis in two ways. First, it is argued that from a Lukan perspective, Jesus' death corresponds with the ancient understanding of an exemplary noble death.[622] From the Greco-Roman and Jewish perspective, a noble death displays virtue.[623] Seeley identifies five components in ancient literature to depict a noble

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[620] Luke removes narratives such as the denial of Jesus by Peter (Luke 22:54–62) and the mockery by the temple police (Luke 22:63–65) from the trial scenes and places them elsewhere in the narrative.

[621] Marion L. Soards, "A Literary Analysis of the Origin and Purpose of Luke's Account of the Mockery of Jesus," in *New Views on Luke and Acts*, ed. Earl Richard (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1990), 92. Despite Jesus' desire to avoid the cross, he accepts the figurative cup (ποτήριον) in submission to the purpose (βούλομαι) and will (θέλημα) of God (Luke 22:42). Βούλομαι is defined as 'to plan a course of action.' "βούλομαι," *BDAG*, 182. In the New Testament, the word "cup" is often used by Jesus to signify his death and suffering (Matt 20:22, 23; 26:39; Mark 10:38, 39; 14:38; Luke 22:42; John 18:11). Bock, *Luke*, 1759.

[622] Brittany E. Wilson, *Unmanly Men: Refigurations of Masculinity in Luke-Acts* (New York, NY: Oxford Publishing Press, 2015), 208; Adela Yarbro Collins, "From Noble Death to Crucified Messiah," *NTS* 40, no. 4 (2009): 501.

[623] Asikainen maintains that Greco-Roman writers such as Cicero, Plato, Ammianus Marcellinus, Josephus, Seneca Plutarch, Tacitus, Diogenes Laertius and Philo saw a noble death as a sign of virtue. See Asikainen, *Ideal Masculinities*, 157–58; Philip A. Harland, "'Do not Deny me this Noble Death': Depictions of Violence in the Greek Novels and Apocryphal Acts," *Ancient Narrative* 14 (2017): 135; Kalus Döring, *Exemplum Socratis: Studien zur Sokratesnachwirkung in der kynisch-stoischen Popularphilosophie der Frühen Kaiserzeit und im Frühen Christentum*, Hermes Einzelschriften 42, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979). For a link between virtue, pain, and noble death in a Jewish context, see Sami Yli-Karjanmaa and Elisa Uusimäki, "Good Life, Brave Death, and Earned Immortality: Features of a Neglected Ancient Virtue Discourse," *Open Theology* 8, no. 1 (2022): 306–07.

death. They are obedience, overcoming physical vulnerability, a military setting, vicariousness, or the quality of being beneficial for others, and sacrificial metaphor.[624]

These five components are observable in Luke's passion narrative. (i) Obedience: the words of Jesus, πάτερ, εἰ βούλει παρένεγκε τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· πλὴν μὴ τὸ θέλημά μου ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν γινέσθω (Luke 22:42) demonstrates his obedience to the father. (ii) Overcoming of physical vulnerability is seen when Jesus displays calmness in the face of death (Luke 23:46) or physical pain (Luke 22:63–64) and verbal abuse (Luke 22:65; 23:11, 35–39). (iii) Military setting: the crucifixion is supervised by a centurion (Luke 23:47). Luke's compositional selectivity underpins a controversy between Jesus and Satan (Luke 22:3, 53).[625] Some of the proxies of Satan in the passion narrative are the Jewish authorities and Judas. (iv) Vicariousness: Jesus' words during the last Passover, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· and τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον (Luke 22:19b and 20), show that Jesus frames his upcoming death as vicarious and done on behalf of others.[626] Furthermore, the words ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ

[624] David Seeley, *The Noble Death: Graeco-Roman Martyrology and Paul's Concept of Salvation*, JSNTSup 28, (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 12.

[625] The appearance of Satan is significant as, after the temptation account, Satan retreats and reappears in the passion narrative. He enters Judas (Luke 22:3) and wants to sift Peter (Luke 22:31). The words ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους (Luke 22:53) also point to the reappearance of Satan. J.M. Robinson, *The Secrets of Judas: The Story of the Misunderstood Disciple and His Lost Gospel* (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 2009), 21; Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 28A, 1374.

[626] See John Kimbell, "Jesus' Death in Luke-Acts: The New Covenant Sacrifice," *The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 16 (2012). Contra some have argued that Jesus' death in Luke is hardly presented as atoning. See Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 183–84; Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 28, 22–23. Gerhard Voss, *Die Christologie der lukanischen Schriften in Grundzügen*, StudNeot 2, (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1965), 130. For a summary of the current debate on the nature of the death of Jesus in Luke, see Wilson, *Cross*, 2–22. Against the assertion that the death of Jesus is not vicarious, Kimbell argues that in the communion narrative, Jesus makes a clear link between his vicarious death and salvation (Luke 22:19–20). Further, Karris argues that the declaration of the centurion that Jesus is righteous draws from the metaphor of justice and the suffering of the righteous one, thus attributing soteriological significance to Jesus' death. Robert J. Karris, "Luke 23:47 and the Lucan View of Jesus' Death," *JBL* 105, no. 1 (1986): 67.

τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου (Acts 20:28b) show the vicarious nature of Jesus' death.[627] Some have even contended that Barabbas was the first beneficiary of Jesus' vicarious death.[628] (v) Sacrificial metaphor: the use of the body and blood (Luke 22:19–20) are sacrificial metaphors. The death of Jesus on the cross could have been regarded as shameful. Luke combats the idea of a shameful death by showing that through his acceptance and self-control during his passion, Jesus dies a noble death.[629] The noble death of Jesus in the Lukan narrative of the passion renders Jesus' death exemplary.

Jesus' death also exemplifies his willingness to follow God's purpose. The Lukan Jesus dies as part of salvation history, thus accomplishing his ordained Christological vocation.[630] The accomplishment of God's purpose can be observed through the proleptic pronouncements about Jesus' death— Simeon's oracles (Luke 2:29–3; the Nazareth pronouncement (Luke 4:16–30); passion prediction (Luke 9:21–22; Luke 9:43b–45; Luke 18:31–34).[631] The use of the divine δεῖ in verses related to the passion of Jesus (Luke 9:22, 13:33, 17:25; 22:37; 24:7, 26, 44) also relates the death of Jesus to the divine necessity.[632] Luke further indicates that while Jesus would prefer not to endure the cross,[633] he submits

[627] Monique Cuany, "Jesus, Barabbas and the People: The Climax of Luke's Trial Narrative and Lukan Christology (Luke 23.13–25)," *JSNT* 39, no. 4 (2017): 442; Howard I. Marshall, "The Place of Acts 20.28 in Luke's Theology of the Cross," in *Reading Acts Today: Essays in Honour of Loveday C. A. Alexander*, ed. Walton Steve et al., LNTS 427 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 154–70.

[628] Cuany, "Lukan Christology," 443, 47–50; Robert L. Merritt, "Jesus Barabbas and the Paschal Pardon," *JBL* 104, no. 1 (1985): 68; John Raymond Kimbell, "The Atonement in Lukan Theology" (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2008).

[629] Asikainen, *Ideal Masculinities*, 159–60; Sterling, "Death," 383–402; D'Angelo, "Women," 453; John Kloppenborg, "Exitus clari viri: The Death of Jesus in Luke," *TJT* 8, no. 1 (1992): 106–20.

[630] Wilson, *Cross*, 111–27. Cuany, "Lukan Christology," 452–53. Mittmann asserts that Isaiah 53 is crucial to the Christological identity of Jesus in Luke-Acts. Ulrike Mittmann-Richert, *Der Sühnetod des Gottesknechts: Jesaja 53 im Lukasevangelium*, WUNT 220, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 89–110.

[631] Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 28A, 1410; Wilson, *Cross*, 40–49.

[632] Cosgrove, "Δεῖ," 174; Kimbell, "Atonement," 6–7.

[633] Vogt, *Patience*, 104.

to the βούλομαι of God (Luke 23:42).[634] Finally, Luke places the three mockeries of Jesus (Jews, soldiers, and one of the thieves) together. By grouping the three mockery pericopes, Luke again emphasises Jesus' resolve to follow the plan of God. In these mockeries Jesus is repetitively invited to save himself, thus tempting Jesus to take a course of action contrary to the purpose of God.[635] In refusing to respond to the triple challenge to save himself, Jesus further demonstrates his submission to the purpose of God and his commitment to save others.[636] Jesus' death continues to portray him as someone willing to accomplish God's purpose for him and is thus exemplary.

10.4.2 Category 4 – Illustrative Action: Words of Jesus on the Cross Illustrate his Intent to Follow the Plan of God and Highlight His Exceptional Moral Character

Three statements of Jesus from the cross (Luke 23:34, 43, 46) demonstrate that he displays exemplary moral standards and is disposed to accomplish God's plan. These are Jesus' pronouncement of forgiveness (Luke 23:34), his promise of paradise to the penitent criminal (Luke 23:42), and his quoting Psalm 30:6 to commit his spirit to God (Luke 23:46). The forgiveness logion portrays Jesus as a virtuous person. The promise to the repentant criminal and the last words of Jesus in Luke portray Jesus as one who places his trust in God.

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[634] Jesus' words πάτερ, εἰ βούλει παρένεγκε τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· πλὴν μὴ τὸ θέλημά μου ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν γινέσθω in the Lukan narrative indicates a submission to the predetermined plan of God. Brown indicates that God is the subject of βούλομαι in Luke, which implies a predetermined decision from God. Brown, *Death*, 1, 171.

[635] If Jesus delivers himself from the cross, he defeats the purpose of being the Messiah. It is impossible for the Messiah to come into the world to save himself instead of others. Although Williams' article focuses on Mark, his comments apply to Luke's mocking scene. Joel F. Williams, "Foreshadowing, Echoes, and the Blasphemy at the Cross (Mark 15:29)," *JBL* 132, no. 4 (2013): 916.

[636] Kingsbury, *Conflict*, 67. The idea that Jesus follows God's purpose is further confirmed by the fact that the passion of Jesus has been predicted in the Gospel of Luke three times (Luke 9:21–22; Luke 9:43b–45; Luke 18:31-34). The third passion prediction continues to convey that Jesus' death accomplishes God's purpose as it mentions that it fulfils the scriptures.

Jesus' prayer of forgiveness, πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἴδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν (Luke 23:34) asserts his moral superiority.[637] In Greco-Roman discourse, people with higher morals do not need forgiveness. Forgiveness is given to those who have offended and need punishment.[638] From the discussion of compositional selectivity (10.2.1), it is evident that Luke emphasises the forgiveness logion since the prayer of forgiveness is unique to Luke.[639]

Jesus' superior moral standard is emphasised by the immediate context of physical and moral violence. The physical violence is evident in the crucifixion (Luke 23:33) and the moral violence is observed through the triple mockery of Jesus (Luke 23:33–39). The prayer of forgiveness in a context of violence against Jesus portrays him as non-vindictive, thus morally superior.[640] The forgiveness logion is also contrary to the Jewish martyr's prayer in Maccabees. Typically, a Jewish martyr prays for God to punish their torturers, denying them of resurrection.[641] Contrary to the Jewish martyr's prayer, the prayer of forgiveness demonstrates Jesus' love towards others.[642] That prayer for forgiveness of his persecutors portrays Jesus as one with higher moral virtues.

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[637] There is some debate among the scholarly community about the addressee/s of these words. Brown argues that the words are addressed to the Romans and Jews. Brown, *Death*, 2, 973. Blum, while maintaining that the Jews were responsible for the death of Jesus, argues that those words are addressed to the Roman soldiers who might not know what they were doing. Matthias Blum, *Denn sie Wissen Nicht, was sie tun: Zur Rezeption der Fürbitte Jesu am Kreuz (Lk 23,34a) in der Antiken Jüdisch-Christlichen Kontroverse*, NTAbh 46, (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2004).
This debate is not relevant to this study in mimesis. The forgiveness logion is relevant to our study in as much as it depicts Jesus as a person who possesses superior moral standards.

[638] Sławomir Szkredka, "'Father, Forgive Them' (Luke 23:34a): Conflicting Interpretations and the Lucan Territory of Forgiveness," *CBQ* 84, no. 1 (2022): 85.

[639] As discussed in appendix 2, despite the possibility that this verse is a textual variant, the evidence points to the authenticity of the verse in the Lukan narrative.

[640] Szkredka, "Forgive Them," 92–93.

[641] Brown observes these requests in 2 Macc 7:14, 19, 31, 35-36; 4 Macc 9:30; 10:11; 11:3). Brown, *Death*, 2, 978.

[642] Blum, *Wissen Nicht*, 27; Brown, *Death*, 2, 976.

The second statement of Jesus on the cross, ἀμήν σοι λέγω, σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ (Luke 23:42), continues to affirm Jesus as one who accomplishes God's plan. The penitent criminal asks Jesus to remember him (μνήσθητί μου) (Luke 23:42). The word μιμνῄσκομαι ('remembering') is associated with God's mercy and his saving works.[643]

The response of Jesus functions as an expression of grace. The first evidence of grace is seen as Jesus promises paradise despite the criminal's status as κακοῦργος and the absence of explicit confession.[644] His status as a κακοῦργος is confirmed by his double admission of guilt (Luke 23:41).[645] Along with his status as a κακοῦργος, the criminal does not confess his wrongdoing.[646] Thus the extension of paradise to a κακοῦργος is an expression of grace.

The magnanimity of the grace extended is apparent as Jesus' promise far exceeds the criminal's request. The penitent criminal's request, μνήσθητί μου ὅταν ἔλθῃς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου (Luke 23:42), is an appeal to be part of the kingdom of Christ.[647] Jesus promises him the eschatological reality of the kingdom emphasised here by the use of the

[643] See Otto Michel, "Μιμνῄσκομαι, Μνεία, Μνήμη, Μνῆμα, Μνημεῖον, Μνημονεύω,," in *TDNT*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids, MI: Eedermans, 1964), 675; Brown, *Death*, 2, 984. The association between remembrance and the saving activity of God is evident through intratextuality (see Luke 1:54, 72). Furthermore, in Crisler's intertextual analysis that traces the use of μιμνῄσκομαι in second temple literature, LXX and early Christian prayers, he observes that the request of the criminal, μνήσθητί μου, is a desire to be forgiven of his sins and delivered from judgment. Channing L. Crisler, "The Divine Christology of 'Remember Me' (Luke 23:42) in Light of Lament," *TynBul* 74 (2023): 166–78.

[644] In contrast to Mark's and Matthew's descriptions of the two crucified with Jesus as λῃστής (Mark 15:27; Matt 27:38), Luke identifies them as criminals (κακοῦργος) (Luke23:32–33, 39). A κακοῦργος is defined as "one who does evil," "the malefactor,' "the villain,"
Walter Grundmann, "Κακός,Ἄκακος, Κακία, Κακόω, Κακῦργος, Κακοήθεια, Κακοποιέω, Κακοποιός,Ἐγκακιέω, Ἀνεξίκακος," in *TDNT*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964), 3. 484.

[645] Szkredka, "Forgive Them," 93.

[646] Bock, *Luke*, 1856.

[647] Michel, "Μιμνῄσκομαι," 675.

word παράδεισος (Luke 23:43).[648] Through the promise of paradise to the penitent criminal Jesus continues to portray himself as fulfilling the plan of God.

The final words of Jesus on the cross, πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μο*υ* (Luke 23:46), continue to affirm Jesus as a mimetic hero who displays a Christian virtue of faith in God and by extension also affirms his commitment to the fulfilment of the plan of God.[649] The faith of Jesus is made more evident by Luke's compositional selectivity and his use of Ps 31:5 in Luke 23:46. As observed in 10.2.1, the last words of Jesus in Luke are different from those in Mark's and Matthew's Gospels.[650] Mark and Matthew portray Jesus uttering a cry of desperation, ελωι ελωι λεμα σαβαχθανι (Mark 15:34) or ηλι ηλι λεμα σαβαχθανι (Matt 27:46). On the contrary, the word παρατίθημι (Luke 23:46) is a declaration of faith. It means to entrust someone into another's care or commit into another's hand.[651] It points to Jesus' demonstrating faith by entrusting himself to God at the point of death.

The faith of Jesus is further acknowledged by the quotation from Psalm 31:5. This verse, taken from a psalm that expresses trust in God, further confirms the strength of Jesus' faith.[652] The presence of πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου in the

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[648] παράδεισος refers to the eschatological garden or paradise or the abode of the righteous. Bock, *Luke*, 1857; Nicholas Perrin, *Luke*, ed. J. Schnabel Eckhard, Tyndale New Testament Commentaries, (Downer Groves, Il: InterVarsity Press, 2022), 461; Brown, *Death*, 2, 1011–12.
That eschatological promise becomes reality as the result of the death and the resurrection of Jesus. See Byrne, "Jesus," 94; Mittmann-Richert, *Sühnetod*, 89; Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 28A, 1510.

[649] Brown highlights the importance of the words when he says, 'in any good drama, the last words of the main character are especially significant.' Brown, *Death*, 2, 1045.
Several scholars recognise the faith element in this prayer, such as Bock, *Luke*, 1861; Ryszard Zawadzki, "The Prayer of Jesus on the Cross," *Verbum Vitae* 22 (2012): 105; Green, *Luke*, 826.

[650] Also observed by Nolland, *Luke c*, 1158. Zawadzki, "Prayer," 105; Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 28A, 1512, 15.

[651] "παρατίθημι,' *BDAG*, 722; "παρατίθημι," *LSJ*, 1327.

[652] Although Psalm 31 is a Psalm of Lament, and part of it echoes the lament of Psalm 22, Luke chooses the words that express trust and portrays him as acknowledging that the cross accomplishes the purpose of God. Rebekah A. Eklund, "Jesus Laments (or Does He?): The Witness of the Fourfold Gospel," *The Covenant Quarterly* 72, no. 3–4 (2014): 11.

Gospel of Luke allows the implied readers to recognise Jesus as a righteous hero who places his trust in the Father.

10.4.3 Category 4 — Illustrative Actions – Judas' Actions Portray him as an Evil Character

In this section Judas' actions are investigated in the context of mimesis. Judas' actions portray him as a mimetic figure to be avoided.[653] His actions are limited to the Jerusalem section of the Lukan narrative. As observed earlier, Luke depicts him as a flat character who acts exclusively as a traitor.[654] His actions in the plot to kill Jesus echo his earlier identification in Luke 6:16.

Judas' conferral with the ἀρχιερεῖς and his volunteering to betray Jesus (Luke 22:4) portray him as despicable person unworthy of imitation. The reader is aware that the ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ λαοῦ were seeking to destroy Jesus (Luke 19:47–48) and that they were seeking to put Jesus to death (Luke 22:1–2). However, in both cases, their plans to kill Jesus were rendered powerless because they were afraid of the people. Judas' action offers the leaders an opportunity to carry out their plot against Jesus without being inhibited.[655]

Luke 23:46 (Ps 31:5) was quoted at the hour of death by righteous Jews. Jan Dochhorn, "'Vater, in Deine Hände Übergebe ich Meinen Geist': Das Kreuzeswort Jesu in Lk 23,46 und die Rezeption von Ps 31,6 im Frühen Judentum und Christentum," *Early Christianity* 2, no. 4 (2011): 470; Heidrun Gunkel, *Der Heilige Geist bei Lukas: Theologisches Profil, Grund und Intention der Lukanischen Pneumatologie*, WUANT 389, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 101. This prayer was used before sleep by pious Jews. Marshall, *Luke*, 874.

[653] Since Luke does not report any of Judas' words or feelings, his actions are therefore critical to his characterisation. Clivaz remarks on the importance of Judas' actions, 'Le seul accès à l'intériorité de Judas est à décrypter au travers ses actions et des ses mouvements, à la fois concrets et métaphoriques.' Clivaz, "Judas," 403.

[654] Gubar contends that the Gospel presents Judas consistently as evil. See Gubar, *Judas*, 76. Earlier in the Lukan narrative, through a direct characterisation, the narrator foreshadows Judas as a προδότης (Luke 6:16), anticipating the future role of the character. It predisposes the reader (implied or real) to see Judas as a negative character apt for *aphormē.* Green, *Luke*, 260; Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 28, 620.

[655] Bock, *Luke*, 1575. Clivaz notes that the narrator's words ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα· suggest that Judas knew how to betray Jesus. Clivaz, "Judas," 405.

Luke's compositional selectivity accentuates the negative role of Judas in the arresting crowd. It was noted in 10.2.1 that, in contrast to Mark's and Matthew's, more neutral terms for Judas' arrival with the arresting crowd, παραγίνομαι (Mark 14:43) and ἔρχομαι (Matt 26:47), Luke's use of προήρχετο αὐτοὺς in Luke 22:47 shows that Judas plays a preeminent role in the arrest of Jesus as he was leading the arrest party.[656]

The absence of a response from Judas to Jesus' question, Ἰούδα φιλήματι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδως; (Luke 22:48) characterises him as a person of shame. As noted under compositional selectivity (10.2.1), this is unique to Luke. The use of questions in the first-century Mediterranean world was agonistic. It amounted to a challenge to the addressee's honour by the interlocutor.[657] Judas' inability to counter the question results in a loss of honour for the one questioned.[658] The failure of Judas to respond to Jesus is a way in which he is characterise as a shameful character in the Gospel of Luke and is thus unfit for emulation.

10.5 Category 5 – *Synkrisis*: Comparing Jesus and Judas to other Subjects

In the next three sections, following the mimetic categories established from the Greco-Roman literature, instances of internal *synkrisis* in the passion narrative comparing Jesus and Judas to other subjects are identified. Those *synkriseis* consistently characterise

[656] Προέρχομαι means 'to precede as leader.' "προέρχομαι," BDAG, 868.

[657] Neyrey and Rohrbaugh contend that in the first century, a question amounts to a challenge to a person's honour. The way to overcome that challenge is through a counterquestion. Jerome H. Neyrey, "Questions, "Chreiai", and Challenges to Honor: The Interface of Rhetoric and Culture in Mark's Gospel," *CBQ* 60, no. 4 (1998): 657–81; Richard L. Rohrbaugh, "Honor: Core Value in the Biblical World," in *Understanding the Social World of the New Testament*, ed. Richard E. DeMaris and Dietmar Neufeld (London: Routledge, 2010), 114. Notably, the Gospel of Luke uses the technique of questioning extensively. More than 150 questions are found in the whole narrative, 100 of which are attributed to Jesus. Smith argues that questions should be understood from the perspective of honour and shame relevant to the first-century Mediterranean world. According to Smith, a question and a counterquestion are part of the agonistic nature of a society based on honour and shame. A failure to respond to a question amounts to a loss of honour. See Smith, "Question," 172–75.

[658] Reich, *Figuring*, 85.

Jesus as a mimetic character worthy of emulation and Judas as a character worthy of disassociation.

10.5.1 A *Synkrisis* Contrasts Jesus' Innocence with Barabbas Guilt of Violence

A *synkrisis* between Barabbas and Jesus (Luke 23:18–25) enhances the characterisation of Jesus as a virtuous, mimetic person, worthy of emulation. The *synkrisis* presents Jesus as innocent while Barabbas is guilty of crimes that Jesus was accused of committing.[659] The *synkrisis* is encouraged by the particle δέ (Luke 23:18) as a marker of contrast.[660]

Luke, through his narrator's voice, characterises Barabbas as ὅστις ἦν διὰ στάσιν τινὰ γενομένην ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ φόνον βληθεὶς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ (Luke 23:19). This characterisation is again affirmed in Luke 23:25, making this characterisation emphatic.[661] Jesus, on the contrary, is characterised as innocent throughout the passion narrative.[662] Jesus' innocence

[659] Byrne, "Jesus," 92; Garland, *Luke*, 908.
There are other *synkriseis* one can observe. For example, one can highlight the differences between the murderous and violent Barabbas in the portrayal of Jesus as a person opposed to a violent revolution. He rebuked his disciples when they brought two swords to him (Luke 22:38) and healed the high Priest's ear (Luke 22:47–51). Barabbas challenged the peace of Jerusalem (Luke 23:19) but Jesus wept over the loss of peace in Jerusalem (Luke 19:41–44). In this section, however, attention is given to the *synkrisis* between the criminal Barabbas and the innocent Jesus evident from to their proximity in the narrative.

[660] "δέ," *BDAG*, 329–30. McIver, *Intermediate*, 313.
Some have argued that Jesus was known as Bar Abba. They take their evidence from the textual variant in Matt 27:17 that identifies Jesus as Barabbas. Some claim that whenever Jesus would use the name, son of God, he would have uttered bar Abba. See Horace Abram Rigg, "Barabbas," *JBL* 64, no. 4 (1945): 417–56; H. Z. Maccoby, "Jesus and Barabbas," *NTS* 16, no. 1 (1969): 55–60; Stevan L. Davies, "Who is called Bar Abbas?," *NTS* 27, no. 2 (1981): 260–62. Rigg, Maccoby and Davis are wrong in their assertion that Barabbas was Jesus and that Pilate did not give a choice between Jesus and another individual called Barabbas. However, if Jesus' nickname was indeed Bar Abba, the *synkrisis* between Jesus and Barabbas would be strengthened.

[661] As noted in section 10.2.1, this emphatic characterisation of Barabbas is the result of Luke's compositional selectivity.

[662] Some of the accusations against Jesus are similar to those committed by Barrabas (Luke 23:2.5) Bock, *Luke*, 1829. Mark Jeong, "The Collapse of Society in Luke 23: A Thucydidean Take on Jesus' Passion," *NTS* 67, no. 3 (2021): 329–30. Bryne points out that Barabbas was 'a choice in favour of the kind of violent course the accusers are trying — totally unjustly — to pin on Jesus. Byrne, "Jesus," 91.

is also emphatic in Luke as it is repeatedly affirmed by Pilate (Luke 23:4, 14b–15, 23).[663] Luke accentuates the innocence of Jesus by mentioning that Herod the tetrarch found no reason to condemn Jesus (Luke 23:15).[664] The *synkrisis* between Jesus and Barabbas highlights the innocence of Jesus, making him an honourable character worth emulating.

10.5.2 *Synkrisis* Between Jesus and Peter Portrays Jesus as a Person of Courage

A *synkrisis* between Jesus and Peter highlights Jesus' exemplary courage. Luke's removal of the night trial (see 10.2.1) places Peter's denial within the immediate narrative proximity of the trials of Jesus, thus encouraging a *synkrisis* between Jesus' courage and Peter's reckless cowardice.[665] Reckless cowardice is defined as a show of fearlessness but fleeing in the face of real danger (Aristotle *Eth. nic.* 3.6–3.7).[666] Peter's reckless cowardice is displayed in comparison with his earlier commitment to follow Jesus to prison or death (Luke 22:33). However, his public denials display cowardice. Jesus, on the contrary, shows steadfast courage until his crucifixion.

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[663] John T. Carroll, "Luke's Crucifixion Scene," in *Reimaging the Death of the Lukan Jesus*, ed. Dennis D. Sylva, BBB 73 (Frankfurt am Main: Anton Hain, 1990), 117; Kimbell, "Atonement," 85–86. Jonathan Bourgel, "Les Récits Synoptiques de la Passion préservent-ils une Couche Narrative Composée à la Veille de la Grande Révolte Juive?," *NTS* 58, no. 4 (2012): 517.

[664] Most scholars interpret ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἡρῴδης (Luke 23:15) as an indication that neither Pilate nor Herod find him guilty. Bovon, Koester, and Crouch, *Luke 3*, 281. Brown, *Death*, 1, 792. The inclusion of Jesus' trial before Herod heightens Jesus' innocence. Herod, who was previously characterised as evil (Luke 3:19) and a fox (Luke 13: 39), beheaded John the Baptist (Luke 9:9) and tried to kill Jesus (Luke 13:31) but found no grounds (Luke 23:15) to condemn Jesus.

[665] Luke softens the image of Peter. He does not swear, as in Mark 14:70. Marshall, *Luke*, 839; Bock, *Luke*, 1786; Garland, *Luke*, 890; Evans, *Luke*, 84; Brisio J. Oropeza, *In the Footsteps of Judas and Other Defectors: The Gospels, Acts and Johannine Letters* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2011), 132; Finn Damgaard, "Moving the People to Repentance: Peter in Luke-Acts," in *Peter in Early Christianity*, ed. Hellen K. Bond and Larry W. Hurtado (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2015), 122. The softening of the image of Peter is also evident in the other narratives of the Gospel of Luke. For example, Luke does not include Peter's rebuke to Jesus and Jesus' rebuke of Peter in Luke 9:18–20 as Mark does in Mark 8:32–33. During the failure of the disciples to pray in Gethsemane, Luke does not single out Peter, unlike Mark and Matthew (see Luke 22:39–46 cf. Mark 14:37; Matt 26:40). This softening of the image of Peter does not, however, diminish the significance of the *synkrisis* between Jesus and Peter but heightens it as the denial represents the only negative portrayal of Peter in the Gospel of Luke.

[666] Lorraine s. Pangle, "The Anatomy of Courage in Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics," *The Review of Politics* 80 (2018): 577.

Jesus' courage is evident as he faces more challenging circumstances than Peter. Peter was questioned, εἶπον (Luke 22:56); φημί (Luke 22:58) and διϊσχυρίζετο λέγων (Luke 22:59), but Jesus faced a stronger challenge as he was accused (κατηγορέω) (Luke 23:2, 10) of subverting the nation.[667] Peter faced questioning from people who had little power (Luke 22:56–60). One of those who confronted him was a slave girl (παιδίσκη) whose testimony is inevitably questionable.[668] Jesus on the other hand, is confronted by people of high status in the Jewish society, the high priest, scribes, rulers and the people (Luke 22:66; 23: 10). He then faces high-ranking officials among the Roman authorities— Pilate (Luke 23:1) and Herod (Luke 23:6–11). Unlike Peter, Jesus had to endure numerous mockeries (Luke 22:63–65; 23:35–39); Peter faced no such mockeries. The *synkrisis* highlights Jesus' courage and steadfastness to God's plan (Luke 22:42) in the face of cruel challenges, suffering, and agony.[669] Jesus' courage, compared to Peter's cowardice, makes Jesus a mimetic character worth imitating.

10.5.3 Category 5 — *Synkrisis*: *Synkrisis* between Judas and Peter Portrays Judas as Suitable for *Aphormē*

In this section an internal *synkrisis* between Judas and Peter is examined. This *synkrisis* continues to characterise Judas as an immoral character unfit for mimesis, thus apt for disassociation (*aphormē*). The *synkrisis* is evident in the proximity of the two narratives.[670] As noted in section 10.2.1, the omission of the night trial in the Lukan narrative (cf. Mark 14:53–65; Matt 26:57–68), places those two narratives side by side.

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[667] Friedrich Büchsel, "Κατήγορος, Κατήγωρ, Κατηγορέω, Κατηγορία," in *TDNT*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964), 3. 636.

[668] Marshall, *Luke*, 839; Bock, *Luke*, 1786.

[669] Soards, "Literary," 92.

[670] It is telling that a *synkrisis* between Peter and Judas highlights Judas for *aphormē,* considering the previous discussion about Peter's cowardice. The contrast between Peter and Judas has been acknowledged

The *synkrisis* points to a far greater offence committed by Judas than by Peter.[671] Judas delivered Jesus to the authorities (παραδίδωμι – Luke 22:4, 6, 48). In delivering Jesus, Judas made a common cause with the Jewish authorities. The Jewish authorities have been trying to arrest Jesus (Luke 19:47–48; 22:2). In the passion narrative, Judas and the Jewish authorities join their efforts as part of a coalition of darkness (Luke 22:53). By comparison, Peter's threefold denial (ἀρνέομαι, ἀπαρνέομαι Luke 22:57, 61), in which he denies any knowledge of Jesus (Luke 22:57), his association with the disciples (Luke 22:58), and that he is a Galilean (Luke 22:60) is a lesser offence than Judas' betrayal.[672]

Jesus foreshadows Peter's remorse (Luke 22:32) and the Lukan narrative narrates Peter's remorse (Luke 22:62). In contrast, the Lukan narrative has foreshadowed Judas as a traitor (Luke 6:16) and no remorse is noted from Judas.[673] The lack of remorse from Judas in Luke is noteworthy as Judas's remorse is noted in Matthew's Gospel (Matt 27:3–5). Luke's

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by the following scholars: Bock, *Luke*, 1140, 674, 750; Clement Grene, "Cowardice, Betrayal and Discipleship: Peter and Judas in the Gospels" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2018), 220–21.

[671] It is worth noting that Satan enters Judas (Luke 22:3) while Satan only tried to claim Peter but was prevented by Jesus' prayer (Luke 22:31–32).

[672] Acknowledging the offence by Judas does not minimise Peter's denial. Luke's choice of words shows the gravity of Peter's denial. Peter replies to the servant girl and the first man οὐκ οἶδα (Luke 22:57,58). The perfect tense οἶδα with the negation οὐκ conveys the strength of Peter's denial. It is reminiscent of a Jewish ban formula used for those who are dismissed from the synagogue: "I have never known you." Marshall, *Luke*, 842; Bock, *Luke*, 1783.
The use of the imperfect ἔφη in the second man's accusation portrays a continuous accusation. That accusation is met with a similar imperfect from Peter ἔφη denoting his continuous denial (Luke 22:58). However, it is here contended that Judas' offence is far greater than Peter's, thus making him a mimetic character for *aphormē*.
The words ἀρνέομαι and ἀπαρνέομαι (Luke 22:57, 61) mean refuse to consent or refuse to acknowledge. "ἀρνέομαι," and "ἀπαρνέομαι," *BDAG,* 132. Pheme Perkins, *Peter: Apostle for the Whole Church*, Studies on Personalities of the New Testament, (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2022), 87.

[673] Oropeza, *Footsteps*, 133. Ascough notes that a pattern of initial acceptance, rejection and final acceptance is found in Luke-Acts. The final acceptance is often a marker of repentance. Peter is an example of those who initially accepted Jesus, then rejected him (Luke 22:54–62), but ultimately repented and completely rehabilitated. Ascough, "Rejection," 356–58. See also Finn Damgaard, *Rewriting Peter as an Intertextual Character in the Canonical Gospels* (London: Routledge, 2016), 78–79. Contrary to Ascough's pattern, Judas initially accepted Jesus, but after his betrayal, he does not return to Jesus and is never rehabilitated. Instead, he commits suicide (Acts 1:18–20).

The lack of mention of Judas' remorse emphasises his guilt. Peter's remorse also shows that his denial was temporary, contrary to the permanence of Judas' betrayal. It begins Peter's rehabilitation, which is completed in Acts, where he takes the role of proclaimer of the Gospel. The Lukan *synkrisis* between Judas and Peter continues to characterise Judas as a character to be avoided (*aphormē*)

10.6 Category 6 — Cause and effect: Judas Acting Under the Influence of Satan is Blameworthy

The category cause-and-effect is based on the findings in the Greco-Roman literature (section 4.6., 5.6, 6.6). Luke 22:3–6 offers a cause-and-effect construct, allowing the reader to identify Judas as a mimetic figure to be avoided. The cause-and-effect is identified as Judas conspires against Jesus with the chief priests and the guards as the result of Satan's entering him (Luke 22:3-4).[674] The cause-and-effect construct is highlighted as none of the Synoptic Gospels highlights the indwelling of Satan in Judas (section 10.2.1). The conjunction καὶ (Luke 22:4, 6) is here a marker of cause and effect introducing the result that flows from a precedent action.[675] The εἰσῆλθεν by Satan is followed by Judas' ἀπελθὼν to the authorities.[676] As a person under the influence of Satan, this cause-and-effect scenario frames Judas as a blameworthy character that the reader should not emulate.

[674] Clivaz, "Judas," 405; Cornelis Bennema, "Judas the Betrayer: The Black Sheep of the Family," in *Character Studies in the Fourth Gospel: Narrative Approaches to Seventy Figures in John*, ed. Steven A. Hunt, D. Francois Tolmie, and Ruben Zimmermann, WUNT 314 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 367, 69.

[675] McIver, *Intermediate*, 313.

[676] The cause-and-effect construct as the result of the indwelling of Satan is observed by Clivaz. See Clivaz, "Judas," 404–05.

10.7.1 Category 7— Evaluation by Internal Audience — Despite Conflicting Evaluation, Jesus is Found to a Trustworthy Mimetic Character.

The evaluation of the internal audience is critical in the passion narrative, as the effect of a crucifixion can only have a desired effect through the evaluation of the crowd.[677] As such this category is crucial to the characterisation of Jesus.

As observed in the Greco-Roman literature, evaluations by the internal audience are used to characterise mimetic subjects by showing the perception of mimetic characters by other subjects within the narrative. Their perceptions enable the characterisation of mimetic subjects as either good or bad (see 5.7, 6.7, 7.7.1).

The characterisation of Jesus through the evaluation of the internal audience reveals conflicting reactions. Pilate, the women of Jerusalem, the repentant criminal, and the centurion have positive reactions.[678] Conversely, the leaders of the people and their proxies express negative reactions. Furthermore, the soldiers, the unrepentant criminal, and the people also express a negative reaction through their mockery of Jesus. Since there are conflicting reactions, in this section a hierarchy is established to determine which reactions carry more weight (See section 6.8, 7.7.3, 9.1.5.3). As in the Greco-Roman literature, the evaluation that is closest to the plot often reflects the moralising intent of the text.

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[677] Robyn Whitaker, "A Failed Spectacle: The Role of the Crowd in Luke 23," *BibInt* 25, no. 3 (2017): 400; Hengel, *Crucifixion*, 49–50; K. M. Coleman, "Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments," *JRS* 80 (1990): 53–54.

[678] The people and the women κόπτω and θρηνέω (Luke 23:27) over Jesus. The word κόπτω involves beating one's breast to show a strong feeling of remorse. The word θρηνέω also expresses lament in the form of a hymn of grief. The two verbs demonstrate remorse and pain. "Κόπτω," *BDAG*, 559. Gustav Stählin, "κοπετός, κόπτω," in *TDNT*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids, MI: Eedermans, 1964), 3:830; "Θρηνέω," *BDAG*, 458. Klein observes that lament or remorse expressed for someone condemned was unusual as it was prohibited. In the light of Klein's observation, the mourning and lament of the people and the women is an act of protest over the condemnation of Jesus. 'Es war nicht gestattet, einene zum Tode Verurteilten zu betrauern.' Klein, *Lukasevangelium*, 705; Sung Min Hong, "Those who Weep Now Shall Laugh: Reversal of Weeping in the Gospel of Luke" (PhD diss., Westminister Theological Seminary, 2015), 185; Garland, *Luke*, 918; Bock, *Luke*, 1845; Green, *Luke*, 815; Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 28A, 1497.

One of the conflicting evaluations by the internal audience sets the Jewish company and Pilate in opposition. On the one hand, a company (ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν) composed of high priests, scribes, elders, and council bring charges (κατηγορέω) against Jesus (Luke 23:2). On the other hand, Pilate affirms that there are no grounds to condemn Jesus (αἴτος – Luke 23:4; 14, 22). As observed in section 10.2.1, the triple affirmation by Pilate is unique to the Gospel of Luke. It also makes the pronouncement that Jesus is guiltless emphatic. Luke's use of assonance in the sentence εὑρίσκω αἴτιον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ (Luke 23:4) has the effect of accentuating Pilate's declaration of Jesus innocence.[679]

Luke portrays the trial of Jesus as a legal proceeding. In that context, the evaluation of the Roman official is more authoritative than that of the Jewish company.[680] Therefore, Pilate, as the prefect of Rome, would have a more authoritative voice in the legal proceeding than the Jerusalem officials or the crowd.[681] Furthermore, the accusers of Jesus should not be viewed as reliable voices as they bear false testimony.[682] Thus, in the conflicting reaction opposing Pilate and the Jewish authorities, the reaction of Pilate

[679] Heather M. Gorman, "Interweaving Innocence: A Rhetorical Analysis of Luke's Passion Narrative" (PhD diss., Baylor University, 2013), 118. Reich shows that assonance and alliteration are well-known rhetorical devices in the 1st century. Their use allows accentuation by the implied author and helps to memorise a concept. Reich, *Figuring*, 7, 19, 37–39. The use of assonance here assisted implied readers to memorise Pilate's declaration of innocence.

[680] The word ἐπικρίνω (Luke 23:24) carries a judicial overtone and reveals that the appearance of Jesus before Pilate was a judicial trial. Joseph B. Tyson, *The Death of Jesus in Luke-Acts* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1986), 170; Paul W. Walaskay, "The Trial and Death of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke," *JBL* 94, no. 1 (1975): 91–92. Furthermore, Cuany and Wilson point out that the absence of the Jewish custom to free a prisoner emphasises the judicial emphasis in the Lukan account. Cuany, "Lukan Christology," 450; Wilson, *Cross*, 113.

[681] Luke 13:1 points out that Pilate was known to be mean, cruel, and capricious. However, circumstantial evidence indicates that Pilate was good at upholding Roman justice. See Walaskay, "Trial," 85–86.

[682] Their accusation, κωλύοντα φόρους Καίσαρι διδόναι (Luke 23:1), is known to be false because Jesus had already responded to the scribes and the chief priests encouraging the payment of tax to Caesar (Luke 20:19–24).

declaring that Jesus is αἴτος is hierarchically superior. It portrays Jesus as a righteous hero, worthy of emulation.

Another conflicting reaction is seen when the centurion's reaction is compared to the reactions of the crowd, the soldiers, and the unrepentant criminal. The centurion expresses a positive reaction, declaring Jesus to be δίκαιος (Luke 23:47). As observed in section 10.2.1, the declaration of the centurion is the result of Luke's selectivity, differing from Mark's rendering of the centurion's declaration that Jesus was the son of God (Mark 15:38). In complete contrast to the centurion, the crowd, the soldiers, and the criminal are unremittent in their mockery of Jesus (Luke 23:35, 36,39). The centurion, by virtue of his rank, is contrasted with the crowd and the soldiers and offers a hierarchically superior evaluation of Jesus.[683] The evaluation of Jesus as δίκαιος reinforces his status as a righteous mimetic hero apt for emulation.

10.7.2 Category 7 — Evaluation of Judas by Internal Audience

Jesus, as part of the internal audience, offers two reactions to his betrayal by Judas. The first is a cry of woe to the perpetrator of the betrayal (Luke 22:22b). In the next, Jesus puts a question to Judas: Ἰούδα, φιλήματι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδως (Luke 22:48). The question by Jesus denounces Judas' attempt to kiss him as an act of duplicity.[684] Normally, a kiss is a sign of love and respect, but here it becomes a powerful image of betrayal.[685] It is used in the Old Testament prophetic literature and the Gospel of Luke as a

[683] Whitaker, "Failed," 405; Bock, *Luke*, 1863.

[684] Josef Ernst, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (Germany: Regensburg, 1977), 608–09.

[685] Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 28A, 1449; Nolland, *Luke c*, 1088.

judgement proclamation to express disfavour.[686] Both the question and the pronouncement of woe instigate a strong aversion towards Judas making him a character to be avoided.

10.8 Category 9 — Narrator's voice: Judas as one Empowered by Satan Becomes a Mimetic Figure to Avoid

Luke's narrative voice identifies the force behind Judas with the words, εἰσῆλθεν δὲ σατανᾶς εἰς Ἰούδαν (Luke 22:3) thus making him an evil character not to be emulated (*aphormē*).[687] The narrator's words, ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα (Luke 22:3), identifying Judas as one of the close companions of Jesus, draw the attention of readers to the indwelling of Satan in him,[688] and leave the readers of the Gospel of Luke with an expectation of a return of demonic activity later in the narrative. After the temptations of Jesus, the narrator informs the audience that the διάβολος ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄχρι καιροῦ (Luke 4:13). The devil makes several attempts to find an opportune time during the ministry of Jesus but is regularly defeated either by Jesus (Luke 4:13, 33–37; 9:38–42; 11:14) or by those sent by Jesus (Luke 10:18). Through the words εἰσῆλθεν δὲ σατανᾶς εἰς Ἰούδαν the narrator informs the readers that the devil has now returned and taken control of an

[686] Isa 30:1; 31;1; Hos 7:13; 9:12; Amos 6:1; Mic 2:1–3; Luke 6:24–26; 10:13; 11:42–47; 17:1.2. Oropeza, "Judas' Death," 348–49; Waldemar Janzen, *Mourning Cry and Woe Oracle*, Repr. ed., BZABR 125, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 27–39.

[687] Klassen and Paffenroth suggest that Luke tones down the negative image of Judas by claiming that Judas was under the influence of Satan. Klassen, *Judas*, 116–28; Kim Paffenroth, *Judas: Images of the Lost Disciple*, vol. 3 (Louisville, KY: John Knox, 2001), 19–21. Luke does not reduce the culpability of Judas, nor does he soften Judas' image as evidenced by his earlier characterisation as a προδότης (Luke 6:16). Luke now portrays Judas as an active participant in the controversy between the opposing forces of Jesus and Satan. Grene, "Peter and Judas," 229; Hans-Josef Klauck, "Judas der 'Verräter'? Eine Exegetische und Wirkungsgeschichtliche Studie," *ANRW* 1, no. 26 (1992): 726. Furthermore, Robertson points out that Ananias and Sapphira who were influenced by Satan, faced God's retribution. See Jesse E. Robertson, "The Death of Judas: The Characterization of Judas Iscariot in Three Early Christian Accounts of His Death" (PhD diss., Baylor University, 2011), 137.
The perfective aorist εἰσῆλθεν confirms that he is now under the total influence of Satan and his actions should be viewed as being driven by Satan.
In contrast to Judas, the Gospel readers were made aware that Jesus' ministry was powered by the Holy Spirit (Luke 3:22; 4:1, 18).

[688] Edwards, *Luke*, 589–90.

individual.[689] Satan's control over Judas characterises Judas as a character unworthy of imitation.

10.9.1 Category 8 — Evaluative Vocabulary: Words used that Laud Jesus, thus Portraying him as a Character Worthy of Emulation

Luke's passion narrative uses a few laudatory terms for Jesus, presenting him as a mimetic character for emulation. The relevance of evaluative words to either laud or blame a character draws on the findings in the Greco-Roman literature whereby some words provide an appraisal of characters. In the passion narrative, evaluative words laud Jesus and blame Judas.

The first laudatory words are οὐδὲν αἴτιος. In section 10.2.1 it was noted that the words οὐδὲν αἴτιος (Luke 23:4), οὐθὲν αἴτιος (Luke 23:14) and δίκαιος (Luke 23:47b) are evidence of Lukan selectivity. The words οὐδὲν αἴτιος and οὐθὲν αἴτιος affirm that there is no basis for the condemnation of Jesus and make the crucifixion of Jesus a travesty of justice.[690] In the context of the crucifixion, the words οὐδὲν αἴτιος and οὐθὲν αἴτιος affirm the praiseworthiness of Jesus.

The word δίκαιος contributes to the portrayal of Jesus as a praiseworthy person. The word δίκαιος has generated many scholarly discussions, with some arguing that it should be translated as innocent and others as righteous.[691] Since Luke attests that there is no basis

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[689] Robert H. Stein, *Luke*, NAC 24, (Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1992), 535; Robinson, *Judas*, 21.

[690] αἴτιος means 'ground for legal action, complaint or a basis for a charge.' "αἴτιος" *BDAG*, 31.

[691] Kilpatrick renders δίκαιος as innocent. G. D. Kilpatrick, "A Theme of the Lucan Passion Narrative and Luke xxiii. 47," *JTS* 43 (1942): 65–74. Contra, Beck sees that within the immediate context (Luke 23:41 and 23:50) argues that the word cannot have such a narrow meaning, preferring righteous over innocent. Brain E. Beck, "*Imitatio Christi* and the Lucan Passion Narrative," in *Suffering and Martyrdom in the New Testament*, ed. William Horbury and Brian McNeil (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 42. Recently, following the work of Doble, the meaning of the word δίκαιος in Luke was revisited. Doble has argued for an interpretation of the word δίκαιος against the backdrop of Wisdom literature. Thus, according to Doble, the δίκαιος is better rendered as righteous instead of innocent. Peter Doble, *The Paradox of Salvation: Luke's Theology of the Cross*, SNTSMS 87, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 70–160. Neagoe, observes that δίκαιος can be

for Jesus' crucifixion, the context of δίκαιος suggests it is a legal synonym for innocent rather than righteous. As an evaluative word, δίκαιος adds to the multiple affirmations of the innocence of Jesus (Luke 23:4, 14, 15, 22, 41) and demonstrates that Jesus does not die as a shameful criminal but remains a virtuous figure and thus appropriate for mimesis.

10.9.2 Category 8 — Evaluative Vocabulary: The use of Satan in Association with Judas Portrays him Negatively

Luke's use of the name Satan in association with Judas characterises him negatively and identifies the satanic nature of his actions.[692] As observed in 10.2.1, the words εἰσῆλθεν δὲ σατανᾶς (Luke 22:3) are unique to Luke. They characterise Judas negatively as a person under the influence of Satan.[693] In Lukan literature, the name Satan is used negatively. Luke refers to him as an angel falling from heaven (Luke 10:18), as part of the realm of demons (Luke 11:18), as the person responsible for binding the bent-over woman for eighteen years (Luke 13:16), as the one who seeks to sift Peter like wheat (Luke 22:31), as associated with darkness (Luke 26:18) and causing Ananias to lie (Acts 5:3). Relating that that εἰσῆλθεν δὲ σατανᾶς εἰς Ἰούδαν (Luke 22:3) renders Judas a character unworthy of emulation.

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rendered both innocent or righteous. Alexandru Neagoe, *The Trial of the Gospel: An Apologetic Reading of Luke's Trial Narratives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 103.

[692] Robinson, *Judas*, 24. Soards, *Passion*, 107.

[693] In Qumran literature, Satan is referred to as Belial and is associated with darkness. He is a character 'whom God and the righteous hate and who hates God and the righteous'. In the synoptics, Satan is associated with the power of evil whose objective is to destroy humans and wage war against Jesus. A similar pattern is found in the Pauline Epistles where Satan attacks the community. Knut Schäferdiek and Werner Foerster, "Σατανᾶς," in *TDNT* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964), 153–61. Satanas is a graecised form of the Hebrew śātān or Aramaic śātānā, a specific name for the arch devil. Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 28A, 862. The names σατάν and σατανᾶς refer to 'the enemy of God and all of those who belong to God. "σατάν," *BDAG*, 916

10.9.3 Category 8 — Evaluative Vocabulary: A Pronouncement of Woe Acts as an Indicator of Divine Judgement on Judas, Portraying him as a Villain and Apt for Disassociation

The word woe (οὐαὶ —Luke 22:22) pronounced on the betrayer as an indication of God's judgment shows Judas as an ungodly mimetic character not to be emulated.[694] In the Gospel of Luke, pronouncements of woe are used to express disfavour.[695] For example, Luke 6:24–26 shows God's disfavour toward those rich with material possessions. Luke 10:13 shows disfavour for Chorazin and the inhabitants of Bethsaida because of their lack of faith or repentance. In Luke 11:42–44 Jesus calls down woe on the Pharisees and teachers of the law. A pronouncement of woe also expresses the displeasure of God in the form of a judgement (Isa 30:1; 31;1; Hos 7:13; 9:12; Amos 6:1; Mic 2:1–3.[696] The word οὐαὶ, used in Luke 22:22, is pronounced against the one who betrays Jesus and is an expression of God's judgement against Judas and characterises him as unworthy of imitation.

10.10 Category 10 — Stock Virtue: Jesus Displays the Stock Virtues of Courage and Faith

In the passion narrative, Jesus exemplifies the stock virtue of courage and the Christian stock virtue of faith. In line with the observation found in the Greco-Roman writers (sections 4.10, 5.10, 6.12 and 7.8), stock virtues are values based on a shared appraisal.

Courage is a stock virtue observed in the Greco-Roman world and displayed by Jesus in the passion narrative. Courage has remained a traditional core moral virtue since the Greek Philosophers.[697] For those living from the 5th century BC, it was necessary for a

[694] The pronouncement of the woe could also imply God's judgement on the betrayer. Klein, *Lukasevangelium*, 668. The pronouncement of woe is emphatic in Luke. Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 28A, 1410.

[695] Johnson, *Luke*, 108.

[696] Oropeza, "Judas' Death," 348–49.

[697] Concerning courage, Lévystone notes that 'la comprehension est le début de l'ἀρετή, l'ἀνδρεία en est l'accomplissement.' Lévystone, "Courage," 346.

community's survival.[698] Socrates and Aristotle see courage as knowingly facing one's fear, such as death. Aristotle, however, goes further than Socrates, acknowledging that courage is facing death for a greater purpose.[699] Aristotle says, 'ἀνδρεῖος· κατ' ἀξίαν γάρ, καὶ ὡς ἂν ὁ λόγος, πάσχει καὶ πράττει ὁ ἀνδρεῖος΄ (the courageous man suffers and acts in accord with what is worthy and as reason would command' (Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 1115b19–20). Thus, for Aristotle, a courageous person is not fearless but confronts a difficult situation for a noble cause. Luke's depiction of Jesus on the Mount of Olives fits Aristotle's definition of courage. Jesus has been aware that to save the world, he would have to suffer (Luke 9:21–22, 43–45; 18:31-–33). In his last prayer Jesus wishes that the ποτήριον (Luke 22:42)) be taken away from him.[700] In omitting many details provided by Mark (Section 10.2.1), Luke focuses on Jesus' wish that God takes away the cup (παραφέρω) (Luke 22:42) and on his submission to God's will.[701] Luke thus presents Jesus as confronting a difficult situation with courage.

Faith in God is one of the early Christian stock virtues. The New Testament authors often see it as an unwavering trust in God.[702] The New Testament notion of faith is not

[698] Pangle, "Anatomy," 570–71; Javier Echeñique, *Aristotle's Ethics and Moral Responsibility* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2.

[699] Neyrey, *Passion*, 147.

[700] Figurative use of the ποτήριον is a metaphor for the death and suffering of Jesus. Bock, *Luke*, 1759; Green, *Luke*, 780; Marshall, *Luke*, 831. Evans escalates the meaning of the cup by using the Old Testament imagery of the cup to mean the wrath of God. Thus, Jesus is here the object of the wrath of God. Evans, *Luke*, 812. Luke usage of the term 'cup' is metaphorical indicating his death and suffering.

[701] Luke does not include the three-fold prayer of Jesus in Mark but replaces it with one prayer. He removes the Aramaic Αββα and εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν, πάντα δυνατά σοι (Mark 14:35–36). Green, "Jesus," 34–36.

[702] Most authors of the New Testament emphasised the importance of faith as part of Christian living. The Christian understanding of faith differed from the Roman secular understanding of faith. Faith in the New Testament is never used in secular terms such as marriage, friendship, or human interactions. While most New Testament authors address different contexts, the New Testament mainly refers to trust in God. Morgan, *Roman*, 306. Dale Tuggy, "Jesus as an Exemplar of Faith in the New Testament," *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion* 81, no. 1–2 (2016): 173–74; P. H. Rob Van Houwelingen, "The Epistle to the Hebrews: Faith Means Perseverance," *Journal of Early Christian History* 3, no. 1 (2013): 105–09.

merely cognitive. It also includes actions and comportment.[703] In his passion narrative, Luke portrays Jesus' faith through his pronouncement on the cross to the criminal (see also section 10.4.2).[704] In addition, Jesus' final words on the cross are an expression of faith. Jesus' last words as recorded by Luke, πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου (Luke 23:46*)* as recorded by Luke are an expression of faith in God.[705] Luke's words, actions, and the comportment of Jesus in the passion narrative align with the understanding of faith held in the New Testament.

10.11 Limit of Mimesis

In this section some limits to mimesis are considered. Not all characters are mimetic. For example, in the passion narrative the high priest's servant is not a mimetic character. His appearance in the passion narrative does not advance Luke's plot. Furthermore, Luke does not record his deeds or virtues and vices.

Reiterating a concept observed in the study of the Greco-Roman writers (4.11; 5.11, 6.13), mimesis cannot express exact emulation.[706] Mimesis is not exact emulation because Jesus' death on the cross has soteriological implications. There is no situation in life where a follower could emulate the actions of Jesus in his death because of its vicarious soteriological implications. For example, Jesus is able to promise paradise to the penitent

[703] Beth A. Rath, "Christ's Faith, Doubt, and the Cry of Dereliction," *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion* 81, no. 1–2 (2017): 163; Tuggy, "Exemplar," 175.

[704] Neyrey, *Passion*, 148.

[705] Neyrey points out that Jesus' last prayer in Luke is Jesus' assertion that God will raise him from the dead. This point seems quite valid in the light of the many assertions by Jesus about his death and resurrection (Luke 9:22; 18:33; 22:69; 23:43, 46; 24:7, 26, 44–46). Neyrey, *Passion*, 146–53; Bock, *Luke*, 1862.

[706] This issue has been identified by Adam, Hood, and Webster. Adam talks about the double imperative that Christians are confronted with the need to be faithful to the Gospels, and the need to be different. He therefore proposes a non-identical imitation of the actions of 'Jesus and our forebears'. A. K. M. Adam, "Walk this Way: Repetition, Difference, and the Imitation of Christ," *Interpretation* 55, no. 1 (2001): 26–28. Hood sees imitation as a duplication of pattern instead of precise copying. Hood, *Imitating*, 11–12. Webster argues that the 'ontological distinction' between Christ and Christian makes the exact imitation of Jesus impossible. J. B. Webster, "The Imitation of Christ," *TynBul* 37 (1986): 95–96.

sinner. Readers are not expected to imitate Jesus by offering the assurance of paradise.[707] Yet, based on the values portrayed in the passion narrative, a disciple can emulate the cross by leading a life marked by servanthood, sacrifice, and humility.

The cost of discipleship is another example that provides insights into the limitations of mimesis. Luke 14:27, ὅστις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου, οὐ δύναται εἶναί μου μαθητής, implies emulation of the cross of Jesus. However, within the context of Luke, it helps to understand the boundaries of mimesis. It is not a call to take a literal cross as Jesus did. In Luke 14:26, the taking of the cross is defined as εἴ τις ἔρχεται πρός με καὶ οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἔτι τε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ, οὐ δύναται εἶναί μου μαθητής (Luke 14:26) rather than the taking up of a literal cross. Taking one's cross does not correspond to exact action but points to similar principles with different outcomes. Thus, in Luke's passion narrative, emulation is not limitless as not all subjects are mimetic, and mimesis does not entail exact imitation.

10.12 Conclusion of the Passion Narrative.

This discussion of the passion narrative focuses on two characters: Jesus, the main character of the Gospel of Luke, and Judas, a minor character but significant to the passion narrative. This section will conclude with an outline of the categories used by Luke to respond to the three methodological questions raised in chapter 3.

[707] Much of the scholarly debate is centred on syntactical ambiguity in the statement making the timing of the remembering unclear. For a summary of the current debate see Thomas Farrar, "Today in Paradise?: Ambiguous Adverb Attachment and the Meaning of Luke 23:43," *Neot* 51, no. 2 (2017): 186–89. However, as Ernst affirms, 'Es geht nicht um die Terminfrage, sondern um die Christusgemeinschaft, die berits im Augenblick der Bekehrung.' Josef Ernst, *Herr der Geschichte: Perspektiven der Lukanischen Eschatologie*, SBS 88, (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1978), 86–87.

10.12.1. How does Luke Make Characters Mimetic in the Passion Narrative?

In the passion narrative, one can identify mimetic characters through the following categories: 1. Plot, 4. Action, 5. Internal *Synkrisis*, 6. Cause and effect, 7. Evaluation by internal audience, 8. Evaluative vocabulary, 10. Stock virtue.

Category 1 — Plot: The passion narrative demonstrates that Jesus remains unwavering in his submission to the purpose of God. As Jesus, through his passion, fulfils the purpose of God, he should be viewed as a mimetic character worthy of emulation.

Category 4 — Action: Action is one of the main categories in the Gospel that allows characters to be seen as mimetic. Some of Jesus' actions are his noble death, his willingness to forgive, and his promise of an eternal kingdom. His noble death and willingness to forgive portray him as ethical according to Greco-Roman standards. Judas plays a significant role in Jesus' arrest and betrayal and is a character to be avoided.

Category 5 — Internal *Synkrisis*: Two *synkriseis* compare Jesus with Barabbas and Peter, respectively. Both *synkriseis* portray Jesus as a virtuous person and thus worthy of emulation. The *synkrisis* between Peter and Judas demonstrates Judas' betrayal is far worse than Peter's denial, thus making him a character to avoid.

Category 6 — Cause and effect: The cause-and-effect construct shows that Judas' betrayal is driven by Satan. A person motivated by Satan would be seen by the implied readers as a mimetic person to be avoided.

Category 7 — The evaluation by the internal audience: Despite a conflicting evaluation by the internal audience, the positive evaluation by Pilate and the centurion is far superior to the negative evaluation of the leaders and their proxies. Therefore, despite the conflicting evidence, a reader would see the positive reaction to Jesus as a way of making Jesus worthy

of emulation. Conversely, Jesus, as part of the internal audience, pronounces woe on Judas which would alert the audience that to identify him as someone to be avoided (*aphormē*).

Category 8 — Evaluative words: In the passion narrative, words such as οὐδὲν αἴτιος (Luke 23:4), οὐθὲν αἴτιος (Luke 23:14), and δίκαιος (Luke 23:47b) portray Jesus positively and thus apt for emulation. On the other hand, the words εἰσῆλθεν δὲ σατανᾶς (Luke 22:3) and οὐαὶ (Luke 22:22) show that Judas is a negative figure worth disassociating.

Category 10 — Stock Virtue: As one displaying the stock virtue of courage and Christian faith, Jesus would have been identified by the implied audience as mimetic.

10.12.2 Strategies Implemented to Guide the Implied Audience to Mimesis — Imitation/Disassociation from the Mimetic Character

Having followed the methodology established in this work, it is considered that the primary strategy used to guide the audience to emulate Jesus and to disassociate from Judas is the category of relatability. As has been observed, relatability does not mean exact emulation. In the passion narrative, both characters are observed as relatable. Jesus' trials and petitionary prayers are relatable. Jesus' servanthood, humility, and forgiveness make him relatable. It urges his disciples to reflect on those virtues and express servanthood, humility, and willingness to forgive.

The betrayal of Jesus by Judas is relatable because any disciple faces the danger of abandoning faith in Jesus. Luke places him at the Last Supper, having conspired to betray Jesus. This placement makes him relatable as any follower of Christ faces the danger of abandoning Christ while professing to be a disciple. Judas' characterisation dissuades disciples from following his example.

10.12.3 What Virtues are Encouraged in the Passion Narrative?

The virtues encouraged in the Passion Narrative are observed through the following mimetic categories :1 Plot, 2. Compositional Selectivity, 4. Illustrative action, 5. *Synkrisis*, 10. Stock Virtue.

Category 1 —Plot. The plot of the Gospel of Luke is the accomplishment of the purpose of God. Jesus is seen to be accomplishing the purpose of God in the passion narrative.

Category 4 — Illustrative action. Jesus' action in his determination to go to the cross demonstrates a willingness to accomplish the purpose of God. His actions on the cross illustrate his courage, faith in God, and adherence to the purpose of God.

Category 5 — *Synkrisis*. The *synkrisis* between Jesus and Peter portrays Jesus' courage.

Category 10 — Stock virtue. Jesus in the passion narrative displays the stock virtues of courage and faith.

Thus, virtues encouraged in the passion narrative are Christian faith, courage and adherence to the purpose of God. Through the category of plot, the author continuously reveals a subject's virtue or vice. The continuous display of virtues or vices heightens the respective virtue or vice.

11 Conclusions: How the Project Succeeded in Developing a Mimetic Methodology and Applying it to the Gospel of Luke

In this dissertation further evidence that mimesis of characters is integral to the way ancient literature from classical antiquity to Greco-Roman times contemporary to the writing of the Gospel of Luke encourages their implied reader's moral improvement has been provided. In that respect, a mimetic reading of the Gospel of Luke resonates with the literary milieu from which it arose.

An original contribution of this work to scholarship is the development of categories that assist with a mimetic analysis of selected passages in the Gospel of Luke. A reading of the Greco-Roman Literature led to a working set of ten categories of mimesis, and these have been used to provide a foundation for the ensuing discussion on mimesis. These categories are 1. Plot; 2. Compositional Selectivity; 3. Relatability; 4. Action; 5. *Synkrisis*; 6. Cause and effect; 7. Evaluation by internal audience; 8. Evaluating Vocabulary; 9. Narrator's evaluation; 10. Stock virtue or vice.

These categories were tested through an analysis of selected Greco-Roman writers. When applied to the selected Greco-Roman writings, these categories were found to identify characters effectively as laudable or blameworthy. Such characters can be fairly described as mimetic characters. The laudable characters encourage imitation (*mimesis*), while the blameworthy characters are intended to elicit disassociation (*aphormē*).

11.1 Definition of the Categories of Mimesis

A summary of the definitions of the different categories is listed below. The definition of each category demonstrates its relevance to mimesis.

Category 1: Plot. In this work Aristotle's definition of the plot as structured and sequenced narrative events is adopted. Through cohesive organisation and sequencing of episodes in a narrative, the plot signifies the moralising intent of the narrative, thus determining whether a character is suitable for imitation or disassociation (*aphormē*) and offers insight into the virtues or vices in the narrative.

Category 2: Compositional selectivity. Compositional selectivity reflects the implied author's choice of specific episodes to serve the ideological or moral agenda of the narrative. Compositional selectivity accentuates a character's virtue or vice in a narrative.

Category 3: Relatability. Relatability refers to the resonance between a character and the implied reader despite geographical, cultural, or temporal distance. Relatability allows the readers to see the ethical behaviour of the mimetic characters as replicable despite the difference in context.

Category 4: Illustrative actions. Actions are one of the critical categories of mimesis. It recounts deeds that exemplify the virtues or vices in a character's life.

Category 5: Compare and contrast (Internal *synkrisis*). A *synkrisis* compares two characters, showing the superiority of one character over the other.

Category 6: Cause and effect. Cause and effect correlates an action with the resultant outcome for moral didacticism. A positive outcome encourages the emulation of the subject behind the deed, and conversely, a bad outcome encourages disassociation.

Category 7: Evaluation by internal audience. This category refers to the evaluation of the mimetic character by various literary subjects within the narrative.

Category 8: Evaluative vocabularies. Evaluative vocabularies are ethically loaded words used in the narrative to praise or blame an action or a character.

Category 9: The Narrator's guided evaluation. Narrator's evaluation refers to the narrator's direct insight inserted into the narrative. Significant to mimesis, the narrator's voice sometimes evaluates or judges a character as praiseworthy or blameworthy.

Category 10: Stock virtues or vices. Stock virtues refer to actions acknowledged as good or bad by everyone in a specific time or geographical context. Four cardinal virtues are celebrated in the Greco-Roman world. They are justice, temperance, wisdom, and courage.

The relevance of those categories for a mimetic analysis has been derived through an examination of selected readings of the works of Thucydides, Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch. The rationale behind the selection of these three authors is outlined below. First, Luke situates his Gospel as Greco-Roman literature by first calling it a διήγησις and then writing a prologue similar to some Greco-Roman prologues. A second reason is the genre proximity between the Gospel of Luke and the three Greco-Roman writers. Third, Nepos and Plutarch are neo-contemporary writers of the Gospel of Luke and thus their input as conversation partners prevents anachronism. While Thucydides wrote between 431 and 404 BC, his is relevant to the analysis of the Gospel of Luke as his writing influenced writers in the 1st century AD. Writers such as Plutarch (46–119 AD), Cicero (106–43 BC), Sallust (86–35 BC), and Josephus (37–100 AD) acknowledge their familiarity with Thucydides' writing and his style.

When applied to the selected Greco-Roman writings, these categories effectively identify mimetic characters, encourage imitation or disassociation from mimetic characters, and communicate ideal virtues or vices.

It was observed that the Greco-Roman writers indicated explicitly and implicitly that their characters were mimetic. Explicitly, the following categories were used: Evaluative vocabulary; Evaluation by members of the internal audience; and Narrator's Guided Evaluation. Implicitly, the following categories were used: Plot; Compositional Selectivity; Action; *Synkrisis*; Stock Virtue or Vice.

Thucydides, Nepos and Plutarch use the category of relatability (Category 3) to guide the implied audience to mimesis — imitation/disassociation from the mimetic character. The mimetic characters in the implied authors' works are separated from the implied readers by geographical, cultural and temporal distance. Relatability reduces the geographical, cultural, or temporal distance between the character and the implied reader. Relatability allows the readers to appreciate that the ethical behaviour of the mimetic characters is replicable despite the difference in context.

The categories determinant in presenting virtues viewed as ideals for mimesis or vices to disassociate from are Categories 1, Plot; 2, Compositional Selectivity; 4, Illustrative Action; 5, Internal *Synkrisis*; 6, Cause and Effect; 10, Stock Virtue.

These categories provided a foundation facilitating a mimetic analysis of selected passages in the Gospel of Luke. They enable a systematic observation of virtues to be emulated or vices to be disassociated. The selected narratives in the Gospel of Luke are two miracles (the healing of the bent-over woman and the healing of the blind Bartimaeus) and the Passion Narrative. These narratives were selected because they provide accessible samples where mimesis is highlighted in an unmistakable manner. The analysis of the Gospel of Luke led to the observation that the categories articulated in the Greco-Roman section are consistent in designating mimetic subjects, encouraging imitation of the mimetic character and identifying ideal virtues. However, as will be noted further, two variations

from the Greco-Roman writers were observed. First, some adjustments were observed in some categories or virtues. Next, new categories and virtues also emerged.

The Gospel of Luke makes characters mimetic explicitly and implicitly with some modifications. The explicit categories are Evaluative Vocabulary (Category 8), Evaluation by members of the internal audience (Category 7), and narrator's guided evaluation (Category 9). The implicit categories are Plot (Category 1), Compositional Selectivity (Category 2), Action (Category 4), *Synkrisis* (Category 5), Stock Virtue or Vice (Category 10). The authority of the Holy scripture emerges as a new category of mimesis in the Gospel of Luke. Jesus dies and is betrayed as a fulfilment of scripture. Applying the categories to the selected passages reveal that Jesus, as the hero of the Gospel of Luke, is a mimetic character to be emulated. Judas and the synagogue ruler are characters to be avoided.

Unlike the Greco-Roman writers, the Gospel of Luke makes no explicit statement about the relatability of its mimetic characters. Category 3, Relatability, implicitly guides the audience to imitate or disassociate from the character. In Luke's Gospel, prayer, servanthood, and the cross implicitly demonstrate how mimetic characters can be relatable.

As observed in Greco-Roman works consulted, relatability in Luke does not mean exact replication of actions of the mimetic subjects. For example, implied readers could die on a cross but would not do so for soteriological purposes. However, disciples are called to sacrifice relationships (Luke 14:26) or possessions (Luke 12:33; 18:18) to live a life of self-sacrifice and embrace servanthood (Luke 9:23) within their contexts.

The categories determinant in presenting virtues viewed as ideals for mimesis or vices to disassociate from are the following: Category 1, Plot; Category 2, Compositional Selectivity; Category 4, Illustrative Action; Category 5, Internal *Synkrisis*; Category 6, Cause and Effect; Category 10 Stock Virtue. Along with those categories from the initial Greco-

Roman set of categories, the Gospel of Luke includes the category of divine message (According to scripture).

In applying those categories to the passages of Luke, obedience to the purpose of God, caring for the underprivileged, faith, and compassion are virtues exemplified by Jesus and encouraged by the implied author. Jesus, as the main character and hero of the Gospel of Luke, obediently followed the purpose of God, cared for the underprivileged and showed compassion. Conversely, the synagogue ruler and Judas failed to follow the purpose of God and demonstrated a lack of compassion and lack of care for the marginalised.

11.2 How does Luke Compare with the Three Other Greco-Roman Writers?

Some similarities and differences between the Greco-Roman writers and the Gospel of Luke may be observed. While there are many similarities between the two sets of writings, adjustments were observed in some categories or virtues, and new categories and virtues emerged. The following segment examines the similarities between the two sets of writings and will be followed by the differences.

11.2.1 Similarities Between the Greco-Roman Writers (Thucydides, Nepos and Plutarch) and the Gospel of Luke

The mimetic analysis of the Gospel of Luke and Thucydides, Nepos, and Plutarch reveals some observable similarities in methodology and use of categories. First, both make use of literary characters as *exempla* as a method to communicate mimesis. For example, in this thesis, it was observed that Thucydides used the Corcyrean factions and the Athenian soldiers as *exempla*, Nepos used Aristides (Nepos, *Arist*.), Cimon (Nepos, *Cim*.), Lysander (Nepos, *Lys*.), Timoleon (Nepos, *Timol*.), and Timotheus (Nepos, *Timoth*.), while Plutarch used Pericles (Plutarch, *Per*.), Fabius (Plutarch, *Fab*.), and Demitrius (Plutarch, *Demetr*.). Similarly, in Luke Jesus is an *exemplum* to be emulated, while Judas (Luke 22:3-6, 47–49) and the synagogue ruler (Luke 13:14–17) were *exempla* to avoid.

Besides using significant characters, the Greco-Roman writings and the Gospel of Luke use similar mimetic categories. The first similarity is that the implied authors consider the plot as central in asserting the mimetic literary characters and providing an enhanced perspective on the virtues or vices developed in the narrative. In Luke, characters who follow the plan of God are implicitly portrayed as worthy of emulation, while those who hindered the plan of God were implicitly portrayed as apt for disassociation.

Compositional selectivity is the next category observed in both the implied authors of the Greco-Roman material and the Gospel of Luke. In composing their narrative, the implied authors use the process of compositional selectivity to include relevant sections or pericopes. Consequently, compositional selectivity involves the selection of stories or episodes that allow the moralising intent in both the Greco-Roman writings and the Gospel of Luke to emerge.

Following on from those two categories, both Greco-Roman writers and the Gospel of Luke share the same focus on some implicit and explicit categories developed. Those implicit categories significant to mimesis are actions, internal *synkrisis*, cause and effect, and stock virtue. The explicit categories significant to both the Gospel of Luke and the Greco-Roman authors are evaluation from members of the internal audience and evaluative vocabularies.

11.2.2 Significant Differences Between the Selected Greco-Roman Writers (Thucydides, Nepos and Plutarch) and The Gospel of Luke

In addition to similarities, it is evident that some notable differences between the Greco-Roman writers and the Gospel of Luke are identifiable. This section now notes some of those differences. First, three noticeable methodological differences contrast the Greco-Roman writers from the Gospel of Luke. To begin with, Nepos and Plutarch often use their

narrator’s voice to apportion praise or blame; Luke uses his narrator’s voice less frequently to apportion praise and blame. His use of the narrator’s voice mainly offers background information that a reader would not have otherwise known.

In addition, Thucydides, Nepos, and Plutarch are more restrained in using the divine to reveal mimetic characters. By way of contrast, for Luke, the presence of the divine is crucial for mimesis. The divine is present through the work of the Holy Spirit or the angelic messenger. Luke implies that his mimetic characters are suitable for emulation or disassociation, contingent on their adherence to God's plan. In like manner, Jesus’ actions are often linked to the accomplishment of the Holy scripture. The divine is barely recognisable in the three ancient Greco-Roman writers, making its role in formulating mimesis less critical in their writing.

Finally, a critical methodological difference is observed in the category of relatability. The Greco-Roman authors explicitly emphasise the relatability of their mimetic characters to future readers, while the Gospel of Luke has no explicit statement that the mimetic characters are relatable. The relatability of the mimetic characters is implied in the Gospel of Luke.

Other than methodological differences, there is a difference between the implied authors' social status. Ancient Greco-Roman writings were composed by elite writers for an elite audience. Thucydides was a general in the Peloponnesian War. Nepos was a scholar with powerful friends like Catullus and Cicero. Plutarch was a priest of the Delphi temple and a magistrate at Chaeronea. During Adrian's reign, he became the procurator of Achaea. There are no direct biographical details about the implied author of Luke and no explicit data about his socio-economic status. There is no way to ascertain with certainty from the text whether Luke was a military person, a politician or belonged to the elite.

There is also a marked difference between the implied readers of the Greco-Roman authors and the Gospel of Luke. The ancient authors wrote mainly for the elites in the Greco-Roman society. It is quite likely that that some of Luke's implied readership would be from a lower socio-economic stratum. Reading narratives linked to the marginalised in Luke will bring comfort to the socially and economically marginalised.

Another difference can be noted in the choice of heroes. The Greco-Roman heroes observed were mostly great men such as generals, military people and politicians such as Pericles (Plutarch, *Per*.), Fabius Maximus (Plutarch, *Fab*.), Cimon (Nepos, *Cim.*), Lysander (Nepos, *Lys*.), Timotheus (Nepos, *Tim*.). Jesus, the hero of Luke's writing, lives as an ordinary Jew who spends his early life in Nazareth (Luke 2:51) and most of his public life in Galilee (Luke 4:31–9:50). Likewise, the Greco-Roman authors did not claim divine origin for their heroes in the ancient works consulted. Conversely, in Luke's Gospel, Jesus as the hero has a Divine origin and came as the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy.

Thucydides, Nepos, and Plutarch also highlight themes different from those in the Gospel of Luke. The themes explored by the Greco-Roman writers are linked with the political affairs of their respective heroes. The ancient Greco-Roman writings relate the activities of the ruling class, such as waging war and running the state. The Gospel instead catalogues Jesus' actions as they accomplished the plan of God, such as healing the sick, exorcising the demon-possessed, and preaching to the poor.

Their vision for the world is also different. The Greco-Roman authors envision a better city (Thucydides) or empire (Plutarch). In that context, the antagonists in the Greco-Roman literature are enemies of the state or enemies of democracy. Luke is focused on the accomplishment of the plan of God. Jesus, as the hero of the Gospel of Luke, did not encourage patriotism for Israel nor unfaithfulness to Rome, as very little in the Gospel of

Luke relates to state affairs. In Luke, the enemies are often animated by the devil and refuse to accomplish the purpose of God. These antagonists of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke are often leaders of the Jewish society or the temple authorities.

As an extension of the previous observation, the virtues in the Gospel of Luke differ from those in the Greco-Roman writers. Thucydides, Nepos, and Plutarch, advocate virtues related to patriotism and the state's defence. The cardinal virtues in the ancient world are justice, temperance, wisdom, and courage (Plutarch, *Fab*. 3.2–6; 13.4 *Rom*. 28.2). The virtues of the Gospel relate to the accomplishment of the purpose of God (Luke 22:20, 42). The virtues encouraged in Luke are Faith, love, and care for those in need.

In connection with the virtues, both the Greco-Roman writers and Luke include narratives portraying the virtue of courage. However, the expression of courage is portrayed differently in ancient writings when compared to the Gospel of Luke. The Greco-Roman authors link courage to war and is a virtue expressed on the battlefield or in the state's defence (Plutarch, *Fab*. 3.2–6; 13.4 *Rom*. 28.2). In the Gospel of Luke, Jesus displays courage with his death on the cross (Luke 22).

Lastly, differences are observed between the ancient writers and the Gospel of Luke regarding the portrayal of women. The frequency of women subjects in ancient writings is remarkably low compared to the Gospel of Luke. Luke has a stronger focus on women, as evidenced by the inclusion of many women who are not mentioned in the other Gospels. These are Elisabeth (Luke 1), Anna (Luke 2:36–38), the widow of Nain (Luke 7:11–17), the woman characterised as a sinner who touched Jesus (Luke 7:36–50), the women accompanying Jesus on his journey (Luke 8:2, 3), the bent-over woman (Luke 13:10–17), parabolic characters such as the woman with the lost coin (Luke 15:8–10), the persistent widow (Luke 18:1–8), historical characters like the Widow of Zarephath (Luke 4:25–26), Lot’s

wife (Luke 17:32), and the daughters of Jerusalem (Luke 23:28). This thesis shows Luke's focus on women by engaging in the narrative of the bent over woman (Luke 13:10–17).

Another way the Gospel of Luke focuses on women is through the deliberate paralleling of male and female characters. Some of those parallels include Zechariah and Mary (Luke 1:11, 28); Songs of Mary and Zechariah (Luke 1:46–56, 67–79); Simon and Anna (Luke 2:25–38); a widow in the time of Elijah and a leper in the time of Elisha (Luke 4:25–27); the healing of a person with an unclean demon and Peter's mother in law (Luke 4:31–39); the centurion's servant and the son of the widow from Nain raised by Jesus (Luke 7:1–17); Simon the pharisee and the sinful woman (Luke 7:36–50); the disciples and the women followers of Jesus (Luke 9:1–3); the rich scribes and the poor widow (Luke 20:45–21:4); Mary Magdalene, Joanna and Mary the mother of James and Peter's post-resurrection visit to the tomb (Luke 24:1–12). The healing of the bent-over woman (Luke 13:10–17) discussed in this thesis is paralleled with the person with dropsy (Luke 14:1–6).

When depicted, the Greco-Roman literature predominantly references elite women such as Aspasia (Plutarch, *Per*. 24) or Cratesipolis (Plutarch, *Demtr*. 9.3). In the Gospel of Luke, some women were of priestly stock, such as Elizabeth and Mary (Luke 1:5, 36), but most of the women mentioned were not of elite status. For example, the bent-over woman discussed in this thesis was marginalised (Luke 13:10–13). The Gospel of Luke portrays many powerless (Luke 7:37; 8:2), destitute (Luke 21:2), and vulnerable women (Luke 7:12; 8:43) as responsive to the message of Jesus.

11.3 The Importance of a Mimetic Analysis of the Greco-Roman Writers

A mimetic analysis of the Greco-Roman writers allowed this thesis to situate the Gospel of Luke within a literary context whereby mimesis was ubiquitous. It thus offered a framework from which the Gospel of Luke could be analysed. The analysis of the Greco-

Roman writers further allowed this thesis to formulate categories significant to mimesis. These categories became the framework from which a mimetic analysis of the Gospel of Luke could be performed.

Mimesis of Greco-Roman writers, particularly Plutarch and Thucydides, can hold some relevance for future readers. The ancient historian Thucydides and biographer Plutarch wanted their writings to transcend the confines of their temporal epoch. Thucydides was convinced that his writings would be profitable to future generations. Two reasons prompted him to think of the applicability of his writings for future generations. Those two reasons are the commonality and the consistency of human nature. For example, the degradation of society during the Corcyrean stasis would serve as a lesson for future revolutions. A mimetic reading of the characters involved in the Corcyrean narrative promotes the dissociation from vices the Corcyrean portrayed during the stasis.

Plutarch desired to offer practical advice to his readers. Thus, he presented the heroes of his *Parallel Lives* as mirrors through which the readers could reflect on their own lives and seek to improve their virtues. In light of Plutarch's expressed purpose, readers of the *Parallel Lives* can use ancient writings to reflect on their personal and societal values. For example, a reader of Plutarch could ask how they could imitate Pericles' and Fabius' πραότης (prudence and self-control) in their life circumstances.

11.4 How does Mimesis Better Facilitate an Understanding of Luke

The study of mimesis of characters in the Gospel of Luke in the light of a study of Greco-Roman authors provides an additional way to consider the Gospel. Luke does contain elements of promise-fulfilment, conflict, Christology, theology, salvation, apologetics, and a liberating portrayal of women but perhaps insignificant attention has hitherto been given to the fact that as a document of its time, Luke uses the various actors in the Gospel narrative

to highlight whether an individual is one who should be imitated (mimesis), or disassociated from (aphormē).

Mimesis emerges as a significant feature of the Gospel. Furthermore, what is known of mimesis in the classical writers, allows the reader of the Gospel the freedom to imitate aspects of the life of Jesus, but also the freedom to realise that not every aspect of his life is available for imitation.

Given the significance of mimesis to Greco-Roman writers, a mimetic analysis of the Gospel of Luke is significant because it allows the reader of the Gospel to better understand the milieu from which it arose. A mimetic analysis of the Gospel of Luke reveals that mimetic characters found in the Gospel are *exempla* that imply readers emulate (*mimesis*) or disassociate from (*aphormē*). Mimetic analysis advances the interpretation of the Gospel of Luke in the following ways.

A mimetic analysis takes seriously the customary use of literary *exempla* by ancient authors to encourage ethical behaviour in their readers. It reveals that the Gospel of Luke is not merely a narrative describing the life of Jesus from birth to death. It also contends that characters in the Gospel of Luke have didactic functions. In that respect, action verbs in the narrative do not merely describe the protagonists' activities but assist in characterising mimetic subjects. The characterisation of subjects is essential in demonstrating whether a character is apt for emulation or disassociation. For example, the action verbs that describe Judas' betrayal portray him as a vile character apt for *aphormē*. Evaluative vocabularies used by Luke to describe a character are now understood as characterising a subject as worthy of emulation or disassociation.

A mimetic reading of the Gospel of Luke also considers the expectations of the implied readers. As noted in the above paragraph, the implied readers of the Gospel of Luke

came from a milieu where mimesis was endemic to literary works. The categories of mimesis developed provide a framework to observe how implied readers view the mimetic characters in Luke as paradigmatic. As such, through a mimetic analysis, today's readers may exegete the text with an appreciation for one of the ancient readers' likely understandings of the Gospel of Luke.

A mimetic reading assists in making sense of some of the material in the narrative. For example, in the story of the bent-over woman, Luke, using his narrator's voice, informs his audience that the adversaries of Jesus were put to shame (Luke 13:17). This use of the narrator's voice clarifies that the synagogue ruler who opposed Jesus in the story is a villain. The implied readers, therefore, should not consider him for emulation despite his noble status in Jewish society. The actions of Jesus identify him as a virtuous character apt for emulation. Conversely, the actions of flawed characters such as Judas and the synagogue ruler show they are apt for disassociation.

With that in mind, a mimetic analysis offers a likely perspective of the early Christian understanding and praxis. For example, early Christians would likely understand discipleship as the imitation of Jesus. Their discipleship consisted of engaging in a prayer life, servanthood, compassion, sacrifice, and willingness to accomplish the purpose of God as an imitation of Jesus.

A mimetic reading allows today's readers to identify the cardinal virtues of the Gospel of Luke. These are faith, love, care for the underprivileged and accomplishing the plan of God.

As a hermeneutical approach, a mimetic analysis strengthens the understanding of imitation. A mimetic analysis recognises that mimesis is not an exact emulation or imitation of the original act. The position argued in this thesis is that mimesis is not open-ended and

unrestricted. The ancient authors understood that exact imitation of the initial action was impossible and thus did not invite the implied readers to imitate the original actions of mimetic characters indiscriminately. Instead of exact imitation, mimesis is the faithful emulation of the praiseworthy character's virtues or disassociation from the vices of the unvirtuous antagonist. For example, the exact emulation of Jesus is impossible. Instead, the implied readers of Luke were invited to a faithful expression of the timeless virtues exhibited by the actions of Jesus. For example, unlike Jesus, they would not die on the cross for the salvation of humanity but instead can exhibit the virtue expressed on the cross and could exhibit servanthood and live a life of self-denial and renouncement.

A mimetic analysis in the Gospel of Luke was enabled through the the formulation of categories from selected Greco-Roman writings. Mimesis of character in Greco-Roman literature was central to encouraging moral improvement. Its enduring importance was seen from Thucydides to neo-contemporaries to the Gospel of Luke, and as such, the mimetic analysis of characters in the Gospel of Luke gives appropriate consideration to the aim of Greco-Roman literature. A mimetic analysis looks at the Gospel narrative and identifies mimetic characters as paradigmatic for the moral improvement of its implied readers.

The mimetic methodology has been successfully applied to selected passages of the Gospel of Luke demonstrating the viability of a mimetic study in Luke. The observed categories effectively identify Jesus as the main mimetic character in the selected passages. It further identifies the ἀρχισυνάγωγος and Judas as characters to be avoided. The Lukan analysis also demonstrates how the implied readers could imitate or disassociate from the mimetic characters.

11.5 Future Research Possibilities

A mimetic analysis can be employed to apply the observed categories to other narratives and parables of the Gospel of Luke. An application to parables would further enhance the study of parables by discovering how parabolic characters can be apt for emulation or *aphormē*. Within the Lukan corpus, a mimetic analysis of narratives in the book of Acts is a worthy subject for future studies. Characters such as Stephen (Acts 8) and Paul (Acts 9–28) might emerge as mimetic characters apt for emulation.

Since mimesis is relatively new as a methodology of analysis in the New Testament, the application of those categories can be applied to other passages where past characters are used for purposes of moral didacticism. For example, Jude (Jude 3–7, 11) and Hebrews (Hebrews 3–4) use past examples for *aphormē*. An application of the categories developed and identified in this research can be a worthwhile future project. Ultimately, this study establishes that a mimetic analysis for the moral improvement of implied readers is a viable approach to the study of the Gospel of Luke.

Appendix 1 – Compositional Selectivity in the Narrative of the Blind Beggar

The miracle story of the blind beggar is present in all the Synoptic Gospels. Appendix 1 gives details of three aspects that points to Lukan selectivity: the omissions, the additions, and slight modifications from the Marcan and Matthaean accounts.[708] Luke 18:35–43 is compared with Mark 10:46–52 and Matt 20:29–34.

Category 2 – Compositional selectivity: Omissions from Matthew or Mark.

1. Luke does not mention the blind person's name or his genealogy, but both are given in Mark (ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου Βαρτιμαῖο) (Mark 10:46).[709]
2. Luke does not make any reference to the travelling party accompanying Jesus as mentioned in Mark 10:46 and Matt 20:29 (ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Ἰεριχὼ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄχλου ἱκανοῦ … ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ ὄχλος πολύς). He also introduces the blind person earlier in the narrative (Luke 18:35).
3. He does not mention that the blind person threw off his coat and jumped up as described in Mark 10:50.
4. Luke does not mention the blind person's hearing that it was Jesus of Nazareth as in Mark 10:47; Matthew 20:30.
5. Luke omits the encouraging words from the disciples and the crowd καὶ φωνοῦσιν τὸν τυφλὸν λέγοντες αὐτῷ· θάρσει, ἔγειρε, φωνεῖ σε (Mark 10:49b).
6. Luke's account follows Mark and omits Jesus' emotion and physical action as stated by Matthew. Matthew recalls that Jesus physically touched the eyes of the blind

[708] This section is reliant on the comparative work done by Robert McIver. His work in the Greek text is instrumental in analysing the compositional difference between Luke and the other Synoptic Gospels. See McIver, *Verbatim*, 195–96.

[709] The non-identification of the blind person by name goes against Luke's habitual identification of the subjects in his narratives. Just, *Luke*, 707.

person (ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἥψατο τῶν ὀμμάτων αὐτῶν) and was moved with compassion (σπλαγχωίζομαι) (Matt 20:34).

7. Luke again omits the crowd's encouragement καὶ φωνοῦσιν τὸν τυφλὸν λέγοντες αὐτῷ· θάρσει, ἔγειρε, φωνεῖ σε (Mark 10:49).
8. Luke omits Mark's ἐν τῃ ὁδῷ (Mark 10:52).[710]

Category 2 – Compositional selectivity: Additions to Mark and Matthew

1. Luke introduces the blind person through the action of begging (ἐπαιτέω, Luke 18:35). Matthew does not mention begging or beggar.
2. The interaction between the crowd and the blind person (δὲ ὄχλου διαπορεθομένου ἐπυν θάνετο τί εἴη τοῦτο ἀπήγγειλαν δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος παρέρχεται) (Luke 18:36–37) is only mentioned by Luke.
3. Luke indicates that the crowd explicitly identifies Jesus for the blind man (Luke 18: 37).
4. Luke adds καὶ οἱ προάγοντες as the subject of the verb ἐπιτιμάω (Luke 18:39). In Mark 10:39 the verb ἐπιτιμάω has no subject.
5. Luke adds the aorist infinitive passive ἀχθῆμαι (ἀγω) (Luke 18:40) and the sentence, ἐγγίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπηρώτησεν ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτόν (Luke 18:40).
6. All the Synoptic Gospels note that the blind followed Jesus (ἀκολουθέω — Luke 18:43; Mark 10:52; Matt 20:34). However, only Luke notes the reaction of the people

[710] Given the importance of journey motif in Luke, Geiger finds it astonishing that Luke would omits ἐν τῃ ὁδῷ Georg Geiger, "Der Weg als roter Faden Durch Lk-Apg," in *The Unity of Luke-Acts*, ed. Joseph Verheyden (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), 670. The absence of the words ἐν τῃ ὁδῷ stands out as in three of the four miracles where Jesus uses the words πίστις and σῴζω he links them with the word πορεύομαι (Luke 7:50; 8:48; 17:19). Böttrich notes that the word πορεύομαι aligns well with Luke's way of using metaphor. See Christfried Böttrich, "Glaube im Lukanischen Doppelwerk," in *Glaube: Das Verständnis des Glaubens im Frühen Christentum und in seiner Jüdischen und Hellenistisch-Römischen Umwelt*, ed. Kathrin Hager, Jörg Frey, and Nadine Ueberschaer (Tübigen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 410.

and that of the healed man. The healed man and the crowd praised God (δοξάζων τὸν θεόν. καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἰδὼν ἔδωκεν αἶνον τῷ τεῷ) (Luke 18:43).

Category 2 – Compositional Selectivity: Minor Variations

1. Luke places the event as Jesus was coming into Jericho (Luke 18:35), whereas Mark and Matthew have Jesus leaving Jericho (Mark 10:46; Matt 20:29).
2. Luke introduces the blind person through the verb begging (ἐπαιτέω Luke 18:35) while Mark characterises the blind man through the noun προσαίτης (Mark 10:46).
3. Luke follows Mark with one blind person, contrary to Matthew who refers to δὺο τυφλοὶ (Matt 20:30).
4. In Luke the crowd is actively involved early in the narrative (Luke 18:36). The crowd informs the blind person that Jesus is passing by (Luke 18:37). On the other hand, Matthew introduces the crowd's participation later in the narrative (Matt 20:31).
5. The imperfect πυνθάνομαι (Luke 18:36) is added to the concessive participle ἀκούω. Matthew and Mark use only the concessive participles of ἀκούω (Mark 10:47; Matt 20: 30).
6. Luke uses the word σιγάω, preserving something that is secret (Luke 18: 39), instead of the more forceful σιωπάω, the process of becoming calm after a storm,'to become calm, to become still' (Matt 20:31p; Mark 10:48).
7. Luke identifying one blind person, uses the third person singular σιγήσῃ (Luke 18:39) instead of the third person plural ἐπετίμησεν (Matt 20:31).
8. Luke οἱ προάγοντες (Luke 10:39) replaces ὄχλος as the subject of ἐπιτιμάω in Matt 20:31.

9. Luke uses the stronger word κελεύω (aorist indicative active) in Luke 18:40 instead of Matthew's φωνέω (aorist indicative active) in Matt 20:32 or Marks' φωνήσατε (aorist indicative imperative) in Mark 10:49).
10. In Mark the blind person calls Jesus ῥαββουνί (Mark 10:51) while Luke and Matthew opt for κύριε (Matt 20:33; Luke 18:41).
11. Luke uses the aorist imperative ἀνάβλεψον (Luke 18:42) instead of ὕπαγε (Mark 10:52).
12. Luke shortens ὁ δὲ τυφλὸς (Mark 10:51) to ὁ (Luke 18:41).

Appendix 2 Compositional Selectivity in the Passion narrative

Luke's passion narrative shows significant compositional differences from Mark and Matthew. This appendix observes the differences between Luke's account and the other synoptics as they are relevant to mimesis. To better grasp Luke's compositional selectivity, the next section will enumerate additions, omissions, and variations Luke makes to Mark and Matthew, as well as some alterations to the narrative order.

Addition to Mark and Matthew's Passion Narrative.

1. Only Luke mentions that εἰσῆλθεν δὲ σατανᾶς εἰς Ἰούδαν (Luke 22:3a; cf. Matt 26:14–16; Mark 14:10–11).
2. Only Luke records Jesus saying, 'φιλήματι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδως' (Luke 22:48; cf. Matt 26:49–50; Mark 14:45)
3. Luke 22:15–16 has no parallel in Mark and Matthew. Only Luke mentions that Jesus wished to eat the Passover with his disciples before his suffering, and he will only eat it when the kingdom of God is fulfilled.[711]
4. Luke and Matthew have the covenant sayings (Luke 22:20b; Matt 26:28). The covenant addition is not found in Mark. Luke, however, adds the word new (καινός) to Matthew.
5. The dispute among the disciples about who is the greatest (Luke 22:24–30) has no parallel in Mark and Matthew's passion narrative. Although the teaching about who is the greatest is often assumed to be Luke's portrayal of the narrative in Mark 10:41–45.[712] The hortatory section of Luke's pericope is found

[711] The structure of Luke 22:16 is seen to be similar to Luke 22:18. Luke 22:18 has some parallel thoughts in Mark 14:25 and Matt 26:29. Soards, *Passion*, 34.

[712] Soards, *Passion*, 39.

in Mark 10:44. However, the hortatory section in Luke 22:26 is derived from the context of the passion narrative.

6. The narrator's words προήρχετο αὐτοὺς καὶ ἤγγισεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ φιλῆσαι αὐτόν (Luke 22:47) and Jesus question Ἰούδα, φιλήματι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδως (Luke 22:48) are unique to Luke.
7. Luke alone specifies where the pre-trial of Jesus takes place: τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως (Luke 22:54).
8. Luke alone specifies the accusations of the Jews against Jesus, τοῦτον εὕραμεν διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος °ἡμῶν καὶ κωλύοντα ˊφόρους Καίσαρι διδόναιˋ καὶ λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν χριστὸν βασιλέα εἶναι (Luke 23:2). The triple accusation has no parallel in Matthew and Mark.[713]
9. Luke 22:64d–65 τίς ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε; καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ βλασφημοῦντες ἔλεγον εἰς αὐτόν. is an addition to Mark.[714]
10. Only in Luke is Jesus accused of opposing taxes to Caesar and claiming to be the Christ (Luke 23:2).
11. Luke presents Pilate as protesting more forcefully the innocence of Jesus. Mark, Matthew, and Luke record the question τί γὰρ ἐποίησεν κακόν (Mark 15:14; Matt 27:23) using a different word order. Luke is the only Gospel that records Pilate's protests of Jesus' innocence.[715] Pilate protests that there is no legal basis for accusing Jesus οὐδὲν αἴτιος (Luke 23:4, 22b). The lack of legal basis for the

[713] Fitzmyer and Brown argue that the charges against Jesus should considered as one. See Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 28A, 474. Brown, *Death*, 1, 838. Bock, Marshall and Bovon argue that there are three charges against Jesus.

[714] Matthew's account also digresses from Mark's and contains the words τίς ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε; (Matt 26:68).

[715] Rice, "Rhetoric," 366.

accusation of Jesus, οὐθὲν αἴτιος (Luke 23:14), is unparalleled in Mark and Matthew.

12. Luke further mentions Pilate's state of mind. θέλων ἀπολῦσαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν. (Luke 23:20b), and Pilate intended to release Jesus (Luke 23:22c).
13. While Mark and Matthew mention Barabbas in their narrative, only Luke using his authorial voice conveys that Barnabas ὅστις ἦν διὰ στάσιν τινὰ γενομένην ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ φόνον βληθεὶς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ (Luke 23:19).
14. Luke includes the trial before Herod (Luke 23:6–16). Even though Mark does not. Gorman points out that there are five links that connect the Lukan Herod trial to the Markan material.[716]
15. Luke adds that ἀπέλυσεν δὲ τὸν διὰ στάσιν καὶ φόνον βεβλημένον εἰς φυλακὴν ὃν ᾐτοῦντο, τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν παρέδωκεν τῷ θελήματι αὐτῶν (Luke 23:25).[717]
16. Luke 22:27–28, the mourning and lament of the people and the women, and Jesus' dialogue is included only in Luke.
17. Luke includes Jesus' prayer of forgiveness: ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν· πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἴδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν (Luke 23:34).[718]

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[716] Gorman, "Interweaving," 125.

[717] Two textual variants that are inconsequent to the sentence's meaning can be noted in this sentence. Firstly διὰ στάσιν καὶ φόνον is replaced by ἕνεκα φόνου (D). Secondly εις την φυλακην (𝔓^{75} A C L N P Γ Δ Ψ ƒ$^{1.13}$ 565. 700. 892. 1241. 2542 𝔪 and εν τη φυλακη (W 579 *txt* א B D K Θ 070. 1424) are sued instead of εἰς φυλακὴν.

[718] The forgiving logion of Jesus is omitted by P75, 1א†, B, D*, W, Θ, Syriac, while included by p) א*.^{2b} C D^{3} K L N Q Γ Δ Ψ ƒ^{1} (− δε ƒ^{13}) 33. 565. 700. 892. 1424. 2542. *l* 844 𝔪 lat sy$^{c.p.h}$ (bo^{pt}; Ir^{lat}). Therefore, the weight of evidence of both sets of manuscripts counterbalances each other. External evidence for including the text is the attestation by the church fathers such as Irenaeus (*Hear*. 3.18.5), Marcion (Epiphanius, *Pan*. 42.11.6), Hippolytus (*Ben. Is. Jac.* 27.28), Prigen (*Pasch*. 2.43.7-14) and Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl*. 2.23)) who referenced this prayer in their writings. See Nathan Eubank, "A Disconcerting Prayer: On the Originality of Luke 23:34a," *JBL* 129, no. 3 (2010): 522–24. Bock Lists five internal reasons for including the prayer. They are: It parallels Stephen's request in Acts 7:60; its absence from other Gospels means that a copyist could not have added such remarks; Ignorance is a concept that recurs in Acts I3:17; 13:27; 17:30; It is easier to omit the prayer than to insert it; the insertion is likely because each subunit in the Lukan crucifixion narrative contains a saying.

18. Luke includes the dialogue between the two criminals and Jesus' promise, 'σήμερον μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ' (Luke 23:43).
19. Luke notes three different characters (the rulers Luke 23:35, the soldiers – Luke 23:37 and the criminal – Luke 23:39) taunt Jesus, asking him to save himself 'σωσάτω ἑαυτόν' (Luke 23:35), 'σῶσον σεαυτόν' (Luke 23:37, 39). This taunt is only mentioned by the high priest in Mark and Matthew (Mark 15:31; Matt. 27:42). Another taunt included in Mark but not present in Luke and Matthew is οὐὰ ὁ καταλύων τὸν ναὸν καὶ οἰκοδομῶν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις σῶσον σεαυτὸν καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ (Mark 15:29–30). Mark and Matthew also note the soldiers saying, χαῖρε, βασιλεῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων· (Mark 15:18, Matt 27:29).
20. Luke editorially selects ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος ἦν (Luke 23:47b) over ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱος ἦω οὗτος in Matt 27:54b and ἀληθῶς οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ υἱος θεοῦ ἦν in Mark 15:39b.[719]
21. One of the most prominent redactions from Luke is the omission of Ps 22:1 (21:1 LXX) ὁ θεός μου ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τὶ ἐγκατέλιπές με (Mark 15:34b) at the point of Jesus Death. Instead, he quotes Ps 31:5 (LXX 30:6), (πάτερ, εἰς χεῖάς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου ⎯ Luke 22:46b).[720]

Bock, *Luke*, 1867–68. Those in favour of including the prayer of forgiveness are, Marshall, *Luke*, 867–68. Green, *Luke*, 820. Perrin, *Luke*, 458. Brown, *Death*, 2, 975–80. Garland, *Luke*, 921–22. Nolland, *Luke c*, 1141. Szkredka, "Forgive Them," 80–96. Uncertain if the prayer should be included is Fritzmyer, who sees the prayer as disrupting the flow of the story and introduces the motif of ignorance otherwise found in Acts.\n Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 28A, 1503.

[719] There is a slight textual variant in Matt 27:54 with B D aur b h 1 vg^{cl} opting for υἱος θεοῦ ἦν and א* υἱος ἦν τοῦ θεοῦ. A slight textual variant is also noted in Mark 15:39 where the word order is altered and 579 *txt* א B L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 892. 1424. 2542^{s} aur l n vg using ἐστιν instead of ἦν. Those variants are not significant and do not alter the meaning of the text.

[720] Sterling, "Death," 397–98. Neyrey, *Passion*, 142, 46.

Compositional Selectivity — Omissions from Mark and Matthew

1. Luke omits Mark's anointing scene (Mark 14:3–9). Luke goes straight from the announcement of the Passover (Luke 22:1) to the chief priests' wanting to put Jesus to death (Luke 22:2), Satan's entering Judas (Luke 22:3) and Judas' conferral with the chief priests and the officers (Luke 22:4).
2. Luke does not mention the disciples' falling away. He does not have Jesus' announcement of the falling away (Mark 14:27, πάντες σκανδαλισθήσεσθε; Matt 26:31, πάντες ὑμεῖς σκανδαλισθήσεσθε) and does not later mention the actual falling away as done in Mark and Matthew (Mark 14;50; Matt 26:56).
3. Luke's narration of Jesus' prayer on the Mount of Olives excludes several details from Mark's corresponding account (Luke 22:39–46 cf Mark 14:32–42); Luke does not mention the name of the garden, the invitation to Peter, James, and John; removes the three-phase prayer of Jesus (Mark 14:35–36, 39, 41–42) and has Jesus praying only once (Luke 22:41–42). He removes the Aramaic Αββα. Luke does not mention εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν, πάντα δυνατά σοι (Mark 14:35–36). Of greater significance, Luke omits the troubled emotional state of Jesus when he omits περίλυπός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή μου ἕως θανάτου (Mark 14:34–35; Matt 26:38).[721]
4. Luke does not mention words spoken by Judas, as seen in Mark 14:44–45; Matt 26:25–26, 48–49).
5. Luke does not place the trial before the chief priests and scribes at night (Mark 14:53–64) but on the following day (Luke 2:66). By moving the trial from the

[721] Marshall, *Luke*, 830.

night to the next day, Luke is able to narrate all the trials of Jesus as a unit (Luke 22:66–23:25).

6. Luke does not mention witnesses giving false testimonies against Jesus (Mark 14:56-57; Matt 26:59) or false witnesses coming forward (Matt 26:60).
7. Jesus is not accused of blaspheming (Mark 14:64; Matt 26:65).
8. Luke does not mention the accusation about the destruction of the temple (Mark 14:58; Matt 26:61).
9. Luke omits Mark's description of the chief priests stirring up the crowd to call for the release of Barabbas and to crucify Jesus (Mark 15:11; Luke 23:18).
10. Luke omits the abuse by Pilate (Mark 15:15) and the soldiers (Mark 15:16-20; Matt 27:27-30).
11. Luke omits Judas' remorse, which is related only by Matthew. Matthew recounts Judas' remorse, the return of the betrayal money, and Judas' statement declaring Jesus innocence (Matt 27:3–10).

Compositional Selectivity: Variation from Mark and Matthew

1. Luke describes Jesus at the point of prayer as θεὶς τὰ γόνατα προσηύχετο (Luke 22:41). This is a variation from the more brutal depiction by Mark and Matthew who, in the corresponding scene, say that Jesus ἔπιπτεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (Mark 14:35) and ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ (Matt 26:39).
2. Luke names explicitly members of the arrest party as the ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πρεσβυτέρους (Luke 22:52) while Matthew uses a more generic term ὄχλος and Mark uses the personal pronoun αὐτός (Mark 14:48).

3. In Luke's account of Peter's denial, one woman and two men accuse Peter of being with Jesus (Luke 22:54–62, while Mark and Matthew note two slave women and bystanders (Mark 14:66–72; Matt 28:69–75).
4. Instead of the aorist indicative active κατεφίλησεν (Matt 26:49; Mark 14:45), Luke has the dative φιλήματι (Luke 22:48).
5. Luke refers to those crucified with Jesus in a generic way; they are referred to as 'τοὺς κακοῦργους' and 'τῶν κρεμασθέντων' (Luke 23:39–43) as opposed to Mark's and Matthew's specific identification of them as 'λῃστὴς' (Mark 15:27; Matt 27:38).
6. While Mark and Luke mention that the chief priests stirred the ὄχλος to release Barabbas instead of Jesus (Matt 27:20; Mark 15:11), Luke uses the third person plural of ἀνακράζω, making ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸν λαὸν (Luke 23:13) the subject of ἀνακράζω.
7. Mark identifies the 'οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, τῶν γραμματέων' and Matthew adds the πρεσβυτέρων to the list of those mocking Jesus (Mark 15:31; Matt. 27:41), while Luke uses a generic term 'οἱ ἄρχοντες' (Luke 23:35b).
8. In Luke, the centurion does not confess that Jesus is the son of God (cf. Matt 27:54; Mark 15:39) but that he is innocent (Luke 23:47).

Compositional Selectivity: Alteration of narrative order of Mark and Matthew

Luke does not usually change the sequential order of the narrative found in Mark.[722] The change of order in the passion narrative should, therefore could be deemed as Luke's narrative strategy and viewed with careful attention.

[722] Frans Neirynck, "The Argument from Order and St. Luke's Transpositions," *ETL* 49 (1973): 784–815. Soards, *Passion*, 13.

1. Luke changes the narrative order of the passion narrative, placing the denial by Peter (Luke 22:54–62) before the mockery of Jesus by the arresting party (Luke 22:63–65) and the pre-trial (Luke 22:66–71), while Mark and Matthew place the denial by Peter after the trial by the chief priest (Mark 14:53–65; Matt 26:57–67. Peter's denial establishes that Jesus is a true prophet since Jesus has predicted the occurrence of this denial.[723]

   Luke rearranges the pericope of the mockery of Jesus by the soldiers, placing it at the crucifixion (Luke 23:63–65). Mark and Matthew start with the pre-trial (Mark 14:53–64; Matt 26–66), then the mockery (Mark 14:65; Matt 26:67–68) and then the denial by Peter (Mark 14:66–72; Matt 26:69–72).[724]
2. Luke places the announcement of the betrayer (Luke 22:21–23) after the eating of the Passover meal (Luke 22:14–20), while Mark and Matthew place the announcement of the betrayer (Mark 14:18–21; Matt26:21–24) before the eating of the Passover meal (Mark 14:22–26; Matt 26:26–29).

[723] Green, *Luke*, 786.

[724] Soards, "Literary," 88.

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