

Naaman and the Centurion (2 Kings 5 and Luke 7)

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The Gospel of Luke's is indebted to the Elijah-Elisha material from 1 and 2 Kings. The centurion story of Luke 7:1-10 shares several similar details with the Naaman story of 2 Kings 5. A few scholars have recognized the possibility that the centurion story may be another example of Luke's reliance upon of Elijah-Elisha material. Yet, not much had been said regarding such a possible connection. The purpose of this dissertation was to analyse the centurion story and the Naaman story to determine if literary dependence existed between them.

This dissertation began by reviewing scholarship regarding literary imitation in the Ancient Near East and the use of the Elijah-Elisha material in Luke-Acts. Based upon this review of scholarship, a methodology for establishing literary dependence was submitted. This methodology included categories of plausibility, similarities, and classifiable and interpretable differences. Using this methodology, the story of the centurion and the story of Naaman were analysed. Two other analyses of passages in Acts (the conversions of the Ethiopian eunuch and of Cornelius) revealed that the story of Naaman was employed in these stories as well. This not only helped establish precedence within the corpus of Luke-Acts for the use of the Naaman story by the centurion story in Luke 7, but this repeated use of the Naaman story also functions within Luke-Acts' larger theme of the inclusion of the Gentiles.

The dissertation concluded that Luke 7:1-10 is literarily dependent upon 2 Kings 5, and that this dependence is evidence of the greater use of the Naaman story found in key places in Luke-Acts.

Declaration

I, John Benjamin Shelton, hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work and has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university. I agree that Mary Immaculate College and/or the University of Limerick may lend or copy this thesis upon request.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992.
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ANRW	<i>Ausstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin, 1972-
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
ASNU	Acta seminarii neotestamentici upsaliensis
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
<i>DJG</i>	<i>Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels</i> . Edited by J. B. Green and S. McKnight. Downer's Grove, 1992.
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>IBS</i>	<i>Irish Biblical Studies</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>RBL</i>	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SP	Sacra Pagina
<i>SR</i>	<i>Studies in Religion</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964-1976.
TPI	Trinity Press International

<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WW	<i>Word and World</i>

Introduction

This dissertation began as an exploration into possible connections between the Gospel of Luke and the Old Testament at the Dominican Biblical Institute under the direction of Thomas L. Brodie. Early discussion led to the choosing of Luke 7-9 as a text which should go through initial exploration. Study began with a close reading of Luke 7:1-10—the story of Jesus’ healing of the centurion’s servant. The exploration did not make it past Luke 7:10—that is, a promising connection worth further investigation was discovered within the first pericope. The promising connection was with 2 Kings 5:1-19—the story of Elisha’s healing of Naaman. This connection was inductively recognized through the close reading. Consultation of many commentaries proved that this was technically not an original discovery. However, the vast majority of commentators who did recognize a possible connection of the two stories did not elaborate on the nature of such a connection. There appears to be a need for further exploration of this possibility, and this dissertation attempts to fill that space.

In many respects the *presentation* of this dissertation is deductive—beginning with a hypothesis and then searching for clues that may prove or disprove that hypothesis. In this case, the hypothesis is that the story of the healing of Naaman (2 Kgs 5:1-19) serves as a source (to some degree) for the story of the healing of the centurion’s servant (Luke 7:1-10). Yet, the process of discovery was especially inductive; i.e., initial observation without a specific conclusion in mind. Although it is true that the close reading that sparked this dissertation was indeed looking for a connection to the OT and thus is partly deductive, the initial close reading had no original intention of exploring the story of the healing of Naaman specifically.

In fact, pure induction is impossible for any author. Everyone who sits down to write (or even think) is a product of his or her received set of experiences—whether one consciously knows it or not. The best one can do, when hoping to proceed inductively, is to try to be aware of presuppositions and ideas as the individual gathers the data. This means that observation is not so tainted that it cannot be used.

Therefore, it will be helpful from the outset to recognize this dissertation's indebtedness. The New Testament's reliance upon the OT is apparent to anyone who can read. It was at a very young age that I comprehended this reliance. For example, Stephen's speech in Acts 7 clearly recalls the stories of the OT. Likewise, with only the help of the text, I discovered the connection of John the Baptist to Elijah. During my undergraduate study, I was introduced by my professor to the connection of Jesus to Elijah in the Gospel of Luke. I read through Luke and the relevant portions of 1 and 2 Kings. I found many similar stories between Luke-Acts and 1 and 2 Kings. Intrigued by this connection, I explored the few commentaries and monographs on the subject.

It was at this stage that I discovered the works of Thomas L. Brodie. Brodie is perhaps best known for his championing of a Proto-Lukan document. However, Proto-Luke was not what drew my attention. Rather what did strike me was Brodie's discussion about the often implicit yet no less heavy connection of Luke to the Elijah-Elisha stories.

It is based upon these experiences and observations that I come to write this dissertation.

Therefore, since it has been established among scholarship that Luke does have a markedly strong connection to the Elijah-Elisha stories (especially in comparison with the other gospels) and because the gospel itself explicitly references

the Elijah-Elisha stories (e.g., Luke 4:25-27), it is appropriate and worthwhile to ask the deductive question: does Luke 7:1-10 use 2 Kgs 5:1-19? Then, based on the answer to that question, we will sort out the implications.

It is the conclusion of this dissertation that the data collected by the inductive research points to a strong connection between 2 Kgs 5:1-19 and Luke 7:1-10 and that this connection can best be described as “imitation.”

Another word of clarity is important here. Before we dive into the comparison of these two stories, it should be kept in mind that the literary dependence of one text upon another does not exclude the possibilities of other literary sources or even that of oral tradition. Nor does it imply that Luke is merely creating stories about Jesus without any foundation in historical events. Yet, this dissertation will not discuss the less tangible and certainly less readable categories of sources such as oral tradition and history. Nor is this dissertation trying to account for the data in such a way so as to account for every word of Luke 7:1-10 without leaving room for such categories. It would be intellectually dishonest of this author to suggest that Luke 7:1-10 was wholly a literary creation unconnected to history and/or oral tradition.

Broadly speaking, the structure of this dissertation can be broken down into distinct parts. (I) The dissertation will begin with a general introduction to relevant background and thesis claims. (II) Next, this dissertation will be grounded within the wider community of scholarship by discussing the history of research on ANE imitation, criteria for establishing literary dependence, and Elijah/Elisha in Luke-Acts (Chapters 1-4). (III) Chapter 5 will be on a methodology, informed by the previous chapters, which will serve as a guide for the remainder of the dissertation. (IV) Then, the next part of the dissertation will discuss 2 Kgs 5 in Luke-Acts (Chapters 6-8). (V) The dissertation will end with a summary of the main findings.

Specifically, this dissertation will proceed in the following steps in order to fulfill this broader outline. First, after this general introduction and a discussion about the contributions of Thomas Brodie (Chapter 1), a chapter will build upon Brodie and scholarship in general (Chapter 2) which discusses the ancient art of literary imitation. This chapter will give examples of literary dependence in the Ancient Near East and will discuss them in order to give a better idea of the literary setting of Luke 7:1-10. Second, there will be a chapter (Chapter 3) on the history of research regarding criteria and methodology for establishing literary dependence. Third, an introduction to Luke 7:1-10 (Chapter 4) will introduce the text, its place in Luke-Acts, the known connection of Luke-Acts to 1 and 2 Kings, and discuss those who have already made the connection to 2 Kgs 5. Fourth, a methodology (Chapter 5) for establishing literary dependence will be laid out to guide this dissertation. Fifth, data will be collected from relevant stories in Luke-Acts regarding 2 Kgs 5 (Chapters 6-8) and assessed in light of the aforementioned criteria. In a conclusion, the core findings of this dissertation will be presented: (1) the story of the healing of the centurion's servant is dependent upon the story of the healing of Naaman, (2) this dependence is programmatic for the inclusion of the Gentiles throughout Luke-Acts, and (3) these stories should be studied accordingly.

Chapter 1: The Contributions to Scholarship of Thomas L. Brodie Regarding Ancient Imitation and the Origin of the Gospels

This chapter will describe and dialogue with the contributions of Thomas L. Brodie. I will (1) begin with a brief overview of Brodie's main approaches (especially as found in *The Birthing of the New Testament*¹—which is, in itself, an overall summary of Brodie's main scholarship to date) and goals, (2) discuss the reception of Brodie's work by scholarship, and (3) then will critique and discuss where Brodie's work will be influential for this work.

Brodie mainly focuses on the literary sources for the Gospels. Specifically, Brodie explores the connections of OT sources (especially the Elijah-Elisha narrative) to the Gospels. His claims are grounded in his views on Greco-Roman literary imitation. Brodie's main thesis found in *Birthing* is explicitly and succinctly summarized on p. xxvii of *Birthing*. Because of its importance to this dissertation it will be cited here:

This volume's central thesis is that within Luke-Acts lies a stream of passages, a total of about twenty-five chapters, that stands apart. Three reasons indicate this apartness: (1) these passages have a distinctive intertextual dependence on the Septuagint, a dependence indicated by a wide range of verifiable connections; (2) the passages form a specific unity, coherent and complete, with a clear structure that is modeled precisely on one of the great prophetic histories of the Old Testament, the Elijah-Elisha narrative (1 Kgs 16.29-2 Kgs 13); (3) when this specific unity is seen on its own, it explains other New Testament data, especially about the gospels.... The simplest, best explanation for this Old Testament-related phenomenon is that it is the long-sought first version of Luke-Acts, what some scholars call Proto-Luke. The central thesis, therefore, is that Proto-Luke, with its heavy dependence on the Old Testament, underlies the development of the gospels.²

¹ Thomas L. Brodie, *The Birthing of the New Testament: the intertextual development of the New Testament writings* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2004).

² *Ibid.*, xxvii.

Therefore, Brodie, in bringing forward the evidence for Proto-Luke, discusses, in great detail, the relationship between Luke-Acts and the Elijah-Elisha narrative. Brodie's work covers the majority of the many pericopes in Luke and Acts that have parallel stories in the Elijah-Elisha narrative. Brodie lists many possible parallels between 1 and 2 Kings and Luke-Acts on p. 94 of *Birthing*. Many of these parallels are also recognized by other scholars while several are unique to Brodie.³ Some parallels are, admittedly, stronger and clearer by certain standards, while others are weaker. However, Brodie's work in *Birthing* goes beyond scholarship to date in such a way that it brings out what is largely underappreciated—namely: the fact that the stories of Elijah and Elisha play a major role in the formation Luke-Acts. Brodie draws connections to stories in Elijah and Elisha from individual pericopes in Luke-Acts in such a way that Luke's indebtedness to the antetext is found to be much deeper than previously envisioned.

Yet, Brodie's claims don't stop at just the level of multiple pericopes. Rather, Brodie sees Luke-Acts as the ultimate synthesis of a series of interconnected imitations *with Proto-Luke as the primary framework and common denominator*. These instances of imitation include (1) Proto-Luke's use of the Elijah-Elisha narrative⁴, Judges;⁵ Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah;⁶ (2) Mark's use of the Elijah-Elisha narrative⁷ and Proto-Luke,⁸ (3) Matthew's use of Mark, Proto-Luke, sayings sources,⁹ Romans, and Deuteronomy;¹⁰ (4) John's use of Mark, Matthew, and Proto-Luke; and (5) Canonical Luke-Acts' use of Proto-Luke, Mark, Matthew, John,

³ The number of commentaries, articles, and other works which discuss some of the connections between Luke-Acts and Elijah-Elisha are virtually too many to count.

⁴ *Ibid*, 283.

⁵ *Ibid*, 447.

⁶ *Ibid*, 520.

⁷ *Ibid*, 147.

⁸ *Ibid*, 154.

⁹ *Ibid*, 197.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 219.

Deuteronomy, and “Other Sources.”¹¹ For Brodie, “the overall picture is of a central line of scriptural dependence running from the foundation of Old Testament narrative (Genesis-Kings) into the heart of the New Testament.”¹² Essentially, Brodie’s chain of sources functions where each Gospel had access to every preceding Gospel (chronological order—not canonical order), chose to employ every extant predecessor, and was informed by Proto-Luke—with Canonical Luke-Acts retaining an “unchanged” Proto-Luke (hence the name).¹³

Brodie’s claims are undergirded by specific criteria for establishing literary dependence:

There is increasing evidence that writings, especially ancient writings, depend on earlier texts. This applies also to the New Testament, to the ways New Testament books are connected to one another and to other writings, especially the Old Testament/Septuagint. Criteria now exist for judging literary dependence and for tracing literary relationships and developments. The purpose of this volume [*Birthing*] is to apply these criteria to the New Testament Writings.¹⁴

Brodie’s criteria will be discussed later in this dissertation. However, I will note here that Brodie’s criteria (plausibility, similarities, and interpretability of the differences) stretch the typical boundaries of modern criteria—especially going beyond mere similarity of vocabulary and the imitation of books as wholes.

Brodie’s criteria stems directly from his views on ancient literary imitation. With regard to ancient literary imitation, Brodie largely builds off the work of Walter Ong and George Fiske.¹⁵ Ong brings to light the need for a different type of analysis when studying the ancient literary process.¹⁶ Similarly, Fiske claims that

¹¹ *Ibid*, 258.

¹² *Ibid*, xxviii.

¹³ *Ibid*, 258.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, xxvii.

¹⁵ Walter Ong, *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1971) and *Orality and Literacy: the Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Methuen, 1982; George Converse Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace: A Study in the Classical Theory of Imitation* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1920).

¹⁶ Ong, 256.

there was such a thing as the Classical Theory of Imitation, and...it is a dangerous anachronism to attempt to appraise the literary modes and ideals of a great classical writer like Horace on the basis of our current romantic theories of composition, with their over-emphasis on originality and spontaneity, and their tendency to tear loose the individual genius from his cultural environment, and their relative disregard of the claims of the great tradition of European literary culture.¹⁷

Likewise, Brodie asserts that Greco-Roman writers “were generally extremely careful to preserve, at least in some way, the heritage passed on from preceding generations,” and that this preservation was driven by “a feeling that existing knowledge, stored largely in precious handwritten texts, was not to be taken for granted but was to be penetrated and clarified.”¹⁸

Based upon this practice of preservation and thus emulation, Brodie gives several phenomena or techniques which are typical of this ancient emulation. These phenomena, in an admittedly simplified list, include (1) “elaboration,” (2) “compression or synthesis,” (3) “fusion/conflation,” (4) “substitution of images,” (5) “positivation,” (6) “internalization,” (7) and “form-change.”¹⁹ Thus, according to Brodie, there were “many modes of adaptation used in the widespread practice of imitation.”²⁰ Thus, Brodie’s explicit critique of scholarship to date is that it is too reliant upon the spoils of the “Double Tradition” materials.²¹ In other words, the “Double Tradition” materials found in Matthew and Luke (commonly attributed to Q) share a high level of verbal similarity. The “Double Tradition” materials are so similar that today such similarity would be described in terms of “variants” or “plagiarism.” Thus, scholarship, in many respects, has come to expect congruent levels of verbal similarity for any literary dependence to be established. For Brodie, verbal similarity is not the only observable indicator of imitation.

¹⁷ Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace*, 14-15.

¹⁸ Brodie, *Birthing*, 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 9.-13.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 9.

²¹ *Ibid*, 19.

Brodie then states that it is appropriate to ask if an ancient text is the product of “a process of imitation.”²² Brodie brings this broader process of ancient literary imitation to bear upon biblical literature—especially Luke: “First of all, there is considerable evidence not only that Luke was a *littérateur* but also that he employed specifically Hellenistic modes of writing, including various techniques of Hellenistic rhetoric.”²³ Furthermore, Brodie notes that “Luke regarded the Old Testament” as a “normative text” and there are “signs of literary continuity between Luke and the Old Testament.”²⁴ Thus, for Brodie, there is ample evidence that Luke was imitating the OT.

Scholarship’s Reception of Thomas L. Brodie

The discussion of scholarship’s reception of Brodie’s work in this section will focus on his contributions regarding ancient imitation within the NT and the subsequent key example: the use of the Elijah-Elisha narrative by Luke-Acts.

Thanks in large part the deluge of interest in intertextuality, Brodie is viewed favorably when it comes to his contributions in this vein. Intertextuality and Rewritten Bible, despite being viewed as too broad and vague as technical terms labeling categories of ANE imitation, have shed light on the centuries’ old method of relying wholesale on verbal similarity alone. For example, Tony Chartrand-Burke notes that “Brodie should be commended for bringing attention to the concept of intertextuality....”²⁵ Brodie’s view that Luke is deeply rooted in the OT, aligns with what many view to be the best fruit of intertextual studies; i.e., searching known and extant sources to help shed light on the NT text. “Some might balk at the broad brush

²² *Ibid*, 17.

²³ *Ibid*, 19.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 19.

²⁵ Ton Chartrand-Burke, review of Thomas L. Brodie, *The Birthing of the New Testament*. *CBQ* 68; 4 (Oct 2006), 758.

strokes that B[rodie] applies to the canvas, but this [*Birthing*] is an important contribution to the discussion of the biblical traditions as constantly being rewritten.”²⁶ Likewise, Margaret Daly-Denton concludes, “Even if one remains unconvinced by the overall thesis of this volume [*Birthing*], one can certainly learn much from it. In particular, chapters 1–9, setting out the case for the contribution of the Old Testament to the New, are particularly valuable.”²⁷ Even some of Brodie’s harshest critics acknowledge Brodie’s input with regard to “creative imitation.”²⁸ Robert Morgan notes in response to Brodie’s work, “The importance of the Septuagint for Luke, and the special appeal of the Elijah stories, will be readily agreed....”²⁹ By and large, Brodie’s overall methods and general claims regarding Elijah-Elisha and Luke are well received.

Yet, it seems, that nearly every positive note regarding Brodie is met with reservations and/or caveats. Regarding Brodie’s applied phenomenon of Greco-Roman imitation, Brooke notes that Brodie’s case could have been made stronger by referring to the Dead Sea Scrolls.³⁰ Similarly, F. Gerald Downing claims, contra Brodie’s application of ancient imitation, “The Elijah-Elisha ‘model’ [in Brodie’s *Proto-Luke. The Oldest Gospel Account: A Christ-centred Synthesis of Old Testament History Modelled Especially on the Elijah-Elisha Narrative. Introduction, Text, and Old Testament Model*] appears very selectively and unevenly deployed. We have no examples of such massive but bitty structural emulation in other writers (rather than

²⁶ G. J. Brooke, review of Thomas L. Brodie, *The Birthing of the New Testament*. *JSOT* 29; 5 (2005), 183.

²⁷ Margaret Daly-Denton, review of Thomas L. Brodie, *The Birthing of the New Testament*. *RBL* 8 (2006). n.p. [cited 1 December, 2012]. Online: http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/4970_5217.pdf.

²⁸ Andrew Gregroy, review of Thomas L. Brodie, *The Birthing of the New Testament*. *ExpTim* 117; 5 (Apr 2006), 290.

²⁹ Robert Morgan, review of Thomas L. Brodie, *Birthing of the New Testament*. *JTS* 57; 1 (Apr 2006), 232-34.

³⁰ Brooke, 183.

stylistic and thematic intertextuality), not even when Josephus sees himself as another Joseph or Jeremiah, with no sign of Elijah-Elisha being importantly formative.”³¹

However, the main objections to Brodie seem to lie with the reach and scope of his claims. This “over-reaching” is seen in several different features of Brodie’s work. Brodie’s *Birthing* is very large—a fact also noted by scholars. Thus, the vast amount of data included seems to have had the opposite effect from what Brodie had intended. In other words, as previously listed, Brodie has a myriad of connections between texts—both from the Old and New Testaments, and some of these connections were easier to agree with than others. However, the admittedly peripheral connections (e.g., Judges to Luke), although originally meaning to support Brodie’s argument and explain phenomena, were viewed by scholarship to present a weaker case. Morgans states, regarding *Birthing*, “The argument[s] of chapters 44-52 (Unit 11) that Luke is 'reworking' Judges amounts to little more than interesting possible echoes, and ... 'the Chronicles-Based Aspect of Luke 1.1-4.22a' [are not] persuasive.”³² In other words, the weak connections “drown out” the stronger ones. To clarify, Morgan posits, “It will be a pity if the inadequately supported (and unsupported) elements of the structure discredit the more plausible suggestions.”³³

Brodie’s presentation of an alternative to *Q* (note the multiple chapters in *Birthing* which are titled to show the distinction “Not Q”)³⁴ has also largely been met

³¹ F. Gerald Downing, review of Thomas L. Brodie, *Proto-Luke. The Oldest Gospel Account: A Christ-centered Synthesis of Old Testament History Modelled Especially on the Elijah-Elisha Narrative. Introduction, Text, and Old Testament Model. JSNT* 30; 5 (2008), 65; and Thomas L. Brodie, *Proto-Luke. The Oldest Gospel Account: A Christ-centered Synthesis of Old Testament History Modelled Especially on the Elijah-Elisha Narrative. Introduction, Text, and Old Testament Model.* Limerick, Ireland: Dominican Biblical Institute, 2006.

³² Morgan, 233.

³³ *Ibid*, 233.

³⁴ Chapter 28 “Not Q But Elijah: The Saving of the Centurion’s Servant (Luke 7.1-10) as an Internalization of the Saving of the Widow and Her Child (1 Kings 17.1-16),” Chapter 30 “Again Not Q: Luke 7.18-35 as an Acts-Oriented Transformation of the Vindication of the Prophet Micaiah (1 Kings 22.1-38),” and Chapter 34 “Yet Again, Not Q: Jesus’ Three Sayings to Would-Be Followers (Luke 9.57-62) as a Distillation of Elijah’s Three-Part Journey to Horeb (1 Kings 19).”

with disagreement. This is especially true with regard to Brodie's claim to "simplicity." Proto-Luke as an alternative solution to the Synoptic Problem involves multiple editions and authors—a process which scholars state is certainly not simple. For example, Chartrand Burke notes, "Despite the complexity of his theory, B[rodie] continually states that it is simpler and therefore superior to 2(4)SH [Two or Four Source Hypothesis] (p. 47). But the avoidance of lost documents does not necessarily yield a "simpler" hypothesis."³⁵ Furthermore, according to these same scholars, the proposed document of Proto-Luke has many of the same weakness as *Q* does:³⁶ like *Q*, Proto-Luke is a hypothetical document and the evidence for it is found mainly in the pages of the extant texts. Scholarship's reticence is understood when, as previously mentioned, such a large value has been placed on the role of verbal similarity in ancient imitation—thus *Q* with its verbal similarity will naturally have more followers.

Critique and Analysis of Brodie

Brodie's work brings many things to build upon, but before that is discussed I wish to dialogue with Brodie and with some of his critics. I agree with many of Brodie's critics when it comes to the distracting nature of the various "connections" found in the greater thesis that is found in *Birthing*. Brodie is fighting a battle on too many fronts. The ordering and sources of the Synoptics, the use of the Synoptics by the Gospel of John, the use of Paul by the Gospels, the imitation of Judges and Chronicles by Luke-Acts, and so on are all issues to which there is not a clear answer let alone a strong consensus among scholarship. It is more likely that the majority of scholarship will not agree with Brodie on several of these issues—let alone agree on

³⁵ Chartrand-Burke, 757.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 758.

all of them. Although Brodie grants that many of these points of discussion are auxiliary, many of these contested issues are too important to his *overall* thesis regarding Proto-Luke to simply be dismissed. Furthermore, it is one thing to claim that John may have known a Synoptic-like tradition or even the Synoptic Gospels themselves, but it is quite another thing to claim that Luke used John. It is not fair to say that every one of these fronts that Brodie is battling on are unheard of or not worthy to be discussed. However, Brodie's overall thesis is just too big and complex as it incorporates so many of these highly contested issues. One will struggle to reach to Brodie's higher aims when the foundation upon which Brodie builds is not set within the minds of his dialogue partners. Yet it would be a mistake to wholesale ignore the strong possible truths espoused by Brodie simply because one does not agree on several of the auxiliary points.

Another critique I share concerns over was raised by several reviewers: Brodie's application of how the Elijah-Elisha narrative informed Proto-Luke seems to be too selective. A quick glance at Brodie's reconstruction of Proto-Luke in *Proto-Luke. The Oldest Gospel Account: A Christ-centered Synthesis of Old Testament History Modelled Especially on the Elijah-Elisha Narrative. Introduction, Text, and Old Testament Model* reveals that the text of Proto-Luke is not purely one block of text with surrounding materials but rather a text that was edited into its final form as we now have it. Now this is not a priori false. However, one of the foundational claims in Brodie's thesis statement states that the twenty-five chapters that "stand apart... have a distinctive intertextual dependence on the Septuagint"—particularly the Elijah-Elisha narrative. Yet, Brodie fails to explain what is so distinctive about the aforementioned twenty-five chapters. For example, Luke quotes the LXX when quoting the OT—whether it is in the twenty-five chapters or without.

Furthermore, there are several instances where Elijah-Elisha like material is found in canonical Luke but is not included in Brodie's Proto-Luke. One of the most surprising examples comes in Luke 4 with Jesus' rejection at Nazareth. Brodie includes a good deal of this pericope where the people are amazed with Jesus. However, Proto-Luke stops at 4:22a as Jesus confronts and is confronted by those who do not wish to share him.³⁷ This excluded confrontation includes the only explicit connection of Elisha with the ministry of Jesus in Luke—"But in truth, I tell you, there were many widows in Israel in the days of Elijah, when the heavens were shut up three years and six months, and a great famine came over all the land, and Elijah was sent to none of them but only to Zarephath, in the land of Sidon, to a woman who was a widow. And there were many lepers in Israel in the time of the prophet Elisha, and none of them was cleansed, but only Naaman the Syrian" (Luke 4:25-27). This is the only time that Luke's Jesus makes the comparison this clear. Similarly, like so many of Luke's pericopes (as is so foundational for Brodie's thesis), the story of the multiplication of the loaves in Luke 9:12-17 resembles the multiplication of the loaves in 2 Kgs 4:42-44 more than it resembles any other OT passage. Yet, Luke's multiplication story is not found in Brodie's Proto-Luke either. This evidence is not consistent with the proposed distinctiveness and Septuagint-esque nature of the material in Proto-Luke. Brodie's implicit explanation for this particular instance (i.e., the multiplication story) is that Mark, Matthew, and/or John saw Proto-Luke's imitation of the Elijah-Elisha narrative in other stories and then imitated Proto-Luke's imitation style in their own respective multiplication of food stories; and then, ultimately, canonical Luke incorporated this story and/or imitation as well. However, regarding Jesus' rejection at Nazareth (in Luke 4:25-27), Brodie will have to conclude

³⁷ Brodie, *Birthing*, 159 and *Proto-Luke*, 40.

that canonical Luke added this Elijah-Elisha material without the aid of Mark, Matthew, John *and* Proto-Luke, because the story of the rejection of Jesus at Nazareth is only found in canonical Luke. These two stories serve as an example of material in canonical Luke (but not in Proto-Luke) that is quite similar to material in Proto-Luke; thus Proto-Luke does not look quite so distinctive. Brodie's thesis claims that there is a distinction between these twenty-five chapters and the remainder. If Brodie's claims were as inductive as they initially appear then why does Brodie not include passages which seem to share in this distinction?

I will also concur that Brodie's claims could have been made stronger by appealing to ancient Jewish rewriting or imitation (e.g., the Dead Sea Scrolls). There are several reasons to include comparison to Jewish rewriting in addition to the comparison of Luke-Acts as Greco-Roman imitation of the LXX. First, although the NT and LXX are indeed written in Greek and employ Greek literary convention, they are both rooted in the Hebrew Old Testament—the LXX being a translation and the NT recalling it on every page. Second, the content of Luke-Acts is about first-century Palestine, the fulfilment of the Jewish faith in the person of Jesus, and the spread of this fulfilled faith throughout the ancient Mediterranean. Second, it is quite well known that the NT authors, whether they actually believed themselves to be writing religious texts or not, exhibit a style that at the very least incorporates similar types, themes, motifs, and literary conventions. In fact, some have argued that, although Greco-Roman imitation should still be considered, Jewish literature should be favoured when considering the style of imitation employed by NT authors. Adam Winn, while commentating on the search for Markan sources (and its relationship to Elijah-Elisha), said “in identifying literary models for Mark, primary consideration should be given to Jewish scriptures or religious texts rather than Greco-Roman

literature. As we have noted, Mark's gospel clearly expresses the value it places on Jewish scripture, and such texts are presumably much closer to the evangelist's world view and commitments than pagan Greco-Roman literature."³⁸ Something similar can be said regarding Luke.³⁹ Yet, as we will see in the next chapter Brodie's case is not weakened when one takes into consideration Jewish rewriting—rather, the techniques employed in Jewish rewriting are also consistent with the techniques espoused by Brodie and his portrayal of Greco-Roman imitation.

I will side with Brodie when it comes to the critique that there are no other examples of large scale imitation. Brodie's critics don't mention the likes of Jubilees and its relationship to Genesis, 1 and 2 Chronicles and its relationship to 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings, or even that of Matthew's use of Mark, or the possible relationship of John to the rest of the gospels. When we add in Brodie's argument for the Iliad and the Odyssey, arguably the paragons of Greco-Roman literature and their use by the Aeneid, Brodie's case cannot be dismissed so lightly (the addition of Jewish rewriting will only strengthen this). Yet, I do differ with Brodie when it comes to the criterion of "completeness" regarding establishing literary dependence. Brodie describes this category as the use of "all the passages of the possible source."⁴⁰ Although this can be the case in theory, it then allows for the weak connections to play a large role in the criteria. The use of the term "completeness" can also be seen as misleading as it tends to not leave room for other non-literary factors that serve as "sources" for a text.

³⁸ Adam Winn, *Mark and the Elijah-Elisha Narrative: Considering the Practice of Greco-Roman Imitation in the Search for Markan Source Material* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2010), 50.

³⁹ I am not trying to argue how much more Greco-Roman or Jewish literature should be used as a comparative study than the other, rather, I am noting that both should be of some value—and will lead, as we will see in the next chapter, to valuable insight.

⁴⁰ Brodie, *Birthing*, 45.

To add to it, Brodie's most recent work, *Beyond the Quest for the Historical Jesus: a Memoir of Discovery*, makes claims regarding the historical Jesus which seem to reach beyond his gathered literary evidence.⁴¹ Therefore, I will not be employing Brodie's methodology in this regard. I will be focusing on the literary implications for this present dissertation.

Despite these issues, Brodie brings great contributions that will be very foundational for this present dissertation—as well as others. Brodie's ability to recognize imitation of the Elijah-Elisha narrative throughout Luke-Acts goes beyond what has been done so far. Furthermore, he recognizes that this phenomenon doesn't just happen in isolated pericopes but there was thought behind this imitation that is reflected in the literary goals of Luke-Acts. Likewise, Brodie highlights the role of imitation that does not rely wholly upon verbal similarity. For example, as we will see in a subsequent chapter, the story of the raising of the widow's son in Luke 7:11-17 is widely accepted as being grounded in the story of the raising of the widow's son in 1 Kgs 17:17-24. This wide acceptance by scholarship is due to the verbatim verbal similarity of 1 Kgs 17:23 and Luke 7:15b "and he gave him to his mother." It is based upon this verse that the rest of the passage has been deemed worthy of comparison. However, other passages receive less acceptance—even though they seem to have the same type of imitation as these two stories about the raising of widows' sons (except, of course the verbal similarity [more on this later]). Winn notes, in his Markan study, that a "text should contain clear and obvious clues to any text that is proposed to be a significant literary model."⁴² But where do we draw the line? Does this obvious clue in Luke 7:15b only apply to the present widow story? What about all the other clues (e.g., Luke 4:25-27)? It makes sense to note that Luke is clearly making a connection

⁴¹ Thomas L. Brodie, *Beyond the Quest for the Historical Jesus: a Memoir of Discovery* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2012).

⁴² Winn, *Mark and the Elijah-Elisha Narrative*, 50.

to the Elijah story here and it is understandable to question what other material this clue informs.

Finally, Brodie, although he emphasizes the overall impact of the Elijah-Elisha narrative upon Luke-Acts, still recognizes the similarities of individual pericopes and analyzes them as such (while keeping in mind the larger picture). Because Brodie's scope of imitation techniques is so much broader, more passages of Luke-Acts are correctly connected to the stories of the Elijah-Elisha narrative.

Summary of the Contributions of Brodie

In summary, Brodie's work has several weaknesses. (1) The claims that go into his overall theory bite off more than they can chew. Thus, Brodie loses potential supporters and even hearers because it involves too much and too many controversial foundational points. Even the points that are "auxiliary" tend to cause the reader to abandon what would have been (for the reader) a worthwhile discussion. (2) Brodie's Proto-Luke theory is a hypothetical document and as such it will encounter many of the same charges that have been levied against *Q*. Furthermore, this theory forces one into compartmentalizing the extant text of Luke-Acts—something that Brodie has tried to avoid.⁴³ As an outcome, Brodie's theory is in danger of becoming too deductive. In other words, it appears that the hypothesis of Proto-Luke is sending the explorer in search of evidence for the hypothesis as opposed to being more open to other possible conclusions. (3) Finally, Brodie's case would have been strengthened with the inclusion of Jewish rewriting as a model for imitation *in addition* to the imitation of Greco-Roman.

⁴³ This is ironic considering Brodie's critique of "JDEP" in *Genesis as Dialogue: A Literary, Historical, and Theological Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), x.

Brodie's work also has several strengths. (1) Scholarship to date has relied too heavily on verbal similarity found in Mark and the Double Tradition. Brodie's work has put the spot-light on what is actually happening in the NT and especially in Luke-Acts. Greco-Roman imitation should be considered as a model for the NT. (2) The Elijah-Elisha narrative has served as a source text for much of Luke. However, to date, this relationship has largely been observed at the passage level and without consideration to what this repeated use would mean for the larger literary strategies of Luke-Acts.

This dissertation builds upon Brodie's work. It will be indebted to it by building on its strengths, avoiding its pitfalls, and improving some of its weaknesses. It will build upon Brodie's theory of ancient imitation including clarifications and elucidations. This dissertation will make Brodie's point stronger by taking into consideration Jewish imitation techniques. It will, like Brodie, analyze an individual pericope in the light of the overall connection to the Elijah-Elisha narrative and discuss implications. Yet, this dissertation is not out to prove any individual theory—let alone one as divisive as Brodie's Proto-Luke. It will acknowledge the possibility of non-literary factors yet it will, like Brodie before his book *Beyond the Quest for the Historical Jesus*, still concern itself with working with concrete texts. Although some of the conclusions of this dissertation may favor one theory over another, the exercise will be one of induction and not deduction.

Chapter 2: The Standard Practice of Imitation in Ancient Greco-Roman and Jewish Literature

The possible relationship between the story of Naaman the commander in 2 Kgs 5 and the centurion in Luke 7 requires a preparatory question to be asked and answered: how did similar contemporary literature treat their source texts? The answer to this question will enable this dissertation to state to what degree Luke 7:1-10 depends upon the Naaman passage and what, if any, is an appropriate label that can be attached to describe the form and function of such indebtedness? Therefore, I will describe the practice of ancient imitation as described by scholarship as well as Brodie's work. I will specifically note the observable phenomena that make up this imitation. In other words, this chapter will summarize the larger picture of how other ancient texts used literary sources. First, I will present a brief overview of research regarding imitation in the ANE. Next, this chapter will discuss the overall concepts behind the ancient use of sources. Then, specific techniques of rewriting will be covered. Finally, this chapter will view a few specific examples from ancient Greco-Roman and Jewish literature.

A Brief Overview of Research Regarding Biblical Literature and Ancient Imitation

Literary imitation, or *mimesis*, has been recognized as a phenomenon since antiquity. Greco-Roman imitation as a method goes back beyond Dionysian imitation of the 1 century B.C.E. to what evolved from Aristotle's *mimesis*.⁴⁴ The effects of this *imitatio* had direct reaches all the way to the Romantic literary movement. Naturally, classical and general literary scholars have engaged this phenomenon as it pertained

⁴⁴ K. K. Ruthven, *Critical Assumptions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 103.

to the growth of literature in their respective fields. Despite this ancient method being recognized, biblical scholarship (perhaps due, in part, to the so-called “otherness” of the Bible) did little to consciously analyze texts in light of imitation. However, in the late 20th century, scholars began to utilize *imitatio* in their exploration of texts and the proposed sources. It is no surprise then, to discover, as recent as 1984, Brodie’s “cutting edge” essay: “Greco-Roman Imitation of Texts as a Partial Guide to Luke’s Use of Sources” in *Luke Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature* (note “New”).⁴⁵ Similarly, Dennis MacDonald has examined the Gospel of Mark in light of Homer.⁴⁶ As we will see in this chapter, more scholars have explored biblical texts in this light.

Similarly, the Hebraic versions of imitation, “comparative midrash” (i.e., the broad sense; more on this later in the chapter) and “Rewritten Bible” were not used for analysis until recently.⁴⁷ Despite the Gospels being Greek texts, comparative midrash has found a larger audience. This is, in part, due to the precedent laid out by the Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphical predecessors. Discussion regarding midrash and the NT began in earnest in the 1970’s with Drury and Goulder (among others) applying midrashic labels to the Gospels.⁴⁸ Likewise, Rewritten Bible has begun to be discussed with more regularity.

⁴⁵ Thomas L. Brodie, “Greco-Roman Imitation of Texts as a Partial Guide to Luke’s Use of Sources” in *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature*, ed. Charles H. Talbert. (New York: Crossroad, 1984).

⁴⁶ Dennis MacDonald, *Christianizing Homer: “The Odyssey,” Plato, and “The Acts of Andrew”* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1994); *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

⁴⁷ Craig A. Evans, “Luke’s Use of the Elijah/Elisha Narratives and the Ethic of Election.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 106, no. 1 (March 1, 1987), 75.

⁴⁸ John Drury, “Midrash and Gospel,” *Theology* 77 (1974): 291-96; M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1974).

A Different Psyche of Writing: Preservation and Imitation

Since it is fairly recent that biblical scholars have begun to give up anachronistic literary criteria and method and seek out the literary *sitz em leben* of the NT, it is appropriate to review the observed and appropriate methods. It is no great reach to imagine that literature would be done differently over the hundreds and even thousands of years since the texts of the ANE. Yet, K. K. Ruthven states

That writers must be original is so ubiquitous an assumption in our time as to appear a self-evident truth. A couple of hundred years ago the situation was very different, although a few writers here and there were beginning to confer on originality something of the prestige it enjoys nowadays. For the majority, however, no defence of originality was a match for the cultural pessimism epitomised in Ecclesiastes' verdict that 'there is nothing new under the sun' (1:9).⁴⁹

Likewise, Walter Ong recognized an important shift that took place with the invention of writing and another shift with the invention of typography (and like inventions). Today, it is difficult to recall the days where computers, printers, copies, and carbon paper were not. It is even more difficult to imagine a time where the only form of preservation was to copy works by hand (before typography). The preservation act was long, laborious, and prone to error. However, this dramatic difference had more ramifications on ancient literature than just the consumption of time and the reliability of copies. The entire focus of writing was different—preservation was a priority in the writing process. Ong states that “knowledge conservation and retrieval was immeasurably helped by [the invention of] writing.”⁵⁰ This help would eventually be accelerated by the invention of typography:

When print locked information into exactly the same place upon the page in thousands of copies of the same book in type far more legible than almost any handwriting, knowledge came suddenly to the fingertips. With knowledge fastened down in a visually processed space, man acquired an intellectual security never known before.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Ruthven, *Critical Assumptions*, 102.

⁵⁰ Ong, *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology*, 277.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 277-78.

Before writing, and long before typography, the human consciousness functioned differently. Ong declares that, “Without writing, the literate mind would not and could not think as it does.... More than any other single invention, writing has transformed human consciousness.”⁵² This transformation is testified to by Plato’s objection to writing. Plato, ironically, criticized writing as a practice which created a shift to that “which was outside the mind” (Plato, *Phaedr.*, 274-77).⁵³ Instead of information only being passed from the memory of one mind to the next, it was in a physical location. Plato’s objection indirectly reveals a deeper understanding of the then present mind-set regarding thought, scholarship, and story.

In between the invention of writing and the printing press was an era of literature which embraced not only preservation but also imitation. Thanks in large part to the “general idea of imitation” as promoted by Plato and Aristotle, “it became customary to speak not of a process of preserving, but of a process of imitation.”⁵⁴ It would be ridiculous to think that ancient authors had access to the technological writing helps (e.g., computers or copiers) that one has today. Similarly, it is a fallacy to examine and critique literature with modern literary standards. Fiske states:

There was such a thing as the Classical Theory of Imitation, and...it is a dangerous anachronism to attempt to appraise the literary modes and ideals of a great classical writer like Horace on the basis of our current romantic theories of composition, with their over-emphasis on originality and spontaneity, and their tendency to tear loose the individual genius from his cultural environment, and their relative disregard of the claims of the great tradition of European literary culture.⁵⁵

Imitation of previous works and teachers was embraced without question—and even encouraged. Isocrates exhorts:

⁵² *Ibid.*, 278.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 279.

⁵⁴ Brodie, 4.

⁵⁵ Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace*, 14-15.

But to choose from these elements those which should be employed for each subject, to join them together, to arrange them properly, and also, not to miss what the occasion demands but appropriately to adorn the whole speech with striking thoughts and to clothe it in flowing and melodious phrase—these things, I hold, require much study and are the task of a vigorous and imaginative mind: for this the student must not only have the requisite aptitude but he must learn the different kinds of discourse and practise himself in their use... (Isocrates, *Soph.* 2:17 [Norlin, LCL]).

As imitation was exalted, isolated originality and invention were frowned upon. “Too wide a departure from the tradition in the way of independent invention, transformation of the traditional material, or even supplementary invention might be subject to criticism.”⁵⁶ Fiske notes Aristophanes’ criticism of Euripides (Aristophanes, *Eq.* 16) and (oddly enough) Servius’ criticism of Virgil for “unprecedented inventions or variations from the tradition.”⁵⁷ This reliance upon and use of sources is implicitly found in the word “text.” This word “which, coming as it does from the Latin *textere*, ‘to weave’, suggests something woven; and in ancient Greece and Rome, writing was sometimes compared to the craft of weaving a fabric.... Thus the weaving of texts—the composition of literature—became of crucial importance....”⁵⁸

The reliance upon sources does not mean that ancient literature endorsed plagiarism. Although the rigidity of scrutiny regarding plagiarism was nowhere near the inspection that occurs today, it would be a mistake to say that plagiarism did not exist or that plagiarism was not an issue. “While artistic imitation was thus recognized and approved by ancient critical opinion plagiarism was condemned. The ancients understood...plagiarism [to be] close verbal imitation or even free paraphrase...if the

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁵⁸ Brodie, *Birthing*, 5; for more on writing as compared to weaving see, John Scheid, Jesper Svenbro, and Carol Volk, *The Craft of Zeus: Myths of Weaving and Fabric* (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1966), 141-55.

imitator made no direct acknowledgement of his sources.”⁵⁹ One cannot help but wonder what ancient critics would have said regarding Matthew or Luke’s use of Mark.

There was a functional middle-ground between deceptive plagiarism on the one hand and radical invention on the other hand.⁶⁰ Ancient Greco-Roman and Jewish writers, with or without literary critics in mind, practiced a “common method of literary composition” which borrowed “from the common stock of themes, traditions, events and myths that already existed.”⁶¹ Furthermore, literary imitation as a practice can be found regardless of genre.⁶² “Yet originality was assured because the different genres were both developed and gradually transformed by the study of the great masters made by their successors, who work not in the spirit of verbal imitation, but in that of generous rivalry.”⁶³ This preserving imitation was clearly prevalent throughout Greco-Roman and Jewish literature from Homer and biblical traditions⁶⁴ to the Gospels.⁶⁵ Loveday Alexander notes that “*the Bible is part of ‘real’*

⁵⁹ Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace*, 27.

⁶⁰ This balance is similar to the radically simplified analogy found in American football end-zone celebrations. Often times, a player, upon scoring, will perform a celebration in the end-zone. He may dance, give “high-fives” to teammates, kneel in honor, salute the crowd, or even leap into seats to be congratulated by fans. From season to season, trends can be seen emerging amongst the players’ celebrations. Origins of commonplace celebrations like the “high-five” or kneeling and crossing oneself are taken for granted. Even more elaborate celebrations whose origins are more clearly recognized are, in practice, the public domain of all players. There are even many instances where certain celebrations are elaborated upon or even mocked by rival players. Although there is still an element of creativity in their celebrations, the vast majority rely on already established rituals.

⁶¹ Anne M. O’Leary, *Matthew’s Judaization of Mark* (Library of New Testament Studies 323; New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 11.

⁶² A brief but multifaceted list can be found in Brodie, *Birthing*, 8-9.

⁶³ Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace*, 17.

⁶⁴ By “biblical traditions,” I mean the broader category of ancient Jewish literature where the terms OT and HB are too exclusive. “Biblical traditions” not only includes HB, LXX, but also pseudepigraphy and other ancient Jewish literature. For more on this term that I have adopted, see primarily the ironically named “The Use of the Old Testament by New Testament Writers,” by Richard B. Hays and Joel B. Green in *Hearing the New Testament* (ed. Joel B. Green; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 223-25; and also Benjamin Wold, *Women, Men, and Angels: the Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions* (WUNT 201; Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 45.

⁶⁵ For more discussion on imitation in antiquity, see Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace*, 14-63; Donald Lemen Clark, “Imitation: Theory and Practice in Roman Rhetoric” *Quarterly Journal of Speech*

literature.... The literary contexts that shaped the NT texts are those of the diverse cultural worlds in which the authors and first readers lived, and that means, among others, the cultural world of Greco-Roman literature.”⁶⁶

Specific Techniques of Ancient Rewriting

There are many distinct techniques which can be described by placing them in different categories.⁶⁷ Although techniques can be used in many different ways, combinations, and degrees, some general and prominent techniques can be examined. For the sake of simplicity, discussion here will focus on some primary and specifically relevant techniques in ancient literature. Specific techniques discussed will be: similarity of language, similarity of theme, similarity of structure, expansion, distillation/compression, dispersal, fusion/conflation/division, and intensification (i.e., escalation, making a character or situation positive, and internalization).⁶⁸

The very essence of imitation includes similarity. Similarity of language, ideas, and structure are base level techniques and are often times assumed in many of the different techniques which will be discussed later in this chapter (e.g., expansion implies similarity plus additional detail). Yet, it is important to introduce the foundational *modus operandi* before moving on to more complex processes.

As previously noted, for the vast majority of biblical scholarship, verbal similarity is the first and primary means of determining literary dependence. The use

37, no. 1 (February 1951): 11; J. F. Dalton, *Roman Literary Theory and Criticism* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962); Brodie, *Birthing*; and O’Leary, *Matthew’s Judaization*.

⁶⁶ Loveday C. A. Alexander, “The Relevance of Greco-Roman Literature and Culture to New Testament Study,” in *Hearing the New Testament: Strategies for Interpretation* (ed. Joel Green; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 111 [italics original].

⁶⁷ However, one should be aware that no single author follows the same exact techniques as another. Although it can be helpful to label techniques, it would be a mistake to assume that all authors always obeyed the same rules.

⁶⁸ The category labels above are my own—although I have been informed by Brodie, Fiske, and others. This list works to put the relevant techniques into viewable groups which demonstrate imitation. It should be noted that this list is not exhaustive. Further discussions of techniques can be found in Fiske, 46-57.

of verbatim or paraphrased words which are rare in combination or a phrase which is famous is easy to recognize and is a timeless strategy in imitation. The technique of quotation, at the least, attempts to directly refer the reader to the source text. This technique intentionally appeals to an authoritative text or draws a strong comparison between the two texts.⁶⁹ Of the same type is a literary reference. This literary device refers explicitly to a source text.⁷⁰ Like the quotation it refers back to a specific source, but the reference does not need exact or paraphrased content. The mere mention of a well-known person, subject, or idea would suffice.

Another foundational technique is the imitation of structure. Often a work will rely on the paradigm or arrangement of another work. This can be done on a small scale in just one pericope or on a larger scale throughout an entire work. The structure of a source text can be followed in part or in whole. Every element of the source text may or may not be included. Furthermore, the structure being imitated may not be strictly adhered to. The later text may arrange structural elements from the former text to suit its needs.

The more complex techniques build upon the similarities of words and structure.⁷¹ As previously mentioned, expansion is one of these. Whether the motivation was rivalry, fulfillment, or commentary, ancient authors were at liberty to expand upon their source text. Additions are made, from the smallest descriptive word(s) to massive additions (whether speeches, stories, or arguments). “This spirit of

⁶⁹ For more on the use of quotations, see: Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 29-32; and especially, Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Techniques in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 267-289.

⁷⁰ For discussion of references, allusions, and echoes, see Stanley Porter “Further Comments on the Use of the Old Testament” in *The Intertextuality of the Epistles* (NT Monographs 16; eds. Thomas L. Brodie, Dennis R. MacDonald and Stanley E. Porter; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2006), 107-9.

⁷¹ For an initial summary list of ancient ways of reworking texts, see Thomas L. Brodie, Dennis R. MacDonald, and Stanley E. Porter, “Conclusion: Problems of Method—Suggested Guidelines” in *The Intertextuality of the Epistles* (NT Monographs 16; eds. Thomas L. Brodie, Dennis R. MacDonald and Stanley E. Porter; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2006), 286-90.

emulation seems to have been motivated by a desire not so much to destroy as to fulfill.”⁷²

Perhaps one of the most important techniques for this present work is compression and distillation. Compression sees the reduction of a source in the newer text. Distillation, a type of compression, is “the procedure of isolating the significant.”⁷³ Compression/distillation was, in fact, a major technique of ancient literature.⁷⁴ Yet, compression/distillation is often dismissed by a large amount of scholarship. To put it generically, many scholars ask “If X had Y as a source, why would X leave out so much from Y?” as a logical reason why one work could not be a source for another.⁷⁵ In light of ancient literary practices, this basic assumption could not be farther from the truth.⁷⁶ It seems that much of a source text can be “left out.”

Similar to distillation is conflation or fusion. Conflation/fusion is the act of bringing two texts together into one. One example of this “bringing together” is what NT study often calls “typology.” K. J. Woollcombe states that “typology, considered as a method of exegesis, may be defined as the establishment of historical connexions between certain events.”⁷⁷ Brodie states that conflation “takes elements of two different sources and combines them into one character, story, passage, or work.”⁷⁸ This category can be found at both the macro and micro levels. Some instances of

⁷² Brodie, *Birthing*, 7.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 10.

⁷⁴ Several notable examples include: on a macro level, Virgil’s use of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, in the *Aeneid*, Ovid’s use of various sources in *Metamorphoses*, Livy’s use of Polybius, and on a micro level, Seneca’s distillation of Euripides’ *Hippolytus* in *Phaedra*.

⁷⁵ Perhaps the most famous example on this type of claim came when, as a proof of Markan priority, B. H. Streeter strongly stated that “only a lunatic would leave out Matthew’s account of the Infancy, the Sermon on the Mount, and practically all the parables....” *The Four Gospels: a Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, & Dates* (London: Macmillan, 1956), 158.

⁷⁶ Distillation or compression, within imitation, will always be more prevalent than expansion. The very process of imitation assumes selection of parts of the source. Too much of one source borders on copying.

⁷⁷ K. J. Woollcombe, “The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology,” in *Essays on Typology* (London: SCM, 1957), 39.

⁷⁸ Brodie, *Birthing*, 10.

conflation may have more overlap than others. For example, on the one hand, one story may be an overlapping of two texts—i.e., the final text looks like a third type of text. A great example of conflation (especially at the passage level) is the use of Matthew and Luke (and even other sources) in the Protoevangelium of James.⁷⁹ F. F. Bruce notes that “the story of the angelic annunciation and virginal conception [in the Protoevangelium of James] follows the nativity narratives of Luke and Matthew, with various embellishments....”⁸⁰ A similar example (on a macro level) of this blending of roles is demonstrated by J. Severino Croatto as he recognizes that

Jesus fulfills everything that was foretold about the prophet (Luke 4:21), the Son of Man (18:31), the Messiah (24:26, 44-48; Acts 3:18), or “these days” (Acts 3:24). But above all, Jesus develops a multiple prophetic function for himself: (1) in the tradition of the great prophets; (2) as Elijah I (prophet and healer); (3) being killed, just like the prophets; and (4) as eschatological prophet-teacher, interpreter of the Scriptures. This prophetic-magisterial activity includes the affirmation of Jesus’ paschal messiahship, and the “jesuanic” préfiguration of the prophet who is rejected and condemned to death. In the last instance, Jesus’ paschal messiahship is the reverse of his terrestrial prophetic activity. This activity is clarified and interpreted by his new prophetic-magisterial role “like Moses,” which is also paschal.⁸¹

This is a good example of a true merger between multiple source texts—i.e., the sources are less apparent in the final text.

The opposite may also be true—one story, character, or thing could be divided into multiples—dispersal. Distinct traits and roles found in one character in a source text can be found in two characters in the later text. For example, the role of Elijah in Luke can be seen in the persons of John the Baptist *and* Jesus. Another example is the character of Achilles in the Iliad found in Aeneas and Turnus in the Aeneid.⁸²

⁷⁹ Ron Cameron, *The Other Gospels: Non-Canonical Gospel Texts* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982), 107-9.

⁸⁰ F. F. Bruce, *Jesus and Christian Origins Outside the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974), 86.

⁸¹ J. S. Croatto, “Jesus, Prophet Like Elijah and Prophet-Teacher Like Moses in Luke-Acts,” *JBL* 124/3 (2005): 465.

⁸² Thomas Van Nortwick, “Aeneas, Turnus, and Achilles,” *TAPA* 110 (1980), 303.

The broad category of intensification includes the techniques of escalation, positivation, and internalization. This category is found mainly on the micro level of imitation or in relation to an antitype. Escalation takes the source text and makes the issue more critical or greater. Positivation takes a negative aspect and reverses it to be positive. Internalization takes detail that is more outward, concrete, and objective and rewrites it into concepts that are inward, abstract, and subjective. These techniques fit well into the overall schema of ancient imitation. They are unmistakable examples of the fulfillment and/or improvement of sources.

Techniques may be used in very different ways; specifically: techniques may be used at different literary levels. For example, distillation may be applied to an entire work or to just a smaller passage within the book. A whole book may be made longer, or a single story within a work may be expanded. Evidence of internalization can be seen throughout a work or specifically found in just one small part of it. A source may be used to varying degrees.

Specific Examples of Rewriting

Having briefly listed and described various techniques found in ancient imitation, it is important to see these techniques in specific and crucial examples. This section will include Virgil's use of Homer, other Greco-Roman examples, and examples from biblical traditions. As we have previously indicated, the Gospels find themselves in a very specific dual literary setting—that of both Greco-Roman and Jewish worlds. It is important to hold these in a careful balance. To over simplify it, one must not stray too far to say that the color green belongs to the blue family over/against the yellow family when, in fact, both blue and yellow are indeed present. This is an extremely important point to understand in dealing with what type of

imitation might be happening in Luke 7:1-10. As we will see, the techniques listed above and viewable in the examples below can be found in both Greco-Roman literature and in biblical traditions. Adam Winn, in an evaluation of Dennis MacDonald's *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark* and corresponding incorporation of that evaluation, concludes that Jewish literature should hold the prominent place.⁸³ This is (arguably) less true for Luke, but it is still an important point. It is not the Stoics cited and referenced throughout Luke-Acts—rather it is the LXX; the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. Yet, the Greco-Roman influence is still there. Thus, it is good to explore the techniques that both these traditions employ.

Virgil's use of Homer

Perhaps the best example of Greco-Roman rewriting is the *Aeneid's* use of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. It is no surprise that Brodie and others (e.g., MacDonald, O'Leary, Winn) have put so much emphasis on this one example. Although I may not give it as high a place as others, it is still a very strong example to begin with—as O'Leary notes:

The rationale for beginning...with Virgil's *Aeneid* is twofold: first, the *Aeneid* has proved to be the most famous example of the use of sources in classical antiquity; and, secondly, it was studied as such—a reworking of Homer—across the empire at the time of Jesus and up to the time of the composition of the Gospels.⁸⁴

Camps notes in his Introduction to Virgil's *Aeneid*: “The *Aeneid* is a poem wholly different in character from the Homeric poems. Yet it recalls them on every page, and is constructed largely by the re-moulding of Homeric materials.”⁸⁵ The multifaceted

⁸³ Winn, *Mark and the Elijah-Elisha Narrative*, 50.

⁸⁴ O'Leary, *Matthew's Judaization*, 25-26.

⁸⁵ W. A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969),

use of Homer by Virgil makes the *Aeneid* a convenient example. Imitation of larger structural essentials, structures of stories and events, and small details and descriptions are all present in the *Aeneid*. Georg Knauer notes these larger and smaller cases of imitation:

We have to check in each case whether an obvious quotation of a detail is a *Leitmotiv*, the complete context of which Vergil has incorporated into the 'Aeneid', or whether, vice versa, the scenic imitation is so evident that detailed literal imitations could be neglected. Whether it is literal quotations or only faint reminiscences which hint at particular Homeric passages, or whether it is the number of verses of a speech, a simile, a scene or its structure, even its position in the course of the book—we shall have to consider all these phenomena because they can possibly be traced to Homer.⁸⁶

Knauer brings to light the complex way in which Virgil used the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Knauer states that, "the complete structure of the Homeric epic, not simply occasional quotations, was no doubt the basis for Vergil's poem."⁸⁷ Knauer notes that there are 27,803 verses in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and that there are only 9,896 in the *Aeneid*.⁸⁸ Since the complete structure of Homer is foundational for Virgil, this requires a massive distillation and conflation of the two main source texts. Virgil achieves this reduction by "cutting down the extensive Homeric battle-scenes, *aristeiai*, [and] assemblies of gods and men.... Very often Vergil has composed only a simple one of such scenes, in which he condensed elements of all the relevant Homeric prototypes."⁸⁹ Other means of reduction can be observed as well. For examples, books 9-12 of the *Odyssey* are found in books 2-3 of the *Aeneid*; yet Virgil retains the proportion of this narrative to the greater work.⁹⁰ "In spite of such

⁸⁶ Georg Nicolaus Knauer, "Vergil and Homer," *ANRW* II.81.2 (Philadelphia, PA: 1981), 877.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 888.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 874-75.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 875.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 875.

necessary constrictions Vergil has retained almost the original length of some Homeric passages.”⁹¹

Knauer includes a thorough discussion of Virgil’s (*Aeneid* 1-6) condensing of *Odyssey* 5-12.⁹² He concludes:

It is possible to state...that in his first six books Vergil has not transformed the whole of the ‘Odyssey’ but only the eight books 5-12—only one third, but the essential third of the epic.... Furthermore we can assume that Vergil clearly realized how Homer conceived the structure of the ‘Odyssey’ and that Vergil therefore did not simply imitate sporadic Homeric verses or scenes. On the contrary, he first analysed the plan of the ‘Odyssey’, then transformed it and made it the base of his own poem.⁹³

Knauer also discusses the *Aeneid*’s (7-12) parallels to the *Iliad* and books 1-4 of the *Odyssey* (*Telemacheia*).⁹⁴ His assessment depicts many examples of the previously discussed techniques: (1) individual structures on large and medium scales are retained, yet elements are moved where needed; (2) characters are fused and split; on the one hand, multiple characters from Homer are merged into one in Virgil, and on the other hand, one character in Homer can be split into multiple characters in Virgil;⁹⁵ (3) there is massive distillation of a much larger work, yet completeness when retaining certain pericopes; (4) and there are parallel characters, yet escalation as Aeneas surpasses Odysseus—and Homeric characters.⁹⁶

The imitation of Homer by Virgil is not just found in the macro structure of the *Aeneid*. A single book within the epic can be imitating a parallel passage in its source.⁹⁷ Camps discusses Virgil’s “making [of] an episode” by studying the similarities between Aeneas’ and Ulysses’ underworld experiences.⁹⁸ Many of the

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 875.

⁹² *Ibid*, 877-81.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 881.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 881-88.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 875.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 888.

⁹⁷ Camps, *Virgil’s Aeneid*, 80-81.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 84-94.

similarities are straightforward: both stories have the hero meeting fallen companions who request help regarding their unburied status; both heroes are silently rebuffed by former friends; both heroes encounter two figures being tormented for their sins; and Aeneas also encounters many of the other staples of the underworld (e.g., Charon, Cerberus, and the Elysian fields).⁹⁹ Camps draws attention to similarities in the underworld episode from other works as well: Plato's *Republic* and Cicero's *On the State*.¹⁰⁰ Homer, by Virgil's creative imitation, "has thus been modified, in the process of its re-working, by the infusion of echoes of Roman custom and by reminiscences of famous passages in Plato and Cicero, as well as by the personal story of Aeneas which forms its new context."¹⁰¹ In the account of Aeneas' underworld trip, Virgil merges various sources together, adds details not found in Ulysses' underworld encounter, takes the stationary Homeric encounter and transforms it into a tour of the underworld,¹⁰² and internalizes the concepts of reincarnation and the prematurely dead.¹⁰³

Other Greco-Roman Examples

It will suffice to mention that Virgil was not alone in these practices. As has been mentioned, the art of imitation was a trans-genre phenomenon. Poetry, drama, epic, history, biography, and rhetoric all contained various degrees of imitation. Other significant examples include Fiske's recognition of Horace's use of Lucilius,¹⁰⁴ O'Leary's recognition of Seneca's use of Euripides¹⁰⁵ and Livy's use of Polybius,¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 90.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 88-89.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 90. For more on other sources for Virgil, see Damien Nelis, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (ARCA 39; Leeds, Great Britain: Francis Cairns, 2001).

¹⁰² Camps, *Virgil's Aeneid*, 90.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 91.

¹⁰⁴ Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace*.

¹⁰⁵ O'Leary, *Matthew's Judaizing*, 38-45.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 45-52.

and many others.¹⁰⁷ Brodie opines: “It seems reasonable, therefore when inquiring about the composition of an ancient work—even one that is history-like—to ask whether, to some degree at least, it is the result of a process of imitation.”¹⁰⁸

Examples from Biblical Traditions

Having established the prevalent use of imitation in the Hellenized world in which the Gospels find themselves, it is prudent to now demonstrate analogous procedures in biblical traditions. Before we look at some different examples, it is important to move carefully without falling for the temptation to force strict labels upon texts that did not necessarily try to follow any strict guidelines of imitation. Hays and Green note that

Within first-century Judaism, a great variety of interpretive methods and traditions were known and practiced. These traditions were to some extent in competition with one another. One should not speak of “Jewish exegesis” or even “rabbinic exegesis” as though it were a monolithic phenomenon. The philosophically oriented allegorical exegesis of Philo (a Hellenistic Jewish philosopher of first-century Alexandria) developed alongside the apocalyptic sectarian exegesis of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which in turn must be distinguished from the halakhic exegetical traditions of emergent Pharisaic-rabbinic Judaism.¹⁰⁹

Nevertheless, techniques of imitation, although they can be found under different banners (e.g., Midrash or Rewritten Bible), are still present.

Intra-Biblical Examples

One great example is that of Deuteronomy as a whole. Deuteronomy imitates content of much of Exodus. Many scholars have noted that there are “clear similarities” between Deut and Exodus’ “Book of the Covenant” (also known as the “Covenant Code” Exod 21-23).¹¹⁰ However, the structure of Deut is largely informed by

¹⁰⁷ For more specific and detailed examples, see Brodie, *Birthing*, 10-13.

¹⁰⁸ Brodie, *Birthing*, 17.

¹⁰⁹ Hays and Green, “The Use of the Old Testament,” 231.

¹¹⁰ E.g., Brodie, *Birthing*, 25-26; John Van Seeters, *A Law Book for the Diaspora: Revision in the Study of the Covenant Code*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 123-7; and Bernard M.

Suzerain-Vassal treaty format.¹¹¹ The rough structure of preamble, historical prologue, general stipulations, specific stipulations, divine witnesses, and blessing and curses precisely describes both Deut and the Suzerain-Vassal treaty form.¹¹² Oddly enough, there is a large temporal gap between possible origins for this type of treaty; thus, two possible dates have been proposed. One proposal is that Deut employed the form of a Suzerain-Vassal treaty used by Hittites of the second millennia B.C.E. The other explanation connects Deut to the Assyrian treaties (around 700 B.C.E). While the Assyrian date would be nearer the time of Homer, both theories which connect Deut to treaties demonstrate a close imitation of a structure from a source text(s).¹¹³ On the one hand, Deut imitates the structure (and to a lesser degree the content) from Suzerain-Vassal treaty format, and on the other hand, it imitates content from other biblical works like the aforementioned “Book of the Covenant” or even Genesis.¹¹⁴ Such variation in the use of sources demonstrates a multifaceted approach to imitation—not unlike the Greco-Roman practices.¹¹⁵

Another intra-biblical example is found as Chronicles uses Samuel and Kings in a synoptic manner which is different than Deuteronomy’s use of its sources. The dependence of Chronicles upon its sources is heavy with verbal similarity. Because of this strong connection, the redactional changes are made all the more apparent.

“Basing himself broadly upon a host of OT traditions, the writer has with considerable

Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

¹¹¹ Summaries of the similarity of Suzerain-Vassal treaties to Deut can be found in: Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1-11* (AB vol. 5; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 6-9; and Peter C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1976), 22-29.

¹¹² Structural list found in Craigie, *Deut*, 23.

¹¹³ The same can be said for the connection, made by Sandra Richter, of Deut with Akkadian monumental inscription, “The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy,” *VT* 57 no. 3 (2007): 342-366. Although such a connection would be much earlier than any formal Greco-Roman and Jewish imitation practices, it still shows reliance upon a standard practice and guiding form.

¹¹⁴ For an interesting discussion of the relationship of Genesis to Deuteronomy see especially, Calum M. Carmichael, *Women, Law, and the Genesis Traditions* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1979).

¹¹⁵ For more on intra-biblical Jewish imitation, see: John Van Seters, "Creative imitation in the Hebrew Bible," *SR* 29.4 (2000): 395-409.

literary skill drafted his history, building upon Samuel-Kings and interpreting, supplementing, and deleting as he felt compelled by his theological standards.”¹¹⁶ The detailed study *Chronicles and Its Synoptic Parallels in Samuel, Kings, and Related Biblical Texts* provides numerous examples of imitation by the Chronicler.¹¹⁷ The introduction to *Chronicles and Its Synoptic Parallels* gives a striking example of the Chronicler’s preferences. Underlining in the chart below indicates material not included in Chronicles.

¹¹⁶ Roddy Braun, *1 Chronicles* (WBC 14; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1986), xxiii.

¹¹⁷ John C. Endres et al., *Chronicles and Its Synoptic Parallels in Samuel, Kings, and Related Biblical Texts* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998).

Table 1: David’s Family in 2 Samuel and 1 Chronicles 14

2 Samuel 5	1 Chronicles 14
<p>[13] And David took more <u>concubines</u> <u>and</u> wives from Jerusalem</p> <p><u>After he came from Hebron;</u> and more sons and more daughters were born to David.</p>	<p>[3] And David took more wives in Jerusalem, and David begot more sons and daughters.</p>

“One might ask why he omitted mention of David’s concubines—to protect David’s character, or to assure the legitimacy of his children, or for some other reason?”¹¹⁸ It is clear that the compression witnessed above fits with the author’s needs. Even though the author of Chronicles often has a “light” hand when using his sources, there are major exceptions. For example, Chronicles virtually annihilates Elijah and Elisha from its writings.¹¹⁹

Also relevant for Luke’s possible use of 2 Kgs is the way other NT texts use the HB/LXX. Hays and Green describe the use of the OT:

The first followers of Jesus, as Jews looking for the appearing of God’s kingdom, sought to understand the meaning of the remarkable events that had been accomplished among them by meditating on Israel’s Scriptures, which the church came later to call the Old Testament. Their fundamental conviction was that God had acted in an unexpected way to fulfil the promises made to Israel, to bring to completion the whole history of God’s dealing with this people. With transformed eyes, they read and reread Scripture, discovering there prefigurations of the grace of God they had come to experience. The biblical texts, in turn, provided a storehouse of images and categories out of which the gospel proclamation took shape. Thus, from the earliest stages of the Christian movement—indeed, even during Jesus’ own lifetime—Scripture

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, Chart and quote found on p. xv.

¹¹⁹ For more examples see O’Leary, *Matthew’s Judaization*, 58-88.

was integral to the formation of the identity and teaching of the community of Jesus' followers.¹²⁰

The OT, then, served as the foundation for understanding the person of Jesus and the fulfilment of the faith. The degrees and types of motivation for the use of OT should be accounted for on a book by book basis.¹²¹ However, some general and famous uses can be noted. Some, like Matthew, wanted to show present events portraying the fruition of ancient prophecies; e.g., Matt 8:17 cites Isa 53:4 "This was to fulfill what had been spoken through the prophet Isaiah, 'He took our infirmities and bore our diseases.'" (NRS) Others, like Hebrews, saw the OT as a resource of examples to show the greatness of Jesus; e.g., the comparison of Jesus to Melchizedek in the intertextuality of Heb 7 and Gen 14. Paul, in a more explicit rhetoric, often appealed to OT passages to support his arguments; e.g., 1 Cor 1:19-24 cites Isa 29:14

For it is written, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the discernment of the discerning I will thwart." Where is the one who is wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the debater of this age? Has not God made foolish the wisdom of the world? For since, in the wisdom of God, the world did not know God through wisdom, God decided, through the foolishness of our proclamation, to save those who believe. For Jews demand signs and Greeks desire wisdom, but we proclaim Christ crucified, a stumbling block to Jews and foolishness to Gentiles, but to those who are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God. (NRS)

Generally speaking, for the NT, the OT was an authoritative platform which, resonating with the audience, should be drawn to and could be drawn from.

Extra-Biblical Examples

Beyond the HB or LXX there were other contemporary Jewish writings which employed a type of imitation. Two of the major categories of imitation are broader Midrash and Rewritten Bible. There is a degree of overlap in the characteristics that make up each of these. Indeed the idea that Midrash and Rewritten Bible are genres in

¹²⁰ Hays and Green, "Use of the Old Testament," 222-23.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 231.

the truest sense has led to a generally boggy type of discussion and scholarship. The term “genre” is not truly appropriate to describe the collections under these categories. Such a misnomer, plus the overlap of technique and characteristics, has led to a general ambiguity with regard to these terms. So much so that many are reluctant to use terms whose meaning is in such a state of flux. Better than “genre” is some other phrase such as “imitation style” or “category of imitation” to describe the particular set of imitation phenomena which occurs in a given work. This is especially apparent in Rewritten Bible, a category which includes an eclectic collection of literary types within the spectrum of *Jubilees* to Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities*.¹²²

Midrash in its narrowest definition refers to a collection of rabbinic commentary that, even at its earliest, would have little to do with our discussion. “However, in recent years midrash has been discussed against the broader background of ancient biblical interpretation and textual transmission in general.”¹²³ Midrash is hard to define—as scholars, as previously indicated, do not seem to be settled on a working definition.¹²⁴ Generally speaking the broader definition of Midrash includes “portions of the NT” which “reflect aspects of [narrow] midrash.”¹²⁵ Although the lines between commentary and commentated can and are blurred in the midst of Midrash, the very separateness of the newer text from its source text is never in doubt for the implied author or implied reader. This is one of the main (and very helpful) distinctions between Midrash and Rewritten Bible. Narrow or broad, Midrash is the explicit commentary on a text which is being commented upon by the newer text.

¹²² Brant Pitre, “Rewritten Bible” in *The Westminster Dictionary of New Testament and Early Christian Literature and Rhetoric* (ed. David Edward Aune; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 410.

¹²³ C. A. Evans, “Midrash” in *DJG* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992), 544.

¹²⁴ C. A. Evans, “Luke and the Rewritten Bible: Aspects of Lukan Hagiography” in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (JSPSup 2; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 199-200.

¹²⁵ C. A. Evans, “Midrash,” 544.

Rewritten Bible, in contrast (as will be discussed later in the chapter), creates a new “stand-alone” text whose source text is not required for the reader.

To get to the heart of the matter, the techniques that happen in Midrash, especially in the broader definition, can also be observed in Luke. The most important of these techniques is the ability to cite, interpret, paraphrase, and even expand upon the source text.

Some have suggested that the Gospels themselves are Midrash.¹²⁶ This is problematic in that the Gospels are not as a whole connected and *presently basing* themselves as active commentary on the OT—at least not in the same way that Midrash proper does. Evans clarifies the issue:

I believe that claims that the Gospels are midrashim on various Old Testament books or passages overlook the obvious. The Gospels, whether midrash or not, tell the story of Jesus. They do not tell the story of Abraham, Moses, Joshua, David or Elijah. They may tell the story of Jesus in ways that are clearly colored by the traditions of these ancient worthies, but their point is to tell the story of Jesus.¹²⁷

What this means for the Gospels as they relate to the OT is that they are “midrashic” rather than Midrash.¹²⁸ On the one hand, if the main characteristic of Midrash is commentary upon the same subject (or in the case of narrative hagiography, the same character), then Luke’s relationship to Mark might best be described as midrashic. On the other hand, if the distinguishing feature of Midrash is explicit commentary upon a source text, then Luke’s relationship to the OT might be more like Midrash. Fortunately, we can concur with Evans who summarizes that the “question of Luke’s relationship to Jewish literary genres is not dependent on the midrash debate.”¹²⁹

¹²⁶ E.g., Drury, “Midrash and Gospel,” 291-96; M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1974).

¹²⁷ C. A. Evans, “Luke and Rewritten Bible,” 197.

¹²⁸ C. A. Evans, “Midrash,” 547.

¹²⁹ C. A. Evans, “Luke and Rewritten Bible,” 199-200.

Perhaps, more than Midrash, “Luke’s writing technique corresponds... closely to the techniques” of imitation found in works like *Jubilees*, *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, *1 Enoch*, and *Jewish Antiquities*—Rewritten Bible.¹³⁰ Rewritten Bible can be appropriately described as midrashic, yet Rewritten Bible’s connection with the source text is implicit and the newer text becomes stand-alone, other (but not necessarily meaning replacement). Devorah Dimant states that “Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic compositions take up styles and forms of the biblical literature. They may, therefore, be seen as aiming to recreate the biblical world, while other literatures, inasmuch as they employ biblical materials, usually aim at interpreting it.”¹³¹ Philip Alexander defines Rewritten Bible saying,

In Rewritten Bible the interpreter retells the biblical story in his own words with explanatory insertions and additions, some of which can be very extensive. Rewritten Bible mirrors the literary form of the Bible itself, so that, without comparing the retelling with the original the reader will usually be unable to discover what is actually found in the Bible and what has been added by the interpreter.¹³²

This definition could be seen as containing some overlap with much of what is considered Midrash. Thus, we would do well to heed the warning of Steven D.

Fraade:

Other common features of ‘rewritten Bible’ may also be discerned in rabbinic midrash, even as their formal traits differ: expansive paraphrase, filling in scriptural gaps; contractive paraphrase, removing discomfiting sections or details; relocating laws or narratives to more congenial settings; harmonizing seemingly discordant verses; narrativizing laws and legalizing narratives; calendricizing biblical laws and narratives; identifying anonymous with named persons and places; etiologizing later practices or beliefs; and the list could go on.... While we should not dismiss the differences between what formally

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, 199-200. Evan’s essay “Luke and the Rewritten Bible” highlights several quality examples of relevant rewriting from extra-canonical biblical traditions—some of the following examples owe to Evan’s essay and bibliography.

¹³¹ Devorah Dimant, “Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (eds. M. J. Mulder and H. Sysling (CRINT II 1; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 379.

¹³² Philip Alexander, “Essay with Commentary on Post-Biblical Jewish Literature” in *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (ed. John Barton and John Muddiman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 794.

presents itself, as least to our eyes, as scriptural commentary and as ‘rewritten Bible,’ *we should not become so imprisoned by such categories (of our own making) as to be blinded to the ways their less formal features have penetrated on another.*¹³³

Brodie and Harrington also both warn of the lack of clarity regarding the label “Rewritten Bible.”¹³⁴ Despite the flux with regard to a definition for Rewritten Bible (as well as with Midrash), this category has techniques of imitation that, once observed, will shed light on the literary methods of contemporaries of Luke. Rewritten Bible, then, with its implicit nature, lends itself more (than Midrash) *wholly* to Luke’s new work about Jesus as opposed to the non-Jesus characters of the LXX.

Perhaps the most famous example of Rewritten Bible is that of the book of *Jubilees*. *Jubilees*, in its very essence, is “retelling.” James C. Vanderkam’s introductory description of *Jubilees* reveals this deep-seated reliance upon imitation:

The book of *Jubilees* is a second-century BCE retelling of the material found in Genesis and the first half of Exodus. A reader familiar with the Bible will feel at home in *Jubilees* because in large part it is a representation of the world in Genesis 1 and ending with the covenant at Mt. Sinai in Exodus 19-24. It leads the reader through the familiar primeval stories of Adam and Eve; the flood; the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the stories of Jacob’s sons including Joseph; and much of the life of Moses and his leadership of the Hebrews in Egypt and in the exodus. Nevertheless, the biblically literate person will also notice some striking differences between Genesis-Exodus on the one hand and *Jubilees* on the other. That is, it is not merely a reproduction of Genesis-Exodus but a rewriting or retelling of them from a particular standpoint and with definite purposes.... His [the author of *Jub.*] purpose was not to replace the first books of the Bible—nothing of the sort is mentioned—but to save them from being misconstrued. Consequently, as he moves through the familiar texts, he solves various problems that arise from them and at times provides longer clarifications regarding the meaning and significance of the biblical events and characters. We will see that one of the central messages he wishes to convey was that the ancient patriarchs, from Noah onwards,

¹³³ Steven D. Fraade, “Rewritten Bible and Rabbinic Midrash as Commentary” in *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash* (ed. Carol Bakhos; Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 106; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 62-3. Emphasis added.

¹³⁴ Brodie, *Birthing*, 29; Daniel J. Harrington, “Palestinian Adaptations of Biblical Narratives and Prophecies.” in *Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters* (eds. R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; Atlanta: Scholars, 1986), 243.

practiced those parts of the Torah that had been revealed in their times, long before they were recorded in the Mosaic legislation.¹³⁵

Jubilees, as an example, works from its source text implicitly and uses the same characters. At a functional level, this is similar to Luke's possible use of Mark—both Luke and Mark are about Jesus, and Luke does not, *throughout* the work, make narrational references to Mark. However, an interesting difference is the prologue in Luke where he makes specific reference to sources—something that *Jubilees* does not do. *Jubilees* will sometimes have strong verbal similarities with its source text (e.g., *Jubilees* 1:1-4 and Ex 24:15-18) but more often rewrites it in a way that is not as obvious.

Another example which is said to employ the imitation techniques of Rewritten Bible can be found in *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*. There is a “general consensus” that this now extant Latin (originally Hebrew)¹³⁶ text was composed somewhere between “c. 50 C.E. and 150 C.E.”¹³⁷ and the strongest evidence is for a post 70 C.E. date.¹³⁸ What makes this example so relevant is that it contains the implicit retelling similar to that of *Jubilees* but with different characters. In *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*'s “retelling [of] the story of the building of the tower of Babel (Gen. 11.2-4), Pseudo-Philo draws upon Daniel 3...”¹³⁹—the story of the fiery furnace. In this supplementary exposition, Abraham endures trials that, in great detail, parallel those of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.

There are many other examples of similar types of rewriting. The biographical and correlative ethical arrangement of *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*

¹³⁵ James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Issue 9 of Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 11-12.

¹³⁶ For discussion on the original language of *L.A.B.* see Daniel J. Harrington, "Original Language of Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*" *Harvard Theological Review* 63, no. 4 (October 1, 1970): 503-514.

¹³⁷ Howard Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum with Latin Text and English Translation* (AGJU; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 199.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, 199-210.

¹³⁹ Evans, “Luke and Rewritten Bible,” 197.

expands and rewrites various OT passages—some involving the same characters and some borrowed from different characters.¹⁴⁰ In fact, so much of the Pseudepigrapha employs and relies on imitation and rewriting that some might consider pseudepigrapha itself as a type of rewriting.¹⁴¹ The very nature of attributing one's own writing to an edificial individual admits imitation.

The work known as *4QReworked Pentateuch* employs similar techniques as testified to by Sidnie White Crawford:

4QReworked Pentateuch appears in five manuscripts from Cave 4, Qumran: 4Q158, 4Q364, 4Q365, 4Q366, and 4Q367. The manuscripts preserve portions of the Torah from Genesis through Deuteronomy. The redactor's method in creating his composition is transparent; he began with a base text of the Torah which, where it can be determined for 4Q364 and probably 4Q365, was the proto-Samaritan text, then reworked the text in various ways, most notably by regrouping passages according to a common theme and by adding previously unknown material into the text.¹⁴²

Another example, but non-pseudepigraphic, is Josephus' *Antiquities* which "omits," "adds," "rearranges," "assembles," and "conflates" its biblical sources.¹⁴³

Downing compares Josephus' overall technique to that of the Synoptics and especially Luke:

In Josephus' *Antiquities* we can see quite clearly the work of a first century Hellenistic Jewish redactor. We have his sources (mainly the canonical Scriptures) in a form very close to that which he used [LXX], and so can discern the direction and the extent of the changes made. This allows for a useful comparison with the Synoptic gospels, where the direction (and therefore the kind) of change is still in dispute; and especially with Luke's Gospel, where the stated intentions and the widely agreed 'tendencies' are often identical with those of Josephus.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ H. C. Kee, "The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs" in *OTP* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983), 775-828.

¹⁴¹ Benjamin Wold, *Woman, Men, and Angels*, 63; and Dimant, "Use and Interpretation," in *Mikra: Text Translation, Reading & Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism & Early Christianity* (ed. Martin Jan Mulder; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 412.

¹⁴² Sidnie White Crawford, "The Rewritten Bible at Qumran" in *The Hebrew Bible and Qumran* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; N. Richland Hills, TX: Bibal, 2000), 185.

¹⁴³ F. G. Downing, "Redaction Criticism: Josephus' *Antiquities* and the Synoptic Gospels" *JSNT* 8 (1980): 50-64.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 64.

Degrees of Imitation Technique

In viewing these examples from Jewish extra-canonical literature, we have observed implicit infusion of a source text. In *Rewritten Bible*, source texts are used in various ways as they are expanded, conflated, distilled, and reworked—all to different degrees. Although it may be difficult (and possibly unhelpful) to pin down any particular artificial techniques or even to rigidly label trends in *Rewritten Bible*, it is helpful to note that imitation happens on both small and large scales. Devorah Dimant discusses “allusion to isolated verses,” and broader “running biblical texts” (with accompanying examples) as “various biblical stories function as a model.”¹⁴⁵ Thus dependence may be seen on both the macro and micro scales. (E.g., on the one hand, Mark 1:2 quotes from Malachi 3:1. Mark is dependent on Mal for this passage but this dependence is not seen throughout the whole of the Gospel of Mark. On the other hand, Luke’s use of Mark is pervasive—a dependence at the book level). Dimant claims, regarding *Rewritten Bible*, that “in all these cases the adherence to a certain text proves to be linked with the nature of the work and its affinity with certain biblical themes or figures. Not surprisingly, this type of allusion is revealed as one of the main literary vehicles for building up pseudepigraphic frameworks.”¹⁴⁶

What can be said for sure is that works that fall under the umbrella of *Rewritten Bible* are at least literarily dependent upon their sources. This is a greater type of intertextuality than can be found in the simple similarities when two works merely belong to the same or similar genre. Lesser intertextuality relies upon indirect or subconscious connections at best and coincidence at worst. Thus, this is the question that most concerns us in this dissertation: Is Luke literarily dependent upon 2 Kgs or are the connections a coincidence of genre? If the answer to that question is in

¹⁴⁵ Dimant, “Use and Interpretation,” 410.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 417.

favour of literary dependence then the next question is: Is Luke's use explicit or implicit? Then, depending on the answer to that question: What category or categories of imitation best describe Luke's use of 2 Kgs 5?

The next chapter (and Chapter 5) will deal with establishing criteria to determine literary dependency. Thus, we will now delineate explicit and implicit imitation. Where the exact line between explicit and implicit is can become hazy when one tries to factor in authorial intention (real or implied). Evans describes explicit interpretation as being "characterized by the author's conscious distinction between the text and its interpretation."¹⁴⁷ Dimant describes the reasoning behind explicit sources: "The explicit uses were employed in rhetorical contexts, namely in various types of discourse, and for various rhetorical purposes."¹⁴⁸ Putting the two together we can note that when the explicit marker occurs in the new text, the old text is being made distinct in order to rhetorically interact with the reader.

Implicit imitation lacks a direct distinction, found within the new text, between source text and the new text. Dimant defines allusion as "a device for the simultaneous activation of two texts, using a special signal referring to the independent external text. These signals may consist of isolated terms, patterns and motifs taken from the independent text alluded to.... The reader is referred back to the original context by the combinations of these elements, even though no explicit mention of the original context is actually made."¹⁴⁹ This "activation" might not be explicitly stated in the new text, but the authorial intention to draw the reader's mind to thoughts of the original source text may be nearly as purposeful as an explicit case. In Luke 7:15 we have a direct quote of 1 Kgs 17:23 καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ. Is this explicit or implicit? The intention of the author does not seem to be in doubt—

¹⁴⁷ Evans, "Luke and Rewritten Bible," 171.

¹⁴⁸ Dimant, "Use and Interpretation," 419.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 410.

Luke is clearly pointing the reader back to the verse in 1 Kgs.¹⁵⁰ In some respect this “pointing” (to put it generically) may even be more tangible than the extremely explicit reference to the whole of the story of the Widow of Zarephath found in Luke 4:26. But, by definition, Luke 7:15 is an implicit example: the distinguishing marker found in the new text is only available to the astute reader as it has been fully incorporated into the new text—an “implicit quotation.” Dimant defines implicit quotation “as a phrase of at least three words, which stems from a specific recognizable biblical context. When used in compositions these quotations are not introduced formally, but are interwoven (similar to Brodie’s discussion on text as interwoven)¹⁵¹ into the new text. The manner and frequency with which such quotations are used are conditioned by the literary form, aims and techniques of individual writers.”¹⁵² Dimant’s “activation” definition for allusion is helpful in the Luke 7:15 example because the understanding of the present pericope (and perhaps beyond) in Luke is now rhetorically compared (and/or possibly contrasted) to the Elijah pericope. This example demonstrates a solid instance where an implicit case has probable authorial intent. Thus, “activation” or rhetorical interaction cannot be the only distinction in determining whether a particular case of imitation is explicit or implicit. This means that a higher degree of imitation may or may not be explicitly stated. Furthermore, what is to be said about a text that not only uses the source text for rhetorical authority but also for “forming the texture of the composition?”¹⁵³ Once again, great care should be taken when applying labels.

¹⁵⁰ If one were to read this as not pointing back to 1 Kgs 17, then one will have to justify why this is the only spot in Luke 7:11-17 where 1 Kgs 17 is quoted to such detail and with a different motive than to bring attention back to the 1 Kgs 17.

¹⁵¹ Brodie, *Birthing*, 5.

¹⁵² Dimant, “Use and Interpretation,” 401.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, 419.

Therefore, for this dissertation, the term “explicit” will describe the interaction of the implied author with the implied reader at only the most blatant of levels: citation and reference. The rest will be considered implied.

If and when literary dependency can be established and explicitness or implicitness of a particular case is determined, it may be helpful to try to categorize the type and degree of imitation. Dennis MacDonald’s taxonomy for different degrees of literary dependency provides helpful categories to guide discussion. It is reproduced below. It should be noted that some instances may not perfectly fit into a given category; nevertheless, it will be helpful to have a known constant to refer to.

The taxonomy¹⁵⁴ is:

Table 2: Taxonomy of Literary Dependence

1. Citation—direct quote (marked [e.g., “as it was written in the prophet...] or unmarked)
2. Paraphrase—putting the source text in the author’s own words
3. Reference—an author refers to a text without citation or paraphrase (e.g., Luke 4:27)
4. Allusion—literary technique that does not plainly refer the reader to the source text, yet more often than not contains an expectation of the author upon the reader to recognize the origin of the idea(s) ¹⁵⁵
5. Echo—a much softer “literary connection” to a source text [E.g., if someone mentions a “Herculean effort,” this one may be making an allusion to the Greek myth, but is more likely not consciously referencing the original character of Hercules and his labours.]
6. Redaction—the editing of text in such a way that the source text is largely retained
7. Imitation—using of a source text(s) as a “literary model”

Hays and Green’s list includes citation and the famous “allusions and echoes.”¹⁵⁶ They also include “summaries of OT history and teaching.”¹⁵⁷ These

¹⁵⁴ The original and full taxonomy can be found in Dennis R. MacDonald “A Categorization of Antetextuality in the Gospels and Acts: A Case for Luke’s Imitation of Plato and Xenophon to Depict Paul as a Christian Socrates,” in *The Intertextuality of the Epistles* (ed.; Thomas L Brodie, Dennis R. MacDonald, and Stanley E. Porter; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2006), 213-14.

¹⁵⁵ There is a “gray area” between allusion and echo. Where one begins and the other ends is not always perfectly clear. An echo by definition will look (sound) like its source, and a careful reader will often be able to discover the antetext.

summaries recount Israel's history as we know it from the text of the OT (we have to remember that the NT authors, when recalling these summaries, were mostly likely not working with idea of separation of history and text). Yet, they may (e.g., Acts 7:3 and Gen 12:1) or may not have had particular texts specifically in mind.¹⁵⁸ However, such a distinction is difficult to make as the NT authors were clearly steeped and trained in the text. Thus, practically speaking the summaries could be considered citations and references in some instances or allusions and echoes in other instances. For example, the summary in Heb 11 has explicit references at some places and allusions in others.

Hays and Green also add type-scenes as a phenomenon of imitation technique.¹⁵⁹ These implicit connections to the OT build upon a formulaic structure for particular stories. Hays and Green refer to the water-well type-scene instrumental in John 4. The type-scene as a phenomenon could be looked at as a shallow connection that would temper the significance of possible intertexts. However, a type-scene still relies upon actual texts to even argue for such a formula and care must be taken when choosing a type-scene as an explanation *and* excluding the possible use of an individual scene.

Conclusion

To summarize, it will be enough to say that scholars view imitation in ancient Greco-Roman and Jewish literature as more than rampant—it was the basis and

¹⁵⁶ Hays and Green, "Use of the Old Testament," 226-29.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 227.

¹⁵⁸ For example, I had the pleasure to hike with some friends into the hills in County Sligo in Ireland to see the megalithic passage tombs at Carrowkeel. On the trail that leads up to the tombs there was a small and intricately twisted tree. Always one for a laugh I sat under the tree and struck a sullen and pouty pose. I, of course, was recalling the image of the angry Jonah. Certainly the Jonah that I know comes from the text of Jonah in the OT, but the humor was not in pointing my friends' minds to a text but to a story image or concept that was well known to them.

¹⁵⁹ Hays and Green, "Use of the Old Testament," 227-28.

occasion for writing. The Gospels were written in this time where emulation, addition, distillation, dispersion, conflation, escalation, internalization and many other techniques were standard elements of composition. Recognition of this process of rewriting will be crucial for identifying the Gospels' sources. It is a compositional method that is not bound by the romantic prominence of individual originality or by preoccupation with verbal similitude. It is a method that cannot be overlooked. This dissertation is specifically looking at the possibility of literary dependence, and it is not primarily concerned with strictly labeling whether Greco-Roman imitation or Biblical rewriting is taking place. Furthermore, such a distinction may in fact be too fine of a distinction to make. The techniques observed in Greco-Roman imitation and Rewritten Bible overlap to a high degree. In fact, this is so much the case, that one could compare it to the conclusion of Christopher Stanley's study on citation technique in early Judaism, "Without overlooking the differences in emphasis within individual documents, it can be affirmed with confidence that the methods followed by the authors examined here differ little from those documented already for Greco-Roman writers working outside the Jewish sphere."¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 337.

Chapter 3: History of Research Regarding Criteria for Establishing Literary Dependence

The previous chapter discussed the use of sources in Greco-Roman and Jewish antiquity. Having completed said chapter, it may seem sufficient and simple to posit that a given text employed the aforementioned ancient techniques with regard to a proposed source. However, these techniques merely help to make up just a part of a greater method. Since the ancient method of rewriting included such a wide range of techniques, including some that transform sources, the dependence on these sources is often not clear, and so a claim to literary dependence needs to be established with care and, if possible, with clear criteria. Simply put, literary dependence is the reliance of one text upon another, but determining literary dependence can be tricky. Furthermore, scholarship has only recently come to develop guidelines regarding the analysis of such relationships. The lack of clear criteria has caused biblical scholarship to run into a set of problems. On the one hand, the “problem is that near meaningless parallels between two texts can always be uncovered if one puts forth the effort.”¹⁶¹ On the other hand, “modern critics...sometimes dismiss proposed allusions out of a bias against the implicit and the subtle: our confidence is for obvious reasons, in the explicit and the obvious. But...significant textual meaning can be, like the foundations of buildings, out of sight.”¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Dale C. Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus: Scripture in Q* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2000), 9.

When I was a child, I had a terrible bout with pneumonia. I lay on my bed for several weeks. As sufferers of pneumonia know, it can be very painful to move. While lying on my back, I stared at the ceiling for hours amidst my painful boredom. It was not long before I discovered patterns and images amongst the plaster splatterings. I could see faces, creatures, and cars. After growing up a bit, I realized that my mind simply brought together images out of the random splatterings. Ironically, as I had stared at that ceiling, I had been completely unaware of the structure, material, and planning that truly did go into the construction of that ceiling. A balance must be found somewhere inbetween the extremes of parallelomania on the one hand and literary solipsism on the other.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, 14. It should be noted, that although Allison makes a distinction between allusion and dependence (p. 10), these problems can be applied (even to a greater extent) to dependence.

In light of these extremes, a number of researchers set out “to establish a method and criteria for judging the possible existence of literary dependence.”¹⁶³ This chapter will very briefly examine the methodology of several scholars and then consolidate them into a methodology which will be applied to the analysis of this dissertation.

Richard Hays—Seven Criteria for Recognizing Echoes

Richard Hays, in *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, takes lessons from more modern literary imitation (specifically that of John Hollander¹⁶⁴) and applies them to imitation in the Pauline Epistles.¹⁶⁵ Specifically, Hays examines “echoes” of the OT in Paul. Echoes are an implicit imitation technique which aim the reader back to the source text but do not require intentionality of the author.¹⁶⁶ Hays establishes seven criteria for recognizing these implicit echoes.¹⁶⁷ So influential and original is Hays’ criteria that they have been repeated as a base for many studies. Although Luke’s possible use of 2 Kgs is not the exact same type of imitation as found in Paul, the criteria are still applicable to a strong degree. (1) “Availability”—was a text available in time and space to possibly be echoed?¹⁶⁸ (2) “Volume”—what weight is

¹⁶³ Brodie, MacDonald, and Porter, “Conclusion,” 291.

Shayrn Dowd points out the “inherent circularity in the process of developing criteria to prove a case one has already intuited.” Dowd allows for such a circular process if it is “mitigated by using methods commonly agreed upon in one’s discipline.” Dowd rightly recognizes what *can be* a self-affirming exercise. However, in her review of MacDonald’s *Homeric Epics*, Dowd does not recognize the responsible practice of trying to recognize one’s own presuppositions. What is more, Dowd does not seem to consider the general lack of scholarship (especially at the time) that is the study of dependence in biblical literature. Shayrn Dowd, review of Dennis R. MacDonald, *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark*, *CBQ* 63.1 (2001): 155-56.

¹⁶⁴ John Hollander, *Figure of an Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (18 Quantam Books; Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981).

¹⁶⁵ Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993).

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 29.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 29-31.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 29.

given to a particular citation and the “prominence” of a given source text?¹⁶⁹ (3) “Recurrence”—how often is the source text used by Paul?¹⁷⁰ (4) “Thematic Coherence”—how closely does the new text resemble the source text in theme and style?¹⁷¹ (5) “Historical Plausibility”—does this possible echo fit within the historical setting of Luke?¹⁷² (6) “History of Interpretation”—have others observed this echo?¹⁷³ (7) “Satisfaction”—does it the connection make sense?¹⁷⁴ Although there is certainly some overlap in Hays’ categories, Hays acknowledges that these are not strict and rigid categories which must be checked off. These categories include literary approaches, historical criticism, and reader focused analysis. Also, because the categories are not to be taken as strict guidelines, it is difficult to exactly understand what Hays has in mind to recognize certain categories (e.g., volume or satisfaction). Overall, even those with heavier criticism have seen Hays’ work regarding echoes in Paul as foundational for the broader sphere of intertextuality and as a spring-board for criteria and methodology. Particularly distinct of Hays’ categories and pertinent for this dissertation is the category “satisfaction.” To be clear, this certainly is the most subjective and ambiguous of Hays’ criteria. Yet, satisfaction implicitly highlights a key point: intertextuality deals with texts that are not the same and are interpreted by readers to whom this criterion will be applied in different ways. “Satisfaction” and the overlap with “history of interpretation” help to lay a foundation that the strongest cases of echoes are already known. This means that further explorations, like this dissertation, are not as immediately satisfying—and for obvious reasons. Hays specifies that the category of “history of interpretation...should rarely be used as a

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 30.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 30.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, 30.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, 30.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, 31.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 32.

negative test to exclude proposed echoes that commend themselves on other grounds.”¹⁷⁵ This is very similar to the already quoted Dale Allison, “significant textual meaning...can be out of sight.”¹⁷⁶ The essence of any original intertextuality that needs to be discussed relies on the fact that the “history of interpretation” cannot be negative criteria.

Dale Allison—Six Categories

Allison, writing on allusion and typology regarding Moses in the Gospel of Matthew, has six categories which are very similar to Hays’ criteria. Allison’s criteria are: (1) Chronological Relationship; (2) Significance; (3) Similar Circumstance; (4) Prominence; (5) Precedence; and (6) Unusual Imagery and Uncommon Motifs.¹⁷⁷ Allison’s criteria line up rather neatly with Hays’. “Noticeably lacking” is Hays’ category of “satisfaction” as well as any other criteria which owes to reader response.¹⁷⁸ Most distinct for Allison is the category “Unusual Imagery and Uncommon Motifs.” This is not to be confused as contradictory to Hays’ recurrence. Allison’s point is that if recurring imagery is simply common then the connection in question would not be strengthened; however, if the imagery that is recurring is rare then it would serve as evidence in favour of a connection.

Benjamin Wold—Five Criteria

Benjamin Wold in *Women, Men, and Angels* synthesizes Hays, Allison, and others into five categories specifically for non-explicit imitation (with the goal of

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 32.

¹⁷⁶ Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 14.

¹⁷⁷ Dale C. Allison, *The New Moses: a Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 19-20.

¹⁷⁸ Wold, *Women, Men, and Angels*, 59.

studying the relationship of Gen 1-3 to the document *Musar leMevin* [4QInstruction]).¹⁷⁹ Wold’s first category appropriately conflates criteria having to do with “accessibility.”¹⁸⁰ Wold’s second category is “vocabulary and syntax.”¹⁸¹ Wold notes that the similarity in this category should be “significant.” The third category is “imagery and motifs.”¹⁸² The fourth category, “literary context,” emphasizes the importance of recurrence within intra-book context.¹⁸³ Wold’s final category, “similar traditions,” says that the likelihood of an occurrence of imitation increases with other instances of similar imitation in other traditions.¹⁸⁴ Not counting “accessibility,” Wold’s categories build one upon the other starting with “vocabulary and syntax.” In other words, an occurrence that may not be as strong in vocabulary can be strengthened by the category of significance, and an occurrence which may not be as significant would be strengthened by imagery and motifs, and so on.

Anne M. O’Leary—External and Internal Criteria

Citing various scholars, Anne M O’Leary, in *Matthew’s Judaization of Mark*, separates her criteria under two main headings: external and internal criteria. The external category is broken up into Date, Accessibility, Status of Text, and Analogues.¹⁸⁵ The internal category is broken up into Parallels, Distinctive Details, and Systematic Use of Sources.¹⁸⁶ The sub-category of “Systematic Use of Sources” is the most distinct contribution of O’Leary. This category states that “the probability of dependence is increased if all or most of the source text is reflected in some way in

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 77-79.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 77.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, 77.

¹⁸² *Ibid*, 78.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, 78.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 78.

¹⁸⁵ O’Leary, *Matthew’s Judaization of Mark*, 20.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 21.

the later text.”¹⁸⁷ O’Leary builds upon Thomas L. Brodie’s criteria in *Genesis as Dialogue* to which her category of “Systematic Use” owes.¹⁸⁸ This category is especially interesting as it also seems to share a similarity with Dimant’s “running allusions” and “free narrative” which are much broader types of imitation as seen in her discussion regarding the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and their aim to “recreate the biblical world.”¹⁸⁹

Brodie, MacDonald, and Porter—Three “Suggested Guidelines”

Thomas Brodie, Dennis MacDonald, and Stanley Porter of “Conclusion: Problems of Method—Suggested Guidelines” (*The Intertextuality of the Epistles*), in a synthesis of findings from their individual work, have proposed three generalized sets of positive criteria: (1) Initial External Plausibility, (2) Significant Similarities, and (3) Classifiable and Interpretable Similarities and Differences.¹⁹⁰ These categories are much more conflated than some of the other scholars, but Brodie, MacDonald, and Porter’s three criteria are helpful to encapsulate the sub-categories. Such tidiness is helpful to keep the criteria as practically applicable as possible. The most distinct contribution in their work is “Differences.” By acknowledging that intertexts by nature are different, this category goes hand in hand with Hays’ category of “satisfaction.” In other words, if there is a connection between the texts there should be a satisfying explanation which helps interpret such a change from ante-text to the new text.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 21.

¹⁸⁸ Brodie, *Genesis as Dialogue*, 429.

¹⁸⁹ Dimant, “Use and Interpretation,” 416-18; and 379 (emphasis hers).

¹⁹⁰ Brodie, MacDonald, and Porter, “Conclusion,” 291; Brodie, *Birthing*; Dennis R. MacDonald, *Christianizing Homer: The Odyssey, Plato, and the Acts of Andrew* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); ed., *Mimesis and Intertextuality* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001); and Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley, *As it is Written: Studying Paul’s Use of Scripture* (Atlanta, GA: SBL), 2008.

Adam Winn—Five Criteria

Adam Winn, “after examining Virgil’s use of Homer”¹⁹¹ in his exploration of the “possibility that Mark’s gospel is imitating the Elijah-Elisha narrative,”¹⁹² marks out five categories for the criteria for “determining literary dependence.”¹⁹³ Like the others, Winn begins with plausibility.¹⁹⁴ Winn has two separate categories for narrative structures and narrative details.¹⁹⁵ For Winn, the “likelihood” or “probability” of literary dependence is increased with not just similar details but similar plot order. This, like O’Leary’s “Systematic Use of Sources,” works well with Dimant’s broader phenomenon of imitation. Although Winn concedes that “Verbal Agreement” can be “strong evidence,” he cautions that “the field of New Testament studies” is “a field that for far too long has operated under the false assumption that verbal agreement and verbal agreement alone is necessary to establish literary dependence.”¹⁹⁶ Winn, like Brodie, MacDonald, and Porter, also discusses the importance of recognizing that difference may or may not be negative criteria. Winn makes the warning concrete, “A handful of minor similarities between two largely differing texts is clearly not enough to prove literary dependence.”¹⁹⁷ On the other hand, Winn also warns not to be too hasty to dismiss a possible intertextual event based upon differences that are too difficult to be explained.¹⁹⁸ Balance and reason are required. Perhaps Winn’s most helpful contribution to the immediate subject is the

¹⁹¹ Winn, *Mark and the Elijah-Elisha Narrative*, 30.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 30-32.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

category entitled “The Weight of Combined Criteria.”¹⁹⁹ Calling it “The most convincing evidence of literary dependence” Winn highlights combined criteria as a key phenomenon for a proper methodology for establishing literary dependence.²⁰⁰

Summary of Chapter 3

There are several areas in the above criteria that are overlapping. (1) Scholarship, for obvious reasons, embraces a category like plausibility. Yet, there are times where it is not obvious whether one text is available to another. Thus, the direction of literary dependence is much harder to determine—e.g., Matthew’s proposed use of Luke or Luke’s proposed use of Matthew. In contrast, a proposed case of Lukan passage’s use of the LXX satisfies Hays’ “availability,” “historical plausibility,” and “volume,” Allison’s “prominence,” and Wold’s “similar traditions.” That is, the LXX is a prominent text which predates Luke and is explicitly used on many occasions in the other Gospels. (2) There is also a consensus regarding recurring similarity. But these similarities are not of vocabulary alone. Scholarship recognizes similarity of theme, motif, genre, and plot. (3) Several of our surveyed scholars note that if there is a saturation of possible uses of a source text throughout a particular text then the likelihood of a particular case would be increased.

There are also helpful areas which are more unique to individual scholars. Allison’s category of “Unusual Imagery and Uncommon Motifs” helps to vet a possible source text in light of other possible sources. Brodie, MacDonald, and Porter’s “Classifiable Differences” sub-category works with Hays’ “satisfaction.” Since differences are to be expected some of them exhibit an observable logic from the source to the imitating text. O’Leary, building off of Brodie, discusses the

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 32-33
²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 33.

importance of a category like “saturation” which she calls “Systematic Use of Sources.” This is similar to Wold’s “literary context” in which an occurrence of imitation is strengthened by additional uses within the text.

Most scholars discuss their categories of each criterion within a greater overarching methodology. That is, these individual categories work together to establish an affirmative or negative answer for the question of literary dependence. This is seen vividly when Winn presents the category of “the weight of combined criteria” as an ultimate category which, if proven for a particular case, makes literary dependence “undeniable.” Although some, like Winn, indicate that some criteria will weigh heavier than others, and thus there is some discussion about how individual categories of the criteria are weighed together, many appeal to the “art over science” argument: because of the nature of literature some of the discussed categories can and should be weighed differently (and weighed together) depending on the texts in question. A methodology that is too strict or too loose, may, from in front of the text (the reader’s point of reference), force an author’s hand in a way that will yield skewed results regarding literary dependence.

Chapter 4: Introduction to the Story of the Centurion's Servant (Luke 7:1-10) within
the Framework of the Scholarly Accepted Connection of Luke to the Elijah-Elisha
Narrative

This chapter will discuss the details of the story of the healing of the centurion's servant. It will also lay some groundwork regarding a precedent for the study of the relationship of the story of the healing of Naaman with the story of the healing of the centurion's servant.

Introduction to the Story of the Healing of the Centurion's Servant (Luke 7:1-10)

In order to adequately discuss any possible connection of one passage to another, it is important to first discuss the story in question on its own terms. The following paragraphs will describe the plot and context of the story of the healing of the centurion's servant. For accessibility the Greek text is provided below:

Luke 7:1-10 ¹ Ἐπειδὴ ἐπλήρωσεν πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ λαοῦ, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Καφαρναούμ. ² Ἐκατοντάρχου δέ τινος δοῦλος κακῶς ἔχων ἤμελλεν τελευτᾶν, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ ἔντιμος. ³ ἀκούσας δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβυτέρους τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐρωτῶν αὐτὸν ὅπως ἐλθὼν διασώσῃ τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ. ⁴ οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν σπουδαίως λέγοντες ὅτι ἄξιός ἐστιν ᾧ παρέξῃ τοῦτο. ⁵ ἀγαπᾷ γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτὸς ᾧκοδόμησεν ἡμῖν. ⁶ ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐπορεύετο σὺν αὐτοῖς. ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἔπεμψεν φίλους ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης λέγων αὐτῷ· κύριε, μὴ σκύλλου, οὐ γὰρ ἰκανός εἰμι ἵνα ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην μου εἰσέλθῃς. ⁷ διὸ οὐδὲ ἑμαυτὸν ἠξίωσα πρὸς σὲ ἐλθεῖν· ἀλλὰ εἰπέ λόγῳ, καὶ ἰαθήτω ὁ παῖς μου. ⁸ καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν τασσόμενος ἔχων ὑπ' ἑμαυτὸν στρατιώτας, καὶ λέγω τούτῳ· πορεύθητι, καὶ πορεύεται, καὶ ἄλλῳ· ἔρχου, καὶ ἔρχεται, καὶ τῷ δούλῳ μου· ποίησον τοῦτο, καὶ ποιεῖ. ⁹ ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐθαύμασεν αὐτὸν καὶ στραφεὶς τῷ ἀκολουθοῦντι αὐτῷ ὄχλῳ εἶπεν· λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ τοσαύτην πίστιν εὔρον. ¹⁰ Καὶ ὑποστρέψαντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον οἱ πεμφθέντες εὔρον τὸν δοῦλον ὑγιαίνοντα.

The healing of the centurion's servant is located just after the Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6:17-49) and just before Jesus' raising of the widow of Nain's son (Luke

7:11-17). The story of the healing of the centurion's servant begins a section commonly called the "little interpolation" (which ends at 8:3) because, from a perspective of Mark as a source for Luke, Luke interrupts the Markan order.²⁰¹ The healing of the centurion's servant belongs to a series of miracles performed by Jesus (Luke 4:33-37; 4:38-39; 4:40-41; 5:4-11; 5:12-16; 5:17-26; 6:6-11; 7:1-10; and 7:11-17). This series, as criteria for "the one who is coming," is summarized in Luke 7:21 and on the lips of Jesus in Luke 7:22, "Go and report to John that which you saw and heard: the blind receive sight, the crippled walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, the poor are brought good news." In other words, like a common thread running through these miracle stories, Luke is clearly demonstrating that Jesus has indeed fulfilled these criteria. However, it should be noted that this does not take away from other aspects which may be more localized to each individual story (e.g., conflict with the Pharisees 6:11 or the spread of word about Jesus 5:15). Similarly, the story of the healing of the centurion's servant will be a particular example of the criteria laid out in 7:22 and will, in a more localized fashion, also highlight the faith of a Gentile.

Although this passage (Luke 7:1-10) is commonly called "the healing of the centurion's servant," it could more fittingly be called "the faith of the centurion" as the climax of the story is at the declaration regarding the centurion and not at the healing of the servant. The precise moment of the centurion's servant recovering from illness is secondary to the centurion's acknowledgement of the healing power of Jesus' commanding word which culminates with Jesus extolling the faith of the centurion in relation to Israel (Luke 7:9). Specifically, Darrel Bock notes that the story "of the healing of the centurion's slave is less a miracle story and more of a

²⁰¹ Luke Timothy Johnson, *Luke*. SP 3; (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 119.

character study.”²⁰² Coupled with the raising of the widow of Nain’s son, Jesus is portrayed as a prophet of a caring God (Luke 7:16) and whose healing power is, ironically enough, accessible by the socially marginalized. This is fitting with Luke-Acts’ presentation of a social role-reversal as the socially-marginalized are not only highlighted but held in high regard. For example, Luke (and no other gospel) contains the stories of the Good Samaritan (10:30-35) and the rich man and Lazarus (16:19-31). In fact, according to John Navone, it is Luke’s poor who are the recipients of the Gospel:

When Jesus reads the lesson in the synagogue at Nazareth, he chooses the passage which describes his mission: “the spirit of the Lord has been given to me, for he has anointed me. He has sent me to bring the good news to the poor (*ptōchois*)” (4.18). Later Jesus identifies himself for John’s disciples in terms of those upon whom he is capable of exerting his own peculiar influence: “the blind see again, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised to life, the good news is proclaimed to the poor (*ptōchoi*), and happy is the man who does not lose faith in me” (7.23). Jesus identifies himself by the community which he has formed and where his impact is felt. It is only to the blind that he can give sight, and similarly with the others. It is only to the poor that the good news can be effectively proclaimed. His significance is grasped in terms of human needs which he alone can satisfy; and in terms of the community whose needs he satisfies.²⁰³

Luke Timothy Johnson, in the introduction to his commentary on Luke, notes that

the poor stand for all those who have been rejected on the basis of human standards, but are accepted by God; they in turn accept the Prophet. Among them are the crippled, the lame, the blind and deaf, the sexually mutilated, and all those ritually excluded from full participation in the life of the people. The religiously unrighteous are also included, the “sinners and tax-agents,” as well as those women who by virtue of their gender always took a second place within the ritual life of the Jewish community. Luke’s portrayal of Mary is emblematic of how God reverses the poverty and powerlessness of the human condition. And throughout his narrative, Luke pays particular and positive attention to the role of women. The theme of reversal is expressed as well by the inclusion within the people of God of Samaritans and Gentiles.²⁰⁴

²⁰² Darrell Bock, *Luke* (NIV The Application Commentary; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2009), clxxxvi.

²⁰³ John Navone, *Themes of St. Luke* (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1970), 105.

²⁰⁴ Luke Timothy Johnson, *Luke*. SP 3; (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 22.

Although the centurion is declared to be in high regard by the Jewish-elders/messengers, the social awkwardness of Luke's story combined with Jesus' declaration that the centurion is outside of the social category of Israel emphasize the fact that the centurion is indeed a Gentile. Furthermore, his potential wealth (a status often recognized through the possible donation insinuated by *καὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτὸς ᾧκοδόμησεν ἡμῖν* of v. 5) does not remove him from the category of the socially marginalized (e.g., tax-collectors). It might be argued that the testimony of the Jewish elders claims the opposite (i.e., he is not a member of society's outcasts), but they are certainly not a trustworthy source. Not only is the Jewish elders' claim, "he is worthy," contradicted by the centurion, on the lips of his friends in the second delegation, "I am not worthy," but in every other instance, in Luke, where the elders of the Jewish religious hierarchy are mentioned they are deceitful and self-serving antagonists: rejecting the Son of Man in (9:22); trying to trick Jesus and the subject of the parable of the wicked tenants (20:1-26); seizing and arresting Jesus in the cover of night (22:52-54); threatening Peter and John because of their preaching about Jesus (Acts 4:5-21); the seizing and stoning of Stephen (Acts 6:12-7:60); and on the lips of Festus regarding the elders' request for a sentence of condemnation regarding Paul (Acts 25:15). The essence of delegations, lack of meeting face-to-face, and the travel to but non-entry into the house are symptomatic of the centurion's lower standing. To summarize the above paragraphs, the story of the centurion (Luke 7:1-10) is in keeping with Luke's book-wide emphasis on the socially marginalized and the immediate context of the criteria of the "one who is to come" in Luke 7:22.

The story proper begins by Jesus "finishing his words" (the Sermon on the Plain), and going to Capernaum. Capernaum has already been mentioned twice so far in Luke (4:23 and 4:31). The first time, Jesus responds to the people's question, "Is

this not Joseph's son?" by predicting that the people will ask him to perform like he did in Capernaum. Some difficulty arises as the reader has not yet been introduced (as of ch. 4) to Capernaum or even Jesus' miracles. Although one might conclude that Jesus' reputation in 4:14 may have included exceptional deeds in Capernaum (as he travels to teach in various synagogues [4:15]) this seems a bit of a stretch. It is also possible to consider that Luke is relying upon Theophilus' previous knowledge of other works (note especially, Luke 1:4; and thus, e.g., Mark 2:1-5 where the story of the healing of the paralytic happens in Capernaum, yet the Lukan equivalent in ch. 5 happens in a unnamed town). The most satisfying explanation is one that does not have to speculate or look outside Luke's context. "Do what you did in Capernaum" is part of the direct speech "Doubtless you *will* quote this proverb to me, 'Physician heal yourself....'" Thus, it is more likely that Capernaum, in Luke 4:23, is a sign-post for contextual future deeds done in Capernaum (the man with the unclean spirit [Luke 4:31] and 7:1), and the prediction itself is regarding what people will say to Jesus after that (possibly Luke 23:35, "He saved others, let him save himself"). The "woe" directed at Capernaum in Luke 10:15 seems to solidify the view of Capernaum as a place that would have been expected to be lifted up but will actually be brought down—a very similar sentiment to 4:23. Thus, the miracle performed near and in Capernaum in 7:1-10 fits well with the context of 4:23.

Next, the text introduces a centurion, a Roman military commander, who has a servant who is dear to him. This precious servant is ill and about to die. Then, Luke shares the detail that the centurion hears about Jesus. The centurion sends Jewish elders as messengers to request Jesus to come and heal his valuable servant. The Jewish elders urge Jesus to come to the centurion. They mention that the centurion

loves their nation and that he even built a synagogue for them—possibly implying that he is a man of abundant means.

Jesus travels to the centurion's house only to be stopped just shy of reaching his destination by friends of the centurion who have been sent as messengers. The friends relay the message of the centurion in the first-person, a procedure which explains his unworthiness to have Jesus come into his home. The centurion prescribes a healing at a distance and uses an illustration from the army to describe Jesus' authority over the illness. Jesus marvels at the centurion's faith and at the story's climax declares, "I tell you, not even in Israel have I found such faith." The healing is mentioned after the declaration as the messengers return to the house and discover that the centurion's servant has been made well.

The story of the healing of the centurion's servant presents: (1) Jesus as a powerful prophet of God who fulfills the criteria for "the one who is coming;" (2) Jesus as one who can heal regardless of distance with a commanding word; and (3) a Gentile military commander who has faith in the power of Jesus.

The Well-Known Connection of Luke 7:1-10 and Acts 10:1-11:18

In order to establish if Luke 7:1-10 relies upon 2 Kings 5:1-19, it would be helpful to establish a precedent for similar connections. One such example would spring to the mind of most commentators: the conversion of Cornelius (Acts 10 and 11). Appropriately, the story of the healing of the centurion's servant in Luke 7:1-10 has often been compared to the story of the conversion of Cornelius in Acts 10:1-11:18.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, if the unity of Luke-Acts is assumed then the centurion in Luke 7 acts a precursor to the centurion, Cornelius, in Acts 10. Regarding the

²⁰⁵ E.g., Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Luke: A Literary and Theological Commentary* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2002), 55.

introduction to Cornelius in Acts 10, Luke Timothy Johnson states that “the reader is reminded at once of the earlier centurion...who sends messengers to Jesus with a request for help (Luke 7:1-10).”²⁰⁶ Fred Craddock notes,

Luke’s practice of relating parallel events from the life of Jesus and the life of the church is evident here. Remarkably similar to 7:1-10 is Acts 10.... What is important about these parallels is that 7:1-10 both foreshadows the mission to the Gentiles which is unfolded in Acts and provides an authoritative precedent for that mission in the ministry of Jesus himself.²⁰⁷

A precedent for Gentile outreach would fit the purposes of Luke-Acts perfectly as

this story clearly foreshadows the later Gentile mission. We find some obvious parallels between this story and Cornelius’s [sic] conversion in Acts 10. Luke no doubt sought to help the church of his day understand how the inclusion of the Gentiles into the church was foreshadowed and envisioned by Jesus during his earthly ministry. He may have even hoped that this account would help Christian Jews and Gentiles in his day to welcome each other in the fellowship of the church.²⁰⁸

Likewise, John Nolland says, regarding the centurion, “in the later church the existence of such a Gentile who had manifested such an outstanding spiritual perception and responsiveness would have served as a strong argument against the exclusion of the Gentiles on principle from Christian fellowship.”²⁰⁹

There are several similarities to the centurion from the Gospel of Luke and Cornelius in Acts. For simplicity, the main similarities are listed here. (1) Obviously, they are both centurions (Luke 7:2 and Acts 10:1). (2) They both send a party to speak to someone on their behalf and retrieve the main character (Luke 7:3 and Acts 10:8). (3) They both have “been particularly kind to the Jewish population.”²¹⁰ (4) The story in Luke 7:1-10 “is the perfect foreshadowing of the great Gentile mission that lay

²⁰⁶ Luke Timothy Johnson, *Acts* (5: Sacra pagina, ed. Daniel J. Harrington 2nd ed.; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 181.

²⁰⁷ Fred Craddock, *Luke* (Interpretation: A Bible commentary for Teaching & Preaching; Westminster John Knox Press: Louisville, KY: 2009), 94.

²⁰⁸ Robert A. Stein, *Luke* (Vol. 24, New American Commentary; Nashville, TN: B&H Publishing, 1993), 220-23.

²⁰⁹ John Nolland, *Luke 1-9:20* (Vol 1, WBC; Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1989), 318.

²¹⁰ Francois Bovon, Helmut Koester, and Christine M. Thomas, *Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1-9:50*. (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 2002), 259.

ahead, with the faith of the non-Israelite centurion so highly praised, and the salvation that came not in person but by word.²¹¹ This Gentile mission is officially commenced with the conversion of Cornelius.

With Luke-Acts already connecting one centurion to another one might ask, “Are there any other connections to centurions or like characters?” But before we are ready to move on to that, it would be good to recognize Luke’s indebtedness to Elijah-Elisha in general in order to further strengthen the plausibility that 7:1-10 might rely upon 2 Kgs 5:1-19.

A Previously Recognized Connection: Elijah/Elisha

Now it becomes important to discuss the Gospels, especially Luke (including Acts), as connected to a source—specifically the OT and especially the LXX. This section will quickly move from the broader connection of the Gospels to their literary setting, to the connection of the Gospels to the LXX, and to the special link of Luke to the LXX. Finally, this section will discuss, citing several important examples, the strong connection of Luke-Acts to the Elijah-Elisha narrative of the LXX. The link between Luke-Acts and the Elijah-Elisha narrative will prove to be particularly significant for asking the crucial question of this dissertation: is the story of the healing of the centurion’s servant modelled upon the story of the healing of Naaman?

The Gospels are not Unconnected from a Literary Setting.

The search for the appropriate genre-label for the Gospels and especially Luke has been with scholarship for centuries.²¹² It is not the goal of this dissertation to enter

²¹¹ Michael D. Goulder, *Luke* (JSNTSup 20; Sheffield: Sheffield, 1994), 376.

into that debate or to ascribe to any one theory or label put forth by others. However, it is appropriate to note that although some have argued that the Gospels were distinctively other, belonging to Christianity which is more detached from a historical-literary genre; these Gospels are still recognized to be birthed from a real historical-literary setting. Even Bultmann, champion of the “otherness” of the Gospels, took it as obvious that the Gospels were influenced theologically by Hellenistic thought (e.g., Stoicism and Gnosticism).²¹³ In other words, Bultmann’s claim and the influence of Hellenistic writing practices are not mutually exclusive. What is more, Luke is recognized by scholars to be the most Hellenized of the Gospels. As we previously cited, Brodie notes that “there is considerable evidence not only that Luke was a *littérateur* but also that he employed specifically Hellenistic modes of writing, including various techniques of Hellenistic rhetoric.”²¹⁴

There is no reason to suspect that an ancient Greco-Roman/Jewish work—regardless of genre—would have no relation to the literary *Sitz im Leben* that was Greco-Roman and Jewish rewriting. After asking the question, “What is a Gospel?” Talbert concludes by setting the Gospels in the literary world of the first century: “the canonical gospels belong to the biographical genre of antiquity.”²¹⁵ Note that for this discussion it is not the mere label that is important, but where that genre falls—in the historical-literary setting of antiquity.

The Gospels as Connected to the Old Testament, Especially the Septuagint.

²¹² For more on the discussion of the genre of the Gospels see esp.: Charles H. Talbert, *What is a Gospel?* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1977); and Richard Burridge, *What are the Gospels? A comparison with Graeco-Roman biography* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004).

²¹³ Rudolph Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (Baylor, TX: Baylor University Press, 1951), 107.

²¹⁴ Brodie, *Birthing*, 20.

²¹⁵ Talbert, *Gospel*, 16.

A simple reading of the NT reveals the heavy reliance upon the OT. Every NT book connects, to varying degrees, with the OT. Whether it is through quotes, general vocabulary, themes, motifs, “type-scenes,” typology, or theology, the OT had an impact on the NT like no other work.²¹⁶ Although the extent of the influence of the HB upon the NT is widely debated, the importance of the LXX in NT studies is not debated. The facts that “the Septuagint... was widely used by writers of the New Testament” and that the “writers of the New Testament and early church considered the Septuagint translation inspired” are widely accepted throughout scholarship and are foundational for many conclusions.²¹⁷ Although R. Timothy McLay allowed, for the sake of argument that the “Greek Scriptures” have “at least equal authority to the Hebrew Scriptures,” he promoted the idea that since “the Greek Jewish Scriptures had a significant impact on the theology of the NT writers” they “should be accounted for in NT research.”²¹⁸ The impact of the LXX is so widespread that some, like Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, have concluded: “The fact that from the first all the New Testament writings were written in Greek is conclusively demonstrated by their citations from the Old Testament, which are from the Septuagint... and not from the original Hebrew text.”²¹⁹ Particularly, the same can be said about the OT and the

²¹⁶ A “type-scene” is a fixed sequence of narrative in which the audience expects certain phenomena to appear—much like a template. E.g., if you are going to tell a fairy tale, those who aware of the formula know that you start the tale with, “Once upon a time....” For more on “type-scenes” and typology see: Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 13; C. A. Evans “Typology” in *DJG* (ed. Joel B. Green et al.; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992), 862-6; and especially, Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1983).

²¹⁷ Lois Farag, “The Septuagint in the Life of the Early Church” *WW vol. 26 no. 4* (2006): 392; see also, Paul J. Achtemeier, Joel B. Green, and Marianne Meye Thompson, *Introducing the New Testament: Its Literature and Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 21; and Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament* (rev. ed. London: SCM, 1999), 25.

²¹⁸ R. Timothy McLay *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 187. See also, Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2000), 183-205.

²¹⁹ Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2nd ed.; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989), 52.

Septuagint's relation to the Gospels. "In fact, there is no significant idea developed in the Gospels that does not in some way reflect or depend on the OT."²²⁰

Like the rest of the NT, the Gospels writers depended heavily on the LXX. The Gospels regularly employed LXX quotes on the lips of their characters and in the third-person. For example, during Jesus' inaugural sermon, Luke 4:18-19 takes "the quotation...from Isa. 61.1-2a LXX...."²²¹ Another example is: "'I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness: Make straight the way of the Lord, as the prophet Isaiah said.'" (John 1:23) The source of this quotation is the LXX."²²² The Gospels also employed OT scenes. For example, see Matthew's treatment of "Jesus' brush with death and flight to Egypt to escape Herod" as it mirrors "the similar experience of the infant Moses, who was threatened by Pharaoh."²²³

A Closer Look at the Special Connection of Luke to the Septuagint.

When one narrows the focus further, the use of the LXX in the Gospels becomes clear "especially [by] the author of Luke-Acts."²²⁴ Wilfrid J. Harrington notes that "Luke has the best Greek style among the evangelists. Greek is certainly his mother tongue."²²⁵ Harrington also notes that "it seems that Luke has consciously imitated the style of the Greek Bible."²²⁶ Gregory Sterling states that the scope of the use of the

²²⁰ C. A. Evans, "Old Testament in the Gospels" in *DJG* (ed. Joel B. Green *et al.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992), 579.

²²¹ Peter Mallen, *The Reading and Transformation of Isaiah in Luke-Acts* (LTS 367; ed. Mark Goodacre. New York: T & T Clark, 2008), 73.

²²² Maarten J. J. Menken, "Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John" in *New Testament Writers and the Old Testament* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2002), 34.

²²³ C. A. Evans, "Old Testament in the Gospels" in *DJG*, 585.

²²⁴ Farag, *Septuagint*, 392.

²²⁵ Wilfrid J. Harrington, *Record of the Fulfillment: The New Testament* (Chicago: Priory, 1965), 181.

²²⁶ *Ibid*, 181-2.

LXX by Luke is “universally acknowledged.”²²⁷ Going further, Sterling recognizes that

the LXX was thus of central importance for Luke-Acts. It provided the language for sections of the work, the concept of history which pervades it, and may have supplied some of the forms themselves. More important than this is the realization that our author [Luke] conceived of his work as the *continuation* of the LXX.²²⁸

Green, likewise, recognizes the source of Luke’s narrative: “Luke is not introducing a *new* story, but continuing an old one, whose real ‘beginning’ is the LXX.”²²⁹ Thus, much of “Luke’s character as a Hellenistic author is revealed by his fondness for archaizing. In apologetic literature, the claim to antiquity is enhanced by language derived from ancient scriptures. In great stretches of his narrative, Luke imitates the Greek of the Septuagint.”²³⁰ Thus, based on the LXX “Luke can use biblical prototypes to build entire scenes. In both volumes [Luke and Acts], stories which are unique to Luke appear to depend on biblical models, either for details of their language or for their structure.”²³¹

An Even Closer Look (with Examples) at the Special Connection of Luke to the Elijah-Elisha Narrative.

Although Deuteronomy, the Psalms, wisdom literature, and prophecy will play crucial roles in the writing of the Gospels, the *prose narrative* of the LXX was especially formative for Luke. Sterling helps to focus the discussion further:

Granted that the author knew the LXX well enough to consciously imitate it, we would also expect it to have influenced the thought and form of his work. In particular, we would expect the narrative portion to have significance for him. Of this material the story of Israel related

²²⁷ Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition* (NovTSup 64; Atlanta: SBL, 1992), 352.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 363.

²²⁹ Green, *Luke*, 52.

²³⁰ Luke Timothy Johnson, *Luke*, 12.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 12-3.

in Genesis-IV Kingdoms promises to offer the most help in understanding Luke-Acts.²³²

Sterling continues:

The distinctive Christian interpretation suggests that the primary impulse came from a Christian attempt to relate the life of Jesus and the church to the OT. At the same time, there was an OT model for such a procedure in Genesis-II Kings. The story of God's people was told in terms of promise-fulfillment there. The author's intimate knowledge of the LXX suggests that this formed a precedent for his own efforts. The concept of history in Luke-Acts is thus indebted to the Israelite histories within the LXX both for its confessional understanding of history and its specific expression of the execution of God's will.²³³

Raymond Brown, although not claiming a direct literary link, notes that "when taken along with the Elijah cycle, the Elisha cycle is part of OT history that we know the Gospel writers and their predecessors were interested in, for there is in the Gospels a specific reference to Elisha and many references to Elijah."²³⁴ With the focus on the Gospel of Luke and its use of the narrative of the LXX in place, parallels to the Elijah-Elisha narrative, from the LXX, become more apparent in passage after passage—a recurrence appearing throughout a great expanse of Luke-Acts.

There is little debate about the unity of the Elijah and Elisha stories. Certainly, some source critics may debate whether the Elijah-Elisha narrative were ever in extant form outside 1-2Kgs, but there is no real *practical* debate that the Elijah stories existed separately from the Elisha stories.²³⁵ Ultimately the two figures and their respective stories are unified in literary context and most importantly were unified for the NT authors. Furthermore, they are unified by plot and theme. Robert P. Carroll notes that the Elijah-Elisha narrative is an example of succession like that of Moses

²³² Sterling, *Historiography*, 354.

²³³ *Ibid*, 359-60.

²³⁴ Raymond E. Brown, "Jesus and Elisha," *Perspectives* 12 (1971), 98.

²³⁵ Although some source critics have taken it for granted that the Elijah and Elisha cycles *did* exist separately most still practically deal with them as a unit. E.g., Barnabas Lindars, "Elijah, Elisha and the Gospel Miracles," in *Miracles: Cambridge Studies in their Philosophy and History*. Edited by, C.F.D. Moule. (London: Mowbray, 1965), 67.

and Joshua.²³⁶ Brodie explains the strong unity of the Elijah-Elisha narrative in terms of prophecy, healing, and succession:

Succession refers to one of the text's most obvious aspects: it forms a succession narrative; its account of how Elisha succeeds Elijah fits into a broader pattern of succession stories that usually constitute a certain unity. Prophecy also binds the text: every episode of the Elijah-Elisha narrative, including those not dealing directly with Elijah and Elisha themselves, is concerned with prophets or prophecy. Even the murderous excesses of Jehu and Athaliah (2 Kgs 9-11) fall within the scope of what has been prophesied. And, taken as a whole, the Elijah-Elisha narrative emphasizes healing in a way that, within the Old Testament, is unique.²³⁷

To what extent Luke-Acts employed the Elijah-Elisha narrative goes beyond the scope of the present dissertation.²³⁸ Yet, it will suffice to note that (A) there is a special dependence upon this particular LXX narrative and (B) several individual pericopes from this narrative of Elijah and Elisha served as the backbone onto which the corresponding stories of Jesus were fused.

The following paragraphs will discuss several of the most conspicuous and prominent examples. The connections found in the following examples are largely embraced by scholarship. The examples are not trying to argue for any *specific* degree of dependency. Instead, they are discussed here to show that Luke did indeed tell stories that were at some level connected to the Elijah-Elisha narrative and to give a general idea about how Luke used said narrative. The accompanying tables will have sub-headings that will show the main plot points of the passage, highlight similarity, or, as is often the case, both. Some of sub-headings will correspond very well together, and other times they will not.

²³⁶ Robert P. Carroll, "Elijah-Elisha Sagas: Some Remarks on Prophetic Succession in Ancient Israel." *Vetus Testamentum* 19, no. 4 (October 1, 1969): 412-13.

²³⁷ Brodie, *Birthing*, 39. For a fuller treatment of the unity of the Elijah-Elisha narrative, see: Thomas L. Brodie, *The Crucial Bridge: the Elijah-Elisha narrative as an interpretive synthesis of Genesis-Kings and a literary model for the Gospels*. (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 2000).

²³⁸ For a fuller treatment of the relationship of the Elijah-Elisha narrative and Luke-Acts see Brodie, *Birthing*, see esp. 94 for a list of possible parallels.

The Raising of the Widow's Son (1 Kgs 17:17-24 and Luke 7:11-17)

The first example to be discussed is two resurrections of widows' sons. So assumed is this connection that numerous commentators and scholars take the relationship between the two texts as a given.²³⁹ As Elijah and Jesus enter into a town, they both meet a widow. In both accounts, the widow's son dies (or is already dead), and Elijah and Jesus both raise the boy back to life. The connection of these two stories is mentioned in nearly every commentary on Luke.²⁴⁰ Luke Timothy Johnson labels the connection as "the most obvious" noting "both a structural similarity, and a number of deliberate echoes."²⁴¹

²³⁹ E.g., Stephen Curkpatrick "'Real and Fictive' Widows: Nuances of Independence and Resistance in Luke." *Lexington Theological Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (December 1, 2002), 216.

²⁴⁰ E.g., Green, *Luke*, 290; Johnson, *Luke*, 120. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke, vol. 2* (Anchor Bible 28. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 656.

²⁴¹ Johnson, *Luke*, 120.

Table 3: Raising of the Widow's Son
(Note the supplementary additions of 1 Kgs 17:10 and Luke 7:6b)

1 Kings 17:17-24 (Raising of the Widow's Son)	Luke 7:11-17 (Raising of the Widow's Son)
Typical Septuagintal Opening	Septuagintal-Like Opening
Meeting the Widow at the Gate	Meeting the Widow and Funeral Procession at the Gate
The Widow's Son is Dead	The Widow's Son is Dead
Elijah Raises the Boy by Repeatedly Laying on Him and Praying	Jesus Raises the Boy by Touching the Bier and Commanding the Boy to Rise
Having been Raised the Boy Cries Out loud	Having been Raised the Boy Begins to Speak
And He Gave the Boy Back to His Mother	And He Gave the Boy Back to His Mother
Declaration: "You are a Man of God;" and the Word	Declaration: "God has visited his People;" and the Word

Craig Evans begins discussion regarding the relationship of the above passages as "apparent enough."²⁴² A quick glance at the stories confirms Luke Timothy Johnson's first observation: Luke follows a similar structure as 1 Kgs. First, the story from 1 Kgs and the story from Luke begin with the Septuagintal "It came to pass...." On its own, this observation would not be very significant. However, it is important to be thorough and to cover similarities when they do occur. Next, both stories give the plight of the son of the widow: deceased. After that, Elijah and Jesus are concerned for the plight of the widow. Subsequently, Elijah and Jesus raise the boy to life, and the sign of life, in both accounts, is the boy speaking. In both accounts, the prophet takes the son καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ, "and he gave him to his mother." Both stories reach their respective apexes with a response which recognizes Elijah and Jesus as mighty persons of God. From beginning to end, although some parts are different, the two stories share a strong similarity of plot. As

²⁴² Craig A. Evans, "Luke's Use of the Elijah/Elisha," 81.

further confirmation, these highlighted plot points and structure have been similarly reproduced in other works whose focus is not upon a connection to the Elijah resurrection.²⁴³

Only a few small sections do not fit into the flow of the correspondence between the passages' structure, but both of those are found in the immediate context. First, Jesus meets the widow at the gates of Nain. Although this is not found in 1 Kgs 17:17-24, it still "closely modelled on the meeting at the gate of Sarepta" in 1 Kgs 17:10.²⁴⁴ The other "unmatched" verse is the widow's declaration of her iniquity in 1 Kgs 17:18. Yet, even this detail is not completely left out as a solid imitation can be found in Luke 7:6 when the centurion declares that he is "unworthy."

The similarity of motif is strong throughout. Both stories contain a widow, son, and a prophet (Elijah is not called a prophet in ch. 17, but there is little doubt that Luke views Elijah as a prophet and even the words of the widow confirm his position [1 Kgs 17:24]).²⁴⁵ As previously mentioned, the sign of life in 1 Kgs 17:22 is the boy crying out, and the sign of life in Luke 7:15 is the boy beginning to talk. Both stories have the verbatim handing of the boy back to the mother.

Yet the two stories are not without their differences. Luke's story is around seventy words less than the story in 1 Kgs. Elijah has already met the widow and her son is not yet dead, yet Jesus meets the widow at the gate and her son is already dead. Nevertheless, these differences are vastly overshadowed by that simple fact that the boy at some point is dead, and what may seem to be a key difference is actually supplemented by Elijah initially meeting the widow at the gate of the city in the previous story in 1 Kgs 17:10. Elijah's implied concern for the boy in 1 Kgs 17:21 is

²⁴³ E.g., Martinus J. J. Menken, "The Position of Splanchnizesthai and Splanchna in the Gospel of Luke." *Novum testamentum* 30, no. 2 (April 1, 1988), 110 (especially the chart).

²⁴⁴ Brodie, *Birthing*, 303.

²⁴⁵ Note the similarity of the setting of Apollonius of Tyana in Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, 4:45.

made explicit by the synoptically common *σπλαγχνίζομαι*.²⁴⁶ Luke's account is much more positive than the guilt-ridden widow of 1 Kgs 17:18. Perhaps the strongest difference between the accounts of 1 Kgs and Luke is the manner in which the healers go about restoring the life of the son. Elijah goes to great lengths to raise the boy. He takes the boy from the mother, lays him upstairs on his bed, stretches out three different times, attempts to "guilt trip" God into action, and finally God responds. Notice how Jesus' healing is conspicuously and ritualistically shorter: he simply touches the bier and commands the boy to rise.²⁴⁷

Some of the connections may not be as striking as others, e.g., the Septuagintal openings or the gate setting (as the gate is itself is a very common setting). Yet the strong similarities of the character, structure, story type, verbal cue, motif and broader literary function make these "weaker" parallels less likely to be mere coincidence.

Calling Down Fire from Heaven (2 Kings 1:1-15 and Luke 9:51-56)

Perhaps one of the most renowned parallels between the Elijah-Elisha narrative and Luke-Acts is the disciples' expectation of Jesus to call down fire from heaven and his surprising refusal to do so. In fact, so strong is the connection there is even a textual variant, specifically a gloss, which makes the connection explicit. Many ancient texts included *ὡς καὶ Ἡλίας ἐποίησεν*—A, C, D, W, Θ, Ψ, f^{1.13}, 33, *℣*, it, sy^p, and bo^{pt}. Metzger's commentary on the textual variant states that "the reading *ὡς καὶ Ἡλίας ἐποίησεν* [in v. 54] as well as the longer readings in verses 55 and 56 [dialogue regarding preservation of *ψυχας* against destruction—2 Kgs 1:14], had fairly wide

²⁴⁶ Brodie, *Birth*, 304 and 307.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 308. This is fitting with Luke's "quick" healings and lack of ritualistic ones which will be discussed in a later chapter.

circulation in parts of the ancient church. The absence of the clauses, however, from such early witnesses as $\mathfrak{D}^{45, 75}$, \aleph , B, L, X, 1241, it^l , syr^s , $cop^{sa, bo}$ suggests that they are glosses derived from some extraneous source, written or oral.”²⁴⁸ Nevertheless, this type of textual variant is, at worst, a massive and clear testimony from some of the earliest of commentators—i.e., it is an obvious connection for those who inserted this phrase.

²⁴⁸ Bruce Manning Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart, London: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft; United Bible Soc, 1994), 124.

Table 4: Calling Down Fire from Heaven
 (note attached 2 Kgs 2:1 which is directly [physically adjacent] connected with the passage in ch. 1)

2 Kings 1:1-15; 2:1	Luke 9:51-56
About to be Taken up	About to Ascend
Messengers Sent from Samaria	Messengers Sent into Samaria
The Kings Tries to Capture Elijah	The Samaritans Refuse Jesus
Fire from Heaven	Fire from Heaven?
The Merciful Response to the Third Set of Soldiers	Immediate Merciful Response

Craig Evans notes that “even without the textually uncertain clause ‘as Elijah did,’ the allusion to 2 Kgs 1:9-16 is evident.”²⁴⁹ Yet, when taking into consideration how Luke used the previous example, the raising of the widow’s son, one can immediately observe, in this present example, that something different is happening than in the example of the raising of the widow’s son. In a sense, there are two ways to look at Luke’s use of 2 Kgs 1:1-15. (1) Luke uses a heavy hand when treating the story of Elijah calling down fire from heaven. If Luke is indeed imitating the source, then Luke trims 2 Kings 1:1-15 in nearly every verse. Yet, a distinct core remains. (2) The other option is that Luke isn’t distilling as much as inserting/highlighting allusions to Elijah. A closer look at the details is necessary.

In 2 Kgs 1:2b, Ahaziah sends messengers to inquire of Baalzebub whether he will live. Elijah, instructed by the Angel of the Lord, intercepts the messengers and sends them back to their master with a message: Ahaziah will die (2 Kgs 1:3-6). Realizing that it is Elijah who intercepted his messengers, the king sends three sets of captains and their respective groups of fifty soldiers to capture Elijah—presumably still in Samaria (2 Kgs 1:7-13). The first two are consumed by fire from heaven. Elijah relents upon the request for mercy from the third captain and the reassurance by

²⁴⁹ Craig Evans, “Luke’s Use,” 80.

the Angel of the Lord. Luke's account does not include the communication process regarding the messengers and instead simply mentions the messengers sent ahead of Jesus and notes that Jesus was then rebuffed by the Samaritan town because he was on his way to Jerusalem. Luke does not mention anything as detailed as the tri-fold encounters with the captains and yet in much smaller fashion has the disciples ask if they should pray to call down fire to destroy them. Jesus, like Elijah's treatment of the third set of fifty, does not call down fire to consume the Samaritans.

It is not the time, at this stage, to state conclusively regarding a label of specific connection between the two texts. However, the striking similarities are enough to state that this is not some vague allusion, rather Luke is purposefully building upon the disciples' (and perhaps even the reader's) expectations regarding who Jesus is. Thus,

though the differences are indeed great, they are not jumbled or incoherent, at odds with one another and with all known literary procedures. On the contrary, they correspond to steady patterns of adaptations such as modernization, abbreviation, fusion, and emulation—patterns which are common both in general imitation and in other instances where Luke imitates the Old Testament.²⁵⁰

Fitting with this treatment, Jesus surprises the expectations of the disciples (and perhaps even of the reader) as Luke has a “sharp reversal” where Jesus shows mercy immediately as opposed to the eventual leniency showed by Elijah at the behest of the third captain and the Angel of the Lord.²⁵¹

Luke possibly uses a nearby verse, much like our previous example; this time it is of 2 Kgs 2:1. This addition bolsters the claim to a strong connection—especially as it comes immediately on the heels of the story regarding the fate of Ahaziah. Both 2 Kgs 2:1 and Luke 9:51 include a plot-pivotal beginning of Elijah and Jesus' journeys as their time for ascension draws near. Johnson recognizes the parallel:

²⁵⁰ Brodie, *Birth*, 358.

²⁵¹ *Ibid*, 356.

Nothing so stylistically matches the deliberate announcement concerning Jesus' 'lifting up' in 9:51 as the statement about Elijah's ascension in 2 Kings 2:1. Another dimension of the presence of Moses and Elijah at Jesus' transfiguration becomes clearer in this light: Moses and Elijah are both figures who in the tradition were regarded as having ascended into heaven; both, furthermore, appointed successors who acted in the Spirit.²⁵²

Ascension into Heaven (2 Kings 2:9-13 and Luke 24:49-52)

Since Luke 9, Luke's Jesus has been aimed toward Jerusalem and ultimately the ascension. The ascension scene plays a vital role in the transition into Luke's second volume. Interestingly, there is another parallel from the Elijah-Elisha narrative: Elijah's ascension (2 Kgs 2:9-13).²⁵³ "Nowhere else in all of ancient literature, save in the Elijah-Elisha narrative and in Luke-Acts, does an account of ascent/assumption bridge a two-part work."²⁵⁴

²⁵² Johnson, *Luke*, 164.

²⁵³ Further parallels can be found in Acts 1:9-10.

²⁵⁴ Brodie, *Birthing*, 378.

Table 5: Ascension into Heaven

2 Kings 2:9-13	Luke 24:49-52
Elisha Requests Elijah’s Spirit	Jesus to Clothe with Power from on High
Elijah Conditionally Grants Elisha’s Request	Jesus Blesses the Disciples
Formulaic Beginning	Formulaic Beginning
Ascension Contemporaneous with Walking and Talking	Ascension Contemporaneous with Blessing
Master and Disciple Parted	Master and Disciples Parted
Ascent into Heaven	Carried into Heaven
Elisha Waits after being Clothed from Elijah’s Mantle which Fell Down to him	The Disciples Wait to be Clothed with Power from on High

First, these two scenes have the same function in their respective contexts. The ascension of Elijah hands over the story to Elisha. Likewise, Jesus’ departure ushers in the time of the disciples’ ministry.

This paragraph will discuss the two passages and their major parts. The greater similarities of physical departure and the literary function of the ascension are strengthened by the smaller similarities found in the passages. Some similarities may be clearer—others may be vaguer. In 2 Kgs 2:9, Elisha asks for a double-portion of Elijah’s spirit—to be Elijah’s heir. Similarly, Jesus tells the disciples that they will be “clothed with power from on high” (Luke 24:49). “The ‘power (*dynamis*) from on high’ refers to the Holy Spirit, as Luke’s use in 4:14 and especially in the sequel, Acts 1:8, makes clear.”²⁵⁵ In response to Elisha’s request, Elijah gives an uncertain answer—which is positively answered a verse later. Jesus, in v. 50, blesses his disciples at Bethany. It would be bending over backward to say that Jesus’ blessing and Elijah’s “maybe” with subsequent success are evidence for a similarity—so we

²⁵⁵ Johnson, *Luke*, 403.

will not make major claims here except to say that it does involve a farewell discourse type “passing the torch.” The formulaic *καὶ ἐγένετο* marks the actual ascension event in both accounts. Using a genitive absolute, 2 Kgs 2:11 demonstrates simultaneous action of Elijah and Elisha’s actions with the appearance of the chariot and horses of fire and the separation of Elijah and Elisha. In a similar manner, although using an articular infinitive with *ἐν*, Luke shows the contemporaneous action of Jesus blessing his disciples and their being parted. The stories use a similar verb for separation *διαστέλλω* (2 Kgs 2:11) and *δίωστημι* (Luke 24:51). Luke leaves the mode of transportation unmentioned as the divine passive simply takes him, like 2 Kgs, *εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*. The calling of *πάτερ πάτερ* (2 Kings 2:12) does not seem to have a parallel in this passage. At best 2 Kgs 2:12 may help account for Luke’s addition of “Father” to Jesus’ use of Ps 31:5 in the “seventh word” of Jesus from the cross. Elisha picks up the mantle which has fallen from Elijah (note previous parallel to “clothed with power from on high”) and returns and stands by the Jordan. In Luke, Jesus’ disciples obey his command in v. 49 and return to Jerusalem and wait.

Luke’s account is, once again, briefer than the LXX counterpart, yet retains key concepts, themes, and passage structure. Yet, at the same time, Luke is able to move certain verses around within Luke-Acts and within this passage.

Summary: A Previously Recognized Connection: Elijah/Elisha.

It is widely accepted in scholarship that the LXX was heavily relied upon by the writers of the NT—including the Gospels.²⁵⁶ This is especially the case for Luke’s Gospel. Furthermore, Luke frequently employed the Elijah-Elisha narrative of the LXX to help fashion not only some of the broader themes and structure of Luke-Acts,

²⁵⁶ See also, Croatto, “Jesus, Prophet Like Elijah and Prophet-Teacher Like Moses in Luke-Acts,” 451-65; D. G. Bostock, “Jesus the New Elisha,” *ExpTim* 92 no. 2 (1980): 39-41.

but to help fashion individual scenes throughout Luke-Acts. Luke amended the source stories in a typical manner. The passages from the Elijah-Elisha narrative which were imitated in Luke-Acts are generally distilled and less repetitive. The structure of the individual texts is largely followed, and the core structure is mirrored to a significant degree. What is not directly imitated is often found elsewhere in Luke-Acts. With a strong precedent established, this dissertation can now turn to another possible use of the Elijah-Elisha narrative in Luke-Acts—the story of Naaman (2 Kgs 5:1-27).

The Explicit Connection of Jesus to Elisha (and Elijah) in Luke

Perhaps the strongest evidence in Luke for the plausibility that the story of the healing of the centurion's servant is connected to the story of the healing of Naaman is found in Luke 4:25-27 where Jesus directly compares himself to Elisha (and Elijah)—and specifically the Elisha who deals with Naaman the Syrian. This is the only time outside of its original context that Naaman is mentioned in the Bible.²⁵⁷ This detail alone lets the reader know that Naaman was a figure in the mind of the implied author.

The reference to Elisha and Naaman finds itself as an integral part of Jesus' inaugural speech. Since "Luke uses this inaugural sermon of Jesus exactly to proclaim Gentile inclusion as *part* of the gospel message," one should be on the look-out for instances where Gentiles are indeed included.²⁵⁸ What is more, Jesus' comparison to Elisha in the Naaman story includes the Gentiles at the expense of the Jews as Jesus states that the lepers of Israel were not cleansed (Luke 4:27). The synagogue attendees

²⁵⁷ There is a Naaman who is in the line of Benjamin in Gen 46:21, Num 26:40, and 1 Chr 8:4 and 8:7. It is unlikely that one could make any type of clear connection between the Naaman of Ehud and the Syrian Naaman.

²⁵⁸ Jeffrey Siker "'First to the Gentiles': a Literary Analysis of Luke 4:16-30." *JBL* 111, no. 1 (March 1, 1992): 74.

do not become enraged, drag him out of the city, and try to throw him off a cliff because this is perceived to be good news for the Jews. The story of the healing of the centurion's servant in Luke 7:1-10 not only has a Gentile's faith lauded by Jesus, but a faith that is specifically not found in Israel (Luke 7:9). Siker noted this connection stating:

Just as Naaman the Syrian commander was cleansed of his leprosy at a distance by Elisha (2 Kgs 5:1-14), so in Capernaum the Gentile centurion's servant is healed at a distance by Jesus. The reference to the Elijah story in 4:27 finds its fulfillment in the ministry of Jesus in 7:1-10, where the parallel emphasis is on healing being granted to a Gentile from a distance and on the acceptability of the Gentile's faith.²⁵⁹

But that is not all. Luke, on the lips of Jesus in Luke 4:25-27, links the stories of the Widow of Zarephath (1 Kgs 17) and Naaman (2 Kgs 5). With this explicit link in place, it is no surprise to also discover that the centurion's servant story (Luke 7:1-10) is coupled with the Widow of Nain's story (Luke 7:11-17). Johnson states that

taken as a set, the stories [Luke 7:1-17] represent the narrative fulfillment of the programmatic prophecy of Luke 4:25-27. The Sermon on the Plain showed how, in fulfillment of 4:18, Jesus "proclaimed good news to the poor." Now Luke has Jesus perform wonders that closely resemble those performed by those "prophets of old" (see Luke 9:19). In reverse order, we see Jesus perform a healing similar to that done by Elisha, and a resuscitation even more strikingly reminiscent of that performed by Elijah.²⁶⁰

Siker also noted that "the parallel relationship of 4:25-27 with 7:1-17 is all the more striking in that the back-to-back stories of Elijah/Elisha in 4:25-27 are mirrored in the back-to-back parallel stories of Jesus' healing activity in 7:1-17. In this way, as 4:25-27 functions on one level as the fulfillment of 4:18-19, so 7:1-17 functions on another level as the fulfillment of 4:18-19 enacted in the ministry of Jesus."²⁶¹ Since Luke refers to the story of Elisha and Naaman in direct comparison to the ministry of Jesus

²⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 88.

²⁶⁰ Johnson, *Gospel of Luke*, 120.

²⁶¹ *Ibid*, 88.

it is quite appropriate and even responsible to be aware of other times where a similar comparison is made.

A Previously Recognized Connection: Naaman

As demonstrated by the above quotes from Siker and Johnson, the basic observation that Naaman and the centurion of Luke 7 are connected is not original. In fact, there have been a few discussions of the relationship of the healing of the centurion's servant with passages from the Elijah/Elisha narrative. Most of scholarship either does not make the connection or relegates it to a footnote. Plummer dismisses any possible OT connection with the healing of the centurion's servant, "There is no parallel to it in the O.T."²⁶² Notable commentators such as Joseph Fitzmyer, Eduard Schweizer, François Bovon, Darrell Bock, and John Nolland all do not mention the possible connection.²⁶³ I. H. Marshall begins his section on the centurion's slave (in his commentary) by discussing how the stories of the centurion's slave and the raising of the widow's son (Luke 7:11-17) are connected to the "programmatic scene" of Luke 4:16-30 but does not mention any direct connection to the Naaman story.²⁶⁴ Similarly, Sharon Ringe notes,

In the episode at Nazareth, Jesus cites the examples of Elijah and Elisha, whose ministry to Gentiles is used to warrant Jesus' own prophetic reading of Isaiah 61:1-2 (4:25-27). Luke 7 begins in a similar vein with one account describing the raising from the dead of a widow's son—the latter being an account remarkably similar to stories of Elijah (1 Kings 17:17-24) and Elisha (2 Kings 4:32-37) referred to in 4:25-27.²⁶⁵

²⁶² Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to S. Luke* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1922), 197.

²⁶³ Joseph Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX* (AB 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 647-53; Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News According to Luke* (trans. David Green; Atlanta, John Knox, 1984), 130-31; Bovon, *Luke*, 257-65; Darrell Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50* (BECNT 3A; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1994), 630-45; and John Nolland, *Luke 1-9:20* (WBC 35A; Dallas, TX, Word, 1989), 312-19.

²⁶⁴ I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI: Paternoster, 1978), 276.

²⁶⁵ Sharon Ringe, *Luke* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 98.

Although Ringe is correct that Elisha's revival of the son in 2 Kgs 4:32-37 is similar to the resurrection story found in Luke 7:11-17, 2 Kgs 4:32-37 is, in fact, not referred to in Luke 4:25-27. Rather, it is the Naaman story of 2 Kgs 5 that is referenced there. Furthermore, Ringe does not discuss any direct connection to the Naaman story.²⁶⁶

However, there are some who have discussed relationships of the Naaman story (2 Kgs 5) and the Widow story (1 Kgs 17) to the story of the centurion (Luke 7:1-10). Several of the most notable are Larrimore Crockett, David Ravens, Robert Tannehill, Luke-Timothy Johnson (partially already noted), Jeffrey Siker (already noted), Joel Green, Thomas Brodie, and David W. Pao and Eckhard J. Schnabel.²⁶⁷

Larrimore Crockett discusses the relationship of the centurion's servant to Naaman in the most detail to date saying that Luke "7:1-10 is modeled on Elisha-Naaman."²⁶⁸ Crockett lists several similarities between these stories emphasizing the Gentiles' concern for Israel: (1) both have commanders; (2) both have esteemed Gentiles; (3) both have the seeking of a healing on behalf of the esteemed servant; (4) in both, initiative is taken by the Gentile party; and (5) both Gentiles "express concern for Israel." Perhaps Crockett's most important point is the way he compares Naaman, the centurion, and Cornelius from Acts 10:1-11:18. Crockett demonstrates how both Lukan stories rely on the story of Naaman—"a pattern which is typically Lukan."²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ Ringe, *Luke*, 98-100.

²⁶⁷ Larrimore, C. Crockett, "Luke 4:25-27 and Jewish-Gentile Relations in Luke-Acts," *JBL* (July 1969): 177-83; David Ravens, *Luke and the Restoration of Israel* (JSNTSup 119; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995); David Ravens, "The Setting of Luke's Account of the Anointing: Luke 7:2-8:3" *NTS* 34 (1988): 282-292. Thomas L. Brodie, "Not Q but Elijah: The Saving of the Centurion's Servant (Luke 7:1-10) as an Internalization of the Saving of the Widow and Her Child," *IBS* 14 (1992), 54-71; also in Brodie, *Birthing*, 294-301; Robert Tannehill, *Luke* (ANTC; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1996), 123-124; Green, *Luke*, 283-4; Luke Timothy Johnson, *Luke*; David W. Pao and Eckhard J. Schnabel, "Luke," in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (eds. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2007), 298-9.

²⁶⁸ Crockett, "Luke 4:25-27," 182-183. For modeling language very similar to Crockett's, see Judette M. Kolasny "An Example of Rhetorical Criticism: Luke 4:16-30" in *New Views on Luke and Acts*, (ed. Earl Richard; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1990), 71.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 182.

Many commentaries on Acts will note the connection of the story of Cornelius (Acts 10:1-11:18) to the story of the healing of the centurion's servant, but almost never do they mention the healing of Naaman in 2 Kgs 5. Crockett tellingly connects the stories of Naaman and Cornelius. In particular, Crockett shows that the issues regarding ritual uncleanness (leprosy and a Jew entering a Gentile's house) and baptism directly connect the two passages.²⁷⁰

David Ravens also elucidates similarities between the stories of Naaman and the centurion's servant: (1) favorably-described Gentile officers; (2) Jews playing "a role in the healing;" (3) the king and the centurion act "on behalf of the sick;" (4) the use of intermediaries; and (5) distance healing and the healer does not meet the sick one. Additionally, he connects the baptism of Naaman (the Gentile) with "the Pharisees' refusal of John's baptism (7:30)."²⁷¹ Ravens also points out that some the similarities—the worthiness/respect of the Gentile officer, Jewish people playing a role in the healing, the use of intermediaries, and the healing at a distance—are "absent from the account in Matt 8:5-13."²⁷²

Luke Timothy Johnson, in his commentary on Luke, not only notes the coupling of the story of the centurion and the story of the raising of the widow's son in relation to Luke 4:25-27 and the accompanying stories in the Elijah-Elisha narrative, but he also notes that Luke is structurally based upon and intentionally reworking the Naaman story in Luke 7:1-10.²⁷³

Although Robert Tannehill does not explicitly claim that Luke 7:1-10 is literarily dependent upon 2 Kgs and the Naaman story, he does note that "the audience's appreciation of 7:1-10 is enriched through comparison with Elisha and

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 181.

²⁷¹ Ravens, *Luke*, 130.

²⁷² *Ibid*, 130.

²⁷³ Luke Timothy Johnson, *Luke*, 120.

Naaman.²⁷⁴ “Both Naaman...and Luke’s centurion are officers in a foreign army who seek healing..., neither...meet the prophets before healing takes place..., [and] in both cases the healing takes place at a distance.”²⁷⁵ Yet there “is, however, an interesting difference between Naaman and the centurion. Naaman is proud and at first rejects Elisha’s instructions; the centurion is remarkably self-effacing and trustful.”²⁷⁶

Green also connects 2 Kgs 5:1-19 to Luke 7:1-10. His chart, much like that of Ravens, helps to encapsulate the similarities.²⁷⁷ Green’s chart is reproduced below:

Table 6: Green’s Comparison of Luke 7 and 2 Kings 5

<i>Luke 7</i>	<i>2 Kings 5</i>
The centurion: a well-respected Gentile officer (vv 2, 4-5).	Naaman: a well-respected Gentile officer (v 1).
Intercession of Jewish elders in the healing (vv 3-5).	Intercession of a Jewish girl in the healing (vv 2-3).
The centurion does not meet Jesus (vv 6-9).	Naaman does not meet Elisha (vv 5-10)
The healing takes place at a distance (v 10).	The healing takes place at a distance (v 14).

Green reminds that Naaman has already been explicitly referred to in Luke 4:27—making the connection of Naaman to Luke’s centurion “all the more vibrant.”²⁷⁸

On a different note, Brodie puts forward the story of the healing of the centurion’s servant as “a systematic synthesizing and Christianizing of the account of the life-giving commands which were issued to and through Elijah and which warded

²⁷⁴ Tannehill, *Luke*, 123-124.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 124.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 124.

²⁷⁷ *Green, Gospel of Luke*, 284.

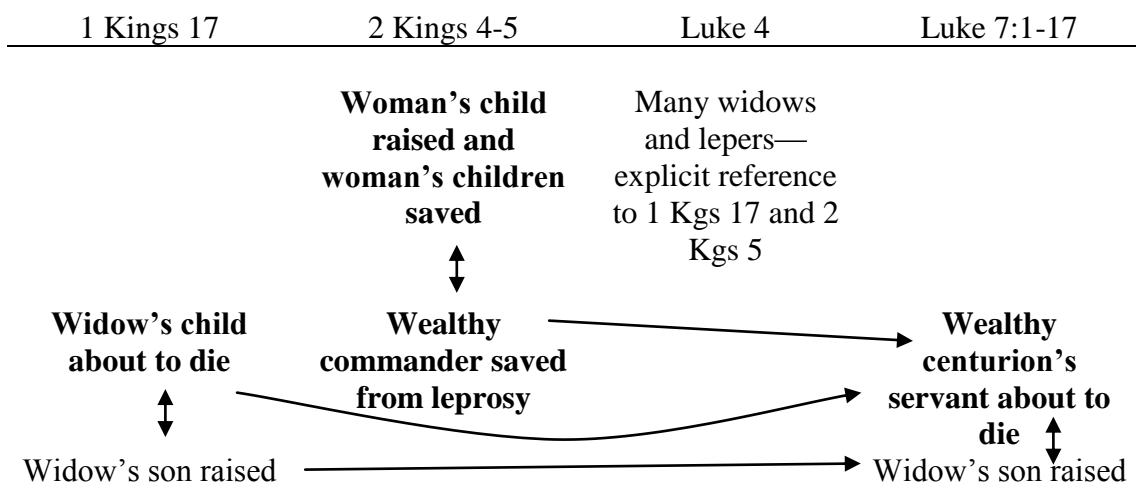
²⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 284.

off the threat of death” in 1 Kgs 17:1-16.²⁷⁹ This component accounts for three elements: first, the role of the word as the driving factor underlying the move to the next city (1 Kgs 17:1; Luke 7:1); second, the severity of the illness: “about to die” (1 Kgs 17:12; Luke 7:2); and most importantly, the issuing of orders throughout 1 Kgs 17:1-16 and the hypothetical army-like orders of Luke 7:7-8.

Green referenced Brodie’s work, calling it “less helpful.” This label is accurate insofar as it recognizes that the narrative of Naaman is a much bigger component of the healing of the centurion’s servant. But the reference could be seen as misleading as it might cause one to dismiss a possible component—albeit a much lesser one.²⁸⁰ The relationships of 2 Kgs 5 and 1 Kgs 17:1-16 to Luke 7:1-10 as pointed out by Green and Brodie are not mutually exclusive. Rather, they should be demonstrated together to further the discussion concerning the relationship between the LXX and the gospel passage.

The table below displays the similar links as discussed by scholarship.

Table 7: Interwoven Miracle Stories



²⁷⁹ Brodie, *Birthing*, 294.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 284.

To summarize the above chart it can be said that the Lukan story that uses Naaman also (i) uses the first part of the widow episode, 1 Kgs 17:1-16; and (ii) is juxtaposed to a widow story (Luke 7:11-17) that is modeled on the second part of the widow episode (1 Kgs 17:17-24).

To summarize this section, scholarship has recognized several telling similarities between 2 Kgs 5:1-19 and Luke 7:1-10: (1) esteemed Gentile military commander; (2) the participation of Jews; (3) a person of authority acts on behalf of his subordinate; (4) initiative taken by the Gentile; (5) the use of intermediaries; (6) distance healing; (7) and the healer does not meet the sick person. Generally, biblical scholarship views the relationship of 2 Kgs 5:1-19 and Luke 7:1-10 as just a possible echo. Some, like Green, might see it, when coupled with Luke 4:27, as a possible allusion. Regardless, despite this acknowledgement, scholarship has not reached any definitive conclusions regarding this relationship. Furthermore, the implications of the relationship that *have been* recognized (e.g., as pointed out by Crocket) have not been followed-up on.

Need for Further Study

This chapter has demonstrated quite clearly that based upon the nature of the Gospel of Luke itself and the writings of scholars it is very possible if not likely that the story of the centurion's servant in Luke 7:1-10 has direct links to the story of Naaman in 2 Kgs 5:1-19. Luke is especially indebted to the LXX and within that to the stories of the Elijah-Elisha material. Scholarship has also at least touched on this topic but not in a way that has truly discussed in detail the type of connection. The next chapter will discuss the main interactions scholarship has had with Luke 7:1-10 so that this dissertation's niche and direction can adequately be understood.

Chapter 5: Criteria to be Applied

Chapters 1 and 2 discussed the use of sources in Greco-Roman and Jewish antiquity. Chapter 3 summarized the criteria of various scholars regarding establishing a methodology for determining literary dependence. This chapter, taking into consideration the techniques of ancient authors and taking the best of modern scholars' criteria, will lay out a methodology to guide this present study. The three categories of criteria will substantially be the same as Brodie, MacDonald, and Porter's plausibility, similarities, and interpretable differences.²⁸¹ The major differences (as compared to Brodie) in my criteria will be the accounting for the criticisms (as seen in ch. 1) of Brodie and the steps to be undertaken to avoid any problems that have arisen there.

It is important to note that the method to be proposed is a fluid one. There is a deep truth that must be recognized as Allison reminds his readers: "subjectivity cannot be avoided."²⁸² Held in balance with this truth is the fact that one could slip into a type of literary solipsism where nothing behind the text can be known.²⁸³ The danger here is risking not being able to say anything meaningful. In other words, if everything works at the level of coincidence, then no real help can be gleaned from comparing texts at all. This is what reader response scholars would call: the wrong reader or a bad reader. Rather, "the best reader is, not one who mechanically or dogmatically observes indices, but one who has mature judgement bred of familiarity

²⁸¹ Brodie, MacDonald, and Porter, "Conclusion," 284-96.

²⁸² Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 13.

²⁸³ Solipsism is the philosophical belief that nothing outside of one's own mind can be known. Solipsism has often been critiqued as a non-functional philosophy which cannot be practically applied to one's life within the framework of society.

with the tradition to which it belongs....”²⁸⁴ Therefore, this chapter will synthesize the best of the methodology surveyed in Chapter 3 into a few practical yet flexible categories of criteria.

Three sets of criteria can now be laid out: Plausibility, Similarities, and Interpretable Differences.

Plausibility

The first practical step is usually a spontaneous recognition of similarity—a recognition that is often quite surprising (e.g., most likely no one would randomly select Plato’s *Republic* as a source for Tolkien’s *The Lord of the Rings*). One would have to see something in one text that brought the other text to mind.

However, when it comes to methodological assessment, plausibility is the first criterion as it is a requirement before any deep comparisons should be made. The criterion of plausibility recognizes the likely availability of the older text to the later author. It would be quite silly to suggest that prehistoric cave drawings are somehow dependent upon a 21st-century child’s refrigerator-art. Also, it would probably be a mistake to suggest that Native American mythology stemmed from Norse mythology. As Brodie notes, “The relationships of time and space exclude such possibilities.”²⁸⁵ Although I concur with Brodie that external plausibility must be satisfied I will be stricter in my application. For example, Brodie allows for the Gospel of John to be a source for the Gospel of Luke. Since there are serious doubts about the direction of that connection (and even questions about a direct connection at all), my criteria will not invoke evidence stemming from such a source. Furthermore, my criteria will build

²⁸⁴ Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 13.

²⁸⁵ Brodie, *Birthing*, 44.

upon extant sources—this will lend to an overall methodology that is not only more concrete but is accessible by more of scholarship.

Another aspect of plausibility is that of status (prominence) given to a text or group of texts. An unpublished bed-time story is unlikely to be used for fashioning other stories. However, a group of texts which are authoritative and well renowned are more likely to be an antetext. For example, Homer's *Iliad and Odyssey* were the paragons of Greek literature, and were used as the foundation for Greek teaching and writing—thus they are often the antetext in many occurrences of imitation. “The probability of an allusion is enhanced if a suggested intertext belongs to a source that the author otherwise shows interest in.”²⁸⁶ This does not mean that a given text could not have used a lesser known text; however, the likelihood is greatly diminished—being robbed of motivation and availability.

Like the aspect of prominence, recurrence also increases the likelihood of literary dependence. If the story of Naaman is used elsewhere in Luke-Acts then the chances that it is being used in Luke 7:1-10 increase. A case of intertextuality which has been observed many times may also help with the plausibility of a given case. However, a general lack of previous discussion among scholarship does not mean a possible relationship does not exist—otherwise nothing new ever could have been said or will be said.

Similarities

Having established a plausible connection between two texts, it is appropriate to examine the significant similarities shared between the two texts. It is important to note that this does not include just quotations and similar vocabulary. Brodie,

²⁸⁶ Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 12.

MacDonald, and Porter state that “similarity can involve not only broad themes or precise quotations, but many of the full range of a text’s components.... Such components include: (i) genre; (ii) theme...; (iii) style; (iv) plot...; (v) motifs; (vi) structure...; (vii) order; and (viii) wording.”²⁸⁷ A combination of these must be used (see also Winn’s “weight of combined criteria”).²⁸⁸ Just one of these components would probably not suffice to declare literary dependence.

More complex similarities can also be drawn. Using the components listed above, one can check for volume and completeness. Density demonstrates a greater chance that coincidence cannot be the culprit for the observed similarities. If there is only one point of similarity, then the connection could be written off as coincidence. If there are just a few, then coincidence and archetypal connections might be the conclusion. But if there are large amounts of similarities in structure, vocabulary, theme, and distinctiveness, then deeper and more probing questions should be asked.

Another complex similarity that employs basic levels of similarity is completeness. Brodie, MacDonald, and Porter state that “if an entire extensive text—in all of its passages—is reflected in some coherent way in a later text, then the case for direct dependence is strengthened. Completeness can scarcely be accidental.”²⁸⁹ For Brodie et.al., the whole of a structure of one story in the antetext can be found reduplicated in the later text.²⁹⁰ It stands to reason that the more one text is “found” in the other the stronger the evidence becomes. For obvious reasons, blatantly obvious similarities will help immensely, but this does not mean smaller and less obvious similarities are worthless. Nevertheless, “subtle and vague similarities, if not

²⁸⁷ Brodie, MacDonald, and Porter, “Conclusion,” 293.

²⁸⁸ Winn, *Mark and the Elijah-Elisha Narrative*, 32-3.

²⁸⁹ Brodie, MacDonald, and Porter, “Conclusion,” 294.

²⁹⁰ This does not mean that some parts were not distilled, conflated, or removed. Rather, it is “isolation of the significant.” (Brodie, *Birthing*, 7). As long as the basics (or essentials) of the antetext are found, then completeness can be considered. Obviously, the more complete a text is reflected in the later text, the more completeness can be appealed to.

accompanied by distinct and significant similarities, provide a weak basis for demonstrating imitation.”²⁹¹ To be clear, common significant vocabulary or phrases is a strong sign of imitation and can serve as the “distinct and significant similarities” needed to help buttress less obvious similarities, but the lack of it cannot be considered *negative* criteria on its own. Many of Brodie’s critics, as noted in ch. 1, mentioned that many of the similarities appealed to by Brodie were weak. This phenomenon may be due in part to Brodie’s heavy search for this “completeness”—which may have been due to his historical presuppositions laid out in *Beyond the Quest for the Historical Jesus*. Therefore, this criteria and its subsequent application in this dissertation will be mindful of these weak connections. Furthermore, critics also spoke regarding Brodie’s “literary only” research (pre-*Beyond the Quest for the Historical Jesus*) which they felt did not leave room for non-literary factors. Thus, the method here, although still fully concerned with literary questions, will not try to account for every word or phrase of the text acknowledging that other factors are at work.

Just as a recurrence of the use of a source text in a new context or related contexts could increase the odds of literary dependence, so too would the distinctiveness of such a *source text*. In other words, if there is no typology frequently found in other plausible source texts, then the chances are increased that the source text in question is the specific text being relied upon. For example, if an audience were to read a newer story where a very large menacing foe is defeated by a much smaller opponent wielding a sling, then the audience would have no choice but to recall the only story which fits the mold.²⁹² But if an audience were to read a story about a princess persecuted by an evil woman only to be rescued in the end, then there

²⁹¹ Winn, *Mark and the Elijah-Elisha Narrative*, 50.

²⁹² Note how I don’t even have to mention the name of the story.

would be a number of stories which might be recalled. One should be cautioned not to confuse the scope of use of an antetext by multiple imitators with the limited range of similar antetexts that could similarly function as the source text—both are positive criteria for literary dependence.

Classifiable and Interpretable Differences

When plausibility/availability and significant similarities have been established, a further issue arises: there are differences; rewriting inevitably involves differences. If the differences were too minute, one would venture into textual criticism—copying—as opposed to literary intertextuality; i.e., one would be dealing with the same story. Therefore, the issue “is not whether there are differences, but whether the differences are intelligible.”²⁹³ If the changes from one text to another exhibit a logical rationale from the former to the latter then the relationship between the two is furthered strengthened—not weakened. Again, it must be noted that not every difference will be explained. Given the complexity of factors that may influence a text, complete analysis is unusual. It should be made clear that this is not an attempt to have a “catch-all” category where every detail is accounted for. It is impossible, even including extra-literary claims, to account for all differences. It will never be the case that the difference between two stories will be the main set of criteria, but rather a logical explanation between the two texts accounting for the differences adds strength to the argument. This criterion should largely be based upon observable literary habit and phenomena within the imitating text itself and between other possible uses of the antetext by the imitating text. For example, there are many instances of Christian allegory found in *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe*—in fact the whole of the

²⁹³ Brodie, *Birthing*, 46.

work can be seen as a biblical allegory.²⁹⁴ Thus these instances, in turn, highlight and confirm each other. Aslan's Christ-like role as one who dies for another strengthens the conclusion that Lucy and Susan, who discover the newly arisen Aslan, allegorically reflect the two Marys of Mark 16:1.

To be clear, the criterion regarding differences cannot be so broad that every difference can be explained away; at the same time, literary dependence cannot be dismissed simply because each and every difference is not satisfactorily explained. The criterion of interpretable differences should be carefully applied.

Conclusion of Chapter 5

In summary, the method put forth in this chapter includes plausibility, similarities, and the intelligibility of differences. If there is an abundance of occurrences which meet these criteria, then literary dependence can be claimed. If there is a lack, then literary dependence should be rejected. However, it is acceptable to say, "We are unsure." There needs to be a balance between self-justifying parallelomania on the one hand and literary solipsism and/or callous dismissal on the other. "The situation requires a blend of discipline and sympathetic imagination. Sympathetic imagination enables one to enter a world that consists essentially of art, not science; and discipline ensures that even in a world of art there is still room for clear and reasoned analysis and calm judgment."²⁹⁵ The subsequent chapters dealing directly with the possible usage of 2 Kgs 5 will be weighed in light of the methodology and criteria laid out in this chapter. If the data fails to meet the requirements of the criteria in a significant way then literary dependence can be

²⁹⁴ C. S. Lewis, *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994).

²⁹⁵ Brodie, MacDonald, and Porter, "Conclusion," 296.

dismissed—if it does not fail, then the conversation can become more specific and the implications of such reliance can be discussed.

Chapter 6: The Story of the Healing of the Centurion's Servant (Luke 7:1-10) as
Dependent on the Story of the Healing of Naaman (2 Kings 5:1-19)

In many respects Chapter 6 is the core of the dissertation: we are ultimately asking if the story of Naaman serves as a source for the story of the healing of centurion's servant.

There are several ways in which Luke's use of the Naaman story in Luke 7:1-10 satisfies the criteria of plausibility. (1) First, it is well established that Luke-Acts used the LXX. (2) More specifically, Luke-Acts has strong similarities to the Elijah-Elisha narrative as a whole. Both narratives contain two sections; one about a wonder-working master, the other about their wonder-working disciples, and each narrative is separated by the ascension of the master. (3) Since Luke explicitly mentions Naaman (Luke 4:25-27), it is possible that another connection to Naaman may be found in the Luke-Acts. Furthermore, the passage regarding the Widow of Nain (Luke 7:11-17), which (as previously mentioned) scholarship unanimously connects to the Widow of Zarephath (1 Kgs 17), comes just after the story of the centurion's servant. The literary connection and fulfillment of Luke 4:25-27 by Luke 7:1-10 was already discussed to some degree. But so crucial is this connection that it bears more discussion here (and even more development later). Sharon H. Ringe, without even connecting Luke 7:1-10 to Naaman in 2 Kgs 5, comments that Luke 7:1-10 "echoes the Elijah and Elisha references in 4:25-27 by the introduction of the Gentile beneficiary of Jesus' healing."²⁹⁶ Since Elijah from the Widow of Zarephath story and Elisha from the Naaman story have already been compared to Jesus in Luke 4:25-27 it should be no-surprise to find a similar coupling-comparison elsewhere. Since Luke

²⁹⁶ Ringe, 100.

7:11-17 is connected to the Widow of Zarephath, a connection to Naaman might be close by as well. To be clear, the Naaman story has been explicitly recalled in Luke 4. Unless one tries to make a case that Luke was written to be read vignette by vignette then it will be very difficult to argue that the effects of such as explicit reference have faded by ch. 7. (4) Many specific stories within the Elijah-Elisha narrative have a strong connection to specific stories in Luke-Acts. For example, it is a given that Luke reworked the widow stories in the Elijah-Elisha stories (1 Kgs 17:8-24 and possibly 2 Kgs 4:1-37). Therefore, based upon this recurring similarity, it is reasonable to conclude that something similar is happening here in Luke's story of the centurion's servant. (5) Finally, several scholars, as previously noted, believe that there is at least some connection between Naaman and the centurion's servant. "The connections with Elisha's healing of Naaman in 2 Kings 5:1-16 seem evident, especially in light of the use of this story already in 4:27."²⁹⁷ Based on these five points, the category of plausibility is easily satisfied.

Since the plausibility for Luke-Acts' use of the Elijah-Elisha material is established, the story of the healing of Naaman can reasonably be analyzed for similarities and distinctiveness within the Lukan corpus—including the story of the healing of the centurion's servant. Thus, the key goal of this chapter is to account for Luke's story of the centurion's servant *as far as possible*. This accounting will occur through invoking: (1) 2 Kgs 5:1-19; (2) the larger Elijah-Elisha narrative (e.g., 1 Kgs 17 and 2 Kgs 4); and (3) Luke's general style and purposes. "As far as possible" is emphasized because not every detail of Luke 7:1-10 is accounted for. Despite taking into account the three factors just mentioned, some other sources and factors could be at work. It is not clear which of a historical event, eye witnesses, oral tradition, or

²⁹⁷ Pao and Schnabel, "Luke," 299.

another piece of literature may also be at work in this passage, and I believe that one or more of these are indeed being employed. But the literary analysis will demonstrate a thorough enough literary presence which will strengthen the argument for the central role of the Naaman story in the shaping of Luke 7:1-10.

Introduction to the Story of the Healing of Naaman (2 Kings 5:1-19)

The healing of Naaman (2 Kgs 5:1-19) is coupled with the story of the greed of Gehazi (2 Kgs 5:20-27). Although 2 Kgs 5 is thus comprised of two stories, the story of Gehazi does not have a direct parallel in the specific pericope of the healing of the centurion's servant (Luke 7:1-10). Therefore, it will suffice to introduce the story of Gehazi later when the parallels appear in the conversion of Cornelius (Acts 10:1-11:18) and in Simon the Magician and the Ethiopian Eunuch (Acts 8:9-40).

The story in 2 Kgs 5:1-19 recounts the healing of Naaman, commander of the armies of Syria, from leprosy. It is one among a series of stories—mostly miracle stories—beginning just after Elijah's ascension (2 Kgs 2:13-15; 2:16-18; 2:19-22; 2:23-24; 3:11-24; 4:1-7; 4:8-37; 4:38-41; 4:42-44; 5:1-19; 5:20-27; 6:1-7; 6:8-23; 6:24-7:20; and 8:7-15). These stories portray Elisha as one who has similar power to Elijah.

Although this passage is commonly referred to as “the healing of Naaman,” it could be more appropriately named “the conversion of Naaman.” The event of the healing of Naaman is secondary as the passage culminates with Naaman declaring his fealty to the God of Israel (2 Kgs 5:15). The story of Naaman demonstrates “that there is a prophet in Israel,” a prophet of the one and only God (2 Kgs 5:8, 15).

This demonstration begins with an introduction to Naaman. Naaman is the commander of the Syrian army and servant to the King of Syria. Naaman is described

in positive terms: respected by his master, a man of strength, and savior of Syria.

However, the favorable biography is disrupted when he is labeled “a leper.”

The solution to this disruption is introduced as the passage turns its attention to Syrian raids which brought a captured Israelite girl into the service of Naaman’s wife. The girl tells her mistress that there is a prophet in Israel who can heal Naaman. Naaman’s wife relays the message to her husband, who in turn implicitly tells the King of Syria. The King of Syria sends Naaman to see the King of Israel. Naaman takes with him massive amounts of gold, silver, and fine clothing. The King of Syria’s voice is heard in the first-person as the letter requests the King of Israel (instead of the prophet mentioned by the girl) to heal Naaman. This confusion causes the King of Israel to suspect ill will from his Syrian counter-part as he exclaims, “Am I a god with power over life and death?” (2 Kgs 5:7). This rhetorical question is set in direct contrast to Elisha (and his God) who does indeed have the “power over life and death”—which is confirmed when Naaman is healed (2 Kgs 5:14).

Elisha enters amidst the confusion and has the King send Naaman to him “so that he may know that there is a prophet in Israel.” Naaman arrives with horse and chariot just before Elisha’s house, and he is met by a messenger who tells Naaman to wash seven times in the Jordan. Naaman turns away in anger—not only because he expected Elisha to perform the healing in person, but because the muddy Jordan River is unworthy to do ritual cleansing in—rather than the cleaner rivers in Damascus. Naaman’s servants persuade him, using a hypothetical scenario, to at least try Elisha’s prescription.

Naaman goes to the Jordan, is “baptized” according to the word of Elisha, and is made clean. However, the story does not climax with the healing of Naaman. Rather, the climax appears a verse later when Naaman finally meets Elisha in person

and declares, “Behold, indeed I know that there is no God in all the Earth but in Israel.”²⁹⁸ Naaman, who now declares himself to be Elisha’s servant, offers a gift to Elisha. Elisha refuses the silver, gold, and fine clothing. However, Naaman wants to make sure that his future actions are acceptable. He requests soil from Israel to be taken to his home that he may worship “in Israel.” He also asks for leniency when he has to bow down in the house of Rimmon. Elisha sends him off with “Go in peace,” and Naaman departs.

The story regarding Naaman accomplishes several goals: (1) it confirms Elisha as a powerful prophet of God; (2) it shows that the God of Israel is the only God; and (3) it even presents a prominent Gentile who worships only the God of Israel.

Introduction to the Story of the Healing of the Centurion’s Servant (Luke 7:1-10)

The healing of the centurion’s servant is located just after the Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6:17-49) and just before Jesus’ raising of the widow of Nain’s son (Luke 7:11-17). The healing of the centurion’s servant belongs to a series of miracles performed by Jesus (Luke 4:33-37; 4:38-39; 4:40-41; 5:4-11; 5:12-16; 5:17-26; 6:6-11; 7:1-10; and 7:11-17). This series, as criteria for “the one who is coming,” is summarized in Luke 7:21 and on the lips of Jesus in Luke 7:22, “Go and report to John that which you saw and heard: the blind receive sight, the crippled walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, the poor are brought good news.” These criteria are also found for the expectation for the behavior of the Lord in 4Q Messianic Apocalypse (4Q521) 2 ii 1-14:

Will you not in this encounter the Lord, all those who hope in their heart? For the Lord will consider the pious and call the righteous by name, and his spirit will hover upon the poor, and he will renew the faithful with his strength. For he will honor the pious upon the throne of an eternal kingdom, freeing

²⁹⁸ Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the present author’s.

prisoners, giving sight to the blind, straightening out the twis[tred.] And for[e]ver shall I cling to [those who] hope, and in his mercy [...] and the fru[it of ...] not be delayed. And the Lord will perform marvelous acts such as have not existed, just as he sa[id, for] he will heal the badly wounded and will make the dead live; he will proclaim good news to the poor and [...] he will lead the [...] and enrich the hungry.²⁹⁹

Notice especially the raising of the dead and the proclamation of the good news to the poor. Luke uses a dramatic inclusio beginning in Luke 4:18 as Jesus quotes Isa 61:1 *πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται* and ending as Jesus implicitly quotes 4Q521 2 ii 12 (which is Hebrew) in the Greek *νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται, πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται* in 7:21.³⁰⁰

Chiastically connected and thus particular examples of the general expectation of the Messiah are the comparisons of Jesus to Elijah in the raising of the widow of Zarephath's son in Luke 4:25-26 and Luke 7:11-17. This is consistent with James Tabor who notes, "In the two places he [Luke] quotes Isaiah 61:1 he also mentions specific cases of resurrection of the dead: as Elijah once raised the son of the widow, Jesus now raises the son of the widow from Nain (Luke 4:26; 7:11-17). This is hardly accidental, as the close juxtaposition of the texts makes clear."³⁰¹ Thus, since the Naaman reference is a part of this particularization of the expectation of the Messiah, it is again no surprise that a Naaman informed Luke 7:1-10 would function as the counterpart to the explicit reference to Naaman in Luke 4:27. So significant is this connection that it is foundational for Luke's treatment of the Gentiles throughout the

²⁹⁹ Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Vol. 2 4Q274-11Q31* (trans. Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1044-47.

³⁰⁰ For more on the messianic expectations found in 4Q521 see Émile Puech, "Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521 and Qumran Messianism," in *Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (eds. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Charles Ulrich; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 545-565 and "Une Apocalypse Messianique (4Q521)," *ReQ* 15 no. 4 (1992): 475-522; James D. Tabor and Michael Wise, "4Q521 'On Resurrection' and the Synoptic Gospel Tradition: A Preliminary Study," in *Qumran Questions*, (ed. James Charlesworth; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 161-63; and especially Benjamin Wold, "Agents of Resurrection in 4Q521, the Sayings Source Q and 4QPseudo-Ezekiel" (paper presented at Durham University's Seminar for the Study of Judaism in Late Antiquity, Durham, Nov 2010). Cited 1 December, 2012. p. 1-16. Online: http://www.tara.tcd.ie/bitstream/2262/41252/1/Agents_of_Resurrection_Wold_Benjamin.pdf.

³⁰¹ James D. Tabor, "The Jewish Roman World of Jesus: The Signs of the Messiah: 4Q521," n.p. [cited 1 December, 2012]. Online: <http://religiousstudies.uncc.edu/people/jtabor/4q521.html>.

whole of Luke-Acts. Crockett notes, “specifically, these verses [Luke 4:25-27] anticipate the view of Jewish-gentile relations which Luke will develop in his corpus.”³⁰²

It has often been recognized by scholarship that the centurion in Luke 7:1-10 “foreshadows” the centurion in Acts 10—Cornelius.³⁰³ Ernest John Tinsley notes that Luke 7:1-10 can be viewed “as a miniature representation of the coming of the Gentiles to Christ.... The approach of the centurion to Jesus from a distance through Jewish intermediaries suggests the conversion of the Gentile world through the new Israel which Jesus is forming.”³⁰⁴ Another example includes, Pao and Schnabel, who, upon recognizing the possible use of Naaman in Luke 7:1-10, state, “This emphasis on the conversion of a Gentile also paves the way for the conversion account of Cornelius in Acts 10, where again a respected military officer communicates with the messenger of God through an intermediary.”³⁰⁵ Furthermore, F. Neiryneck notes that Luke 4:16-30 is “widely held to be programmatic for Luke-Acts.”³⁰⁶ Therefore, since Luke 4:25-27, Luke 7:1-10, and Acts 10 all may be intricately connected in a thread regarding the Gentiles, and since Luke 4:25-27 explicitly recalls Naaman, and, as will be explored in the next chapter, Naaman may play a role in the formation of Acts 10, then it is highly likely that the use of the Naaman passage is being also employed here in Luke 7:1-10 as a part of programmatic inclusion of the Gentiles. Ringe states that “the centurion’s story also serves as a bridge between two other stories in the combined narrative of Luke-Acts. It links Luke’s earlier reference to Gentiles who benefit before the Israelites from God’s saving presence revealed in the prophets

³⁰² Crockett, “Luke 4:25-27,” 177.

³⁰³ E.g., *Ibid*, 182; Craddock, *Luke*, 94; Goulder, *Luke*, 376; Talbert, *Reading Luke*, 55.

³⁰⁴ Ernest John Tinsley, *The Gospel According to Luke* (CBC 17; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 74.

³⁰⁵ Pao and Schnabel, “Luke,” 299.

³⁰⁶ F. Neiryneck, “Luke 4,16-30 and the Unity of Luke-Acts,” in *The Unity of Luke-Acts* (ed. J. Verheyden; Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 357.

Elijah and Elisha (4:25-27), with the story of another centurion named Cornelius, which is told in Acts 10.³⁰⁷ Pao and Schnabel, similarly, reason that “if Acts 10 serves as the culmination of the narrative sequence that begins in Luke 4:16-30, then 7:1-10 serves as the bridge between the two texts as Jesus’ mission paves the way for the Gentile mission of his apostles.”³⁰⁸ Talbert notes, using strong language, “The Spirit anointed Jesus in Galilee functions as a prototype of the behavior that characterizes the Spirit-empowered disciples in Acts. The dominant emphasis on the power of Jesus and the subordinate theme of the mission of the gospel to all peoples cannot be missed by an attentive reader of 4:16-9:50.”³⁰⁹

There are plenty of healing stories in Luke. One should ask, “Why is this one included?” Part of the answer is what is different about it. In this instance it is the focus upon the declaration of Jesus. Although this passage (Luke 7:1-10) is commonly called “the healing of the centurion’s servant,” it should more appropriately be called “the faith of the centurion.” The event of the healing of the centurion’s servant is secondary to the centurion’s acknowledgement of the healing power of Jesus’ commanding word which culminates with Jesus extolling the faith of the centurion (Luke 7:9). Coupled with the raising of the widow of Nain’s son, Jesus is portrayed as a prophet of a caring God (Luke 7:16).

This portrayal begins by Jesus “finishing his words,” and going to Capernaum. Then the pericope introduces a centurion, a commander of one-hundred Roman soldiers, who has a servant who is dear to him, yet this precious servant is ill and about to die. Next, Luke shares that the centurion hears about Jesus. The centurion sends Jewish elders as messengers to request Jesus to come and heal his valuable servant. The Jewish elders urge Jesus to come to the centurion. They mention that the

³⁰⁷ Ringe, *Luke*, 100.

³⁰⁸ Pao and Schnabel, “Luke,” 299.

³⁰⁹ Talbert, *Reading Luke*, 55.

centurion loves their nation and that he even built a synagogue for them—possibly implying that he is a man of abundant means.

Jesus travels to the centurion's house only to be stopped just shy of reaching his destination by friends of the centurion who have been sent as messengers. The friends relay the message of the centurion in the first-person, a procedure which explains his unworthiness to have Jesus come into his home. The centurion prescribes a healing at a distance and uses an illustration from the army to describe Jesus' authority over the illness. Jesus marvels at the centurion's faith and at the story's climax declares, "I tell you, not even in Israel have I found such faith." The healing is mentioned after the declaration as the messengers return to the house and discover that the centurion's servant has been made well.

The story of the healing of the centurion's servant presents: (1) Jesus as a powerful prophet of God who fulfills the criteria for "the one who is coming;" (2) Jesus as one who can heal regardless of distance with a commanding word; and (3) a Gentile military commander who has faith in the power of Jesus.

Initial Comparison of the Stories

The purpose here, while building upon the work of preceding scholars, is to take a fresh look at the evidence. As previously mentioned, the healing of the centurion's servant (Luke 7:1-10) is paired with the raising of the widow's son (Luke 7:11-17)—a text that is widely acknowledged to reflect the raising of a son near the beginning of the Elijah-Elisha narrative (1 Kgs 17:17-24). Although lacking a verbatim quotation like the one from Luke 7:15 and 1 Kgs 17:23, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ, the relationship of the texts of Naaman and the centurion's servant is

no less unique than the widow's son stories to which Luke 7:1-10 is juxtaposed. The exercise of comparing the two texts will prove to be self-justifying.

Table 8: Comparing the Story of Naaman and the Story of the Centurion’s Servant

2 Kings 5:1-19	Luke 7:1-10
1. The commander, and the servant girl (5:1-2)	The centurion, and his servant about to die (7:1-2)
2. He is told of the prophet (5:3-4)	He hears about Jesus (7:3a)
3. Sending to the king of Israel requesting to heal “my servant” (5:5-7) Let him come to the prophet (5:8) The undertaking combines wealth and hostility toward Israel (5:5-7)	Sending elders of the Jews requesting Jesus to come and heal “his servant” (7:3b) The undertaking combines wealth and love for Israel (7:4-5)
4. Naaman comes and stands before the house (5:9) Messenger meets Naaman (5:10a) Elisha prescribes distance healing (5:10b) Naaman’s proud reaction (5:11-13) Elijah’s word restores Naaman like a little child (5:14)	Jesus comes and is stopped not far from the house (7:6a) Friends sent to meet Jesus (7:6b) Centurion requests distance healing (7:6b-7) Centurion’s humble attitude (7:7-8) The word will heal my child (7:7)
5. Outsider’s declaration of faith regarding the God of Israel (5:15a)	Declaration regarding the faith of the outsider and of Israel (7:9)
6. The return home “into the house” (5:15b-19)	Returning home “into the house”—healed (5:10)

The healing of Naaman begins with an introduction to Naaman, the Syrian ἄρχων τῆς δυνάμεως and servant to the King of Syria. The text describes Naaman in grandiose terms and a subject of flattery by his master, until the last description labels him “a leper.” The text also introduces an Israelite slave girl captured during raids into Samaria. Luke, after having Jesus finish his words, and after having brought Jesus to Capernaum, introduces a ἑκατοντάρχη whose servant is κακῶς ἔχων ἤμελλεν τελευτᾶν and who is described as precious to his master.

Both stories share the seemingly unimportant explanation that the person seeking the healing *heard* of the healer (2 Kgs 5:3-4 and Luke 7:3a). The event of the

news coming to Naaman is detailed and to a degree repetitive. Luke's description of the counterpart section is much shorter—contained in one sentence. Henry Cadbury notes that Luke tends to condense or abbreviate Mark—especially with regard to dialogue and repetition. If Luke is indeed using Kings then this type of distillation would not be surprising.³¹⁰

2 Kings 5:5-8 describes a detailed request by the King of Syria via letter to the King of Israel for the healing of Naaman. Luke 7:3b-5 also gives a detailed request via Jewish elders. In both cases, the main character and the healer do not meet face to face. Furthermore, both 2 Kgs and Luke describe Naaman and the centurion as men of abundant means.

Naaman is met by a messenger who gives the prescription for a distance healing and the servants of Naaman give a hypothetical scenario for the prescription. Similarly, Jesus travels to the centurion's house only to be stopped just shy of reaching his destination by friends of the centurion who have been sent as messengers. The friends relay the message of the centurion, which explains his unworthiness to have Jesus come into his home. He prescribes a healing at a distance and gives a hypothetical scenario in favor of the prescription. Naaman acquiesces and after obeying the prescription, his skin is restored "like a little child." The centurion's prescription heals the centurion's "child."

Both 2 Kgs and Luke share the distinctive feature of not having the moment of healing as the climax in this pericope. Instead, the declarations are the climax. Not only are the declarations the climax of their respective stories, but the declarations have a striking similarity in theme and structure. After being cleansed of his leprosy, Naaman returns to Elisha and proclaims before Elisha and those in his company,

³¹⁰ For more on the regular distillation of Luke's sources see: Henry J. Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2001), 79-96.

“Behold now, I know that there is no God in all the earth, but in Israel.” After hearing the prescription of the centurion, Jesus turns to those who were following him and proclaims, “I say to you, not even in Israel have I found such great faith.”

2 Kings 5:15b-19 tells of Naaman’s attempt to give a gift to Elisha and his request for mercy when he goes in to bow down in the house of Rimmon—repeating the εἰς ἐν (τὸν) οἶκον Πεμμων. Luke, as in v. 3b, has a much smaller passage, yet it is parallel. Luke finally tells of the healing upon the friends’ return εἰς τὸν οἶκον.

2 Kgs 5:1-19 serves the same contextual function as Luke 7:1-10 does in its narrative. Both stories, like the stories of the Widow of Nain and the Widow of Zarephath, say something about who the prophet is (Luke 7:11-17; 1 Kgs 17:17-24). The reason why Naaman is healed is so that he may “come to me (Elisha) and find out that there is a prophet in Israel” and to change Naaman’s presuppositions about Israel (2 Kgs 5:8, 15). Likewise, Luke uses the story of the centurion’s servant to communicate Jesus’ authority and to challenge ideas concerning Israel and Gentiles. Recall that it is upon Jesus’ recounting of the Widow of Zarephath and the healing of Naaman that he is nearly stoned (Luke 4:25-30).

As was mentioned, the juxtaposition of Luke 7:1-10 to Luke 7:11-17 is no accident. The healing of Naaman is in very close proximity to the raising of the Shunammite woman’s son (2 Kgs 4:8:37). Through the reference in Luke 4:25-30, Luke has deliberately and explicitly primed the reader for the two stories in Luke 7:1-17. Not only are the two stories juxtaposed, but this is the only time (Luke 4:25-27) in the Bible, that Naaman the Syrian and the Widow of Zarephath are even mentioned outside their original context.³¹¹ The miracles of 7:1-17, combined with the declaration and teaching of Jesus to the poor, the other miracles found between ch. 4

³¹¹ As was previously noted, there is a Naaman who is in the line of Benjamin in Gen 46:21, Num 26:40, and 1 Chr 8:4 and 8:7. It is possible, yet unlikely, that one could make any type of clear connection between the Naaman of Ehud and the Syrian Naaman.

and 7, and the references and quotes to Elijah/Elisha and Isaiah in ch. 4 tell the reader who Jesus is—a miracle-working prophet. This is the same literary function as seen in 1 Kgs 17 as Elijah needs to be introduced and his authority and role need to be demonstrated and explained. It is the same for Elisha in 2 Kgs 5.

Also, as was discussed earlier in this chapter, just as it is no coincidence that Luke 4:25-27 prepares for ch. 7:1-10, it is not happenstance that ch. 7:18-23 substantiates it. John's disciples are sent asking if Jesus is the one they are expecting (Luke 7:20). Luke gives a summary of the previous chapters and Jesus replies, "Go and report to John what you have seen and heard: the blind receive sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the poor have the gospel preached to them. And blessed is the one who takes no offense at me" (Luke 7:21-23). In other words, Jesus is saying, "Yes, I am the one you are expecting."

Chapter 4 of this dissertation has already discussed Luke's use of the Elijah-Elisha material. Luke is aware of people drawing conclusions about the similarities between Jesus and Elijah (and therefore Elisha). Luke 9:8 and 9:19 tell of these expectations about who Jesus is—Elijah. The request to call down fire on the Samaritan town by the disciples reveals their expectations as well (Luke 9:51-56; cf. 2 Kgs 1:10). Luke participates with these similarities by writing stories which neatly parallel the stories from the Elijah/Elisha narrative. In Luke 7:1-10, Luke makes the connection, yet even has Jesus go beyond it.³¹²

³¹² Hand in hand with the movement to the more severe illness is the ease in which Jesus heals the sick and raises the dead. In the healing of the centurion's servant, there is not even a recorded word or declaration of healing (e.g., "Your faith has healed your servant"). Likewise, the dead son's coffin is halted with the touch of Jesus' hand and the only healing performance is Jesus saying, "Young man, I say to you, arise!" (v. 14 [NASB]). Notice the contrast with the ritual-filled healings of Elijah and Elisha. Elijah's raising of the widow's son includes various petitions to God and a tri-fold breathing upon the breathless son. Elisha requires Naaman to travel to the Jordan River and dip seven times in order to be cleansed. Luke is dramatically portraying Jesus as someone greater than Elijah and Elisha

With the introductions and initial comparison completed, the exploration of these two stories can delve deeply. A breakdown of the two stories follows. It will serve as the guide for the exploration. It lays divisions of closest similarity side by side. There are some similarities which transcend the various sections—i.e., which cross over from one segment to another. For example, the young girl from Israel, who is featured in section 1, can be compared to the Jewish elders in section 3.

Detailed Analysis of the Stories

In conjunction with the chart below, this section will analyze the relationship of the healing of Naaman to the healing of the centurion's servant in detail. The numbers of each heading of this detailed analysis will correspond with the numbered divisions in the outline.

with these two stories. Additionally, Luke 4:36-37 portrays Jesus as one who performs miracles with ease.

Table 9: 2 Kings 5:1-19 and Luke 7:1-10 (Greek Text)

<p align="center"><u>The Syrian Commander-in-Chief (2 Kings 5:1-19)</u></p>	<p align="center"><u>The Roman Commander of One Hundred (Luke 7:1-10)</u></p>
<p>1. Introduction: the Commander and the Servant Girl (5:1-2) ¹ και Ναιμαν ὁ ἄρχων τῆς δυνάμεως Συρίας ἦν ἀνὴρ μέγας ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ και τεθαυμασμένος προσώπῳ ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν κύριος σωτηρίαν Συρία και ὁ ἀνὴρ ἦν δυνατὸς ἰσχύϊ λελεπρωμένος ² και Συρία ἐξῆλθον μονόζωνοι και ἠχμαλώτευσαν ἐκ γῆς Ἰσραὴλ νεάνιδα μικράν και ἦν ἐνώπιον τῆς γυναίκος Ναιμαν</p> <p>2. Speaking about the Healing Prophet (5:3-4) ³ ἡ δὲ εἶπεν τῇ κυρίᾳ αὐτῆς ὄφελον ὁ κύριός μου ἐνώπιον τοῦ προφήτου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Σαμαρεία τότε ἀποσυνάξει αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας αὐτοῦ ⁴ και εἰσῆλθεν και ἀπήγγειλεν τῷ κυρίῳ ἑαυτῆς και εἶπεν οὕτως και οὕτως ἐλάλησεν ἡ νεάνις ἡ ἐκ γῆς Ἰσραὴλ</p> <p>3. Request to Heal “the Servant” (5:5-8) ⁵ και εἶπεν βασιλεὺς Συρίας πρὸς Ναιμαν δεῦρο εἴσελθε και ἐξαποστελῶ βιβλίον πρὸς βασιλέα Ἰσραὴλ και ἐπορεύθη και ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ δέκα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου και ἐξακισχιλίους χρυσοῦς και δέκα ἀλλασσομένας στολάς ⁶ και ἠνεγκεν τὸ βιβλίον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰσραὴλ λέγων και νῦν ὡς ἂν ἔλθῃ τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο πρὸς σέ ἰδοὺ ἀπέστειλα πρὸς σέ Ναιμαν τὸν δούλόν μου και ἀποσυνάξεις αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας αὐτοῦ ⁷ και ἐγένετο ὡς ἀνέγνω βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ τὸ βιβλίον διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ και εἶπεν μὴ θεὸς ἐγὼ τοῦ θανατῶσαι και ζωοποιῆσαι ὅτι οὗτος ἀποστέλλει πρὸς με ἀποσυνάξει ἀνδρα ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας αὐτοῦ ὅτι πλὴν γνῶτε δὴ και ἴδετε ὅτι προφασίζεται οὗτός με ⁸ και ἐγένετο ὡς ἠκουσεν Ἐλισαίε ὅτι διέρρηξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ τὰ ἱμάτια ἑαυτοῦ και ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰσραὴλ λέγων ἵνα τί διέρρηξας τὰ ἱμάτιά σου ἐλθέτω δὴ πρὸς με Ναιμαν και γνῶτω ὅτι ἔστιν προφήτης ἐν Ἰσραὴλ</p> <p>4. Prescription Given—and Healing (5:9-14) ⁹ και ἦλθεν Ναιμαν ἐν ἵπῳ και ἄρματι και ἔστη ἐπὶ θύρας οἴκου Ἐλισαίε ¹⁰ και ἀπέστειλεν Ἐλισαίε ἄγγελον πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγων πορευθεὶς λούσαι ἐπτάκις ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ και ἐπιστρέψει ἡ σὰρξ σου και καθαρισθήσῃ ¹¹ και ἐθυμώθη Ναιμαν και ἀπῆλθεν και εἶπεν ἰδοὺ δὴ ἔλεγον ὅτι ἐξελεύσεται πρὸς με και στήσεται και ἐπικαλέσεται ἐν ὀνόματι θεοῦ αὐτοῦ και ἐπιθήσει τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον και ἀποσυνάξει τὸ λεπρόν ¹² οὐχὶ ἀγαθὸς Ἀβανα και Φαρφαρ ποταμοὶ Δαμασκοῦ ὑπὲρ Ἰορδάνην και πάντα τὰ ὕδατα Ἰσραὴλ οὐχὶ πορευθεὶς λούσομαι ἐν αὐτοῖς και καθαρῶσομαι και ἐξέκλινεν και ἀπῆλθεν ἐν θυμῷ ¹³ και ἠγγισαν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ και ἐλάλησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν μέγαν λόγον ἐλάλησεν ὁ προφήτης πρὸς σέ οὐχὶ ποιήσεις και ὅτι εἶπεν πρὸς σέ λούσαι και καθαρῶσθητι ¹⁴ και κατέβη Ναιμαν και ἐβαπτίσατο ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ἐπτὰκις κατὰ τὸ ρῆμα Ἐλισαίε και ἐπέστρεψεν ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ ὡς σὰρξ παιδαρίου μικροῦ και ἐκαθαρίσθη</p> <p>5. Outsider’s Declaration of Faith Regarding God in Israel (5:15a) ¹⁵ και ἐπέστρεψεν πρὸς Ἐλισαίε αὐτὸς και πᾶσα ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ και ἦλθεν και ἔστη και εἶπεν ἰδοὺ δὴ ἔγνωκα ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῆ ὅτι ἀλλ’ ἡ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ</p> <p>6. Return into the House of Rimmon (5:15b-19) και νῦν λαβὲ τὴν εὐλογίαν παρὰ τοῦ δούλου σου ¹⁶ και εἶπεν Ἐλισαίε ζῆ κύριος ὃ παρέστη ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ εἰ λήμψομαι και παρεβιάσατο αὐτὸν λαβεῖν και ἠπειθήσεν ¹⁷ και εἶπεν Ναιμαν και εἰ μὴ δοθῆτω δὴ τῷ δούλῳ σου γόμος ζεύγους ἡμιόνων και σύ μοι δώσεις ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆς πυρρᾶς ὅτι οὐ ποιήσει ἔτι ὁ δούλός σου ὀλοκαύτωμα και θυσίασμα θεοῖς ἑτέροις ἀλλ’ ἡ τῷ κυρίῳ μόνῳ ¹⁸ και ἰλάσεται κύριος τῷ δούλῳ σου ἐν τῷ εἰσπορεύεσθαι τὸν κύριόν μου εἰς οἶκον Ρεμμὰν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτὸν και ἐπαναπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μου και προσκυνῆσω ἐν οἴκῳ Ρεμμὰν ἐν τῷ προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν οἴκῳ Ρεμμὰν και ἰλάσεται δὴ κύριος τῷ δούλῳ σου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ ¹⁹ και εἶπεν Ἐλισαίε πρὸς Ναιμαν δεῦρο εἰς εἰρήνην και ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς δεβραθα τῆς γῆς.</p>	<p>1. Introduction: the Centurion and his Deathly Sick Servant (7:1-2) ¹ Ἐπειδὴ ἐπλήρωσεν πάντα τὰ ρήματα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ λαοῦ, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Καφαρναούμ. ² Ἐκατοντάρχου δέ τινος δούλος κακῶς ἔχων ἡμελλεν τελευτᾶν, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ ἔντιμος.</p> <p>2. Hearing about the Healing [Prophet] (7:3a) ³ ἀκούσας δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ</p> <p>3. Request to Come and Heal “the Servant” (7:3b-5)</p> <p>ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβυτέρους τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐρωτῶν αὐτὸν ὅπως ἐλθὼν διασώσῃ τὸν δούλον αὐτοῦ. ⁴ οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν σπουδαίως λέγοντες ὅτι ἄξιός ἐστιν ὃ παρεῖξῃ τοῦτο. ⁵ ἀγαπᾷ γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν και τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτὸς ὠκοδόμησεν ἡμῖν.</p> <p>4. Prescription Given (7:6-8) ⁶ ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐπορεύετο σὺν αὐτοῖς. ἦδη δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἔπεμψεν φίλους ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης λέγων αὐτῷ· κύριε, μὴ σκύλλου, οὐ γὰρ ἰκανὸς εἰμι ἵνα ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην μου εἰσέλθῃς· ⁷ διὸ οὐδὲ ἑμαυτὸν ἤξιῶσα πρὸς σέ ἐλθεῖν· ἀλλὰ εἰπέ λόγῳ, και ἰαθήτω ὁ παῖς μου. ⁸ και γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν τασσόμενος ἔχων ὑπ’ ἑμαυτὸν στρατιώτας, και λέγω τούτῳ· πορευθήτω, και πορεύεται, και ἄλλῳ· ἔρχου, και ἔρχεται, και τῷ δούλῳ μου· ποιήσον τοῦτο, και ποιεῖ.</p> <p>5. Declaration Regarding the Faith of the Outsider and Israel (7:9) ⁹ ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐθαύμασεν αὐτὸν και στραφεὶς τῷ ἀκολουθοῦντι αὐτῷ ὄλωφ εἶπεν· λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ τοσαύτην πίστιν εὔρον.</p> <p>6. Return into the House—Healed (7:10) ¹⁰ Καὶ ὑποστρέψαντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον οἱ πεμφθέντες εὔρον τὸν δούλον ὑγιαίνοντα.</p>

1. Introduction: the Commander and the Servant

Table 10: 2 Kings 5:1-2 and Luke 7:1-2

<p>^{5:1} καὶ Ναϊμαν ὁ ἄρχων τῆς δυνάμεως Συρίας ἦν ἀνὴρ μέγας ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ τεθουμασμένος προσώπῳ ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν κύριος σωτηρίαν Συρία καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἦν δυνατὸς ἰσχύι λελεπρωμένος ² καὶ Συρία ἐξῆλθον μονόζωνοι καὶ ἠχμαλώτευσαν ἐκ γῆς Ἰσραὴλ νεάνιδα μικράν καὶ ἦν ἐνώπιον τῆς γυναικὸς Ναϊμαν</p>	<p>^{7:1} Ἐπειδὴ ἐπλήρωσεν πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ λαοῦ, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Καφαρναοῦμ. ² Ἐκατοντάρχου δέ τινος δοῦλος κακῶς ἔχων ἤμελλεν τελευτᾶν, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ ἔντιμος.</p>
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Both stories begin by introducing the main characters (other than Jesus and Elisha). A point of similarity is that of the description of Naaman and of the centurion. Naaman is called ὁ ἄρχων τῆς δυνάμεως and ἄρχων is built into ἑκατοντάρχου. The vocabulary is not an exact match, but the category of personnel is indeed quite similar—a similarity recognized by several scholars.³¹³ For example, Pao and Schnabel state, “Like the centurion in Luke 7:1-10, Naaman is described as a respected Gentile military officer (2 Kings 5:1).”³¹⁴ The combination of Gentile military commanders with the imagery of sick servants is a distinction that is unique to these two texts and Matt 8:5-13. The closest exception to this distinctiveness is Gen 20. Having ignorantly and therefore innocently taken Sarah as his wife, Abimelech’s household becomes infertile. Abimelech, king of Gerar (a Gentile of sorts), upon discovering the truth, sent Sarah, along with silver, sheep, calves, servants, and land rights, back to Abraham. Abraham prayed for Abimelech, and God healed the household of Abimelech. At first blush, the stories of the healing of Naaman and the

³¹³ E.g., Crockett, “Luke 4:25-27,” 177-83; Ravens, *Luke*, 130; Tannehill, *Luke*, 123-24; and Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 284.

³¹⁴ Pao and Schnabel, “Luke,” 299.

centurion's servant have much in common with the story of Abimelech. First, these three passages do not have the healing at the climax; Luke and Gen even append this information. Second, all three stories contain attempts to convince the prophet (at least the perceived prophet in the case of the King of Israel) to behave a certain way and/or through a gift. Third, both Gen 20:7 and 2 Kgs 5:8 emphasize the status of Abraham and Elisha—that of a prophet. Finally, all three events are found within the greater journeying of the main character.

Although these are similarities, Gen 20 simply is not of the same ilk as 2 Kgs 5:1-19 and Luke 7:1-10. First, the theme of Gen 20 does not match up with the other two. Despite the fact that the climax of these passages is not about the healing that takes place, Gen 20 is not driven by the need for a healing. Rather, it is driven by the problem created by Abraham's deception of Abimelech. Abimelech does not start out seeking to right his offence because of a need for healing, but rather to spare lives (including his own). Second, Gen 20 is not a story about a military commander. Often times the roles and vocabulary concerning kings and commanders/captains overlap, yet v. 2 provides the doubly-unambiguous: אַבִּימֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ גֵּרָר. (Αβιμελεχ βασιλεὺς). Third, the Gen 20 story is not about a Gentile in the traditional sense. Although Abimelech is a foreigner, the conceptual label of Gentile does not fit the immediate setting of the story. Ultimately, the story is not presented as a contrast of the belief of a Gentile in light of Israel. Fourth, the events of Gen 20 are strangely stationary. After v. 1's statement of Abraham's journeying to and settlement in Gerar, there are no markers of real movement. The intransitive נִשְׁבַּח of v. 14 is the biggest "movement" in the chapter. This is markedly different than the intra-passage travels of Naaman and Jesus. Fifth, Abimelech is told to seek out Abraham so that he may intercede on his behalf. Jesus is not sought merely for his intercessory prowess, but rather as the one

who will do the healing. Likewise, the King of Aram’s request is for healing from an individual—an understanding that even baffles the King of Israel: “Am I a god with power over life and death that this man should send someone to me to be cured of leprosy?” (2 Kgs 5:7). All of these differences make for a structurally and thematically different passage when set up next to the stories of the centurion’s servant and Naaman. The fact that the Abimelech story is the closest comparison, not in 1-2 Kgs or the Gospels, serves to make the connection between the Naaman and the centurion’s servant stories that much stronger; i.e., *a formal archetype that may have diminished the significance of this parallel simply does not exist.*

2 Kings 5:1 and Luke 7:2 describe esteemed servants who are sick. Naaman is passively noted as a highly favored servant through the phrase ἦν ἀνὴρ μέγας ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ... τεθαυμασμένος προσώπῳ ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν κύριος σωτηρίαν Συρία καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἦν δυνατὸς ἰσχύι. Naaman is explicitly called a servant in the letter from the King of Syria in 2 Kgs 5:6, and he refers to himself as a servant 2 Kgs 5:17 and 18. The servant in Luke is clearly called a δοῦλος... ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ ἔντιμος as the antecedent of τινος is the centurion. Both Naaman and the centurion’s servant are thus described as held in high esteem.³¹⁵ This esteem is enough for the King of Syria and the centurion to request healing on their servant’s behalf.³¹⁶ Yet, it should be acknowledged that the two people who are sick are not the same sort of servants. The Gospel of Luke, if it has used 2 Kings, has moved one aspect of the commander (and that of the servant girl) to the servant of a commander.

Naaman and the centurion’s servant are both ill, but the diagnosis is seemingly different. Naaman is described as simply “a leper” (v. 1). The centurion’s servant is κακῶς ἔχων and ἤμελλεν τελευτᾶν. Κακῶς ἔχων is a very generic description.

³¹⁵ It is interesting to note that even the name נְחֻמָּי means “pleasantness”.

³¹⁶ This similarity will be discussed in three divisions of the detailed analysis.

Surprisingly, OT cases of leprosy are nearly as generic.³¹⁷ Yet, the leprosy of Naaman is not life threatening. Contrarily, leprosy is used in 2 Kgs 15:5 to tell of a case that required quarantine—quite different than the seemingly non-contagious Naaman.³¹⁸ Luke’s use of the generic yet more severe illness allows for Luke’s narrative to raise the stakes.³¹⁹ The detail “about to die” fits with the description of the widow and her family in 1 Kgs 17:12.

After the introduction of the commander, 2 Kgs 5:2 introduces the servant girl of Israel. In the LXX, the King of Syria will request a healing for his servant; however, it should be noted that it is the servant girl of Naaman’s wife who provides the information concerning the prophet in Samaria.³²⁰ Likewise, Luke 7:2, after the introduction of the commander, introduces a servant. In Luke, the master is requesting a healing on behalf of his servant.

The Gospel of Luke, if it is using 2 Kings, has to juggle roles a bit to accomplish a detail by detail match. Naaman is sick, the centurion is not. However, as we have seen, this switching of details is a technique observed from Chapter 2. It should also be observed that illness is not the main point of similarity for Naaman and the Centurion. Furthermore, (although this goes beyond a purely literary study), if Luke is building upon a source (e.g., another text, eyewitness, or oral tradition), then one would not expect details to correspond perfectly.

³¹⁷ See David P. Wright and Richard N. Jones, “Leprosy,” *ABD* 4:277-82.

³¹⁸ T. R. Hobbs, “Naaman,” *ABD* 4:968.

³¹⁹ At first thought, one might think that the healing of lepers is a common story found throughout the Bible. Upon closer inspection, one would discover that this is not the case. Although Leviticus describes in detail the process for which one is declared a leper, and thus unclean, and the process in which a leper is then declared clean, there is only one other OT recorded instance of a leper being cleansed (Miriam, Numbers 12:10-15) apart from the cleansing of Naaman by Elisha.

³²⁰ Some might argue that these similarities are merely by-products of any story. Travel, hearing, distance healing, and all these types of similarities could go without mention in this work. However, these stories can easily be told without these details. What is more, we have the perfect example in Matthew 8:5-13. They are crucial enough details that will be contained in all three of the passages that this paper covers.

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 1

This section introduced two commanders who are alike in many ways. This is demonstrated by a similarity of *characteristics*: Gentiles, esteemed, and preoccupied with an illness. Slightly similar *language* is used as both are called commanders. Luke *escalates* the seriousness of the illness as the centurion's servant is about to die. The combination of a healing story and a Gentile military commander is not often seen in biblical literature. These similarities, together, are found exclusively in these two stories. Furthermore, this section not only contains introductions of commanders but also of servants. The differences in this section are not enough to be considered negative criteria. Several scholars have recognized the strong similarity between the descriptions of Naaman and the centurion.

2. Speaking and Hearing about the Healing Prophet

Table 11: 2 Kings 5:3-4 and Luke 7:3a

<p>^{5:3} ἡ δὲ εἶπεν τῇ κυρίᾳ αὐτῆς ὄφελον ὁ κύριός μου ἐνώπιον τοῦ προφήτου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ τότε ἀποσυνάξει αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας αὐτοῦ ⁴ καὶ εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν τῷ κυρίῳ ἑαυτῆς καὶ εἶπεν οὕτως καὶ οὕτως ἐλάλησεν ἡ νεᾶνις ἡ ἐκ γῆς Ἰσραηλ</p>	<p>^{7:3} ἀκούσας δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ</p>
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The secondary characters of the girl and the Jewish elders do not have the same function in the plot. The girl informs Naaman’s wife of the healer Elisha, and there is not an analogous informer of Jesus to the centurion. Additionally, the girl in the 2 Kgs story is a female, young, a slave and in Syria, while the elders are assumedly male, older, are not captive, and are in Israel. Despite the dramatic differences between the girl in 2 Kgs and the elders in Luke, they have a strikingly similar function: they both are Jews who are functioning on behalf of Gentiles.³²¹ Since the Gentiles-before-Jews issue is raised in Luke 4, it makes sense that Jewish secondary characters are so highly touting the Gentile centurion. Furthermore, they are directly contradicted (they say in v. 3b, ἄξιός ἐστιν) by the centurion in v. 6 when he says οὐ γὰρ ἰκανός.

2 Kings has a lengthy description of the process which informs the King of Samaria. The young girl from the land of Israel tells her mistress that if Naaman were to go to the prophet in Samaria he would be healed of his leprosy by the “prophet of God.” Although Luke 7:3a does not explicitly refer to Jesus as a prophet, 7:16 does. Jesus’ miraculous activity is inherently connected to his status as a prophet. 2 Kings leaves out the transmission of the message to Naaman from Naaman’s wife, but then, in summary fashion (οὕτως καὶ οὕτως ἐλάλησεν ἡ νεᾶνις ἡ ἐκ γῆς Ἰσραηλ), recounts

³²¹ Ravens, *Luke*, 130; and Green, *Luke*, 284.

Naaman’s relaying of the message to the King of Syria. Luke’s “hearing about the prophet” is the complementary side of the communication process (i.e., hearing instead of telling), and it is much smaller—one clause: ἀκούσας δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.³²² By switching to the simple hearing act, Luke is able to retain the essential detail, yet leave out the complicated “side story.” Luke has a penchant for ἀκούσας δὲ—a phrase that is used 18 times in the LXX and NT combined; eight of those occurrences appear in Luke-Acts. Since the “hearing” is not found in Matthew’s story, two possible conclusions can be drawn (no matter one’s preferred Synoptic solution): (1) either Luke felt the need to add this detail or (2) Matt left it out. In both possibilities, this may be a sign, at least at the level of echo, of a connection of Luke to 2 Kings.

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 2

This brief section includes detail that at first may seem unimportant. Yet, the possible inclusion of “hearing about the healer” would allow Luke 7:3 to follow the Naaman story more closely—especially if it is added detail to Matt. The secondary characters of servant girl and Jewish elders, who appear in section 3, although with diverse descriptions of age, sex, and status, but are Jews serving on behalf of the Gentile military commander.

³²² Recall that Luke treats Markan dialogue in this way: Cadbury, *Style and Literary Method*, 79-82.

3. Request to Heal “the Servant”

Table 12: 2 Kings 5:5-8 and Luke 7:3b-5

<p>5:5 και εἶπεν βασιλεὺς Συρίας πρὸς Ναιμαν δεῦρο εἴσελθε καὶ ἐξαποστελῶ βιβλίον πρὸς βασιλέα Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἐπορευθή καὶ ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ δέκα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ ἑξακισχιλίου χρυσοῦς καὶ δέκα ἀλλασσομένας στολάς 6 καὶ ἤνεγκεν τὸ βιβλίον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰσραηλ λέγων καὶ νῦν ὡς ἂν ἔλθῃ τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο πρὸς σέ ἰδοὺ <u>ἀπέστειλα</u> πρὸς σέ Ναιμαν τὸν δούλον μου καὶ ἀποσυνάξεις αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας αὐτοῦ 7 καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἀνέγνω βασιλεὺς Ἰσραηλ τὸ βιβλίον διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν μὴ θεὸς ἐγὼ τοῦ θανατῶσαι καὶ ζωοποιῆσαι ὅτι οὗτος ἀποστέλλει πρὸς με ἀποσυνάξει ἄνδρα ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας αὐτοῦ ὅτι πλήν γινώτε δὴ καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι προφασίζεται οὗτός με 8 καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν Ελισαιε ὅτι διέρρηξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραηλ τὰ ἱμάτια ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰσραηλ λέγων ἵνα τί διέρρηξας τὰ ἱμάτιά σου ἐλθέτω δὴ πρὸς με Ναιμαν καὶ γνῶτω ὅτι ἔστιν προφήτης ἐν Ἰσραηλ</p>	<p>7:3b <u>ἀπέστειλεν</u> πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβυτέρους τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐρωτῶν αὐτὸν ὅπως ἐλθῶν διασώσῃ <u>τὸν δούλον</u> αὐτοῦ. 4 οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν σπουδαίως λέγοντες ὅτι ἄξιός ἐστιν ὃ παρέξῃ τοῦτο· 5 ἀγαπᾷ γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτὸς ὠκοδόμησεν ἡμῖν.</p>
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The concept of sending off for a healing is exclusive to these two passages

within the LXX and the New Testament.³²³ The centurion ἀπέστειλεν the Jewish

³²³ In Matt 8:5-13, the centurion goes on behalf of his servant, but does not send intermediaries. In John 4:47, the ruler also goes in person. Philemon, thematically, is similar, but the plot and detail are dramatically different—irreconcilably different. Additionally, Philemon is not a military commander.

The closest OT comparison is the sending of the messengers in 2 Kgs 1 to the foreign god, Baalzebub, on behalf of the ailing Ahaziah. However, they are seeking a prediction concerning Ahaziah’s health rather than directly asking for Baalzebub to heal him. Nevertheless, it is the servants being sent on behalf of the King; unlike the King sending on behalf of the servant in 2 Kgs 5 and the centurion on behalf of the servant in Luke 7:3.

Jeroboam sends his wife off to inquire of about the health of his son in 1 Kgs. 14. She brings with her gifts, much like that of Naaman. This is very similar to the inquiry party sent by Ahaziah in 2 Kgs 1 and in nature to David’s first child with Bathsheba 2 Sam 12. The story regarding Jeroboam’s son is particularly interesting because he is inquiring about the health of his male son—similar to the centurion seeking a healing for his beloved servant (and especially similar to the royal official, in John, seeking a healing for his son). There is also a return to the house, like that found in Naaman and the centurion. It is possible that certain aspects of 1 Kgs 14 could be informing Luke 7:1-10. Although, the story of Jeroboam’s judgement in 1 Kgs 14 may have played a part, it is not as similar to Luke 7:1-10 as 2 Kgs 5. First, Jeroboam is certainly no Gentile. Second, he is not seeking a healing from a mighty

elders (v. 3a). Likewise, the King of Syria says in his letter to the King of Israel that, ἰδοὺ ἀπέστειλα πρὸς σὲ Ναϊμαν τὸν δοῦλόν μου (v. 6). Ἀποστέλλω is also used in 2 Kgs 5:7 and 5:8 as the King of Israel reacts and Elisha instructs the King of Israel to send Naaman to him.³²⁴ Admittedly, this is not the kind of vocabulary that I call “significant,” but the concept of sending off for a healing is not exactly an everyday phenomenon, to say the least.

The letter sent by the King of Syria allows 2 Kgs to give the King of Syria a larger role in the story. By reporting the contents of the letter and thus retaining the first person, the king is allowed by the text to request on behalf of his δοῦλόν (v. 6). The centurion also requests help on behalf of his δοῦλόν (v. 3b). Similarly, Luke employs Jewish elders to request Jesus’ help, and employs friends, ones who would have talked to the centurion himself, to relay the message in first person to Jesus (v. 6-8). In other words, both stories have speeches in the *first person* through another medium—the person “speaking” is not present.³²⁵ This use of the first person allows for the same dramatic effect.

Furthermore, with the exception of Elijah/Elisha, the Gospels, and Acts, the idea of a third-party healer—i.e., healing done by God through an intermediary—is virtually non-existent in the Bible.³²⁶ Even the broader category of extracanonical

prophet but rather a prediction of what will happen to his son. Third, there is no healing. Fourth, there is no decision or conversion on the part of Jeroboam. Additionally, the proximity of 1 Kgs 14 to the Elijah-Elisha narrative tempers the possible negative effects of claims to lack of distinctiveness.

³²⁴ This type of sending a third party on behalf of the servant by the protagonist is not found in Matt 8:5-13 or John 4:46b-54. Nor is it found in the story of Jarius in Matt 9:18-26, Mark 5:21-43, and Luke 8:40-56. The Jarius tradition is seen as a different event altogether by Luke and Matthew.

³²⁵ Although messengers are certainly common, and so, naturally, the speaker is not present, what is truly striking is the fact that like the Naaman story, Luke also employs the *first person* even though it is through a messenger.

³²⁶ I think that many people have grown up under the assumption that the Bible is overflowing with healing thaumaturges. Yet, up until Elijah/Elisha, there was not another (other than God) who was connected with powerful healings and resurrections. Moses and Abraham both have their isolated healing stories (Num 12:10-15, 21:4-9 and the aforementioned Gen 20); nevertheless, Moses and Abraham are not known for their healings. Furthermore, the stories of healing through Moses and Abraham contain requests for prayer on behalf of the afflicted—a distinction which dramatically separates them from the medium-less role of the healers in the stories of Naaman and the centurion’s

literature does not have many third-party healers before the first century C.E.³²⁷ Luke, a work that constantly relies upon and quotes from the LXX, would be hard-pressed to find another example of a healer. Since other miracles of Jesus' can be compared to Elijah/Elisha, it stands to reason that the comparison of third-party healers has precedence.

Luke, like 2 Kgs, is possibly portraying the protagonist as a very wealthy individual or at least a generous one.³²⁸ Having been instructed to go to Israel, Naaman takes with him ten silver talents, six thousand gold pieces, and ten festal garments (2 Kgs 5:5). Although a silver talent is worth much less than the gold talent, it is still a large amount of money—some might even say hyperbolically so. The Jewish elders in Luke explain how the centurion built the synagogue for them.³²⁹ Building a synagogue would have required a great amount of resources. The synagogue is a place of great importance for Luke-Acts. Of the uses of συναγωγή in the NT, a large majority of them occur in Luke-Acts.

servant. All throughout the OT, other than Elijah and Elisha, there is a complete lack of a person known for his/her healing power. Although all the Gospels portray Jesus as one who is sought out in order to bring healing, this does not weaken the claim that the OT and NT texts in question are connected. Simply put, OT stories about healing through a party other than God are really not found outside Elijah/Elisha.

It might be said that using this logic any NT healing story should then be compared to the Elijah/Elisha healing accounts. To a degree, this is true. However, the category of healing that involves the search for a healer (not to mention the other similarities) and the traveling for healing makes for a slimmer class of healing story.

³²⁷ Possible connections could be made with the healings by the cult of Asclepius; the homeopathic Asclepiades, as critiqued by Pliny; the reluctant powers of Vespasian, as recorded by Tacitus; the thaumaturgical stories of Apollonius, as told by the third-century C.E. Philostratus; and the prayerful cures of Hanina ben Dosa in the Talmud, as Luke portrayed Jesus in a similar light (Pliny, *Nat.* 26.12-19; Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.81; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.*; and *Ber.* 34b). However, each of these examples touches on fewer points of similarity, each are wanting in the realm of plausibility, and the differences between Luke 7:1-10 and these texts are too remote to be satisfactorily explained.

³²⁸ For the centurion as generous and/or wealthy see, e.g., Ringe, *Luke*, 99; Green, *Luke*, 286; Johnson, *Gospel of Luke*, 117; and Stein, *Luke*, 219.

³²⁹ Under the ruins of a fourth century C.E. synagogue in Capernaum, archeologists believe there is another foundation of a synagogue from the first century. See C. E. Stanislao Loffreda, "Capharnaum: The Town of Jesus," n.p. [cited 1 December 2012]. Online: <http://198.62.75.1/www1/ofm/sites/TScpsyn1.html>. Such a structure would have required a great amount of resources to have built it.

The gifts carried by Naaman could be seen as a type of incentive—a way to convince the prospective healer to cleanse him. Yet, the only use that is described in 2 Kgs is the offering of the treasures as a gift *after* the healing has been performed. Nevertheless, the placement of the description of the gifts comes right before the encounter with the King of Israel. This placement points to it being used as an incentive. Luke’s messengers feel the need to convince Jesus that the centurion is worthy for him to perform per the request of the centurion. Although the convincing in Luke may be more concerned with the Jewish/Gentile issues of propriety, both stories still contain this element of persuasion.

During the King of Israel’s objection to what he assumes is an attempt to shame him, he rhetorically asks: μή θεός ἐγὼ τοῦ θανατῶσαι καὶ ζωοποιῆσαι ὅτι οὗτος ἀποστέλλει πρὸς με ἀποσυνάξει ἄνδρα ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας αὐτοῦ...; the μή construction expects an implied “no” (v. 7). Both 2 Kings and Luke draw the opposite conclusion regarding Elisha and Jesus; they are shown to have authority over life and death.³³⁰ This is demonstrated by the success of Elisha’s word as Naaman is healed. It is also demonstrated by the centurion in v. 8 as he implies that Jesus has the authority to simply heal by his word. The centurion is proven correct through the results of the healing in v. 10. Additionally, the juxtaposition of the raising of the widow of Nain’s son adds to this idea that Jesus does indeed have the power over life and death.

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 3

Within the entire Bible, the shared motif of sending off for a healing is distinct to these stories. Intermediaries are used to relay the request for healing.³³¹ Although

³³⁰ Although the centurion, whose closest OT counterpart is Naaman, it is quite reasonable for the centurion to be contrasted with the King of Syria. This is acceptable within the bounds of imitation and allusion and is similar to the contrast of the centurion and the Jewish elders’ contradiction of each other.

³³¹ E.g., Ravens, *Luke*, 130; Pao and Schnabel, “Luke,” 299.

messengers and intermediaries, of themselves are not strikingly exclusive to this passage, they still belong to a slimmer category with their mission (even including the possible connections to Jeroboam in 1 Kgs 14 and Ahaziah in 2 Kgs 1). Furthermore, this is one of the main distinctions between Matt 8:5-13 and Luke 7:1-10. Either Matt is removing this detail and deliberately having the centurion meet Jesus face-to face or Luke has removed the first-person encounter and added the double-delegation which is similar to the multiple encounters in the Naaman story. Along with first-person speech in Luke 7:6-8 (section 4), the first-person speech of the King of Syria through the letter to the King of Israel, is another *similar literary technique*. Elisha and Jesus share the role of a God-empowered third-party healer—another *similar theme*. Both Naaman and the centurion are presented as men of some kind of means, and their wealth and possible generosity are possible persuasive incentives. Structurally section 3 shows the first delegation requesting healing in both stories.

4. Prescription Given

Table 13: 2 Kings 5:9-14 and Luke 7:6-8

<p>^{5:9} και ἦλθεν Ναϊμαν ἐν ἵππῳ καὶ ἄρματι καὶ ἔστη ἐπὶ θύρας οἴκου Ελισαιε</p> <p>¹⁰ καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Ελισαιε ἄγγελον πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγων</p> <p>πορευθεὶς λουσαι ἐπτάκις ἐν τῷ Ιορδάνῃ καὶ ἐπιστρέψει ἡ σὰρξ σου σοι καὶ καθαρῶσθαι ¹¹ καὶ ἐθυμώθη Ναϊμαν καὶ ἀπῆλθεν καὶ εἶπεν ἰδοὺ δὴ ἔλεγον ὅτι ἐξελεύσεται πρὸς με καὶ στήσεται καὶ ἐπικαλέσεται ἐν ὀνόματι θεοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιθήσει τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ ἀποσυνάξει τὸ λεπρόν ¹² οὐχὶ ἀγαθὸς Ἀβανα καὶ Φαρφαρ ποταμοὶ Δαμασκοῦ ὑπὲρ Ιορδάνην καὶ πάντα τὰ ὕδατα Ισραηλ οὐχὶ πορευθεὶς λούσομαι ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ καθαρῶσθαι καὶ ἐξέκλινεν καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐν θυμῷ</p> <p>¹³ καὶ ἤγγισαν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλάλησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν μέγαν λόγον ἐλάλησεν ὁ προφήτης πρὸς σέ οὐχὶ ποιήσεις καὶ ὅτι εἶπεν πρὸς σέ λουσαι καὶ καθαρῶσθαι ¹⁴ καὶ κατέβη Ναϊμαν καὶ ἐβαπτίσατο ἐν τῷ Ιορδάνῃ ἐπτάκις κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα Ελισαιε καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ ὡς σὰρξ παιδαρίου μικροῦ καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη</p>	<p>^{7:6} ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐπορεύετο σὺν αὐτοῖς. ἦδη δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας</p> <p>ἔπεμψεν φίλους ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης λέγων αὐτῷ·</p> <p>κύριε, μὴ σκύλλου, οὐ γὰρ ἰκανὸς εἰμι ἵνα ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην μου εἰσέλθῃς· ⁷ διὸ οὐδὲ ἐμαυτὸν ἠξίωσα πρὸς σέ ἐλθεῖν·</p> <p>ἀλλὰ εἰπέ λόγῳ, καὶ ἰαθήτω ὁ παῖς μου. ⁸ καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν τασσόμενος ἔχων ὑπ' ἐμαυτὸν στρατιώτας, καὶ λέγω τούτῳ· πορεύθητι, καὶ πορεύεται, καὶ ἄλλῳ· ἔρχου, καὶ ἔρχεται, καὶ τῷ δούλῳ μου· ποίησον τοῦτο, καὶ ποιῆ.</p>
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Both Naaman and Jesus are stopped just outside their intended destination—a house. Having arrived as a great and noble warrior with horse and chariot, Naaman is greeted by a messenger sent to give the prescription which will heal him. But Naaman goes away angry as he expected Elisha to come out to him and perform the miracle first-hand, and because he regards the Jordan as inferior (vv. 9-12). Likewise, in Luke, Jesus is about to arrive at the house and is stopped by friends of the centurion. These

messenger-friends give the prescription which will heal the servant. But instead of unmet expectations, the centurion exceeds Jesus' expectations (and the expectations of the Jewish elders) by his humility, expectation of a distance healing, and simplicity in method. Naaman feels that the prophet's prescription is beneath him, but the centurion feels that the prophet's presence is above him. This confirms Tannehill's observation, which was previously cited: "Naaman is proud and at first rejects Elisha's instructions; the centurion is remarkably self-effacing and trustful."³³² Naaman's servants explain that the simplicity of Elisha's λόγος should be obeyed (v. 13). Using the same word λόγος, Luke's centurion expects a word to do the healing. Similarly, the ῥῆμα of Elisha is the prescription which brings about Naaman's cleansing—once Naaman finally obeys. The ῥήματα are fulfilled in Luke 7:1 before Jesus does his healing work in Luke 7:2-17. It should be noted that the words λόγος and ῥῆμα may not be considered significant vocabulary. However, the placement and function of λόγος is remarkably similar.

Naaman is shown as one who is disdainful of Israel by his comments in vv.11-12. He sees the Jordan as inferior to the rivers of Syria. Luke, instead of a Gentile with a disdain for Israel, has Jewish elders who are concerned for a Gentile, and a Gentile who loves the Jews.

When Naaman turns and leaves in anger, his servants come to him and convince him, using a hypothetical scenario, to follow Elisha's directions. Similarly, the centurion employs a hypothetical description of his orders and subsequent obedience of the people under his command in order to convince Jesus to follow his directions. The direction of the "convincing" is switched; Naaman is convinced by his servants to obey Elisha whereas Jesus is "convinced" by the centurion to heal at a

³³² Tannehill, *Luke*, 124.

distance. This switch should be expected as a result of the positivation of the centurion.

Jerome Walsh originally recognized that “the divine word begins a command-and-compliance pattern” in the Elijah/Elisha narrative.³³³ In addition to the use of ἀπεστέλλω in the King of Syria’s sending is the doubly strong δεῦρο εἴσελθε followed up by Naaman’s ἐπορεύθη (2 Kgs 5:5). This is the first of three stated command and subsequent stated obedience. The second occurs when Naaman is told πορευθεῖς λοῦσαι ἐπτάκις ἐν τῷ Ιορδάνῃ and, eventually, he obeys. The third set is found at the very end of the passage in v.19. Elisha tells Naaman to δεῦρο εἰς εἰρήνην and Naaman ἀπῆλθεν.³³⁴ Luke has three sets of these orders and obedience as well. Luke, in one distilled verse, has: καὶ λέγω τούτῳ· πορεύθητι, καὶ πορεύεται, καὶ ἄλλω· ἔρχου, καὶ ἔρχεται, καὶ τῷ δούλῳ μου· ποιήσον τοῦτο, καὶ ποιεῖ. This command-and-compliance dramatically shows the “meticulous fidelity of the obedience.”³³⁵ As with other similarities taken on their own, this observation may not be an especially strong connection. However, the obedience in the Naaman story may have helped inspire details regarding obedience and authority found in the centurion story.

Brodie’s suggestion that 1 Kgs 17:1-16 is also a component of Luke 7:1-10 may seem to diminish the parallel with 2 Kgs 5—and it does in the realm of distinctiveness. However, the dilution in this instance is tempered by the fact that (1) 1 Kgs 17 is within the Elijah-Elisha narrative; (2) is certainly on the mind of the author (implied or otherwise) as seen in Luke 7:11-17; and (3) authors, as has been demonstrated, can and do combine sources.

³³³ Jerome T. Walsh, *1 Kings* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1996), xvi.

³³⁴ It may also be possible to include Elisha’s directions for the King of Israel to send Naaman to him and in v. 9 as he follows the directions.

³³⁵ Walsh, *1 Kings*, xvi.

The prescription in 2 Kgs 5:10 is a specific ritual for healing; Naaman has to dip seven times in the Jordan. Luke, on the other hand, has an entirely different approach. The prescription, like the powerful word in 1 Kg 17:1, is merely to say “the word.” Once again, Luke has something completely different than 2 Kgs, but the difference is intelligible as the relationship shows Luke’s typical portrayal of Jesus as someone who heals with ease. In fact, the Gospel of Luke is completely lacking healings and miracles that require much ritual at all. Absent are healings requiring rubbing on of mud, dipping in water, filling pitchers, and the like. Furthermore, Jesus’ healings in Luke are characterized with instantaneous healing. Fitting with this instantaneous healing, Luke frequently has *παραχρῆμα* in miracle stories. In the NT, *παραχρῆμα* is used 20 times with 16 of those belonging to Luke-Acts (Matt 8:5, 8, 13, 21:19; Luke 1:64; 4:39; 5:25; 8:44, 47, 55; 13:13; 18:43; 19:11; 22:60; Acts 3:7; 5:10; 12:23; 13:11; 16:26, 33). The vast majority of the uses (17) are directly related to a miracle (Matt 21:19; Luke 19:11, 22:60 being the *possible* exceptions).

Luke and 2 Kgs share still another very curious connection. The person seeking the healing does not meet the healer until at least after the healing, if at all. Naaman is standing on the doorstep and Jesus is about to reach the house, yet they do not see Elisha or the centurion. Despite the various stages of the narrative—the petitions, misunderstandings, corrections, and travel—Naaman does not come face to face with Elisha until after he is cleaned. Not only does Luke’s centurion not see Jesus during the two main encounters in the Lukan passage, but there is no mention of them meeting at all.

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 4

Here in section 4, Luke continues to follow the *structure* of 2 Kgs 5:1-19: both travelling parties arrive before the home and still do not meet the healer—instead, the

traveler is met by messengers. This is another *shared motif*. *Positivation* is employed as the angry Naaman, who feels that the prescription is beneath him, is matched by the centurion, who feels that Jesus' presence is above him. Naaman is convinced to obey Elisha by the use of a hypothetical scenario. In Luke, the centurion gives a hypothetical scenario to convince Jesus to heal from a distance—another similarity rarely found. Luke *internalizes* the seven-fold physical ritual of cleansing, and has the centurion avoid social entanglements of Jesus entering his home by having Jesus heal simply by “his word.” This commanding language is repeated three times in 2 Kgs 1-19 and Luke 7:8. Finally, Luke's centurion never meets Jesus, much like how Naaman does not meet Elisha before his healing.

5. Declaration

Table 14: 2 Kings 5:15a and Luke 7:9

<p>^{5:15} καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν πρὸς Ελισαιε αὐτὸς καὶ πᾶσα ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ ἔστη καὶ εἶπεν ἰδοὺ δὴ ἔγνωκα ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῆ ὅτι ἀλλ’ ἢ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ</p>	<p>^{7:9} ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐθαύμασεν αὐτὸν καὶ <u>στραφεὶς</u> τῷ ἀκολουθοῦντι αὐτῷ ὄγλω <u>εἶπεν</u>· λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ τοσαύτην πίστιν εὔρον.</p>
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Luke and 2 Kgs do not have the healing in the same location. 2 Kings has the healing in v. 14—just before the declaration. Luke has the healing at the end of the passage—after the declaration. One might expect that the actual healing is at the climax of the story—as is the case with many (if not most) healing stories. Rather, both stories reach their zenith at the declarations concerning faith and Israel (2 Kgs 5:15a and Luke 7:9). Although Luke has the healing at the end of his passage and 2 Kgs has the healing just before the climax, the lack of accent on the healings is quite similar. As was done in Luke 7:3, Luke employs ἀκούσας δὲ. The centurion astounds Jesus by the prescription and the expression of his unworthiness, as opposed to Naaman’s anger and feelings that the prescription was unworthy of him.

The overall structures of these two verses have a very similar rhythm. They have the same number of clauses and a similar order. The statements of setting and positioning describe two scenes that are parallel. Both accounts use a form of στρέφω to describe the positioning of the declarer as they both turn to their multiple-person audience and use εἶπεν. Forms of στρέφω are also used to describe the healing of Naaman’s skin in 2 Kgs 5:14 and the return of the friends in Luke 7:10.

Furthermore, they describe the audience who will be witnesses to the climatic declaration. The military entourage in v. 15 is akin to Jesus' crowd in Luke 7:9.³³⁶ The returning and standing of Naaman is congruent with Jesus' hearing and turning.

The words of the declaration are begun with a statement marking the importance of the words to follow. Both include the first person indicative and two typical markers of a prominent declaration: ἰδοὺ δὴ and λέγω ὑμῖν.

Naaman declares that there is no God outside Israel. Conversely, Jesus declares that there is no one with this degree of faith inside Israel.³³⁷ Naaman, an outsider, comes to faith in the God of Israel—as foreshadowed by Elisha in v. 8b. Once again, Luke elevates the situation, to show an outsider not just having faith, but having more faith than anyone in Israel.

Jesus' ἐθαύμασεν αὐτὸν with regard to the centurion may be reflecting the use of θαυμάζω in 2 Kgs 5:1 as the King of Israel regards Naaman.

Technique Summary of Section 5

Both stories have the same point of *structural climax*. Although many miracle stories have dialogue and/or a declaration, the emphasis in these two stories is on the declaration; more specifically, both statements are a *similar themed* declaration concerning faith and Israel. Within the declaration itself, a smaller scale structure is followed: (1) statement of setting, (2) indicator of declaration, (3) negative contents, and (4) location.

³³⁶ There is also a similarity with Naaman and his army in 2 Kgs 5:15 and the centurion (literally: a ruler of a hundred) and to the “soldiers under” him in Luke 7:8.

³³⁷ Crockett, “Luke 4:25-27,” 182.

6. Return Home

Table 15: 2 Kings 5:15b-19 and Luke 7:10

<p>^{5:15b} καὶ νῦν λαβὲ τὴν εὐλογίαν παρὰ τοῦ δούλου σου ¹⁶ καὶ εἶπεν Ελισαιε ζῆ κύριος ὃ παρέστην ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ εἰ λήμψομαι καὶ παρεβιάσατο αὐτὸν λαβεῖν καὶ ἠπειθήσεν ¹⁷ καὶ εἶπεν Ναιμαν καὶ εἰ μὴ δοθῆτω δὴ τῷ δούλῳ σου γόμος ζεύγους ἡμιόνων καὶ σύ μοι δώσεις ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆς πυρρᾶς ὅτι οὐ ποιήσει ἔτι ὁ δοῦλός σου ὀλοκαύτωμα καὶ θυσίασμα θεοῖς ἑτέροις ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ κυρίῳ μόνῳ ¹⁸ καὶ ἰλάσεται κύριος τῷ δούλῳ σου ἐν τῷ εἰσπορεύεσθαι τὸν κύριόν μου εἰς οἶκον Ρεμμαν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπαναπαύσεται ἐπὶ τῆς χειρός μου καὶ προσκυνήσω ἐν οἴκῳ Ρεμμαν ἐν τῷ προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν οἴκῳ Ρεμμαν καὶ ἰλάσεται δὴ κύριος τῷ δούλῳ σου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ ¹⁹ καὶ εἶπεν Ελισαιε πρὸς Ναιμαν δεῦρο εἰς εἰρήνην καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς δεβραθα τῆς γῆς.</p>	<p>^{7:10} Καὶ ὑποστρέψαντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον οἱ πεμφθέντες εὗρον τὸν δούλον ὑγιαίνοντα.</p>
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A great deal of Luke 7:10 can easily be accounted for through 2 Kgs 5 and Luke's tendencies.

Having had his gift refused, Naaman wants to do something that will allow him to be in good standing with his new faith. After requesting soil from the country of his God, he requests permission to be excused when he is forced to bow down in the house of Rimmon (vv. 16-18). The phrase "into the house" is repeated three times in v. 18. This phrase is also found in Luke 7:10. This is a possible explanation for Luke's choice of language in recounting the healing of the servant. Some may argue that the return home and the discovery of the healed state of the servant is simply necessary. However, the essence of dénouement is that is material that is, strictly speaking, unnecessary. Furthermore, although the Lukan story does seem to be

completed with a resolution with regard to serious condition of the servant, many Q scholars, speaking toward Q's nature as a Sayings Gospel, do not believe the resolution was original. Thus, such an additional ending by Luke (and Matt) should not be seen as completely trivial.

The *οἱ πεμφθέντες* of Luke 7:10 are consistent with the use in Luke 7:6. This is not the first time in Luke one finds the combination of “finding and returning.” The verb *ὑποστρέφω* has been coupled with *εὐρίσκω* by Luke earlier in Luke 2:45-46. Naaman repeatedly uses *δοῦλός* to refer to himself in vv. 17-18, yet Luke 7:10 contains a solitary use in 7:10. Amongst the Gospels, the verb *ὑγιαίνω* is only found in Luke. Luke uses *ὑγιαίνω* three times: 5:31; 7:10; and 15:27.

The end of the Naaman narrative is much larger than that in Luke 7:1-10. 2 Kgs 5:18 repeats “into the house” three times, yet in Luke it appears only once. This possible distillation is like Luke's possible distillation of the lengthy communication process (2 Kgs 5:3-4) as it is trimmed to the essentials (Luke 7:3). Finally, Naaman is allowed to go in peace and he departs. Luke finally mentions the healing after those who were sent return to the centurion's home.

The return home ends what has been a large amount of traveling in two texts that are relatively small. Not only do both contain this journeying motif, but they have congruent steps along the way. There is travel in the introductions, travel to request from the healers, and travel to a house for the healings. The journey is cut short for the declarations and there is a journey back home. This journeying motif (seen also in the overall plot of the Gospel of Luke) ties each passage together and ties the two texts closer together. The participle *ὑποστρέψαντες* is similar to the repeated use of forms of *στρέφω* throughout these two passages. Although the journeying motif is found throughout biblical literature, its shared existence in both 2 Kgs 5:1-19 and

Luke 7:1-10 is significant when compared to its absence in Matt 8:5-13 (and John 4:46-54).

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 6

Although not necessary for the declaration, the section regarding the fulfillment of the healing allows the story to say something not just about the faith of the centurion, but about Jesus as well. Similarly, both Naaman and the servant are made well. Although the non-accented healing is moved, Luke shows *completeness* with regard to the structure of 2 Kgs 5:1-19 with the discovery upon the return home. Luke possibly accomplishes this faithfulness to the over-all structure by *distilling* the final verses.

Summary of Employed Techniques

The detailed analysis of the two texts enable statements to be made regarding Luke's process of including the healing of Naaman as a component of the healing of the centurion's servant. Luke frequently distills or summarizes information that might be viewed as repetitive or unnecessary to the plot. The two most conspicuous examples include the one-line summary of 2 Kgs 5:3-4 by Luke 7:3a (hearing of the healer) and of 2 Kgs 5:16-19 by Luke 7:10 (the return home). This summarizing allows for the focus and flow of this passage to remain on the faith aspect of the non-meeting (at least before the healing in Naaman) of requester and prophet. These brief summaries could be viewed as an attempt by Luke to maintain the integrity of the structure of the Naaman component while bypassing material that diverts from the story at hand. This procedure is consistent with both Greco-Roman imitation and Rewritten Bible.

The major points of structure and plot in 2 Kgs 5:1-19 are followed by Luke. Each division has a counterpart in the other text. The characters are introduced, the problem is presented, a solution is requested, a prescription is given, and a declaration is announced. As mentioned before, Luke has the climax in the same location as 2 Kgs does. Where other sections are distilled, adjusted, or moved, the declarations (2 Kgs 5:15 and Luke 7:9a) are markedly similar in size, theme, and position.

Minor points of structure and plot, however, can be moved. The best example is the different locations of the healing—which allows for more emphasis to be placed on the centurion and his declaration. Another example is the consolidation of the three sets of order and obedience as found in v. 18.

Beyond structure, Luke 7:1-10 has an abundance of similarities with 2 Kgs 5:1-19: Gentile military commander of means, the seeking for a healing for an esteemed servant, persuasion of the healer, Jewish roles in the healing, the use of two sets intermediaries, the requestor never meets the healer in advance of the healing, the meeting before the home, a healing at a distance, the emphasis on the declaration, declaration about Israel and faith, and the successful healing.

However, there are also several significant differences. Luke's account is more intense—partly through the possible use of 1 Kgs 17. The non-life threatening leprosy of Naaman is changed to the near-death situation of the widow in 1 Kgs 17. The negative Naaman is replaced with the positive centurion. The seven-fold physical cleansing of Naaman is switched to the internal word borrowed from 1 Kgs 17. These changes allow for a more dramatic and amazing healing by Jesus. He does not need ritual or even his presence. Other changes include sections which are radically distilled and characters' roles which are moved. Yet, the results of the healing are not

left out—the story still functions as criteria for “the one who is coming” (Luke 7:10, 16-17, and 22).

In sum, a rather complete, yet distilled, structure of the story of Naaman can be found in the story of the healing of the centurion’s servant. Both have similar introductions, hearing about the healer, a request for healing on behalf of the servant, an unexpected prescription, and an ending with the return home.

Fulfillment of Criteria

In the chapter on the criteria for establishing literary dependence, three generalized categories were set out: (1) plausibility, (2) similarities, and (3) interpretable differences.

For Luke 7:1-10 and 2 Kgs 5:1-19, the issues of plausibility are vastly exceeded. Not only is the LXX quoted throughout Luke’s gospel, but the healing of Naaman is directly cited just a few chapters before this parallel passage. Previously established citations, references, allusions and echoes of the Elijah/Elisha narrative are found throughout Luke-Acts. Not only is it plausible that Luke 7:1-10 relies on 2 Kgs 5:1-19, but precedence has been solidly established for such a theory.

It was established in Chapter 5 that it would likely take more than one shared type of component to satisfy the criteria of significant similarities. These components included: genre, theme, style, plot, motifs, structure, order, and wording. Both stories belong to the broader genre of prose/narrative; they also belong to a sub-genre of miracle stories; furthermore, they belong to an even smaller sub-genre of declaration focused miracles stories. Both stories contain similar themes of cleanness with regard to Jewish law, faith of Gentiles, and Israel. Both stories share the same drama: a sick servant needs a healing, the healing is obtained, and a deep understanding is declared.

The motifs of illness, servants, authority, and esteem are in both stories. Luke incorporates the different elements of the whole structure from 2 Kgs 5:1-19, and maintains the order of the structure with little exception. Because of the overlap in many of these categories, similarity in wording is seemingly inevitable. Although there are few similarities of wording, there is an abundance of similarity which satisfies the categories of genre, theme, style, plot, motifs, structure, and order. Additionally, the validity of many of these similarities is strengthened due to the rareness of the similarities. Nowhere else in all of literature available to Luke (known to date) is there such a similar story. Specifically, besides Naaman, Gentile military commanders simply do not request healings.

The major differences between Luke 7:1-10 and 2 Kgs 5:1-19 have been classified and interpreted. A clear line can be drawn between most the differences. Most of the important differences have been accounted for through ancient literary imitation techniques, common Lukan themes, and Lukan redaction trends. Appealing to the practice of the use of multiple sources (conflation), one can observe that part of what is not accounted for by 2 Kgs 5:1-19 can be found specifically in 1 Kgs 17:1-16.

Conclusion of the Comparison of 2 Kings 5:1-19 and Luke 7:1-10

Judging by the long list of used literary techniques found in Luke 7:1-10, it is the conclusion of this work that 2 Kings 5:1-19 and Luke 7:1-10 amply meet the requirements for the criteria for literary dependence, and their relationship is worthy of further comparison and contrast. Luke uses the 2 Kgs 5:1-19 to help fashion and shape the plot of ch. 7:1-10 and builds upon the former; i.e., 2 Kgs 5:1-19 is constitutive of Luke 7:1-10.

With regard to the question about explicit or implicit use of the Naaman story in Luke 7:1-10, it is the conclusion of this dissertation that, using the strict definition of explicit usage, the story of the centurion is not explicitly referencing the Naaman story—but just barely. Jesus, in this story’s context *has* been explicitly compared to Elisha and this story, and the following story, the story of the widow of Nain, has a very similar and related use of source material. Nevertheless, the story of the centurion and the story of the widow of Nain, within themselves do not explicitly compare themselves to the corresponding passages from the Elijah-Elisha narrative—thus I label them implicit.

The evidence from this chapter plus the historical-literary setting in which Luke-Acts finds itself, both Greek and Jewish, indicate that the phenomenon of intertextuality found in Luke’s use of the Naaman story in 7:1-10 is consistent with Greco-Roman imitation and the allusion of Rewritten Bible. This specific conclusion is consistent with Evan’s conclusion that “the Lukan evangelist is a writer of Scripture, a hagiographer who is proclaiming what God has ‘accomplished among us’ .”³³⁸

Having eliminated the explicit categories of reference and quotation it is good to ask if the use of Naaman in Luke 7:1-10 can be placed in one of the categories of the taxonomy given near the end of Chapter 2. Based upon the explicit connection of Jesus to the Naaman story in Luke 4, its connection to Luke 7:11-17, and the intra-passage evidence, it can be confidently said that the literary dependence of Luke 7:1-10 upon 2 Kgs 5 surpasses any sub-conscious connection like that of “free-narrative” or even that of “running allusion” which could be used to describe, for example, Job

³³⁸ Evans, “Luke and Rewritten Bible,” 200-1

and Tobit's relationship.³³⁹ Using MacDonald's taxonomy, the data from this chapter points to "Imitation" as the source text is functioning as a model, but the category of "allusion" may be relevant considering the programmatic essence of Luke 4:25-27.³⁴⁰

However, there is more evidence to bring to the table. Chapters 7 and 8 will discuss further possible uses of the Naaman story—if such connections can indeed be made then the main conclusion, that Naaman is indeed a significant source, will be strengthened.

³³⁹ Dimant, "Use and Interpretation," 418.

³⁴⁰ MacDonald, "Categorization," 213-14.

At this stage, even though this chapter has concluded in favor of literary dependence, it would be good to recall that the reliance upon the Naaman story does not preclude other sources--whether they are other unknown literary sources or oral sources.

Chapter 7: Another Lukan Use of the Story of the Healing of Naaman (2 Kings 5:1-27)—the Encounter with Cornelius the Centurion (Acts 10:1-11:18)

As previously mentioned, Luke-Acts has many passages which are parallel to the Elijah/Elisha narrative. In keeping with the criteria sub-category (in plausibility) of recurrence the likelihood of the use of the Naaman story in Luke 7:1-10 would be increased if there were other instances where the Naaman story is also used in Luke-Acts. Specifically, the argument in favor of the use of the Naaman story in Luke 7:1-10 (ch. 7) is strengthened by two other stories in Luke-Acts: the encounter with Cornelius the centurion (Acts 10:1-11:18) and the encounters with Simon the magician and the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:9-40). These stories are crucial moments in the expansion of the gospel to the Gentiles. Additionally, these two stories can also be shown to have conspicuous relationships to the story of Naaman. Since Acts 10:1-11:18 is more similar to Luke 7:1-10 than Acts 8:9-40, it will be discussed first.

The analysis given here of Acts 10:1-11:18 is much more limited than that given for Luke 7:1-10. Luke 7:1-10 consists, obviously, of just ten verses. The full Cornelius story has sixty-six. To account for so many verses in any type of complete way would require a substantial study of its own.

The purpose here is modest: not to give a complete account of the Cornelius episode but simply to indicate that, among the factors underlying the Cornelius passage, one was the Naaman story. The limitedness of this analysis means that while the complete Greek texts will be shown, there are other sources/factors which have contributed to the text but are not accounted for in this chapter. However, some of the more important links between the passages in question will be highlighted.

Yet, as will be seen, even here, the role of the Naaman story is programmatic and large. It builds on the programmatic reference to Naaman in the Nazareth speech and on the Naaman-like centurion's servant story.

Introduction to the Story of the Greed of Gehazi (2 Kings 5:20-27)

The healing of Naaman was already introduced in the previous chapter; therefore, it will not be necessary to repeat that information here. However, it is important to introduce the story of Gehazi and to discuss the relationship between it and the story of Naaman. Although previously introduced in 2 Kgs 4, the character of Gehazi is not mentioned in 2 Kgs 5:1-19. Naaman and his status are the main concerns of vv. 1-19 and Gehazi and his status are the main concerns of vv. 20-27.

Whether Acts 11:1-18 is in the same pericope as the preceding chapter of Acts can be debated. The same goes for 2 Kgs 5:20-27 in relation to 2 Kgs 5:1-19.

However, what is not debated is the connection of the two sets of reports.

Furthermore, the two stories balance one another, often in contrasting ways. On the one hand, Naaman is a Gentile who looks down on Israel, but after being cleansed of his leprosy, declares fealty to the God of Israel and offers wealth to the prophet. On the other hand, Gehazi looks down on Naaman for being a Gentile, and after taking wealth from Naaman he becomes leprous—literally taking the leprosy of Naaman.

Another connection is that of Gehazi being directly contrasted with Elisha.

Table 16: Elisha and Gehazi Contrasted

Elisha swears not to take	Gehazi swears to take
^{5:16} καὶ εἶπεν Ελισαιε ζῆ κύριος ᾧ παρέστην ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ εἰ λήμψομαι	^{5:20} καὶ εἶπεν Γιεζι...ζῆ κύριος ὅτι εἰ μὴ δραμοῦμαι ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ καὶ λήμψομαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τι

Other than the obvious verbatim opening and similar vocabulary, one should note the Hebraic use of εἰ (v. 16) with the missing apodosis; this is functioning as a strong negative. Verse 20 has εἰ μὴ functioning as a strong positive.³⁴¹ Furthermore, both vv. 16 and 20 employ the hypothetical future middle: λήμψομαι.

Gehazi, the servant of Elisha, is also contrasted with the servants of Naaman. Naaman's servants (παῖδες) direct Naaman to follow the instructions of Elisha (v. 13). Conversely, Gehazi (Elisha's παιδάριον) does not allow Naaman (the new servant of Elisha; v. 15) to follow the instruction of Elisha (v. 20).

Having felt that Elisha should have taken advantage of the Gentile and driven by greed, Gehazi pursues Naaman with the goal of obtaining some of his wealth. Naaman, upon seeing Gehazi, leaves his chariot and goes to him. Gehazi lies that two sons of the prophets have come and that Elisha would like silver and clothing for them. Gehazi returns and hides the newly acquired wealth. Coming before Elisha, he is asked where he has been. Gehazi, again, lies and says that he has not been anywhere. Knowing his lie, Elisha amazingly recounts Gehazi's deceit; he states that his heart was with Gehazi as he cites the details of Naaman's exit from the chariot, the silver and raiment taken, and switching to the future, tells how he will take many other things. Continuing in the future, Elisha declares that the leprosy of Naaman will now cling to him. Finally, Gehazi leaves—leprous. The reversal of fates highlights the repercussions of Gehazi's greed: rejection and rebuke.

Introduction to the Encounter with Cornelius the Centurion (Acts 10:1-11:18)

Table 7 shows the close proximity and relation of Naaman and the centurion stories with the corresponding resurrection stories. Interestingly, the story of the

³⁴¹ Frederick C. Conybeare, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2001), 91.

encounter with Cornelius the centurion directly follows the healing of Aeneas and the raising of Tabitha (Acts 9:32-39). It then precedes the passage concerning the church in Antioch (Acts 11:19-30). The plot of Acts is summarized in Acts 1:8: “You will be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, in Judea and Samaria, and as far as the end of the Earth.” The story of Cornelius is a part of this geographical progression as it marks the official acceptance of the Gentiles into the young Christian movement—especially the quotation of “you shall be baptized by the Holy Spirit” (Acts 1:5) in 11:16.

The actions of the early Church (i.e., miracles and testimony), of Peter, and the disciples are interrupted by the conversion of Saul. Yet, this interruption is not out of place. Saul will become the integral component of the mission to the Gentiles and the plot of Acts. By introducing Saul, Acts begins to geographically switch gears. However, a transition is needed before the focus is completely switched to the Gentiles. In other words, the Jews had a virtual monopoly on the faith, and now the Gentiles needed to be authorized and/or initiated (both in a literary broader canonical context and smaller intra-book context). A precedent had to be established for the Gentile mission.

The actual personal conversion of Cornelius is secondary to the change in status of the Gentiles as a whole. In v. 34, Peter declares that God does not show partiality among the nations. Peter’s declaration is quite similar to 2 Kgs 5:15 and Luke 7:9—where a pivotal declaration is also made. It is this declaration by Peter that drives the rest of the story, and it contextually moves the plot of Acts toward “the ends of the Earth.”

The story begins as Peter arrived to stay with Simon the Tanner in Joppa. Acts then introduces Cornelius, a centurion and commander of the Italian Cohort. Acts favorably describes Cornelius as a devout God fearer (and thus a Gentile), a giver of

alms, and one who prays continually. Because of his righteous behavior, an angel appears to him and tells him to send for Peter. After the angel leaves, Cornelius obeys the instructions and sends servants to fetch Peter. While the servants are on their way in search of Peter, Peter goes up to the roof to pray. Cornelius' and Peter's "complementary" visions are an example "of the literary device of the double vision or double dream."³⁴² After having become hungry, and while apparently waiting for a meal, he falls into a trance. Peter sees the sky opened and a sheet lowered down containing all sorts of ritually clean and unclean animals. A voice tells Peter to kill and eat the animals. Peter, who is staying at a tanner's house, ironically objects claiming to have never eaten any unclean thing. Yet, the voice persists and informs Peter that God has now called these things clean. This happens three times. While Peter is pondering these signs, the men sent by Cornelius arrive and wait at the gate. The Spirit informs Peter that three men are looking for him downstairs and that he should not have any hesitation to go with them. Peter goes to them and asks what they want with him. They tell how Cornelius was instructed by God to send for him so that he may come and deliver a message. The next day Peter and the three men sent by Cornelius set off for Caesarea. Upon arriving outside the house, Cornelius falls down before Peter in worship. Peter quickly corrects him saying that he is merely a man. A group had gathered inside the house, and Peter declares that God has now made it ceremonially acceptable to visit and associate with Gentiles. Peter again asks why he has been sent for, and Cornelius recounts the events of the angel of God and the instructions to send for him so that they may hear the things commanded to him.

Peter declares that he now understands that God does not show partiality, and that all that is needed to be welcomed is to fear God and to do what is right. Having

³⁴² Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles* (AB 31; New York: Doubleday, 1998), 453.

stated this new found inclusiveness, Acts inserts a formulaic kerygma on the lips of Peter (Acts 10:36-43). Before he is finished, the Holy Spirit falls on the Gentiles in the room—to the amazement of the circumcised believers who came with Peter. Peter responds by asking rhetorically, since the Gentiles have received the Holy Spirit just as the Jews have, if the Gentiles should then be refused the water for baptism. Peter then orders them to be baptized and then stays with them for a few days. Peter then returns to Jerusalem and is initially met with opposition to his association with the Gentiles. However, after he recounts the events of ch. 10 in detail, the disciples of Jerusalem accept the Gentiles and glorify God.

Scholarly Discussion of the Stories

There has not been much scholarship done comparing 2 Kgs 5 and Acts 10:1-11:18. As previously mentioned, Larrimore Crockett may be the only one who has explicitly noted that the Cornelius story directly relies on the Naaman account.³⁴³ Nearly every commentary will make note of the connection of the story of Cornelius with the story of the centurion's servant in Luke 7:1-10, yet they do not mention a connection of the story of Naaman to the story of Cornelius.

The next closest type of analysis is Brodie's comparison of the story of Cornelius with 2 Kgs 6:24-7:20.³⁴⁴ 2 Kings 6:24-7:20 is about the siege of Samaria by Ben-Hedad. Particularly interesting were the possible connections of similarity of setting (on the wall and on the roof), theme (taboo eating), travel, and the scattering in 2 Kgs 7:6-7 versus the gathering in Acts 10:24-27. However, even if a connection

³⁴³ Crockett, "Luke 4:25-27," 182.

³⁴⁴ Brodie, *Birthing*, 436-42.

between these two stories can be made, the Samaritan siege story would provide only “one component.”³⁴⁵

As one will see through the rest of the chapter, the comparison of the story of Cornelius with the story of Naaman will prove to be fruitful. As in Luke 7:1-10, the use of 2 Kgs 5 is combined with a text that forms a smaller component—in this case, the account of the siege of Samaria. The significant themes of conversion, baptism, acceptability, and declaration are largely missing from the comparison with 2 Kgs 6:24-7:20. However, this does not mean that the parallels of 2 Kgs 5 and 2 Kgs 6:24-7:20 with Acts 10:1-11:18 are mutually exclusive. The close vicinity of the two 2 Kgs passages makes it all the more likely that both such passages might be considered in the formation of the Cornelius passage.³⁴⁶ Likewise, the similarities of each are complementary and help to account for the data.

Initial Comparison of the Stories

2 Kings 5 and Acts 10:1-11:18 are both similar stories of conversion of a Gentile military commander. Both converts are well spoken of and influential. Both stories are based on extensive travel descriptions where servants are sent to deliver messages and fetch people. Both Cornelius and Naaman are corrected for their behavior. Both the King of Syria and Peter are confused about the message they originally receive. There is a major shift from what was unclean to what is now made clean—and both through “baptism.” Peter and Naaman both make similar declarations about God. The stories contain similar literary devices like foreshadowing, statements of solemnity, role reversal, and dénouement. The primary point of the story of Naaman is not that Naaman is healed but that a Gentile is

³⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 442.

³⁴⁶ Brodie, *Proto-Luke*, 54-55.

converted. Likewise, the primary point of the story of Cornelius is not that Cornelius is converted so much as it is about Gentiles being converted. Both stories, especially Acts 10:1-11:18, are a paradigm shift for Jewish belief.

Detailed Analysis of the Stories

This section will analyze the relationship of 2 Kgs 5 to Acts 10:1-11:18 in detail, section by section, as outlined by Table 19. This analysis will look at the specific similarities found within the texts and discuss these passages in their respective contexts. The numbers of each section of the analysis will correspond with the numbered divisions in Table 19. The table below, although attempting to highlight some similarities, is not supposed to be as visually convincing as some of the previous tables.

Table 17: Naaman (2 Kings 5:1-27) and Cornelius (Acts 10:1-11:18)

Naaman	Cornelius
Introduction of Main Characters	
1. Naaman introduced; a Gentile military commander; leader of the army of Syria; a great man, flattered by his master, savior of Syria, and powerful (1)	1. Cornelius introduced; a Gentile military commander (a centurion); leader of the Italian Cohort; devout, fearer of God, giver of many alms, and continually in prayer (1-2)
Learning about and Sending for the Man of God from Israel	
2. Naaman is told to go before the prophet of God in Samaria by the young girl from Israel in order for his leprosy to be healed (2-5)	2. Cornelius is told to fetch Peter from Joppa (and through v. 22 one knows that it is for the purpose of having Peter deliver a message) (3-8)
Seeking for the Man of God and Foreshadowing of the Declaration	
3. The King of Syria does not understand; Sends Naaman to the King of Israel; Upon hearing about this mistake, Elisha sends to the King that Naaman should come so that he may know that there is a prophet in Israel which foreshadows the baptism in v. 14 and the declaration in v. 15 (6-8)	3. Peter does not understand the vision which foreshadows the declaration made by Peter in vv. 34-35 and the baptism in vv. 44-48; Servants sent by Cornelius so that Peter should come to Cornelius so that he may deliver a message (9-23)
Travel to and Correction in Front of the House	
4. Naaman comes just outside of Elisha's house; after initially rejecting the prescription, Naaman is corrected by his servants (9-13)	4. Peter comes just outside Cornelius' house; after falling before Peter and worshipping, Cornelius is corrected by Peter; None are unclean (24-33)
Declaration, Fearing God, and Doing Right	
	6. Peter makes declaration concerning God and is concerned about doing what is right (34-36)
Baptism/Conversion	
5. Made clean through being "baptized" (14)	5. Made on the same level as Jewish believers—thus able to be baptized (44-48)
Declaration, Fearing God, and Doing Right	
6. Naaman makes declaration concerning God and is concerned about doing what is right (15-19)	
Opposite Reactions to the Converted Gentiles	
7. When Naaman begins to return home, Gehazi believes that his master has taken it easy on the Gentile and tries to take advantage of the situation (20-27)	7. When Peter returns home, circumcised believers in Jerusalem take issue with Peter's association with Gentiles, but upon hearing Cornelius' story they rejoice (11:1-18)

1. Introduction of the Main Characters

Table 18: 2 Kings 5:1 and Acts 10:1-2

<p>^{5:1} καὶ Ναϊμαν ὁ ἄρχων τῆς δυνάμεως Συρίας ἦν ἀνὴρ μέγας ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ τεθαυμασμένος προσώπῳ ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν κύριος σωτηρίαν Συρίᾳ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἦν δυνατὸς ἰσχύι λελεπρωμένος</p>	<p>^{10:1} Ἀνὴρ δέ τις ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ὀνόματι Κορνήλιος, ἑκατοντάρχης ἐκ σπείρης τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς, ² εὐσεβῆς καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεὸν σὺν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, ποιῶν ἐλεημοσύνας πολλὰς τῷ λαῷ καὶ δεόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ παντός</p>
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Both the stories of Naaman and Cornelius are based on travel. Naaman goes from Syria to Samaria and back. Peter travels to Joppa, Cornelius sends messengers to Peter, Peter travels to Caesarea, and then returns to Jerusalem.³⁴⁷ Each story's main focus is on that of change happening to the traveler—neither traveler returns to his homeland with the same beliefs. God changes the status of Gentiles and thus Peter has to change his beliefs. Cornelius does indeed have a conversion, but the emphasis is mainly on Peter.

Another part of the introduction of the two men that is very similar is their position. Naaman is called the ὁ ἄρχων τῆς δυνάμεως and ἄρχων is built into ἑκατοντάρχου. Gentile military commanders in favorable contact with Jews are found only in 2 Kgs, Matt 8:27, and Luke-Acts. A type-story does not exist to account for this kind of story. They are both described as ἀνὴρ of good standing. Ἀνὴρ is common—216 times in the NT. However, when generic uses, “husband” uses, and plural uses are removed only 46 uses remain in description of an actual person. Of these 46 uses, only four are not in Luke-Acts (Matt 7:24; 7:26; Mark 6:20; and John 1:30).

Not only are they both Gentile military commanders, but they are both in charge of specific military units. Naaman is the commander of the δυνάμεως of Syria, and Cornelius is the leader of the Italian cohort.

³⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that the Luke 7 encounter also took place in Caesarea.

2 Kings 5:1 describes Naaman as a powerful and admired man until it is mentioned that he was a leper. As a leper, Naaman is seen as one who is ceremonially unclean. Likewise, Cornelius is a Gentile, and according to Peter in Acts 10:28, it is not lawful to associate or visit with Gentiles—hence it is unclean behavior. As a God-fearer in *Luke-Acts*,³⁴⁸ Cornelius is not able to fully join the faith to which he is devoted (his devotion is apparent both in the introduction and in his vision), but is viewed as one who makes unclean those who were clean (Acts 10:28). Even if “God-fearer” can be taken positively in Acts, there is still a problem—otherwise there would not be hesitation on the part of the Peter in ch. 10 and on the part of the Jews in ch. 11. Although there is certainly a difference between the uncleanness of leprosy and the social unacceptability of Cornelius’ station, they are both considered in need of καθαρίζω (2 Kgs 5:10-14 and Acts 10:15 and 11:9). Whatever the problem was with Cornelius’ status, it is remedied in Acts 10:34-35 as all nations are now included.

Nevertheless, both Naaman and Cornelius are portrayed very positively. Cornelius is godly, gives alms, and is continually in prayer. Naaman, as well as being powerful and admired, is called a great man and is reported to be the savior of Syria. Although some of the details of the two characters are different, the favorable way in which they are portrayed is very similar. What is more, their credentials are listed off in a similar manner: name, military commander, unit commanded, favorable details, and accomplishments.

Unlike Naaman, who is both a Gentile and a leper, Cornelius’ only “blemish” is the implicit status of being a Gentile. By not having any other ritually unclean

³⁴⁸ There is some disagreement about the historical term and status of “God-fearer” and the over-all status of proselytism in the 1st century. A concise discussion of God-fearers and the properness of its use in *Luke-Acts* can be found in Thomas M. Finn, “The God-fearers Reconsidered.” *CBQ* 47, no. 1 (April 1, 1985): 75-84. Whatever the “size” of the gap, there was still a social hurdle that was explicitly hurdled by *Luke-Acts* in the story of the conversion of Cornelius.

status regarding Cornelius the issue is made dramatically clear—the objection about Cornelius’ inclusion in the faith hinges on his being a Gentile.

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 1

This section introduced two characters who are alike in many ways. Both Cornelius and Naaman are described using *similar language*: ὁ ἄρχων and ἑκατοντάρχης. Their descriptions both contain *similar motifs*: both are Gentiles, commanders of specified units, and esteemed. The micro *structure* is also similar: both introductions follow the pattern of name, military position, and description. Furthermore, Gentile military commanders who have faith in the God of Israel are exclusively found in Matt 8:27, Luke 7:1-10, and 2 Kgs 5. Based upon this introduction, it is possible to consider that Luke was imitating the introduction of Naaman. This possible connection would be very much like the connection of the introduction to the centurion in Luke 7:2 to the introduction of Naaman.

2. *Learning about and Sending for the Man of God from Israel*

Table 19: 2 Kings 5:3-5 and Acts 10:3-6

Naaman Informed of Elisha	Cornelius Informed of Peter
Sending of Naaman to the King	Sending of Messenger to Peter
Naaman Travels to Israel	Messengers Travel to Joppa

Both stories have a section on sending. The OT text recounts how a young captive Israelite girl informs Naaman’s wife about a prophet in Israel who could heal Naaman of his leprosy. Then, in abbreviated fashion, the wife tells Naaman, and then Naaman tells the King of Syria.³⁴⁹ Likewise, Cornelius is met by an angel of God and is told of Simon, called Peter, who is staying with Simon the tanner in a house by the sea, and how he should send for him. This may seem like a nominal similarity, yet there are many times where this step is simply taken for granted; i.e., many stories leave out the communication process allowing the reader to assume that it happened. Furthermore, the description of the communication process happens in the same place in both accounts.

The grand status of the angel or messenger of God is a departure from the humble slave girl from Israel. This is certainly a large change that cannot wholly find its source in 2 Kgs 5. Yet, this possible intensification by Acts lends itself to the need for an authoritative message. In order for radical inclusion of the Gentiles to be validated, the message needs to be delivered by someone close to the source—the angel of God fulfills this role. It is quite reasonable to see this change made for issues

³⁴⁹ It is interesting to note the possible game of “telephone” where the message is misunderstood through the various transmissions. It is not that surprising that the King of Syria mistakenly sends the letter to the King of Israel.

of authority for so much more is hinging on the story of Cornelius than that of Naaman.

Naaman, gathers a large amount of goods, and obeys the King of Syria by going to the King of Israel. The messengers, per the angel's instruction, are sent by Cornelius to Joppa. Both Naaman and the messengers obey their master and travel to Elisha and Peter respectively.

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 2

This information/sending section of Acts 10:3-8 continues in a *similar order* to 2 Kgs 5. Both stories contain messages which prompt the travel of the messengers to Samaria—*similarity of detail*. The messenger of Acts is an angel—a grander messenger than the simple slave girl of 2 Kgs (possibility of *intensification*).

3. *Seeking for the Man of God and Foreshadowing of the Declaration (2 Kings 5:6-8 and Acts 10:9-23)*

In 2 Kgs 5:6-8, the King of Israel receives the letter from Naaman, and Elisha hears about this encounter and sends a message to the King asking that Naaman come. In the Acts passage, the servants sent by Cornelius are searching for Peter. Meanwhile, Peter goes up to the roof to pray, gets hungry, and while waiting for the food to be prepared he falls into a trance. Fitzmyer notes that “in this vision the instruction comes to Peter in symbolic form. On the surface, he is instructed by heaven about food: none of it is common or unclean. Its further meaning, which will dawn upon Peter in due time, is heaven’s instruction about human beings: none of them is beyond the pale of salvation by Christ.”³⁵⁰

Both stories have accounts of seeking for extraordinary help, without quite understanding. Naaman first goes to the King of Israel, and has to be redirected to Elisha’s house. The messengers of Cornelius also seem to be unsure of their destination as they have to ask for directions (Acts 10:17).

The King of Syria and Naaman ask the wrong person to heal them. Similarly, Peter does not understand the vision which appears to him three times. But in both cases, there are messengers sent to help bring clarity to the situation. Elisha sends a message telling Naaman to go to him, and the Spirit tells Peter to go with the messengers from Cornelius.

Perhaps the most important similarity of this section is that of the foreshadowing that takes place in each passage. Elisha tells the King of Israel to send Naaman to him that “he may know that there is a prophet in Israel.” Similarly, the voice with the authority of God tells Peter to kill and eat and not to call unholy what

³⁵⁰ Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 453.

God has made clean. Both of these statements anticipate the declarations of Naaman and Peter (2 Kgs 5:15 and Acts 10:34-35). Naaman confirms Elisha as a prophet by declaring the exclusivity of the God of Israel. Similarly, Peter declares that God has cleansed the Gentiles as he does not show “partiality.”

This section is much larger in Acts than it is in 2 Kgs. Acts would have to expand this section by adding the three-fold vision of the formerly unclean animals. This repetition and volume demonstrates an unquestionable and formal declaration from God. It also demonstrates the momentous nature of this episode. The full detail of the encounter had to be spelled out initially so that Peter can authoritatively recount the event to the circumcised believers in ch. 11. Talbert notes that the Cornelius story “is the crucial one for Luke. The fact of its repetition makes this obvious. First the events are narrated (10:1-49); then they are recounted (11:1-18); later they are recalled (15:7-11, 14). Like the threefold repetition of Saul’s conversion (Acts 9; 22; 26), this reiteration is for emphasis.”³⁵¹

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 3

The phenomenon of confusion gives each story a platform to guide the story geographically and literarily. Geographically, the confusion is the reason for the seeking and extended travel. Literarily, the confusion allows for Elisha and God to respectively lead Naaman and Peter to points of epiphany. It is possible for Acts to view this literary phenomenon as helpful for the inclusion of the Gentiles by Peter. Essentially, this confusion would then set the stage for the foreshadowing of the declaration—a *shared literary technique*. Thus, if Acts is indeed imitating 2 Kgs,

³⁵¹ Charles Talbert, *Reading Acts: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2005), 92.

then, the seeking of Peter by Cornelius (Acts 10:9-23) could be seen to expand upon the parallel travel of Naaman found in 2 Kgs 5:6-8. This possible *expansion* allows for the *intensified* scenario—the radical inclusion of what was formerly unclean.

4. Travel to and Correction in Front of the House (2 Kings 5:9-13 and Acts 10:24-33)

The settings for this section take place around the entrance to the home of Elisha and Cornelius. Naaman rides with horse and chariot up to Elisha's door and is met by a messenger. Peter arrives with friends and is met by Cornelius and his friends. It should be noted that it is Peter summoned by and travelling to Cornelius and Naaman is summoned by and travelling to Elisha. Although many parallels can be found between Cornelius and Naaman, this does not mean that every detail about Naaman has to correspond with Cornelius only. The discussion in Chapter 2 demonstrated, both in Greco-Roman imitation and in Rewritten Bible, that characteristics can be split among several characters. For example, Peter also more closely resembles Naaman as they are both the characters who have a change of heart.

The text is unclear about when Peter actually enters the house—if at all. The text has εἰσῆλθεν three times. The first time is when Peter enters Caesarea. The next two times could be a redundant entering of the house, a twice redundant entering of the city, or the second time could have been also an entering of the city with the final time entering the house. No matter the solution, there is a similar placement and importance placed on things happening just before the house—like the 2 Kgs story.

At first glance, two different sets of people meeting outside one's home is not of huge significance. But outside the respective houses both Naaman and Cornelius are corrected—Naaman by his servants and Cornelius by Peter. Naaman turns away in anger complaining that he expected Elisha to come out to him and run his hands over

his sores. When Elisha sends a messenger to tell him to dip seven times in the Jordan instead, Naaman does not understand why he could not go to the superior rivers in Syria. His servants explain that if Elisha had asked him to do something amazing he would have done it, but since it was something simple, although he rejects it should go ahead and do it. When Peter arrives, Cornelius falls before Peter and worships him. Peter corrects him by telling him to arise for he is a man as well. Although Cornelius' worship is misplaced, Cornelius, at this stage, is portrayed as a much more positive character.

The idea of correction is also seen with regard to Peter's response to the vision. Upon being commanded to "Kill and eat," Peter, ironically staying in a tanner's house, replies with the emphatic, yet proper, μηδαμῶς, κύριε. Peter is corrected as the voice replies, ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν, σὺ μὴ κοίνου. Both Naaman and Peter are people standing in the way of the change that is to be brought about. It takes the intervention on behalf of the voice of God and the servants of Naaman to keep the movement on the right track.

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 4

2 Kings 5:9-13 and Acts 10:24-33 have the exact same setting: outside the house of the one who sent for the travelling party (*similar motif*). Furthermore, at this same setting, there is a *similar theme*—both Naaman and Cornelius are corrected. Yet, Acts portrays Cornelius in a much more positive light than Naaman. Thus, it is possible that Acts is deflecting the antagonistic part of Naaman's role away from Cornelius and onto Peter as he is staying with a tanner (a stay which would be ceremonially repugnant) and originally opposes God's command. This possible changing of roles would be an example of the *technique of dispersal*.

5. *Baptism/Conversion*

Naaman is “baptized” in 2 Kgs 5:14 and all who were listening to Peter’s message (including Gentiles) in Act 10:44-48 were baptized. There are only four times where βαπτίζω is used in the LXX. Two of the times refer to non-ritual washing or being enveloped with horror (Judith 12:7 and Isa 21:4). The use in Sir 34:25 is used in a generic sense. The only use of βαπτίζω in the LXX which might find a counterpart here in Acts 10 is 2 Kgs 5:14. It would be anachronism to assume that the “baptism” in the Naaman story is historically a true example of 1st century baptism. However, it is fair to ask, what better rhetorical OT passage exists to affirm the socio-religious shift taking place? Acts could have easily interpreted βαπτίζω in 2 Kgs 5:14 to at least be precedential.

In 2 Kgs, Naaman is baptized according to τὸ ῥῆμα of Elisha (v. 14). In Acts, it is while Peter is speaking τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα that the Holy Spirit falls, and, as a result, Peter orders that they be baptized.

Naaman has to be baptized seven times in the Jordan in order to be cleansed from his leprosy (2 Kgs 5:14). This repetitive action demonstrates a complete fulfillment. It was noted earlier that the vision of Peter happens three times—in which, what is unclean is made clean. Three-fold and seven-fold repetitions are often used to show perfection or completeness. The movement of the state of Naaman’s uncleanness to the state of cleanness is made complete by the thorough and perfect cleansing. Likewise, the movement of things being made clean to eat which were previously unclean is completely done three times.³⁵² Although leprosy can be shown to belong to a different category of “cleanness” than Levitical dietary laws or the

³⁵² The three-fold command not to consider unholy what God has made clean is originally told in Acts 10:15-16, is mentioned once in 10:28, and the three-fold command is mentioned again in 11:9-10—a total of seven times.

inclusion of the Gentiles, there is still a social stigma and separateness that comes with leprosy.

“Baptized” is repeated in Acts 10:47 and 48 (and later in 11:16). The repetition legitimizes and highlights the momentous nature of the event. This repetition reinforces the greater theme of the movement from unclean to clean. Naaman is not only a Gentile but also a leprous one. His dipping in the Jordan seven times cleans him of his leprosy. Yet, for Naaman, the main issue is not his leprosy—as his healing falls into the background. Instead, the conversion of Naaman takes center stage. His healing enables him to be clean, but it is his conversion which makes him the prototype converted Gentile. Peter’s thrice vision about the making of clean of formerly unclean animals is at the least symbolic for what is happening regarding the Gentiles. Yet, like the Naaman story, Acts 10 has the main point not on what was originally introduced (i.e., Naaman and leprosy; and Peter and dietary laws), but rather a more internal and deeper change. Gentiles have now received the Holy Spirit—just as the Jews did. Their baptism is the confirmation of this equalizing action.

The baptism section is located in a different order in Acts. In the story of Naaman, the baptism is the means by which Naaman is made clean from his leprosy, and it is the catalyst for his “conversion.” In the story of Cornelius, the pouring out of the Holy Spirit is the sign that the Gentiles are now clean. The subsequent physical baptism is the earthly recognition of the divine change in status.

The section in Acts is larger than the 2 Kgs counterpart. Acts 10:44-48 describes in detail the events in order to help establish the divine validity and momentous nature of the event. The “baptism” of Naaman is smaller as it is secondary to the declaration of 2 Kgs 5:15.

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 5

Both stories share the term βαπτίζω—a term that has limited use in the OT.³⁵³ Even if one wanted to argue that the baptism was merely the physical manifestation of Naaman’s obedience and not the means through which cleansing came, this is strikingly akin to the physical sign of baptism for the Gentiles *after* they are filled with the Spirit and proclaimed clean in Peter’s vision.

Acts has the baptism in a different order than 2 Kgs 5. Thus, if Acts is using 2 Kgs 5, this movement would be necessary to maintain the divine initiative and *intensification* of this dramatic event: in other words, God had to first set the precedent. Furthermore, it is possible that Acts also employs *expansion*: the simple declarative that Naaman baptized in the Jordan per Elisha’s instructions is incorporated into a multi-event baptism where the Holy Spirit is poured out on the Gentiles, they begin to speak in tongues, Peter recognizes the new found equality of the Gentiles, and therefore the Gentiles are physically baptized. It should be remembered that, by definition, expansion will have detail that is not found in the source text. This means that what is unaccounted for should not necessarily function as negative criteria.

6. Declaration, Fearing God, and Doing Right

Having been cleansed according to the word of Elisha, Naaman returns to Elisha and makes a declaration before his “army” (2 Kgs 5:15). Having seen his vision and

³⁵³ This does not mean that all cases of baptism in the NT are referring back to the Naaman story. However, it does mean that if you rhetorically want to appeal to something in the OT about baptism, there is nothing better.

having heard the story of Cornelius, Peter makes a declaration (Acts 10:34-35) before the many people already gathered (v. 27).

These two declarations are very similar. They describe the audience who will be witnesses to the climatic declaration. The camp or army in 2 Kgs 5:15 is akin to Cornelius' gathering mentioned in Acts 10:27 and 33. The declaration begins by marking the importance of what follows. Both include the first person indicative and two typical markers of a prominent declaration: ἰδοὺ δὴ and ἐπ' ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνομαι. Naaman declares that there is no God outside Israel. Similarly, Peter declares that God shows no partiality to any nation. Naaman, an unclean Gentile, as foreshadowed by Elisha in v. 8b and made clean through "baptism," comes to faith in the God of Israel. Cornelius, an unclean Gentile, is announced to be clean in v. 15, is enabled to come to faith in the God of all nations, to be filled with the Holy Spirit, and to be baptized.

Having made this pronouncement, Naaman becomes concerned with doing right (2 Kgs 5:16-18). Naaman's declaration makes clear his fealty, and hence fear, to the God of Israel—disavowing all others. Naaman initially follows up his declaration by trying to give a gift to Elisha (v. 16). When that is refused, he requests soil from Israel so that he may worship the God of Israel on the soil of Israel (v. 17)—a stark contrast to the disdain he had earlier for things of Israel (v. 12). Similarly, Acts has a request after the declaration: the people request Peter to remain another day (Acts 10:48). Next, Naaman asks for leniency when he is required to bow down in the house of Rimmon. Naaman is "welcomed" by Elisha's "Go in peace." Cornelius, as portrayed in the introduction (vv. 1-2), is certainly a God-fearer who does many things correctly, and is one who now receives the "gospel of peace" (v. 36).

The extended part of Naaman's speech, regarding worship in the House of Rimmon, (vv. 17-18) can be compared to the second part of Peter's declaration (vv. 37-43): "but in every nation the man who fears Him and does what is right, is welcome to Him." Peter's speech, although possibly finding its source from formulaic kerygma, speaks of how to have forgiveness for all through faith in the name of Jesus. This preaching is the setting for the falling of the Holy Spirit upon the Gentiles and is the precedent for their baptism and conversion to followers of Jesus. The contents of this preaching are the catalyst for these events. The OT account has reason to follow the God of Israel—through Elisha, God healed Naaman. The NT account does not have as clear a motivation. The problem is implied; namely: the Holy Spirit had not been poured out on the Gentiles and they have not been baptized. Acts must provide a reason and occasion for Peter's trip to Caesarea. The "inserted" kerygma fulfills this need.

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 6

Both stories, in this section, share pivotal declarations that are similar in *order* and similar in *content*. The similarity of *motif* is seen by the concern for doing right and acceptance in "peace." If Acts is indeed relying upon 2 Kgs then it is possible that 2 Kgs was *fused* with the formulaic kerygma.

7. Opposite Reactions to the Converted Gentiles (2 Kings 5:20-27 and Acts 11:1-18)

The stories of Gehazi and the Jerusalem believers hinge on the preceding stories. The striking similarity in this section is that both sets have an initial negative reaction to the treatment of the Gentile converts. Gehazi feels that his master has taken it easy on Naaman because he refused offered gifts. Seizing the opportunity, Gehazi runs after the departed Naaman, lies, and tricks Naaman into giving him great wealth. When Gehazi returns, Elisha reveals Gehazi's deceit and places the leprosy of Naaman upon Gehazi. Likewise, the Jerusalem believers take issue with Peter's association with the Gentiles. However, unlike Gehazi, they rejoice when hearing the full story about Cornelius and the inclusion by the Holy Spirit. Gehazi becomes unclean because of his reaction. The Jerusalem believers participate with the now clean Gentiles as they glorify God in response.

2 Kings 5 contains the motif of greed and its repercussions. Acts 11:1-18 contains a similar concept but one that is more internalized—i.e., instead of a more concrete issue like Gehazi's greedy conspiracy, Acts 11:1-18 emphasizes the acceptability of Gentiles into the faith. Specifically, in 2 Kgs 5:20, Gehazi feels that his master, Elisha, should have taken the money offered by Naaman; in Acts 11:1-4, those who were circumcised feel that Peter should not have associated with the Gentile Cornelius.³⁵⁴

In 2 Kgs 5:20, Gehazi briefly summarizes the initial encounter with Naaman. In Acts (11:5-17), Peter recounts the events of ch. 10 in great detail. This expanded narration by Peter emphasizes the momentous nature of the historical shift to include the Gentiles.

³⁵⁴ This is an ironic change of events from the Jewish elders of Luke 7:3-5 who feel that the centurion is worthy for Jesus to come to the centurion's home.

The three-fold repetitious recounting of the events of ch. 10 by Peter to the circumcised believers in Jerusalem in ch. 11 could also be connected with the three-fold request of Naaman regarding the House of Rimmon (2 Kgs 5:18).

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 7

To account for the above similarities, it could be stated that Acts imitates the similar initial response of Gehazi's to Elisha's easy treatment of Naaman. However, Acts might also *positivize* Gehazi's negative role and has the circumcised believers rejoice after Peter's explanation. The recap of events by Gehazi would then be *expanded* by Acts as Peter recounts ch. 10 in great detail.

Summary of Employed Techniques

This section will discuss the possible techniques in light of the previously discussed criteria. As was done with the chapter on Luke 7:1-10, this section will employ the chapter on the criteria for establishing literary dependence.

Like in Luke 7:1-10, the criteria concerning plausibility are fulfilled in the same manner as in Acts 10:1-11:18; i.e., the plausibility that Acts had direct access to 2 Kgs 5 is well established for many of the same reasons as Luke in addition to any claims to unity with Luke.

It was established in the aforementioned chapter on criteria that it would likely take more than one shared type of component to satisfy the criteria of significant similarities. These components included: genre, theme, style, plot, motifs, structure, order, and wording. In this case, both stories belong to the broader genre of prose/narrative; they also belong to an even smaller sub-genre of miracle stories. Both stories contain similar themes of cleanness with regard to Jewish law and the faith of Gentiles. The motifs of messengers, authority, and esteem are in both stories. Acts

incorporates the different elements of the whole structure of the pericope from 2 Kgs 5, and maintains the order of the structure with little exception. Because of the overlap in many of these categories, similarity in wording is seemingly inevitable: ἄρχων, ἑκατοντάρχης, and ἀνὴρ (2 Kgs 5 and Acts 10:1); ἀπέστειλεν (2 Kgs 5:8 and Acts 10:8, 20, 36); ἐβαπτίσατο, βαπτισθῆναι, τὸ ῥῆμα, and τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα (2 Kgs 5:14 and Acts 10:44-48); καθαρίζω (2 Kgs 5:10-14 and Acts 10:15); and εἰρήνην (2 Kgs 5:19 and Acts 10:36). In addition to these similarities of wording, there is an abundance of similarity which satisfies the categories of theme, style, motifs, structure, and order. Additionally, the validity of many of these similarities is strengthened due to the rareness of the similarities. Nowhere else in all of literature available to Acts is there such a similar story (except for Luke 7:1-10).

The major differences between 2 Kgs 5 and Acts 10:1-11:18 have been classified and interpreted. A clear line can be drawn between the differences. Most of the important differences have been accounted for through known techniques in Greco-Roman imitation or imitation in biblical traditions, the greater context of Acts, and Luke-Acts' redaction trends. Appealing to the practice of multiple uses of sources (conflation), one can observe that some of what is not accounted for by 2 Kgs 5 can be found specifically in 2 Kgs 6:24:-7:20 and in possible formulaic kerygma.

The above analysis of the two texts enables statements to be made regarding Acts' process of including 2 Kgs 5 as a component of Acts 10:1-11:18. Acts frequently expands and repeats information. Specific expansions include: (1) the singular message of Elisha to the King of Israel and instead a three-fold vision-message on the roof to Peter (2 Kgs 5:6-8 and Acts 10:9-23)—much like the seven fold washing of Naaman; (2) the multi-event baptism of the Gentiles instead of the simpler “baptism” of Naaman (Acts 10:24-33 and 2 Kgs 5:9-13); and (3) the thorough

recounting of the events by Peter in Acts 11:1-18 instead of Gehazi's simple summation (2 Kgs 5:20).

This expansion can be accounted for when it is viewed within its proper literary and religious context. The allowing and validating of Gentiles to be on equal footing with Jews in the new Christian movement was a momentous and radical event. Acts needed to give the full authoritative detail in order to bring the reader into full understanding and agreement.³⁵⁵ This view of the expansion of the Acts passage is confirmed by the rampant intensification found through the story of Cornelius. If one of the main sources for a work is the LXX, and this work wanted to have a story about the conversion of a Gentile, the best source would be in 2 Kgs 5. However, a slave girl from Israel, a misguided king of Syria, and even Elisha the prophet are not authoritative enough to be the source for the radical and official change needed to be brought in the Cornelius story. In order to be authoritative, the informant is now the angel and voice of God; the cleansing through baptism in the Jordan is escalated and internalized to a baptism by the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues; and the new believers do not have to return home to fake their way through rituals to other gods.

Although the major plot line originally driving Naaman, i.e., the search for a cure for his leprosy, is not found in the story of Cornelius, other plot details and structure are followed closely; e.g., the sending of messengers, confusion, baptism, and conversion. In fact, a similar structure of the story of Naaman can be found in the story of Cornelius. Most divisions have counterparts in the other text. The characters are introduced, they learn about the man of God, they search for the man of God, a declaration is made, they are baptized, and people react to their conversion. Acts follows this order in every case except regarding the baptism. Yet, even this switch

³⁵⁵ Talbert, *Reading Acts*, 92.

works with Acts' expansion and intensification. By having the physical baptism after the declaration issued by God through Peter, God, the final authority, has given his seal of approval on the Gentiles.

Beyond structure, Acts 10:1-11:18 has an abundance of similarities with 2 Kgs 5:1-19. These similarities include but are not limited to: positive Gentile military commanders, the extensive role of servants, the meeting before the home, the emphasis on the declaration, the declarations themselves, and an initial negative response to the conversion.

Acts builds on these similarities by employing positivation. Cornelius does not have the many negative characteristics of Naaman. On the one hand, Naaman (initially) is a leper and an enemy of Israel, scoffs at the prospect of being cleansed in the Jordan, and fumes when he is not personally met by Elisha. On the other hand, Cornelius is not a leper, is a friend of Israel, obeys the angel, and is baptized without objection. The believers back in Jerusalem initially object to the conversion of the Gentiles—somewhat like the objection of Gehazi. Yet, unlike Gehazi, they respond favorably upon hearing the full recounting of God's inclusion of the Gentiles. The believers participate in the glorification of God, yet Gehazi, in an ironic twist, is now made unclean.

Conclusion of the Comparison of 2 Kings 5:1-27 and Acts 10:1-11:18

Naaman, as far as the OT goes, is the exception to the rule: a Gentile who is accepted into faith in the God of Israel. Acts sees this exception, and, with the status quo being changed, applies the Naaman prototype to Cornelius. Acts portrays the entire Cornelius encounter in a manner which reflects Naaman within the "cleansing" of the Gentiles and thus propels the mission to the Gentiles. Judging by the long list of

similarities and intelligible differences found in Acts 10:1-11:18, it is the conclusion of this work that Acts 10:1-11:18 exceeds the requirements for the criteria for literary dependence. Acts uses the Naaman story to help fashion the story of Cornelius in a manner much like that of the story of the centurion's servant's use of the Naaman story.

It is necessary to make mention of Luke 7:1-10 in relation to Acts 10:1-11:18. It is clear that the two passages are related in theme and structure. Both are about centurions. Both contain a request for a man of God to come to his home, a meeting outside the home, and the emphasis on the declaration. However, the comparisons of these two do not exclude the connection of Naaman to Cornelius. Although scholarship has largely focused on the relationship between Luke 7:1-10 and Acts 10:1-11:18, the Naaman story accounts for nearly all the similarities between Luke 7:1-10 and Acts 10:1-11:18 and even goes further. Luke 7:1-10 lacks the connections of baptism, conversion, unclean becoming clean, and the response to the declaration. It seems that Acts is drawing from the LXX components much more than Luke 7:1-10.

Chapter 6 provided evidence that the centurion story (Luke 7:1-10) is based on the Naaman story (2 Kgs 5). Since it has long been established that Luke 7:1-10 and Acts 10:1-11:1-18 are kindred passages, any connection between Naaman and Cornelius would serve to help confirm the relationship between Naaman and Luke 7:1-10. Therefore, this present chapter has indeed confirmed that Acts 10:1-11:18 provides a similar example of Luke-Acts' use of the Naaman story—and thus helps to confirm the relationship of Naaman to the centurion story of Luke 7:1-10. The parallels and recognized techniques found in the relationship of 2 Kgs 5:1-20 and Luke 7:1-10 are

strengthened in the light of the same techniques, themes, and story employed in the Cornelius story.

Chapter 8: Yet another Lukan Use of the Story of the Healing of Naaman (2 Kings 5:1-27)—the Encounters with Simon and the Ethiopian Eunuch (Acts 8:9-40)

The previous chapter examined a passage from Luke-Acts which has a relationship to 2 Kgs 5 that is very much like the relationship of 2 Kgs 5 and Luke 7:1-10. This chapter will explore another section of Acts which provides yet another example of a possible reliance upon the Naaman story: Acts 8:9-40.

As with the Cornelius episode, the analysis given for this passage (Acts 8:9-40) is much more limited than that given for Luke 7:1-10. The essential purpose of this chapter is not to account fully for Acts 8:9-40 but to show that it was possibly built around Luke's programmatic use of the story of Naaman. Here too the Greek texts will be shown, and some of the links between the two texts will be highlighted.

Introduction to the Story of the Ethiopian Eunuch (Acts 8:9-40)

The introductions for both the healing of Naaman and the cursing of Gehazi have already been provided in the previous chapters. These following introductions provide a background for engaging Acts 8:9-40.

Acts 8:9-40 can be divided into two stories. The first story, found in vv. 9-25, is about Simon the magician. Acts begins this story by introducing Simon as one who has astonished the people by doing magical acts. When the people begin to believe in the gospel as preached by Philip, Simon goes along with the crowd, is baptized, and believes. When he sees Philip working signs and wonders, he is amazed—the same word which was used to describe the people's earlier amazement with his magical works. Having heard about the gospel reaching the people of Samaria, Peter and John come into the story. Simon witnesses the bestowing of the Spirit through the laying on

of hands, and he offers Peter and John money so that he may have the same power of the Spirit. Peter sharply rebukes him for trying to purchase the Holy Spirit saying, “May your silver perish along with you!” Peter continues by amazingly telling Simon of his sinful struggles stating that Simon’s heart is not right before God and has bad intentions. Peter exhorts him to repent and pray. Simon pleads that they pray so that the things which Peter pronounced will not happen. The story ends with the fate of Simon untold as the disciples traveled throughout Samaria preaching the gospel.

The second story, found in vv. 26-40 also concerns itself with Philip. Philip is commanded by the Angel of the Lord to go on the road down from Jerusalem. Philip obeys. Along the same road, Acts introduces an Ethiopian (and hence Gentile) official who is highly trusted by the Queen of Ethiopia (in charge of all her finances). This Ethiopian worships in Jerusalem and is reading the prophet Isaiah in his chariot. He is also a eunuch. Having been commanded to go up to the chariot by the Spirit, Philip obeys and engages the Ethiopian by asking if he understands what he is reading. The Ethiopian states his reliance on another for understanding and invites Philip to ride with him in his chariot. The passage the Ethiopian was reading was Isa 53:7. The Ethiopian asks who the text is referring to. Philip proclaims Jesus by using Isa 53:7. Coming upon some water near the road the Ethiopian requests to be baptized. Immediately after the Ethiopian comes up from being baptized the Spirit whisks Philip away and the Ethiopian continues on his way rejoicing. Philip then continues to preach the gospel on his way to Caesarea.

Scholarly Discussion of the Stories

There is little to no scholarship concerning the relation of 2 Kgs 5 and Acts 8:9-40.³⁵⁶ However, Brodie indicates that both passages can be put under a very distinctive heading: “The Prestigious Foreign Charioteer Who Learns to Heed the Prophet, and a Money-Minded Follower.” No other passage in the Bible fits under this heading. Brodie also mentions several specific similarities, some of them unique. Yet, 2 Kgs 5 supplies only one component of 8:9-40.³⁵⁷

This section will focus essentially on similarities *not* mentioned by Brodie, expand and/or modify certain similarities which were mentioned and discuss the method employed by Luke regarding these passages.

Initial Comparison of the Stories

The relationship between the passages is complex. Aspects of the character of Naaman parallel aspects of the presentation of both Simon and the Ethiopian, and aspects of Gehazi do likewise.

³⁵⁶ Brodie, *Birthing*, 402-17; Thomas L. Brodie, “Towards Unravelling the Rhetorical Imitation of Sources in Acts: 2 Kgs 5 as One Component of Acts 8:9-40” *Bib* (1986): 41-67.

³⁵⁷ After a brief discussion concerning the study of the sources of Acts, Brodie presents an original analysis of 2 Kgs 5 and Acts 8:9-40 (*Birthing*, 402-17). Brodie’s analysis breaks 2 Kgs 5 into 7 sections. Moving from one section to the next, Brodie demonstrates the parallels found in Acts 8:9-40. He notes parallels which are found within the bounds of the story and its counter part. For example, he points out that both the story of Naaman and the story of the Ethiopian eunuch are about foreign dignitaries. Additionally, Brodie describes parallels which go beyond these bounds. For example, Brodie draws a parallel between Simon, in Acts 8:9-11 as described as “great”, and Naaman, who is also described as “great” in 2 Kgs 5:1—even though the counterpart of Simon is Gehazi.

Table 20: The Reciprocal Order of 2 Kings 5:1-27 and Acts 8:9-40

2 Kings 5:1-19 The Healing of Naaman	Acts 8:9-25 The Cursing of Simon
2 Kings 5:20-27 The Cursing of Gehazi	Acts 8:26-40 The Conversion of the Ethiopian Eunuch

The cursing of Gehazi is very similar to the cursing of Simon, and the healing of Naaman is very similar to the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch. Yet, there are also significant similarities between the other two. In other words, Naaman is to the Ethiopian eunuch as Gehazi is to Simon, yet it is possible for Luke to take the liberty to imitate parts of the Gehazi story with the Ethiopian eunuch story and to imitate parts of the Naaman story with the story of Simon.³⁵⁸

The function of the stories of Naaman and Gehazi is talked about in the previous chapters. Essentially they function in the broader 1-2 Kgs narrative as establishing Elisha as a prophet and Israel among the nations. The stories of Simon and the Ethiopian eunuch establish Philip and especially Peter as important figures of the fledgling yet growing Christian movement. They also show the beginning of the movement from Judea to Samaria and even the ends of the Earth (as shown by Ethiopia). What is more, they demonstrate the inclusion of the previously marginalized in the new movement.

Naaman (2 Kings 5:1-19) and the Ethiopian Eunuch (Acts 8:26-40)

³⁵⁸ Brodie, *Birthing*, 402-17.

The healing of Naaman begins with an introduction to Naaman, the Syrian head of the armies of Syria and servant to the King of Syria. He is described in flattering terms, until the last description labels him “a leper.” Acts, having had Philip sent by an angel of the Lord, introduces the Ethiopian eunuch. The Ethiopian eunuch is an official for Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, and is in charge of all her treasure. One gathers from the two introductions that both are Gentiles, both men are socially marginalized by Jewish standards, both are officials before a foreign monarch, both have high responsibility, and both are ἀνὴρ (ἀνὴρ appears in both 2 Kgs 5:1 and Acts 8:27). As previously noted, Ἀνὴρ is common—216 times in the NT. However, when generic uses, “husband” uses, and plural uses are removed only 46 uses remain in description of an actual person. Of these 46 uses, only four are not in Luke-Acts (Matt 7:24; 7:26; Mark 6:20; and John 1:30).

In 2 Kgs, Naaman travels by chariot to Samaria in order to be healed, which does indeed happen, but the main point of the story is so that Naaman will “know that there this a prophet in Israel” (v. 8). In the end, Naaman declares, “Behold, now I know that there is no God in all the Earth but the one in Israel” (v. 15). Likewise, Acts has the Ethiopian eunuch traveling by chariot and, after learning about Jesus through the prophet Isaiah, declares his fealty to Jesus by requesting to be baptized.³⁵⁹ In both instances, the main character undergoes some type of βαπτίσμα (2 Kgs 5:14 and Acts 8:36-38).

Gehazi (2 Kings 5:20-27) and Simon the Magician (Acts 8:9-25)

³⁵⁹ Acts 8:37 would fit very nicely into this comparison. It contains a proclamation not unlike that of Naaman. The phrase is absent in the vast majority of foundational manuscripts, and therefore is largely considered a ritualistic gloss. Metzger does shed the light of doubt on the subject by citing the use of the phrase by several early church fathers. Bruce Metzger. *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (4th ed. Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 2002), 316.

In 2 Kgs, Gehazi is a follower of Elisha who tries to take advantage of the situation in order to gain riches. In Acts, Simon is a follower of Philip who tries to use money in order to gain power. Although Acts 8:9-25 is largely influenced by the healing of Naaman (which will be argued for later in the chapter), these verses find their closest similarities to the cursing of Gehazi. Gehazi returns from Naaman with 2 talents of silver and 2 garments, and after he hides them he is approached by Elisha. Simon, when rebuked by Peter, is told “your silver perish with you.” Gehazi lies to Elisha when he is questioned about his whereabouts. Elisha miraculously knows of Gehazi’s deception and in detailed fashion recounts how Gehazi deceived Naaman and took the silver and the garments from him. Simon does not explicitly lie to Peter and John, but his error is evident as Peter miraculously knows of the state of Simon’s heart and in detailed fashion tells of his intent and sin. Gehazi is cursed with the leprosy that Naaman was cleansed of and Simon is cursed, but in a typically Lukan way, is given a chance to repent.

Gehazi (2 Kings 5:20-27) and the Ethiopian Eunuch (Acts 8:26-40)

These two Stories are less similar than that of Gehazi and Simon or Naaman and the Ethiopian eunuch. However, there are several important similarities between the Gehazi and Ethiopian eunuch stories that one can see upon a general yet closer inspection. Brodie notes that both Naaman and the Ethiopian eunuch are charioteers.³⁶⁰ Not only that, but the chariot is the main piece of the setting for the first part of Gehazi’s story and is the main piece of the setting for nearly all of the Ethiopian eunuch’s story. But a chariot center-piece is not the only similarity. Gehazi pursues the chariot and then a conversation ensues.

³⁶⁰ Brodie, *Birthing*, 415.

In Acts, Philip pursues the chariot and then talks about the Isaiah text being read by the Ethiopian eunuch. However, the two stories have a sharp contrast in ending: Gehazi ends up being cursed while the Ethiopian eunuch is baptized.

Naaman (2 Kings 5:1-19) and Simon the Magician (Acts 8:9-25)

Naaman is described in 2 Kgs 5:1 as a great man (ἄνθρωπος μέγας) who was cherished by his master. Similarly, Simon is introduced as a great man (ἄνθρωπος...μέγαν) who amazed the people. Having heard about a prophet/healer, Naaman travels to Samaria. Having heard about the gospel coming to the Samaritans, Peter and John travel to Samaria. Naaman is miraculously cured through “baptism.” Simon is baptized (along with many others) and then witnesses many signs and wonders. Having completed his objective, Naaman returns to his homeland. Likewise, Acts adds the detail of Peter and John returning to Jerusalem.

Detailed Analysis of the Stories

This section will analyze the relationship of 2 Kgs 5 to Acts 8:9-40 in detail. This analysis will, verse by verse, look at the specific similarities found within the pericopae and discuss these passages in their respective contexts. The Roman numerals will simply help to divide the analysis with regard to which two stories are currently being compared. The cardinal numbers found under sections I and IV will correspond with the numbers’ particular sub-headings found in the stories for each section. It should be noted that the main purpose for these sections is for order within this paper and are not meant to indicate hard and fast literary structure being followed by Acts.

I. Naaman and the Ethiopian Eunuch

1. Introduction of the Main Character (2 Kings 5:1 and Acts 8:26-28)

Both the stories of Naaman and the Ethiopian eunuch are about a round trip. Naaman goes from Syria to Samaria and back. The Ethiopian eunuch goes from Ethiopia to Jerusalem and back. Even Philip goes from nearby Samaria to the South and back to Caesarea. Brodie notes that Ethiopia “represents the ends of the Earth” and that this detail fits “with the overall plan of Acts (‘...in...Judea and Samaria and to the ends of the Earth’, 1:8).”³⁶¹ The idea of Ethiopia being one of the farthest points of Earth can be seen in Isa 11:11, Esther 3:12ff, and in Homer: *Od.* 1.22-23 ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν Αἰθιοπίας μετεκίαθε τηλόθ’ ἔόντας, Αἰθιοπίας τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν. Each story’s main focus is on that of change happening to the traveler—neither traveler returns to his homeland with the same beliefs. Although Ethiopia is not Syria, they are both Gentile nations. However, Ethiopia as “the ends of the Earth” demonstrates an escalation of the stakes by Acts, (a common method of Luke-Acts)—the change happening (the spread of the gospel) is moving to the extremes.³⁶²

2 Kings 5:1 describes Naaman as a powerful and admired man until it is mentioned that he was a leper. As a leper, Naaman is seen as one who is not only ceremonially unclean but also sinful. The Ethiopian eunuch is also described as a man of great status. But the characteristic of being a eunuch puts him in the category of socially outcast. He is not only unable to join the faith to which he is willing to travel great distances in order to properly worship, but is viewed as one who represents the

³⁶¹ *Ibid*, 407.

³⁶² Beverly Roberts Gaventa describes the people of Ethiopia as a people who sparked the curiosity of the ANE and therefore the Ethiopian Eunuch is a “positive figure.” Beverly Roberts Gaventa, “Ethiopian Eunuch,” ABD 2:667. While the Ethiopians were a people of curiosity, and this particular Ethiopian has come from Jerusalem where he was worshipping, Ethiopians were not necessarily seen in a positive light. For example, Amos 9:7 expects the reader to assume that comparison with Ethiopia is a bad thing. Combined with the characteristic of being a eunuch, status-wise, it is hard to make a case for a default positive view of Ethiopians for Acts’ implied audience.

worst of society. In fact, Josephus even compares eunuchs to infanticides.³⁶³ Passages like Deut. 23:1-2 and Lev 21:20 which, at the very least, kept them from serving and full admittance into the sanctuary. Once again, Acts raises the stakes. Instead of having a Gentile-leper who can be and is cleansed, Acts has one who is a eunuch and likely a Gentile. This escalation/intensification functions in a similar fashion to the escalation of Ethiopia from Syria; not only does the gospel spread to the uttermost physical boundaries but it spreads to the uttermost social boundaries. Furthermore, eunuchs are a common character in the Elijah/Elisha narrative (1 Kgs 22:9; 2 Kgs 8:6; 9:32).

It is very striking then, that the Ethiopian eunuch is reading Isa 53:7. Three chapters later in Isa 56 there is the definitive treatise on the inclusion of the foreigner and the eunuch.

³ Let not the foreigner who has joined himself to the Lord say, "The Lord will surely separate me from His people." Neither let the eunuch say, "Behold, I am a dry tree." ⁴ For thus says the Lord, "To the eunuchs who keep My sabbaths, And choose what pleases Me, And hold fast My covenant, ⁵ To them I will give in My house and within My walls a memorial, And a name better than that of sons and daughters; I will give them an everlasting name which will not be cut off. ⁶ "Also the foreigners who join themselves to the Lord, To minister to Him, and to love the name of the Lord, To be His servants, every one who keeps from profaning the sabbath, And holds fast My covenant; ⁷ Even those I will bring to My holy mountain, And make them joyful in My house of prayer. Their burnt offerings and their sacrifices will be acceptable on My altar; For My house will be called a house of prayer for all the peoples" (NASB).³⁶⁴

If Acts, in using Isa 53, is also taking Isa 56 into consideration when writing this story, then the story of Naaman, which demonstrates this type of inclusion of social inferiors, would be an easy model to follow.

³⁶³ Joseph. *Ant* 4.290-291.

³⁶⁴ Although there is no explicit reference to Isa 56 in the Ethiopian eunuch story, the thematic similarity is clear and would have had ramifications for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The proximity of the reference to Isa 53 perhaps helped make the connection to Isa 56 for Luke-Acts. It is clear from the quote of Isa 56:7 in Luke 19:46 that Luke-Acts is familiar with both parts of Second Isaiah.

Another part of the introduction that is very similar is their position in their homeland. Naaman is the minister of the armies of Syria, and the Ethiopian eunuch is the official of all the wealth for the Queen of Ethiopia. In other words, one is the minister of defense and the other the minister of finance.

The introduction also includes the generic description of the monarchs of Syria and Ethiopia. The king of Syria's name is never given in the Naaman account. "Candace" is actually not a proper name—rather a title. "They said that it is ruled by a woman, Candace, a name that has passed on through a succession of queens for many years;" (Pliny 6.186 trans. by H. Rackham).³⁶⁵

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 1

Acts introduces a character, the Ethiopian eunuch, which is very similar in *theme* and *motif* to Naaman. They are both Gentiles, both prominent in relation to a foreign monarch, both are traveling in chariots, and both are ceremonially unclean. If Acts is imitating 2 Kings, then it *intensifies* the details of the Naaman story by having the character be very foreign and very unclean.

2. Characters Sent and Reading Explained (2 Kings 5:2-9 and Acts 8:29-35)

With the use of ἀπεστέλλω in the King of Syria's sending is the doubly strong δεῦρο εἶσελθε followed up by Naaman's ἐπορεύθη (2 Kgs 5:5). This is the first of several sets of a stated command and subsequent obedience. The second takes place as Elisha sends for Naaman after the confusion over the book. The third occurs when Naaman is told πορευθεὶς λουῖσαι ἐπάκις ἐν τῷ Ιορδάνῃ and, eventually, he obeys. The fourth set is

³⁶⁵ For more on Candace, see also Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (SP 5; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 151; Ben Witherington III, "Candace," *ABD* 1:837.

found at the very end of the passage in v.19. Elisha tells Naaman to δεῦρο εἰς εἰρήνην and Naaman ἀπήλθεν.³⁶⁶ Acts also has this theme of sending followed by obedience. In v. 25 the “angel of the Lord” instructs Philip ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύου κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν καταβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ εἰς Γάζαν, αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος. In v. 26, Philip ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύθη. The spirit of the Lord instructs Philip πρόσελθε καὶ κολλήθητι τῷ ἄρματι τούτῳ, and Philip obeys. This is a significant similarity not just because there are commands with subsequent obedience, but because it is the same type of commands (sending) which are driving the plot of each of the stories.³⁶⁷

At the end of Acts 8:26, there is a simple phrase which at first glance seems to be harmless detail. But upon closer inspection the combination of ἔρημος and ὁδός is oddly reminiscent of Luke 3:3-6.³⁶⁸ Luke 3:3-6 also contains a wilderness in which ὁδός, baptism, and “all flesh seeing salvation” all come together.

Brodie also notes that ἀναγινώσκω is used in both stories, and that it is a royal official and a king who are doing the reading.³⁶⁹ Additionally, it should be noted that there is confusion regarding the reading of texts in both stories. It takes explanations by Elisha and Philip respectively to explain what the correct course of action is. Another similarity appears when the contents of the texts being read are both described in full detail. The letter from the king of Syria is quoted in 2 Kgs. The prophet Isaiah is quoted in Acts. Despite the event of a reading often accompanying royals and royal officials, the need for an explanation and the quoting of the texts strengthens this similarity.

³⁶⁶ It may also be possible to include Elisha’s directions for the King of Israel to send Naaman to him and in v. 9 as he follows the directions.

³⁶⁷ For more on the significance of these “sendings”, see: Brodie, *Birthing*, 409-11.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 410.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 408. However, there does seem to be a regular connection of royals and reading. Brodie lists 2 Kgs 19:14; Isa 37:14; 2 Kgs22:2-23:2; 2 Chr 34:14-30; and Jer 36:21-23 as he states “there are very few other instances in the Bible which speak of a king of royal official as actually reading.” *Ibid*, 409.

2 Kings 5:9 is the first mention of Naaman’s chariot. 2 Kings 5 and Acts 8:9-40 are the only two times in the Bible that chariots are settings and charioteers are main pieces of a setting. Since the chariot and its role in the setting is most clearly seen in the story of Gehazi, the discussion of this parallel will be saved for later in this chapter. At this stage, it will suffice to say that there is no other place in the Bible that a character in a story is a foreign royal minister and a charioteer who relies on a follower of God to help—and more specifically, to “baptize.”

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 2

In this section, the Naaman story and the Ethiopian eunuch story have similar *plot* devices: the main characters are driven by command/compliance and characters are confused about what they are reading. Both stories also share the exclusive detail regarding their *setting*: both take place in and around chariots.

3. Baptism (2 Kings 5:10-16 and Acts 8:36-8).

Baptism as a ritual is non-existent in the LXX. Outside 2 Kgs 5, only Judith 12:7 has βαπτίζω used to recount an actual washing. The washing in Judith, however, is a normal washing and not associated with any miracles and/or conversions. In fact, βαπτίζω is found only four total times in the LXX (Sir 34:25 and Isa 21:4). Βάπτισμα and βαπτισμός are not in the LXX. This evidence alone is enough to warrant exploration of the relation of 2 Kgs 5 and Acts 8:9-40.

For Naaman, his cleansing due to his obedient “baptism” in the Jordan River is not the pinnacle result. Naaman’s declaration in v. 15 illustrates the true depths of the effects—conversion. With a word of solemnity, ἰδοὺ, Naaman declares his fealty for the God of Israel. Even feigning worship in the House of Rimmon does not prevent

Elisha extending peace. With the same word (albeit a frequent one), the Ethiopian eunuch asks ἰδοὺ ὕδωρ, τί κωλύει με βαπτισθῆναι; The reaction of both the Ethiopian eunuch and Philip gives an implicit but no less emphatic answer, “Nothing is preventing—not even the status of being a eunuch.”³⁷⁰ The baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch by Philip in Acts does not heal his physical state, but, like Naaman’s “baptism,” it marks his full acceptance into the faith and the restoration of his standing with God and subsequently the removal of his lower social status. Yet, Acts shifts the focus off the physical to the internal.

Acts reconnects the setting of baptism with ὁδὸς as this word appears again in v. 36. This piece of setting is very important to Luke-Acts. The way or road and wilderness is a place of baptism, and, as previously mentioned, directly connected to the Jordan in Luke 3:3-6. This same setting is seen with Naaman as the Jordan is once again the place for baptism and conversion. Having been baptized and after Philip has been whisked away by the Spirit of the Lord, the baptized Ethiopian eunuch continues on the ὁδὸς rejoicing.

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 3

Baptism stories are rare, thus the story of Naaman and the story of the Ethiopian eunuch have a special connection. In both stories, (*similarity of theme*) the emphasis is on the conversion rather than the healing.

4. Return (2 Kings 5:17-19 and Acts 8:39-40)

The dénouement of the Naaman story is more of a transition. Nevertheless, both stories tell of a return to the homeland. The Ethiopian eunuch goes on his way rejoicing back

³⁷⁰ One could make a case that v. 37, which is most likely not original to the text, actually hinders what would normally be a fairly direct transition from the question “What prevents me from being baptized?” to the action of stopping and being baptized.

to Ethiopia, and Naaman heads toward Syria. Having switched the order of the two stories in 2 Kgs, Acts has an ending which neatly moves the overarching plot of Acts (and thus the gospel message) to all people. Philip finds himself delivering the gospel message even in a Philistine city, Azotus.³⁷¹ The fact that Acts seems to refer to Cornelius as the first full-Gentile convert (Acts 11:18 and 15:7-9) creates a possible and interesting chronological disagreement. However, this inconsistency may just be another sign of Acts' linking of the story of the Ethiopian eunuch with that of Simon the magician. Perhaps the author of Acts viewed the story as more of a eunuch story than that of a Gentile.

Technique and Criteria Summary of Section 4

The travel in the dénouement in both stories is a *similar plot* device—although not spectacularly significant on its own.

³⁷¹ It is unclear whether Azotus is another name for Ashdod or Gaza. It is also unclear what remnants of the Philistine people would have been there. Nevertheless, the inclusion of Ethiopia, Azotus, and Caesarea is interesting in light of the outreaching gospel.

II. Gehazi and Simon the Magician

Acts 8:9-14 has closer connections with the Naaman story and will be discussed later in this chapter. However, vv. 15-25 have striking similarities to the cursing of Gehazi in 2 Kgs 5:20-27.

Main Character Tries to Take Advantage (2 Kings 5:20-23 and Acts 8:15-19)

The main similarities between the cursing of Gehazi and the cursing of Simon are the main character trying to take advantage of the situation and the rebuke they receive in response to their attempt. Both accounts use the third-person omniscient from Gehazi and Simon's point of view. Gehazi, upon seeing his master let Naaman go without taking the riches that Naaman offered, decides, through first-person narration, that he will go after the departed Naaman and collect some of the rejected wealth. Simon, upon seeing the power of the Holy Spirit to do wondrous things and the popularity which accompanies such power, decides to attempt to purchase this power. These two transactions are similar as an attempt is being made to exchange money and the power of God. The exchange of money is moving in opposite directions; Gehazi tries to take money, and Simon tries to give money. This can probably be explained by Luke-Acts' tendency to emphasize what is internal.³⁷² This is seen not only in Simon's movement toward the desire for power, but also in Peter's rebuke. Peter's rebuke, which is very much similar to the rebuke of Elisha, recounts in detail the inward struggles of Simon. Elisha recounts in detail the physical attempt by Gehazi to trade power for money. This rejection of money in light of something internal can also be seen in Acts 3:6; 17:29; and 20:3.

The similarities of Gehazi and Simon are not limited to their actions. They are both followers of wonder workers. Gehazi is a follower of the thaumaturgical Elisha.

³⁷² Brodie, *Birth*, 90.

2 Kgs does not discuss Gehazi's motives for originally following Elisha, but his presence during the miracles of 2 Kgs 4 and 5 combined with his response in ch. 5:20-24 imply what those motives were. Similarly, Philip's ability to do signs and wonders attracts Simon. Acts gives the clear impression that Simon has been upstaged by Philip. Since the emphasis is on the large number and scope of people turning to be baptized, Acts is portraying a loss of the multitude's attention which used to belong to Simon. Although the story merely states that Simon "believed," a shadow of doubt is cast over his conversion and subsequent baptism. Nevertheless, he becomes a follower of Philip in v. 13. It seems that the desire for power and wealth has blinded Gehazi and Simon from truly being followers.

As was mentioned, Gehazi starts out as a follower of Elisha. However, the reader finds out, after Gehazi is cursed by Elisha, in 2 Kgs 8:4 that Gehazi becomes the servant of the King of Israel. There is a similar shift with regard to Simon. At first, Simon receives his value from the masses, but switches to being a follower of Philip and of Peter—despite his focus on self-preservation.

Although the use of "hands" and "receiving/taking" together appears many times in the LXX, it only appears five other times in the NT. This use in both stories spurs the follower to attempt to make the transaction. Elisha does not take "from his hand" τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, thus Gehazi decides to do the opposite. Simon tries to trade his money for the power to have people receive the Holy Spirit when he lays hands on them ὃ ἐὰν ἐπιθῶ τὰς χεῖρας λαμβάνη. However, the use of λαμβανῶ is the reverse in both: taking in one and receiving in another—thus possibly tempering the vocabulary connection.

Technique and Criteria Summary for the Previous Section

Both stories share an interesting *plot* device: through the third-person omniscient the inner thoughts of Gehazi and Simon are revealed and both try to manipulate the situation to their benefit. Both Gehazi and Simon initially follow a *similar character* as both Elisha and Philip are wonder-workers. Acts may be *internalizing* the greed of Gehazi by having Simon try to buy the power of God. Acts has possibly reworked the similar *vocabulary* of Gehazi, τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, into the request of Simon, ᾧ ἐὰν ἐπιθῶ τὰς χεῖρας λαμβάνη.

Main Character is Rebuked (2 Kings 5:24-27 and Acts 8:20-25)

Both Gehazi and Simon are rebuked for their attempts regarding money—particularly silver. Gehazi brings back two talents of silver (silver appears three times in the Gehazi passage) and two garments from his encounter with Naaman. Simon offers silver to Peter for the power he has been witnessing.

Interestingly enough, Acts 3:6; 17:29; and 20:3 are also all connected with the rejection of silver. Although ἀργύριον can have a generic use that is fairly synonymous to money or wealth, there seems to be a negative use as well. Silver is the money which is paid to Judas for his betrayal in Luke 22:5. Silver is also connected with evil and/or inferiority in: Jer 6:30; Amos 2:6; Prov 26:23; and Ecc 5:10. Silver is offered three times to Naboth by Ahab for Naboth's vineyard (1 Kgs 20 LXX). One could make the case that the use of χρῆμα before and after ἀργύριον signifies a simple stylistic variation. However, one could make a better argument for the association of ἀργύριον with ἀπώλεια and thereby carrying with it the negative connotation accompanying its use in the Gehazi story. The fact that ἀργύριον is

repeated three times in the Gehazi story makes this an interesting choice in vocabulary.

Other similarities include: Acts 8:23 contains the rare use of εἰ ἄρα. Although the conditional status of εἰ ἄρα is different than the more assured εἰ μὴ in 2 Kgs 5:20, they are both similar constructions which are both lacking an apodosis. Other similarities include vocabulary usage like καρδία (2 Kgs 5:26 and Acts 8:21-22), δίδωμι in 2 Kgs 5:22 and Acts 8:18, and ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα in 2 Kgs 5:25 and οὐκ ἔστιν εὐθεῖα ἔναντι in Acts 8:21.³⁷³

Perhaps one of the most significant similarities is the way in which both Elisha and Peter recount the hidden things about the other. Although this was mentioned before, it is important to discuss this here on its own merit. Any chance for an argument for the mere coincidence of the similarities between Gehazi and Simon is nearly obliterated as both Elisha and Peter “catch” the confronted with a seemingly miraculous recounting of what was being hidden. Acts shifts to the focus on the internal as Peter knows not just physical events but ones within Simon himself.

Once again, Acts seems to escalate the story of Naaman by having the cursing of Simon be a matter of life and death instead of the livable-leprosy of Gehazi. The leprosy of Naaman, which did not disable him to the point that he was not able to command the armies of Syria, clings to Gehazi, who is not disabled to the point that he is not able to be a servant of the king in ch. 8. Peter, in keeping with the reoccurring theme of forgiveness in Luke-Acts, offers a way out for Simon by granting a possible reconciliation should Simon pray and repent.³⁷⁴

Neither Gehazi nor Simon are finally portrayed in a positive light. It is possible to read Simon’s reaction as a positive one, but his fate is left in doubt as he

³⁷³ For more on these similarities, see Brodie, *Birthing*, 414.

³⁷⁴ Brodie, *Birthing*, 415.

does not follow Peter's instructions. Peter tells Simon to "pray and repent," but the only response of Simon is to ask Peter and John to pray that the curse does not befall him. Similarly, the OT text does not explicitly state "that Gehazi is allowed to keep his ill-gotten gains."³⁷⁵ Although the silver is cursed along with Simon himself, this does not mean that, if imitation is occurring, the writer of Acts believed that Elisha allowed Gehazi to keep his loot. The text simply does not give the fate of the loot. Furthermore, the future tense used by Elisha about Gehazi is similar to the future tense used by Peter in reference to Simon. Both demonstrate the intentions of the confronted, thus Gehazi and Simon share the distinction of being "open-ended" characters—i.e., their characters' fates are not determined by the text.

Technique and Criteria Summary for the Previous Section

The section regarding Gehazi and Simon being rebuked share an abundance of significant *vocabulary*. The *plot* device of rebuke is also very similar in the accounts. Elisha somehow knows what Gehazi has been up to. Likewise, Peter somehow knows what Simon's real intentions are, yet Acts may have *internalized* Peter's unexplained knowledge of the situation by revealing information regarding Simon's intentions. The minor *characters* of Gehazi and Simon share a similar fate: what exactly happens to them is not clear. Acts, however, possibly *intensifies* Simon's fate. Gehazi is still called the servant of Elisha, the man of God, as he is in the service of the king in ch. 8. Simon is not mentioned again, but there is no mention of him "praying and repenting" to avoid his deathly fate.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 415.

III. Gehazi and the Ethiopian Eunuch

The chariot as a setting may, at first blush, be viewed as a trivial connection, but, the use of ἄρματός is extremely rare in the NT (only four uses: three here in Acts and one in Rev 9:9).³⁷⁶ The singular use of ἄρματός is not frequent in the OT either. The connection is no longer trivial when one sees that this rare use ἄρματός has never functioned as the setting for a whole scene in canonical literature.³⁷⁷ Both characters pursue the chariot and a conversation then ensues as characters are moved in and around the chariot. It is in the Gehazi passage that almost all of the chariot references are made. Yet, since the character of Naaman overlaps with vv. 1-19 and 20-27, the inclusion of the chariot setting from the Gehazi story further links Naaman with the Ethiopian eunuch. This evidence points to an imitation which is not replicating particular passages (and thereby rigidly following them) but imitating themes and characters.

The chariot as the setting is not the only similarity. Both stories have a similar flow or structure. Gehazi dialogues with himself and then goes after the chariot. The Angel of the Lord tells Philip to go to a certain road and once there the Spirit tells Philip to go up to the chariot—Philip obeys. After this initial set of discussion and action, Gehazi talks with Naaman, and Philip talks to the Ethiopian eunuch. Gehazi requests silver and clothing from Naaman, and the Ethiopian eunuch asks for help to understand the passage from Isaiah. After the interaction of both Gehazi and Philip with their counterparts, they leave.

However, there is a major difference between these two. As was mentioned, there is a similar feel to the order and setting of these two stories. Yet, the stories seem to be on opposite ends of the spectrum when it comes to their tone and outcome.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 415-6.

³⁷⁷ There may be extra-canonical scenes with a chariot setting; however, noting Luke-Acts' predilection (to say the least) for the use of the LXX, this would be a highly plausible source.

On the one hand, Gehazi pursues Naaman for his own benefit. He tricks Naaman, and when he returns he receives Naaman's leprosy as punishment; he leaves cursed. On the other hand, Philip pursues the Ethiopian eunuch out of obedience to God, and when Philip tells him about Jesus, the Ethiopian eunuch stop the chariot and requests to be baptized; Philip leaves as the Ethiopian eunuch is rejoicing.

Technique and Criteria Summary of Gehazi and the Ethiopian Eunuch

Of the four sections in the detailed analysis in this chapter, the cursing of Gehazi and the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch might have the fewest similarities. Both share the *exclusive* and remarkably similar *setting* of the chariot: characters pursue the chariot; dialogue happens in and out of the chariot; a request is made; and the characters are separated. Acts possibly *positivizes* the Gehazi encounter: the Ethiopian is not cursed but is baptized and leaves rejoicing.

IV. Naaman and Simon the Magician

1. Introduction of the Main Character (2 Kings 5:1 and Acts 8:9-11)

Although these two passages are not directly parallel, there are some possible similarities between the two which may help demonstrate some type of literary dependence. The first similarity which can be seen is the way the two main characters are introduced. Both stories describe their main character as a “great man.” Naaman is the commander of the δυνάμεως of Syria. The people in Acts call Simon the ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ.

Both these men have people who flatter them. Naaman is flattered by the King of Syria while Simon gets his value from the people (2 Kgs 5:1 and Acts 8:11). Both of these sources of affirmation shift in their respective stories. Naaman becomes the “servant” of Elisha, and Simon follows Philip (2 Kgs 5:15-18 and Acts 8:13).

2. and 6. Travel: Having Heard, Characters Sent (2 Kings 5:2-9 and Acts 8:14) and Return (2 Kings 5:17-19 and Acts 8:25)

The next set of similarities may, originally, seem to be insignificant. There are several times throughout the Bible that someone hears about miraculous deeds being done. However, this “hearing” may not be insignificant when it is noted that the healing of the centurion’s servant and the conversion of Cornelius both contain this detail among the other similarities. Naaman hears of Elisha who can heal him of leprosy, and the Jerusalem church hears of the miracles and conversions happening in Samaria.

Accordingly, Naaman, and Peter and John are sent because of this news. Not only is travel emphasized in both these stories (Peter and John travel to Philip and

Simon and Naaman travels to the King of Israel and Elisha), but they both travel to the same location—Samaria. Like “hearing,” the characteristic of travel is not significant on its own. But like “hearing,” travel is a detail which is common to all four texts being compared in this chapter. Additionally, both 2 Kgs and Acts include the detail of Naaman and Peter and John returning to their places of origin.

3. Main Character is Corrected (2 Kings 5:10-13 and Acts 8:20-25)

Both Naaman and Simon respond to the men of God in a way that needed correcting. When Naaman initially rejects the prescription given by the messenger of Elisha, his servants present him with a hypothetical prescription in order to convince him to follow Elisha’s instructions. When Simon tries to purchase the power of God with money he is presented with a prescription to prevent the judgment that will befall him for his actions. Both characters, who are used to their high stature, are now shamed as their position is made low.

4. Main Character Baptized and Miracles Happen (2 Kings 5:14-15a and Acts 8:12-13)

The uniqueness of the “baptism” of Naaman has already been documented in this dissertation. Now, though, the baptism of Simon demands comparison. Both baptisms are accompanied by miracles and healings. Philip is doing many miracles, and Naaman is cured of his leprosy. Naaman comes to belief in the God of Israel. Simon is also said to have believed. However, Simon appears to simply be following the crowd. But even when Naaman goes to be “baptized” he was coerced by his servants.

5. Main Characters Make a Monetary Offer (2 Kings 5:15b-16 and Acts 8:15-19)

Both characters share a similar experience. Both respond by offering the men of God money. Naaman returns, declares his fealty to the God of Israel and attempts to convince Elisha to take a gift from him. Simon meets Peter and John, and upon seeing the gift of the Holy Spirit bestowed he attempts to give money (silver) in exchange for this power. Yet, there is a major difference in the responses of the two men to the baptism and miracles. Although they both offer money, their hearts are not the same. Naaman appears to be giving out of gratitude or possibly even in worship. Naaman, as seen in his requests for soil from Israel and leniency regarding the house of Rimmon, is concerned about doing what is right. Simon is attempting to get power for himself—something he has been after since the beginning of the story. Peter reveals that Simon is attempting to do what is not right. Naaman and Simon are both initially rejected with their first request. However, the soil and leniency is granted as Elisha tells Naaman to “Go, in peace.” Simon, though, receives little leniency as his fate is unknown—ominous at best with his self-focused response. In the end, Naaman goes away blessed and healed, and Simon is left with the possibility of cursing and ultimately death.

Technique and Criteria Summary of Naaman and Simon the Magician

The story of Simon the magician seems to be based on the cursing of Gehazi, yet there seems to be some similarities if not overlap with between the story of Naaman and the story of Simon the magician. Naaman and Simon are introduced in a similar way: both considered great by others. As was previously mentioned, both characters are baptized—a similarity that demands consideration. Both make monetary offers,

but because Simon is more heavily based upon Gehazi he is not to be viewed as a more “negativized” version of Naaman.

Summary of Employed Techniques: The Relationship of the Two Sets of Stories (Naaman/Gehazi and Simon/Ethiopian)

The micro similarities or intra passage similarities make a strong case for literary dependence. But the placement of the stories in relation to each other speaks just as loudly. The story of Simon the magician coupled with the story of the Ethiopian eunuch cannot be considered mere coincidence when one sees how the stories of Naaman and Gehazi are similarly interwoven. The existence of these stories in tandem serves to magnify the stories and their relationship to one another. On the one extreme it could merely explain the “out of order” mentioning of the Ethiopian eunuch (i.e., a pre-Cornelius Gentile conversion) and thus explain the thinking behind the flow of these stories. On the other extreme, it does those things and is hinting to the reader two responses to God: a pre-Christian Gentile conversion and the results of attempting to take advantage of the power of God. This is very similar to the coupling of the healing of the centurion’s servant in Luke 7:1-10 with the raising of the widow of Nain’s son in Luke 7:11-15 and the close proximity of the healing of Naaman and the raising of the son of the widow of Sunem (2 Kgs 4-5).

The above analysis of the stories of Simon the magician and the Ethiopian eunuch reveals a set of stories with interwoven plot devices, characters, vocabulary, and setting. It seems clear that Naaman matches up with the Ethiopian and Gehazi matches up with Simon. Despite this one for one correlation, Acts has moved characteristics and plot to best suit the tendencies common to Luke-Acts. The fashioning of these stories reveals a collection of phenomena, especially

intensification and internalization, which easily align with Greco-Roman imitation and Rewritten Bible technique.

Fulfillment of Criteria

The above analysis satisfies the criteria of plausibility, similarities, and reasonable differences and demonstrates a clear literary dependence. It has been shown that Acts appears to take the Naaman and Gehazi stories and uses them as a template for the formation of the stories of Simon the magician and the Ethiopian eunuch. Acts follows structural and thematic guidelines in forming the stories. Concepts and usage also carry over. However, Acts is also willing to move things around to work with the other sources for the stories (e.g., the reversal of the order of the paradigmatic stories). Perhaps one of the most striking differences is the way that things are made more severe. There is a ramping of expectations and repercussions for the new Christian movement—greater than that of the paradigm. Another thing is clear as well, other sources (be they oral tradition or written sources) are at work. Nevertheless, the Naaman influence, whether labeled allusion, echo, or imitation, is evident.

Conclusion of the Comparison of 2 Kings 5:1-27 and Acts 8:9-40

The budding Christian movement as implied from the pages in Luke-Acts has not been fully prepared for the dramatic event that is Cornelius' conversion in Acts 10:1-11:18. Luke 4 is viewed as programmatic for Luke-Acts and even can be viewed as parallel to Acts 10.³⁷⁸ Also, the centurion's servant in Luke 7:1-10 does do some

³⁷⁸ Neiryneck, "Luke 4:16-30," 357 and 380.

preliminary preparation.³⁷⁹ Yet, a full precedent has not been established for the explicit Gentile mission. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Naaman, as far as the OT goes, is the exception to the rule: a Gentile who is accepted into faith in the God of Israel. Acts employs the Naaman and Gehazi stories to talk about the power of God, the possible problem that is money, and, most importantly, to pave the way for Cornelius and the rest of Acts. The Naaman (and Gehazi) story (2 Kgs 5:1-27), like it did with the centurion servant's story and like it will do with the Cornelius story, serves as the foundation for the stories of Simon the magician and the Ethiopian eunuch.

Chapter 6 provided evidence that the centurion story (Luke 7:1-10) is based on the Naaman story (2 Kgs 5). Chapter 7 supported the claim of Chapter 6 by presenting the evidence that the Cornelius story employed the Naaman story as well. Chapter 8 functions in a very similar manner. The story of the centurion's servant and the story of Cornelius deal with God's intervention in the life a foreigner—Acts 8:9-40 does also. Therefore, Chapter 8 has confirmed, through the evidence found in the detailed analysis that Acts 8:9-40 provides, yet another similar example of Luke-Acts' use of the Naaman story—and thus further confirms the relationship of Naaman to the centurion story of Luke 7:1-10. The parallels and recognized techniques found in the relationship of 2 Kgs 5:1-20 and Luke 7:1-10 are further strengthened in the light of the same techniques, themes, and story employed in the stories of Simon the magician and the Ethiopian eunuch.

³⁷⁹ Craddock, *Luke*, 94; Goulder, *Luke*, 376; and Talbert, *Reading Luke*, 55.

Conclusion

Although there are implications that will need to be dealt with in more detail, the main point of this dissertation has been to inductively analyse the connection of the story of Naaman (2 Kgs 5:1-19) with the story of the healing of the centurion's servant (Luke 7:1-10). Before a detailed analysis of the two texts could begin the groundwork had to be laid. The initial chapters discussed the history of scholarship regarding ANE imitation and Luke-Acts' use of the Elijah-Elisha narrative. It was established that verbal similarity is just one technique employed by ancient imitators. Other techniques, from both Greco-Roman and Jewish literature, were being employed in Luke's literary sphere. Next, Chapter 3 discussed scholarship's criteria for establishing literary dependence. Based upon these initial chapters, Chapter 5 critically interacted with scholars on these matters of criteria and ANE imitation technique, and thus it laid out a methodology for establishing literary dependency. This methodology would focus on the categories of plausibility, similarity, and interpretable differences. Chapter 4 discussed the story of the healing of the centurion's servant in its literary settings, and it established the need for further study. It also served to establish a precedent for the dissertation: the analysis of the texts in question is a worthwhile investigation considering Luke's frequent use of the Elijah-Elisha narrative.

Therefore, it was established that Luke-Acts has a special indebtedness to the Elijah-Elisha narrative; Luke-Acts uses it as a structure for the entire narrative. One of the best examples is how Luke-Acts gave a special role to the OT account of Elijah's assumption into heaven (2 Kgs 2): a bridge or transition for the greater narrative—employed three times (Luke 9:51-56; 24:50-53; and Acts 1:6-11). The detailed

analysis revealed that Luke-Acts does something similar with the Naaman story.

Luke-Acts used the Naaman story three times, in a programmatic way, to build one of the basic features in the overall narrative: the transitional account of the spread of the word of God to all people—including the Gentiles. The first use of the Naaman story comes with the story of the centurion’s servant (Luke 7:1-10). Two other uses of the Naaman story come later in pivotal places in the development of the spread of the gospel to the Gentiles (Acts 8:9-40 and Acts 10:1-11:18). These two uses in Acts showed that the phenomenon in Luke 7:1-10 is not an isolated occurrence—helping to further fulfill the criteria of plausibility, similarity, and interpretable differences.

With (1) a threefold recurrence of a possible use of the Naaman story within Luke-Acts, (2) the explicit reference in Luke 4:27 to Naaman, (3) the satisfied criteria of the detailed analysis in Luke 7:1-10 as compared to 2 Kgs 5, and (4) the close connection of these Gentile related and highlighting stories (Luke 4, Luke 7, Acts 8 and Acts 10), it is the main conclusion of this dissertation that Luke 7:1-10 is not only literarily dependent upon the story of Naaman in 2 Kgs 5, but the use of Naaman is programmatic for the foundation of the Gentile mission starting in Luke 4 and being actualized in Acts 10-11.

The detailed analysis found in chapters 6-8 establishes 2 Kgs 5 as a major component of Luke-Acts. Luke-Acts employs 2 Kgs 5 and its characters to establish Jesus, Peter and the apostles, the Christian movement, and the standing of Gentiles within that new movement. Just as Elisha picks up the mantle of his recently departed master, Elijah, so too do the disciples pick up their master’s mantle as they are “clothed with power from on high.” Just as Jesus is compared with Elijah and Elisha, so too are the disciples compared with Elijah and esp. Elisha. The story of the healing of the centurion’s servant is found in the crucial context of explaining who Jesus is. The story

of Simon the magician and the Ethiopian eunuch are placed in the crucial context of the spread of the gospel from Judea to the rest of the world. The story of the conversion of Cornelius is found at the beginning of the pouring out of the Holy Spirit on Gentiles and is the proto-type for the Gentile mission. Finally, the use of the different parts of the stories and the stories themselves is a thread that can be found in each of the Lukan passages that have been looked at thus far.

Ultimately, the sheer mass of evidence brought forth in this dissertation signals that the healing of Naaman should not be a mere footnote marking an interesting similarity, but rather that (1) the healing of the centurion's servant is dependent upon the healing of Naaman; that (2) this dependence is programmatic for the inclusion of the Gentiles throughout Luke-Acts; and that (3) these stories should be studied accordingly.

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