

ADELA YARBRO COLLINS

Collected Essays
on the Gospel
According to Mark

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*



Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament

Herausgeber / Editor
Jörg Frey (Zürich)

Mitherausgeber / Associate Editors
Markus Bockmuehl (Oxford) · James A. Kelhoffer (Uppsala)
Tobias Nicklas (Regensburg) · Janet Spittler (Charlottesville, VA)
J. Ross Wagner (Durham, NC)

497



Adela Yarbo Collins

The Gospel According to Mark

Collected Essays

Mohr Siebeck

Adela Yarbro Collins, 1975 PhD from Harvard University; full time positions at McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago, Illinois, the University of Notre Dame, the University of Chicago Divinity School, and the Yale University Divinity School; currently Buckingham Professor of New Testament Emerita of Yale University Divinity School.

ISBN 978-3-16-161588-7 / eISBN 978-3-16-161589-4
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-161589-4

ISSN 0512-1604 / eISSN 2568-7476 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament)

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2022 by Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, Germany. www.mohrsiebeck.com

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was typeset by Martin Fischer in Tübingen using Minion typeface, printed on non-aging paper by Gulde Druck in Tübingen, and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
--------------------	---

A. The Genre of Mark: Its Production and Models

1. Composition and Performance in Mark 13	17
2. Genre and the Gospels	36

B. The Characterization of Jesus in Mark: Identity and Deeds

3. "Rulers, Divine Men, and Walking on the Water (Mark 6:45–52)"	47
4. Mark and His Readers: The Son of God among Jews	64
5. Mark and His Readers: The Son of God among Greeks and Romans ...	80
6. Jesus's Action in Herod's Temple	96
7. Messianic Secret and the Gospel of Mark: Secrecy in Jewish Apocalypticism, the Hellenistic Mystery Religions, and Magic	113
8. What Sort of Jew is the Jesus of Mark?	128

C. The Passion Narrative

9. The Genre of the Passion Narrative	161
10. The Flight of the Naked Young Man	185
11. From Noble Death to Crucified Messiah	197

D. The Death of Jesus

12. Finding Meaning in the Death of Jesus	221
13. The Signification of Mark 10:45 among Gentile Christians	242

E. The Empty Tomb and Its Significance

14. The Empty Tomb and Resurrection according to Mark	255
15. Ancient Notions of Transferral and Apotheosis in Relation to the Empty Tomb Story in Mark	280
Acknowledgements	295
Bibliography	297
Index of Ancient Sources	321
Index of Modern Authors	340

Introduction

In the early part of my professional life, beginning with the dissertation, I focused on the book of Revelation. In the late 1980s, I was invited to join the New Testament editorial board of the Hermeneia commentary series. The board planned to discuss potential authors for the commentary on Mark at the first meeting in which I took part. I brought a list of names and, when called upon, went through them indicating the strengths of each one as a potential author. When I finished, Helmut Koester, the chair of the New Testament board, asked me whether I would like to write the commentary on Mark. I thought about it for a few seconds then agreed to do so. My thinking was, “Mark is an apocalyptic Gospel – I think I can do that!”

After being commissioned to write the Hermeneia commentary on Mark, I decided that I would focus on that Gospel when I gave invited lectures or was asked to write for multi-authored volumes. My first published essay with a focus on Mark was “Narrative, History, and Gospel,” which appeared in volume 43 of the journal *Semeia*, published in 1988. The volume, edited by Mary Gerhart and James Williams, was dedicated to the themes of genre, narrativity, and theology. In this essay I addressed for the first time the question of the genre of Mark. It is clear that the Gospel is in the narrative mode, but what kind of narrative is it? I suggested that the author of Mark intended to write history, even though the work contains elements that many modern interpreters would call mythic.¹ With regard to the genre biography, I argued that, analogously to Sallust’s *Cataline*, the aim of Mark is not to set forth the character of Jesus but to narrate events with which he was associated. Furthermore, the Gospel was written to provide a historical framework for the elements of the Jesus tradition, a framework characterized by apocalyptic eschatology. The apocalyptic-historical vision of Mark shapes this foundation document, which attempts to embrace the universe as God’s creation with a history and a destiny.

The next two essays on Mark were probes into major themes of the narrative between the introductory section and the passion narrative.² When I was invited to give a paper at the Theology Institute of Villanova University in 1989, I decided to write on the tension between the power of Jesus to heal, exorcise, and con-

¹ See now M. David Litwa’s argument that the evangelist used historical tropes to shape myths about Jesus into historical discourse to maximize the Gospel’s credibility for ancient audiences: *How the Gospels Became History: Jesus and Mediterranean Myth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

² Mark 1:1–15 introduces the rest of the narrative; the passion narrative consists of 14:1–16:8.

trol the powers of nature, on the one hand, and the divine will that the Son of Man suffer and die, on the other.³ The first section of the paper deals with the history of scholarship on the problem posed by the miracle stories for Christian faith in the modern period. The second section puts the miracles of Jesus in the context of exorcism and healing in antiquity. The essay then turns to the question how much of the miracle tradition can be taken as historical. It concludes that the historical Jesus did engage in healing and exorcising activity. Discussion then turned to the import of that activity and concluded that Jewish members of the audience would have understood the miracle stories as authorizing Jesus as a wonder-working prophet and as Messiah. For gentile readers and hearers they are part of the portrayal of a Hellenistic hero or divine man. After discussing the suffering of Jesus and the disciples in Mark, the essay concludes that Mark's solution to the problem of theodicy is a narrative one. All things are possible for God, but God allows evil to be part of the cosmic drama in which every creature has a role to play. God not only allows what seems to us to be evil or a disvalue (suffering), but even wills it in order to accomplish a greater purpose, the redemption of all creation.

"The Eschatological Discourse of Mark 13" was my first published interpretation of that important chapter of the Gospel.⁴ This article focused on the "little apocalypse theory," a scholarly hypothesis originating in the nineteenth century and arguing that the narrative part of the discourse was copied from a source written by a Jewish author. In this article, by means of an exegetical survey and a critical assessment of the arguments in favor of such a source, I argued that the theory was a tendentious effort to save Jesus and Mark from the alleged fanaticism of apocalyptic tradition. Alternatively, I argued that the discourse provided a framework of meaning for its audience in a difficult situation.

An invitation to contribute an article to the *Sewanee Theological Review* gave me the opportunity to begin research on the passion narrative, focusing especially on the question of the evangelist's use of a written source for this portion of the Gospel.⁵ I began with a review of scholarship from Karl Ludwig Schmidt to Joel Green. I then assessed the scholarly arguments in light of the evidence, starting with the form critics and pointing out their enduring contributions to this sub-

³ Adela Yarbro Collins, "'Remove This Cup': Suffering and Healing in the Gospel of Mark," in *Suffering and Healing in Our Day*, ed. Francis A. Eigo (Villanova, PA: Villanova University Press, 1990), 29–61.

⁴ Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Eschatological Discourse of Mark 13," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck*, 3 vols., ed. Frans Van Segbroeck, Christopher M. Tuckett, Gerald Van Belle, and Jos Verheyden, BETL 100 (Gembloux: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1992), 2.1125–40.

⁵ Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Composition of the Passion Narrative in Mark," *Sewanee Theological Review* 36 (1992): 57–77; reprinted under the title "The Passion Narrative of Mark" in an early collection of my articles on Mark, *The Beginning of the Gospel: Probing of Mark in Context* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 92–118.

ject. Next I discussed Mark 14:1–15:39, section by section, discussing the evidence for the use of a source and for Markan redaction. I concluded that it was likely that Mark used a pre-existing passion narrative in composing his own, expanded version. I argued that Mark's source ended with the death of Jesus and his vindication (15:37–38). The earlier passion narrative was composed in order to be read at the annual commemoration of Jesus's death in connection with Passover or at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. This liturgical work was also useful for missionary and catechetical activity.

My first attempt to interpret Mark 16:1–8 resulted in an article on the empty tomb and resurrection in Mark.⁶ This essay includes an analysis of 1 Corinthians 15, a brief discussion of the reports of appearances of the risen Jesus and how they relate to the empty tomb story, a study of the literary history of 16:1–8, and an argument that the passage is a unified composition. An important part of the contribution of this study is the discussion of the ancient notion of translation (transferral from ordinary life on earth to another form of existence in a normally inaccessible realm) and the comparison of texts about such transferrals to the account of the disappearance of Jesus in Mark 16.

The discussion of transferral begins with the oldest texts that describe or presuppose it from the ancient Near East. It continues with examples from the Hebrew Bible (Enoch and Elijah), and the oldest relevant Greek texts (from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*). All of these texts involve the deification and immortalization of living human beings. The texts in which the human being in question dies first and then is made immortal are especially comparable to the case of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark. These examples include Memnon, Achilles, and Herakles. I then show briefly that these traditions of translation and deification were widespread during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, discussing Berossus, Josephus, and Pseudo-Phocylides.

The section on the resurrection of Jesus in Mark argues that, according to Mark, Jesus was translated directly from the grave to heaven. There was no time during which the risen Jesus walked the earth and met with his disciples. Appearances are implied (14:28, 16:7), but they are spiritual, like the apocalyptic visions of heavenly beings. This narrative pattern involving Jesus's death, burial, and translation to heaven, was a culturally shaped way for an author living in the first century to narrate the resurrection of Jesus.

I returned to the question of genre on a smaller scale in an article published in 1993. In it I addressed the question of the genre of the passion narrative, both with regard to chapters 14–16 of Mark and to the pre-Markan passion narrative

⁶ Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Empty Tomb and Resurrection according to Mark," in *Beginning of the Gospel*, 110–48; reprinted under the title "The Empty Tomb in the Gospel according to Mark," in Eleonore Stump and Thomas P. Flint, eds., *Hermes and Athena: Biblical Exegesis and Philosophical Theology* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 107–40. It is included in this volume under the original title.

as I have reconstructed it.⁷ The essay begins by noting that the generic label “passion narrative” belongs to the history of the reception of these texts, not to their production. It has its roots in the accounts of early Christian martyrdoms. The essay continues with a summary of scholarship on this topic by Lothar Ruppert, George Nickelsburg, and Detlev Dormeyer, followed by a critical assessment of their work.

The essay then argues that the genre of the alleged model of the passion narrative is not (the motif of) the suffering of a just person (Ruppert), nor “the story of the persecution and vindication of the righteous person” (Nickelsburg), nor the Jewish martyrdom (Dormeyer) but rather “the story of the death of a famous man.” An example appears in 2 Chronicles, probably under the influence of Persian or Greek historiography.⁸ The Greeks called such accounts *τελευταί*, and the Romans referred to them as *exitus illustrium virorum*. In the accounts of Socrates’s death, the genre “death of a famous man,” was combined with the concept of the noble death and thus transformed. A noble death was particularly interesting and praiseworthy. Nevertheless, interest in the death of a famous person of whatever kind continued, for example, in the work of Diogenes Laertius. The accounts of the deaths of Eleazar and the seven brothers in 2 and 4 Maccabees are creative adaptations of the “noble death” type rather than the first instances of a new genre, “martyrdom.”

The essay then addresses the question whether the genre applies to the pre-Markan passion narrative since Jesus, in the first century, was an obscure person rather than a prominent one. Subtypes of the genre *τελευτή* can be defined according to the social role of the protagonists: rulers, rebellious subjects, and philosophers. Jesus is presented in the pre-Markan passion narrative as the Messiah, recognized as such by his followers. His opponents construe this as his claim to be “king of the Jews.” In this way his prominence is thematized and disputed.

The Markan passion narrative alters the genre *τελευτή* in several ways. The most striking is the addition of the accounts of the burial of Jesus and the empty tomb, which implies his disappearance. As I argued in the essay on the empty tomb in Mark, disappearance stories, implying the protagonist’s translation to heaven, belong to a familiar genre in Greek and Roman literature. Mark’s additions bring out the vindication of Jesus more clearly than the earlier passion narrative, in which the rending of the veil of the temple obscurely represents Jesus’s vindication. Mark’s passion narrative affirms the claim that the death of

⁷ Adela Yarbro Collins, “The Genre of the Passion Narrative,” *Studia Theologica* 47 (1993): 3–28. This essay is included in the present volume.

⁸ The death of Zechariah, son of the priest Jehoiada (2 Chr 24:20–22). On the interest of Persian and Greek historiography in the deaths of famous men, see Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 28–36.

Jesus was that of a prominent person and develops the genre of the *τελευταίη* in keeping with its own logic.

Like the essay on suffering and healing in Mark (“Remove this cup”), the next article I published focused on the portion of the narrative between the introduction and the passion narrative, in this case on a particular mighty deed of Jesus, his walking on water.⁹ Discussion of the genre and themes of the pre-Markan form of the story opens the discussion. This story is complex and has three major themes: the performance of a superhuman or divine deed (walking on the surface of the water), Jesus assists the disciples by overcoming a contrary wind, and the epiphany of Jesus in the presence of the disciples.

The discussion then moves to the context of the superhuman or divine deed of walking on water in the history of religions.¹⁰ The larger theme of the control of the sea plays a major role in the portrayal of God in the Hebrew Bible. The ability to walk on the surface of sea is attributed only to God. In Greek and Roman texts, this ability is not only typical of the god of the sea (Poseidon and Neptune respectively) but was also attributed to human or semi-divine beings. Poseidon granted the power to walk on the sea to his sons, Euphemus and Orion. Hercules (Herakles) was also reputed to be able to cross over seas by foot. Power over the sea was also associated with rulers and kings. The ability to walk upon the sea was attributed to Xerxes and Alexander the Great. This ability became proverbial for the humanly impossible and for the arrogance of the ruler aspiring to empire. Second Maccabees characterizes Antiochus Epiphanes in this way.¹¹ The motif also occurs in magical texts and accounts of dreams.

The audience of the pre-Markan story of Jesus walking on water probably included both Jews and gentiles who associated the account with the traditions familiar to them. These traditions may have been fused by the affirmation of Jesus as the Messiah. In Jewish apocalyptic tradition, the messiah was expected to assume some of the functions normally reserved to God. Such assimilation of the messiah to God would facilitate the attribution to Jesus of God’s portrayal as one able to walk upon the sea. The association of the ability to walk on water with rulers in Greek and Roman tradition would make the presentation of Jesus as Messiah intelligible to a Hellenized or Romanized audience. The essay concludes with a discussion of how the evangelist edited the story to integrate it into the Gospel as a whole and the likely intertextual relation of Mark 6:52 with Job 9:11. This relation helps explain why Mark omitted the acclamation with which

⁹ Adela Yarbro Collins, “Rulers, Divine Men, and Walking on the Water (Mark 6:45–52),” in *Religious Propaganda and Missionary Competition in the New Testament World: Essays Honoring Dieter Georgi*, ed. Lukas Bormann, Kelly Del Tredici, and Angela Standhartinger, *NovTSup* 74 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 207–27. This essay is included in the present volume.

¹⁰ On the use of the plural “religions,” see n. 1 in the essay under discussion here.

¹¹ 2 Macc 5:21.

the pre-Markan story probably ended and replaced it with a saying that emphasizes the difficulty of perceiving a divine epiphany.

In the essay on “The Genre of the Passion Narrative,” I emphasized the similarities between the passion narrative of Mark and the death-stories in Greek and Roman literature. Inspired by a discussion of that essay at an academic retreat of the faculty of the University of Chicago Divinity School, I took a different approach in the article “From Noble Death to Crucified Messiah.”¹² In the latter I emphasized the differences, especially from the point of view of production. The use of Scripture in the composition of the passion narrative is a major difference, and its purpose was to give meaning to the appalling fact that the Messiah was crucified at the order of a Roman magistrate. The unknown author of the pre-Markan passion narrative and the author of Mark together have created an entirely new kind of death-story. There is nothing really similar to it in either Jewish or Greco-Roman literature.

The invitation to contribute an essay to a Festschrift for Lars Hartman provided the opportunity to look seriously at one important textual variant in the manuscripts of the Gospel according to Mark.¹³ This variant involves the presence or absence of the phrase *υιου θεου* at the end of the incipit or introductory titular sentence (1:1). I concluded that the evidence was almost evenly divided, but that there was a slightly stronger probability that the phrase was added than that it was original. In other words, I argued that the earliest recoverable form of Mark 1:1 lacked the phrase “Son of God.” It was probably added to undercut the conclusion that some ancient readers of Mark had reached, namely, that Jesus only became Son of God at the time of his baptism.

Another invitation, to speak as a panelist at the International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Leuven in 1994, provided an opportunity to assess Richard Burridge’s book *What Are the Gospels?* and to reflect once again on the genre of Mark. Burridge defines an ancient “life” or *bios* as a text in which a single person is very often named in the work or frequently constitutes the explicit or implied subject of a verb. This definition overlooks the fact that there are historical monographs from antiquity that focus on one person in the same way but to different effect and for a different purpose, that is, because that person was a key agent in the events being narrated. Another problem is that none of the four evangelists defines his work as a “life” of Jesus. Justin Martyr refers to the memoirs of the apostles, which are called gospels¹⁴ but does not call them “lives” (*bioi*) of Jesus. I argue in my review essay of Burridge’s book that the narrative of

¹² Adela Yarbro Collins, “From Noble Death to Crucified Messiah,” *NTS* 40 (1994): 481–503. This essay is included in the present volume.

¹³ Adela Yarbro Collins, “Establishing the Text: Mark 1:1,” in *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational Contexts: Essays in Honor of Lars Hartman*, ed. Tord Fornberg and David Hellholm (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995), 111–27.

¹⁴ Justin Martyr, *First Apology* 66.3.

Mark focuses on Jesus because of his decisive role in the historical unfolding of the fulfillment of the divine promises.¹⁵

One of the most important passages in Mark for understanding the evangelist's Christology and his interpretation of the death of Jesus is 10:45 – “The Son of Man did not come to be served but to serve and to give his life as a λύτρον for many.” The interpretation of the latter part of this saying is difficult because of its ambiguity. Does the “ransom” involve release from captivity, slavery, or something else? What is the metaphorical significance of this release?

One of the problems in the interpretation of this verse is the lack of a clear cultural context to assist in determining its meaning. When I was invited to present a paper at a one-day conference in honor of Helmut Koester's seventieth birthday in the fall of 1997, I decided to tackle this problem. I proposed a particular cultural context in which there was sufficient evidence to infer what meaning those who participated in that context would attribute to it. This context is that revealed by the so-called confessional inscriptions from western Asia Minor, which relate to the cult of the god Men and other similar cults. These inscriptions date from the first few centuries CE and use the word λύτρον and its cognates to mean propitiation. They indicate that some individual or small group has suffered misfortune and has inferred that the misfortune is divine punishment for an offense. Those suffering may be aware of committing an offense or not, but in either case perform a ritual act that secures their release from the effects of deliberate and unwitting sins. The ritual act may involve the payment of money to representatives of the god Men or financing and setting up a stele may be the propitiating compensation for their sins. I argued that readers and hearers of Mark familiar with the ritual acts described in the confessional inscriptions would interpret 10:45 in terms of a metaphorical ritual act, that is, they would understand that the death of Jesus was an act that won God's favor for the many by compensating for their offenses.¹⁶

When I was invited to give a lecture in the Faculty Lecture Series of the University of Chicago Divinity School in 1996, I decided to have another look at the death of Jesus according to Mark from three points of view: Jesus's death as a sacrifice; the relation of Mark's account of Jesus's death to Greek and Roman traditions about an “effective death”; and the relation of the plot of Mark to the typical plot of the hero's life, which appears in the popular lives of the ancient poets.¹⁷ In the first section of this essay I argue that the saying over the cup in

¹⁵ Adela Yarbro Collins, “Genre and the Gospels: A Review Article on Richard A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*,” *JR* 75 (1995): 239–46. This article is included in the present volume.

¹⁶ Adela Yarbro Collins, “The Signification of Mark 10:45 among Gentile Christians,” *HTR* 90 (1997): 371–82. This essay is included in the present volume.

¹⁷ Adela Yarbro Collins, “Finding Meaning in the Death of Jesus,” *JR* 78 (1998): 175–96. This essay is included in the present volume.

14:24 makes use of sacrificial language in the statement that Jesus's blood is "poured out." The phrase "for many," however, is not sacrificial. Rather it is borrowed from the poem in Isaiah 53, which says that the servant "bore the sin of many." This image comes from the scapegoat ritual. So sacrificial and scapegoat imagery are combined in Mark 14:24. Mark 10:45, as discussed above, also implies that Jesus's death was effective in a powerful way that benefited others.

In the second section of the essay, I discuss rituals of substitution and how they are sometimes connected with an effective death. The most important is a Greek example in which a human being, referred to as a *φαρμακός* ("pharmakós") was driven out of the city with twigs of a wild fig tree. The idea is that the ritual substitute took on all the defilement, sin, or misfortune of the residents of the city and carried it far from them. In ordinary rituals, the *pharmakós* was driven out but not killed. The tradition that he was killed probably derived from mythic and literary texts in which someone had to die in order to avert a crisis. There are striking similarities between the *pharmakós* ritual and the scene in which soldiers mock Jesus (15:16–20). In the context of Mark as a whole, the execution of Jesus as a criminal is an atonement or purification for many, as the *pharmakós* saved or purified his community.

In the third section of the essay, I discuss the typical plot in the lives of the poets: a divine commission early in life; mistreatment or even death at the hands of ungrateful men; vindication after death. The lives of Aesop, Hesiod, Homer, and Archilochus reflect this basic plot, and the Gospel of Mark portrays Jesus in a similar way as I try to show. The pattern is adapted in Mark to an apocalyptic framework in that the vindication of Jesus takes the form of resurrection and exaltation and, of course, in the expectation of his imminent return.

In 1997 I was invited to give a paper at a conference entitled "Rending the Veil: Concealment and Revelation of Secrets in the History of Religions" at New York University. This invitation provided an opportunity to articulate my understanding of the messianic secret in Mark. I did so by placing the secrecy theme in Mark in the context of the use of secrecy in Jewish apocalypses, the Hellenistic mystery cults, and magical papyri.¹⁸ The essay begins with the origin of the term and concept of the "messianic secret" in Mark and continues with the history of scholarship. It then turns to the theme of secrecy in Jewish apocalypticism, focusing on the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36), Daniel, the Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71), and 4 Ezra. The discussion then shifts to the Hellenistic mystery religions, including reflections on the purpose of secrecy by ancient authors. It then turns to the Greek Magical Papyri, which only sometimes involve secrecy.

¹⁸ Adela Yarbro Collins, "Messianic Secret and the Gospel of Mark: Secrecy in Jewish Apocalypticism, the Hellenistic Mystery Religions, and Magic," in *Rending the Veil: Concealment and Secrecy in the History of Religions*, ed. Elliot R. Wolfson, New York University Annual Conference in the History of Religions (New York/London: Seven Bridges Press, 1999), 11–30. This essay is included in the present volume.

In the discussion of Mark, I argue that the various themes of secrecy are literary devices, some of which, like the Jewish apocalypses, reveal secrets only in a veiled and partial way. Others, like the mystery cults, surround the miracles of Jesus and his teaching about suffering with secrecy because they are manifestations of the divine and need to be presented with the proper solemnity.

As I had struggled with the ambiguity of the Greek term *λύτρον* as an interpretation of the death of Jesus in Mark 10:45, I also found the honorific title “Son of God” in Mark to be highly ambiguous. The narrative of Mark does not present this term in contexts that make clear what it means. To solve this problem I took as a premise that different ancient audiences would understand the relevant passages differently, depending on their previous experiences with the idea of divine sonship. So I wrote two articles to show how this assumption works in practice. The first considers how readers and listeners from a Jewish cultural context would understand the phrase, and the second does the same for those from Greek and Roman cultural contexts.¹⁹ I concluded that the epithet “Son of God” in Mark, read from a Jewish perspective, is a royal designation in general and a messianic affirmation in particular. Further, Mark portrays Jesus, when he takes on the role of Messiah, as a cosmic ruler, a heavenly being who mediates the blessing and rule of God to all creation. With regard to Mark’s Greek and Roman readers and listeners, I argued that the account of the transfiguration might have created the impression that Jesus walked the earth as a pre-existent, divine being. There is, however, no explicit attribution of pre-existence and no virginal conception in Mark. Greeks and Romans would have associated the elements of the narrative portrayal of Jesus with their understanding of divine men: philosophers and other wise men; inspired diviners; benefactors, especially Herakles; and those who died a noble or effective death. They might have associated Jesus with Augustus and other praiseworthy emperors, who were regularly addressed as “son of god” in inscriptions and the imperial cults.²⁰

Jesus’s action in the temple (Mark 15:15–17) is a key passage that had received a lot of scholarly attention, but I disagreed with some of the treatments of it. My contribution to a volume in honor of Hans Dieter Betz provided an opportunity to present my views on the subject.²¹ A summary and critical assessment

¹⁹ Adela Yarbro Collins, “Mark and His Readers: The Son of God among Jews,” *HTR* 92 (1999): 393–408; “Mark and His Readers: The Son of God among Greeks and Romans,” *HTR* 93 (2000): 85–100. Both of these essays are included in this volume.

²⁰ See also my essay “The Worship of Jesus and the Imperial Cult,” in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 234–57.

²¹ Adela Yarbro Collins, “Jesus’s Action in Herod’s Temple,” in *Antiquity and Humanity: Essays on Ancient Religion and Philosophy Presented to Hans Dieter Betz*, ed. Adela Yarbro Collins and Margaret M. Mitchell (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 45–61. This essay is included in the present volume.

of previous scholarship on the passage led to the conclusion that the motivation of the historical Jesus for his action on the Temple Mount was probably not primarily economic or concern for social justice. Rather the protest of Jesus had something to do with Herod's remodeling of the Temple Mount. A brief discussion follows of the architectural history of the temple and the views of Ezekiel and the Temple Scroll concerning the temple. This discussion highlights the ambiguous character of the outer court: it is sacred space but also civic space open to Jew and gentile, clean and unclean. Further, Herod's plan for the Temple Mount as a whole resembled a specific type of enclosure with porticoes used extensively in the ruler and imperial cults. The essay suggests that Jesus shared the view expressed by Ezekiel and the Temple Scroll that the outer court should be treated seriously as sacred space: the holiness of the inner court should be extended to the whole Temple Mount, including the outer court. This is why it was inappropriate in his view for doves to be sold and coins to be changed there.

When I was invited to contribute to a Festschrift for Cardinal Albert Vanhoye, S. J., I decided to write on the enigmatic passage about the young man who ran away naked. The word "revisited" in the original title referred to the fact that Vanhoye had previously written on that passage.²² I began the essay with a discussion of the exegetical problems involved in the interpretation of the passage. I then turned to the history of scholarship. Earlier I had been strongly attracted to the argument that the incident was symbolic, for example, that it was a subtle reference to the empty tomb. Vanhoye had taken this position in his article. In researching and writing the article for Vanhoye's Festschrift, however, I changed my mind and came to agree with Harry Fleddermann that this young man "is in contrast to Jesus who accepts the passion as God's will (14:36)."²³ I came to see this passage as involving a narrative *synkrisis*, a rhetorical contrast between two characters, the young man and Jesus. There are several such comparisons in Mark.²⁴

As shown above, the essay on "The Empty Tomb in the Gospel according to Mark" discusses the ancient notion of transferral with reference to the earliest texts reflecting this idea, which are from the ancient Near East. I also treated passages of this type from the Hebrew Bible and from the oldest relevant Greek texts. Finally, I briefly analyzed passages from Berossus, Josephus, and

²² Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Flight of the Naked Young Man Revisited," in *Il Verbo di Dio è vivo: Studi sul Nuovo Testamento in onore del Cardinale Albert Vanhoye, S.J.*, ed. José Enrique Aguilar Chiu et al., AnBib 165 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2007), 123–37; this article is included in the present volume without the word "Revisited" in the title. See also Albert Vanhoye, "La fuite du jeune homme nu (Mc 14,51–52)," *Bib* 52 (1971): 401–5.

²³ Harry Fleddermann, "The Flight of a Naked Young Man (Mark 15:51–52)," *CBQ* 41 (1979): 412–18; quotation from 416.

²⁴ Another example is the presentation of Peter as lying to the servant girl and others in the courtyard, presumably out of fear, while at the same time, inside the house of the high priest, Jesus testified truthfully, overcoming his fear of death (Mark 14:61–72).

Index of Ancient Sources

Old Testament

Genesis		Deuteronomy	
1:27	145	5:16 LXX	141 f.
2:2–3	136	18:15	71
2:24	145	18:18–19	71
5:5	199 f.	18:18	71
5:22, 25	271	21:22–23	264
5:24	271	31–34	199 f.
6:1–4	69 f., 115	32	215 f.
19	77 f.	34:5, 6	271
35:8	199 f.		
39:6–20	186 f., 194 f.	Joshua	
47:28–50:14	199 f.	3:7–4:18	53
49	215 f.	23	215 f.
50:24	215 f.	23:1–24:31	199 f.
Exodus		Judges	
3:6	133 f.	6–8	40
3:15–16	133 f.		
14:21–29	53	2 Samuel	
21:16 LXX	141 f.	7:12–14	132 f.
24:3–8	221	7:14	65, 73–74
24:6	222 f.	12:24–25	66 f.
27:3	98 f.	12:25	66
29:12	222 f.	22	212 f.
30:27–28	98 f.	23	39
34–35	106		
		1–2 Kings	11
Leviticus			
1:5, 11	222 f.	1 Kings	
3:2, 8, 13	222 f.	2:9	281 f.
4:7	222 f.	2:10–12a	199 f.
4:18	222 f.	6–7	105
4:25	222 f.	15:5	135 f.
4:34	222 f.	17:8–16	281 f.
16	227	17:17–24	281 f.
16:19	225 f.	18:12	130 f.
16:21–22	222 f., 227 f.	18:46	281 f.
16:22 MT	222 f.	19:4–8	130 f.
17:11 MY	223 f.	19:16	67 f., 130 f.

19:19–21	130 f.	22 (21 LXX)	178 f., 210 f., 211 f.,
22:24	68 f.		214
3 Kingdoms (= LXX of 1 Kings)		22:1 RSV	213 f.
8:4	98 f.	22:2 MT	213 f.
2 Kings		22:6–8	178 f.
2	271, 281 f.	22:6–8 RSV	210 f.
2:8	53	22:7–9 MT	210 f.
2:9	67 f., 130 f.	22:16 RSV	210 f.
2:11	284 f.	22:17 MT	210 f.
2:15	67 f., 130 f.	22:18	178
2:16	130 f.	22:18 RSV	210 f.
23:4	96 f.	22:19 MT	210 f.
23:6–7	96 f.	35:11	182 f.
23:11–12	96 f.	37:14–15 LXX	208 f.
		38	208
		38:11 NRSV	176
		38:13–14 NRSV/RSV	176 f., 208 f.
2 Chronicles	4		
20:5	105 f.	38:14–15 MT	208 f.
24:20–22	4 f., 164	41:6, 12 LXX	205 f.
Ezra		41:11 LXX	206 f.
7:11	24 f.	42–43	205
		42 MT	209 f.
		42 LXX	209 f.
Nehemiah		42:5 LXX	205 f.
8:1–4	24 f.	42:10 RSV	206 f.
Job		42:11	206
9:8	51, 62	42:11 MT	206 f.
9:11	5, 62	42:5, 11 RSV	205 f.
38:16	51 f.	42:6, 12 MT	205 f.
		43:5 MT	205 f.
Psalms		43:5 RSV	205 f.
2	76	49:1 RSV	175 f.
2:7	65, 66, 75	45:6 RSV	65
2:9	68 f.	45:7 MT	65
8:5 LXX	137 f.	68:30	205 f.
17:7 LXX	212 f.	69 (68 LXX):1	175 f.
17:17–20 LXX	212 f.	69:4	182 f.
18	178, 212	69 (68 LXX):13–15	175 f.
18:6–19	178 f.		
18:6 RSV	212 f.	69 [68 LXX]:17, 20, 29	175 f.
18:7 MT	212 f.		
18:16–19 RSV	212 f.	74:12–17	51
18:17–20 MT	212 f.	77:16	51
21:2 LXX	213 f.	77:19–20	51
21:7–9 LXX	210 f.	77:19	51–52
21:17 LXX	210 f.	89:26–27	65 f.
21:19 LXX	210 f.	94:21	182 f.

109:2-3, 6-7	182 f.	Jeremiah	
110	92	7:11	150
110:1	78, 196, 280, 287	52:18	98 f.
110:3	65, 66		
		Ezekiel	
Isaiah		3:12-15	130 f.
1:11, 17	238 f.	8:3	130 f.
5:1-7	72	11:1	130 f.
5:7	72	11:24	130 f.
11:1-5	68	32:7-8	123 f.
11:2-4	68 f.	36:25-28	146
11:3	68 f.	37:1	130 f.
11:4	68-69 f.	40-48	105, 150-51
11:1-3	68	40:17-47	105 f.
11:2	68	40:42	98 f.
13:10	123 f.	40:44-47	105 f.
29:13	140	42:1-14	105 f.
40:3	145	43:5	130 f.
42:1	65, 66, 67	43:18-27	105 f.
43:16-21	52	44:5-9	105 f., 150 f.
43:16-17	51 f.	44:10-14	105 f.
43:16	52	44:15-31	105 f.
43:18-19	52	46:1-3	105 f.
43:19b-21	52	46:19-20	105 f.
44:1-2	67	47:13-48:29	105 f.
50:6-7	209 f.	48:15	105 f.
51:9-11	51, 52	51:7	206 f.
51:9-10	51 f.		
51:10	51	Daniel	
53:10 MT	243 f.	2	116 f., 117, 123
52:7	147	2:18-19	117 f.
52:11	98 f.	2:28-29	30
52:13-53:12	208-9, 209 f.	2:31-35	20
53	8, 222	3	162, 167 f.
53:4-6 MT	223 f.	6	162, 167 f.
53:6, 11 MT	223 f.	7	92, 129, 137, 156
53:7	176 f., 208	7-12	117
53:8-9, 12	224 f.	7:7-27	20
53:10	224 f.	7:9	71 f., 268 f.
53:11 LXX	242	7:13-14	78
53:12	178, 207-8, 223 f.	7:13	27, 28, 78, 123, 129
53:12b MT	223 f.	7:15-18	268 f.
53:12b LXX	223 f.	8:9-26	20
56:7	150	8:15-26	268 f.
61:1-11	67	8:15-16	268 f.
61:1	67 f.	8:17-18	269 f.
		9:21-23	268 f.
		9:21	268 f.

9:24–27	20	2:12–16 LXX	195 f.
9:26–27	28	2:16 MT	187, 194 f., 195
10:2–14	268 f.	2:16 LXX	187
10:5	268 f.	8:9	187, 195, 211
10:8–12	269 f.		
10:21	290 f.	Jonah	
11:21–12:4	20	1–2	52
11:33	117 f.	2:7 (2:8 LXX)	212 f.
11:36	74 f.	4:9	206
12:2	260, 276		
12:3	72 f., 260	Habakkuk	
12:7	28	3:3b–4	52
12:9	117 f.	3:8	52
12:10–12	22 f.	3:15	52
12:11–12	33		
12:13	20	Haggai	
		2:15–16a LXX	153 f.
Joel			
2:10	123 f.	Malachi	
2:31	123 f.	3:23–24 MT	71 f.
		3:23 MT	276 f., 281 f.
Amos		4:5–6 RSV	71 f.
2:12–16	194	4:5 RSV	276 f., 281 f.

Deuterocanonical Books of the Old Testament

Tobit		2 Maccabees	
13:4	67 f.	3:26, 33	268 f.
		5:21	5 f., 57 f.
Wisdom of Solomon		6	170
1–5	71	6–7	199 f., 224
2	162, 163, 180	6:12–7:42	170
2:10	66	6:18–31	161 f., 167 f.
2:13	66–67	6:18	225 f.
2:16	67 f.	6:19	167 f., 168 f.
4	162	6:21–23	167 f.
5	162, 163, 180	6:23	167 f.
10:18–19	53 f.	6:24	167 f.
14:3	53 f., 67	6:25	167 f.
		6:26	167 f.
Sirach		6:28	167 f.
Prologue	24	6:28b	168 f.
22:27–23:6	67 f.	6:30	168 f.
23:1	67 f.	6:31	167 f.
23:4	67 f.	7	161 f., 170
24:5–6	53 f.	7:1–5	168 f.

7:3–5	169f.	5–18	199f.
7:3, 12, 24, 39	169f.	5:1–7:23	161f.
7:6, 9, 11, 14, 18	169f.	5:1	170f.
7:10–11	275	5:4	225f.
7:18	224f.	5:22–24	171f.
7:23, 29, 32–33, 36a	169f.	6:1–11	171f.
	224f.	6:6:24–26	171f.
7:32	224f., 225f.	6:27–29	171f., 175f.
7:37–38	224f., 225f.	6:28	225f.
11:8–10	268f.	6:29	182f., 225f.
11:12	195f.	8:1–18:24	161f.
12:45	251f.	17:20–22	225f.
14:37–46	199f., 275f.	17:21–22.	182f.
		17:21	225f.
3 Maccabees		17:22	251
6:3	67f.	1 Esdras	
6:8	67f.	8:63	222f.
4 Maccabees		2 Esdras (chapters 3–14 = 4 Ezra)	
1:1–3:18	170f.	7:19	98f.
1:11	225f.	13:32	209f.
3–18	170		

Other Ancient Jewish Sources

1 Enoch 1–36	8	62:14	78f.
1	115f.	69:26	118f.
2–5	115f.	71:16–17	78f.
6–11	69, 115f.	1 Enoch 90:31	276
10:16–11:2	116f.	1 Enoch 91–104	
12–36	116f.	104:2, 4, 6	275f.
12:3–4	116f.	1QH ^a	
15:3–4	69f.	12:9–11	12, 141f.
15:8	69f.	12:13–18	141f.
16:3	116f.	17:35–36	67f.
22	116f.	1QM	
1 Enoch 37–71	8	5:1–2	146f.
37:3–5	117f.	11:6–7	147f.
38	118f.	17:7–8	146f.
48:6–7	118f.	1QpPs	
49:3	68f.	frg. 9.1–2	205f.
51:4	275f.		
62:2	68f.		
62:7	118f.		
62:10	188f.		

1QS		11QMelch	
2:25–3:5	112 f.	2:4	147 f.
4:16–23	146 f.	2:7	147 f.
4:18–23	146 f.	2:15–16	147 f.
5:7–12	117 f.	2:16	148 f.
8:12–16	145 f.	2:18–19	148 f.
9:10–11	68 f., 146 f.	2:24–25	147 f.
9:11	73 f., 148 f.		
9:17–20	145 f.	11Q19 (11QT ^B ; see also Temple Scroll)	
		19:5–6	107 f., 151 f.
1QSa (Rule of the Congregation)		29:8–10	153 f.
	146 f.	30–45	151 f.
1QSb (Rule of Benedictions)		32:10–12	107 f., 151 f.
	146 f.	37:8–14	107 f., 151 f.
		38:12–39:11	107 f., 151 f.
1Q28a		40:5–6	107 f., 151 f.
2:11–12	75 f.	46:5–12	107 f., 151 f.
		47:3–7	107 f.
4Q 166		4 Baruch/Paralip. Jer.	
ii 5–6	141 f.	3:9	98 f.
4Q174 (Florilegium)		b. Hag.	
1:11–12	74 f.	16a	70 f.
4Q174 + 4Q477 (Eschatological Midrash)		b. Git.	
	146 f.	68a	70 f.
4Q175 (Testimonia)		b. Pesahim	
	71 f., 146 f.	57a	103 f.
5–8	148 f.	b. Shabbat	
4Q246	74, 76, 79	109a	139 f.
4Q265		b. Yoma	
5 6–7	139 f.	85b	137 f.
4Q271		CD	
frg. 3, lines 10–15	145 f.	4:19–5:2	145 f.
4Q301		6:11	71 f.
4–5	141 f.	7:19–21	146 f.
4Q371–372	67 f.	7:18–21	147 f.
4Q385 (Pseudo-Ezekiel)		10:22–23	135 f.
	147 f.	12:23–13:1	73 f.
4Q521	67 f.	14:19	73 f., 146 f.
4QpIsa ^a	68 f.	16:7–9	12, 141 f.
		19:10–11	73 f.
		20:1	73 f.

4 Ezra		5.219	212 f.
4:21	33 f.	5.446–451	177 f.
4:52	33 f.	5.506	103 f.
14:1–6	118 f.	6.228	154 f.
14:21–22	119 f.	6.232	154 f.
14:37–48	119 f.	6.236	154 f.
		6.249–252	154 f.
Jubilees		6.256–258	154 f.
7:21	69 f.	6.265–266	154 f.
10:1	69 f.	6.277	154 f.
23:31	261	6.283–285	154 d.
		6.388–389	98 f.
Josephus		7.26–36, 153–157	179 f.
<i>Antiquities</i>		7.455	24 f.
1.18, 24	24 f.	20.162–163	104 f.
1.85	274	<i>Vita</i>	
2.34	103 f.	27	24 f.
5.277	268 f.	189–194	102 f.
9.28	72 f., 274	Jubilees	
11.68	24 f.	1:17	153 f.
13.297	140 f.	1:29	153 f.
13.298	140 f.	Let. Aris.	
14.218	24 f.	298	140 f.
14.265	24 f.	m. Hullin	
18.16	132 f.	1:5	102 f.
18.26	103 f.	m. Kelim	
20.103	103 f.	29:1	186 f.
20.131	103 f.	m. Kerithot	
20.162–163	150 f.	1.7	102 f.
20.197	103 f.	m. Nedarim	
20.205–207	104 f.	5:6	142 f.
<i>Against Apion</i>		m. Qinnim	102 f.
2.108–109	98 f.	m. Shabbat	
2.106	98 f.	14:3–4	138 f.
<i>Jewish War</i>		22:6	138 f.
2.57–59	179 f.	m. Sheqalim	
2.60–65	179 f.	5:1	102 f.
2.119–166	128 f.	6:5	109 f.
2.162	133 f.		
2.165	132 f.		
2.166	133 f., 134 f.		
2.243	103 f.		
2.254–256	104 f., 150 f.		
2.305–308	177 f.		
2.433–448			
5.212–214	179 f., 213 f.		

m. Shevu'ot		Pseudo-Phocylides	
3:8	142 f.	97–98	274
		99	274–75
m. Yoma		100–102	275
8:6	139 f.	103–104	275
Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, Shabbtha		<i>Sword of Moses</i>	58
	137 f.		
1	137 f.	t. Shabbat	
		12[13].8–14	138 f.
Philo		16[17].16	138 f.
<i>Flaccus</i>		16[17].19	138 f.
36–39	177 f., 209 f.	t. Sheqalim	
<i>Hypoth.</i>		3:2–3	109 f.
7.5	142 f.		
11–18	128 f.	Temple Scroll (see also 11Q19)	
<i>Legat.</i>		Cols. 2–3	106
150–151	108 f.	Cols. 3–13	106–107, 151
<i>Life of Moses</i>		Cols. 30–45	107
2.22	135 f.	Testament of Solomon	
<i>Prob.</i>			69 f.
75–91	128 f.	5:5	70 f.
		20:1–21	70 f.
		20:12	70 f.
Psalms of Solomon		y. Shabbat	
3:10–12 (3:13–16)	276 f.	14:4	139 f.
17:21–24	68 f.	14d	139 f.
17:21	73 f.		
17:26–27	73 f.	y. Yoma	
17:37	68 f.	8:5	136 f.
		45b	136 f.

New Testament

Matthew		26:28	222 f.
12:39–41	206 f.	26:60–61	100 f.
13:43	72	27:4, 19	180 f.
14:33	61	27:39–40	100 f.
16:4	206 f.	28:2	277
17:24–27	101	28:3	71
21:12–17	96 f.	28:9	277
21:12	97 f.	28:9–10	285
24:2	100 f.	28:16–20	277, 285

Mark		4:39c	48, 62
1:1–15	1 f.	5:7	70, 85
1:1	6, 40, 41, 64–65, 66	5:17	236
1:8	189	5:21–24a	281 f.
1:1–3	145 f.	5:35–43	281 f.
1:2–15	147	5:37	127 f.
1:L4–15	145 f.	5:42	266
1:9–11	236	5:43	127 f.
1:10	67, 124 f., 130 f., 155 f.	6:1–6b	236
1:11	65, 123 f.	6:2	130 f.
1:12	130 f.	6:3	236
1:12–13	130 f.	6:6b	130 f.
1:14–15	130 f.	6:7–13, 30	287 f.
1:15	147	6:30–44	61, 281 f.
1:16–21	130 f.	6:32–34	130 f.
1:21–28	123 f.	6:33–44	48
1:22	129 f.	6:34	47
1:23	124 f.	6:36	47
1:24	70, 124 f.	6:37–41	49
1:24–25	124 f.	6:45	47
1:27	124 f.	6:48–49	51 f.
1:34	113 f., 124 f.	6:48	48, 62
1:35	265	6:36–51	48
1:40–45	124 f.	6:45	61
1:44	113 f., 124 f., 148 f., 149 f.	6:46	48
2:5	283 f.	6:48	48
2:7	237 f.	6:49	49
2:10	78, 129 f.	6:50	49
2:13	130 f.	6:51b	48, 62
2:14	130 f.	6:52	5, 48, 61, 63
2:15–17	133 f.	7:1–23	12, 139–44
2:23–28	12	7:3	140 f.
2:27–28	136–37	7:4	140
2:28	78, 129 f.	7:5	140
3:1–6	12, 138–39	7:8	12 f., 140–41
3:5	62	7:9–13	12, 141
3:7–12	69, 71	7:9	141
3:11–12	124 f.	7:11	141
3:11	69	7:12–13	142 f.
3:12	113 f.	7:14–23	143
3:21–22	236	7:14–15	144 f.
3:23	125 f.	7:14	142
4	123	7:15	12–13, 111 f., 142–43
4:1–34	124 f., 125	7:17–23	144 f.
4:1–2	130 f.	7:17	125 f.
4:9	25 f.	7:18–19	13
4:11–12	113 f.	7:18b–19a	143 f.
4:38	130 f.	7:19b	98 f., 112 f., 143 f.

7:32–37	61	11:17	130 f.
7:36	127 f.	11:18	149 f., 152 f.
8–10	123	11:20–25	149 f.
8:1–10	61, 281 f.	11:27–33	153 f.
8:14–21	113 f.	11:27–28	149 f.
8:17	62	11:27	130 f.
8:22–26	61	12:1–12	72
8:26	127 f.	12:1	125 f.
8:27–30	71, 129 f.	12:1–37	130 f.
8:27–28	130 f.	12:6	123 f.
8:27	280	12:9	77 f.
8:29	128 f., 287	12:12–13	149 f.
8:30	113 f.	12:12	153 f.
8:30–31	128 f.	12:13–17	111 f.
8:31–9:1	72	12:18–27	12 f., 132 f.
8:32	125 f.	12:35–37	196 f.
8:34–9:1	71, 183, 189	12:35	280 f., 287
8:34–37	279	12:36	78 f., 127
8:34–38	127 f.	12:41	130 f.
8:38	77, 78, 123 f., 129 f., 279	13	2, 11, 19, 73, 77, 86, 87, 123, 279
9:1	32, 147 f., 269	13:1	130 f.
9:2–3	71	13:1–4	20
9:2–8	85	13:2–3	155 f.
9:7	71, 123 f.	13:4	28, 154 f.
9:9	113 f., 281 f.	13:1–2	19, 28
9:9–12	213	13:2	100 f., 153
9:13	281	13:3–37	28
9:15	268 f.	13:3–31	19
9:20	23 f.	13:5–8	20
9:27	23 f.	13:5b–27	32
8:38	130 f.	13:5b–23	32
9:38–39	30	13:5b–6	11, 20, 29, 32
9:41	30, 287	13:5	30
9:42–48	77 f.	13:5b	33 f.
9:43–48	148 f.	13:6	19, 29, 30
10:1	130 f.	13:7–8	19, 30
10:2–12	144–45	13:7	31
10:2–9	144	13:9–13	19, 20, 32, 73, 183, 279
10:2	144	13:9	31 f., 33 f.
10:34	191, 192, 193	13:10	31, 34
10:35	130 f.	13:9–11	30, 31 f.
10:38–39	189	13:9	30
10:38	242	13:10	19
10:41–44	242	13:12–16	20
10:45	7, 8, 77 f., 183, 227 f., 240 f.	13:16	195 f.
11:14	149 f.	13:14–23	32
11:15	130 f.	13:14–20	19, 20, 77 f.

13:14–20	188 f.	14:61–62a	123 f.
13:14–16	187	14:61–62	280 f.
13:14	12, 21, 24, 31, 33, 34	14:62	77 f., 78, 122 f., 123 f., 127 f., 129 f., 214, 269, 270
13:16	187		287
13:19–22	20	15	75–76
13:21–27	20	15:2	76 f.
13:21–22	19, 20, 32	15:6–15	76 f.
13:21	286 f.	15:9	76 f.
13:23	19, 32, 33 f.	15:12	76 f.
13:24–27	11, 19, 20, 21, 25–27, 77 f., 123 f., 129 f., 147 f., 270	15:15–17	9
13:26	269	15:16–20	8, 76 f., 232, 240 f.
13:27	77, 127 f., 279	15:24	210 f.
13:28–37	21	15:26	76 f.
13:30–32	19, 33	15:29–30	100 f., 155 f.
13:30–31	32	15:29	178 f.
13:32–36	32–33, 34	15:30	178 d.
13:32	19, 33, 73	15:31	91
13:33–37	19, 20	15:32	76 f., 178 f., 287
13:33	33	15:33	187, 195
13:34–36	19, 33, 73	15:34	212 f.
13:37	33	15:37–38	3
14–16	3	15:37	212 f.
14–15	175ß	15:38	155 f., 156 f., 212 f.
14:1–16:8	1 f.	15:39	76–77, 76 f., 80, 88, 122 f., 293 f.
14:1–15:39	3	15:40–41	263
14:1–2	153 f., 237 f.	15:40	264
14:3–9	264	15:42–46	263
14:22–25	221 f.	15:42–43	264
14:23–24	183	15:42	264
14:24	8, 77 f., 221–22, 225 f., 240, 251	15:46	188, 190, 192, 264
14:25	182 f.	15:47	263
14:28	3, 267, 269, 270, 285	15:50	190
14:33	268 f.	16:1–8	3, 188, 263, 264, 266, 276, 277
14:36	10, 132 f., 156 f., 190, 227 f., 255	16:1–2	265
14:41	195	16:1	264
14:46	186	16:2	265, 266
14:50	187, 191	16:3	268
14:51–52	187, 188, 189, 190, 192	16:4	268
14:51	196	16:5	71 f., 185, 188, 189, 196, 268
14:55	181 f.	16:6	266–67, 268–69, 269 f., 280 f.
14:56–59	237	16:7	3, 266, 267, 269, 270, 285
14:57–58	155 f.	16:8	262, 265–66, 267, 270
14:58	100 f.		
14:61–72	10		
14:61–64	237		

Luke		20:78	265
3:2	103 f.	22:6–11	285 f.
11:29–30, 32	206 f.	23:2	103 f.
12:11–12	20, 31 f.	23:8	133 f.
12:35–46	33 f.	24:1	103 f.
19:12–17	33 f.	26:12–18	285 f.
19:45–48	96 f.		
19:45	97 f.	Romans	
21:6	100 f.	1:3–4	92 f.
23:47	180	3:24–25	251 f.
24	286	6:12	260
24:1	265	12:1	260
24:4	71 f.		
24:13–35	286 f.	1 Corinthians	
24:13–32, 44–49	215 f.	6:15	260
		7:4	260
John		9:14	27 f.
2:13–22	96 f.	9:27	260
2:14–15	97 f.	11:23	258 f.
2:14	109 f.	12:27	260
2:19	100 f.	13:3	260
14:25–26	215 f.	15	3
18:13–24	103 f.	15:1–3	258
20:5–7	188	15:3	203, 208
20:11–18	285 f.	15:3–5	258
20:12	71 f.	15:5	269
20:26–29	286 f.	15:3–7	259
21	286	15:5–9	285
21:9–13	286 f.	15:8–11	259
21:9–14	286 f.	15:12–19	255
		15:20–23	276
Acts		15:35–50	259
1–5	261 f.	15:36–44a	289 f.
1	286	15:36–37	259
1:10–11	268 f.	15:37–38	259
1:10	71 f., 268 f.	15:40–41	259
2:22–24	261 f.	15:40–42	260
2:24–31	292 f.	15:42–44	260
2:25–31	261 f.	15:44	259
3:13–15	261 f.	15:50	261
4:6	103 f.	15:51–52	276
4:10–12	261 f.	15:52	279
5:30–32	261 f.		
9:3–9	285 f.	2 Corinthians	
12:8	194 f.	5	261
12:12	19	5:2–4	261 f.
13:29	262	10:10	260
13:34–37	261 f., 292 f.		

Galatians		Revelation	
1:15–16	285 f.	1:3	24 f.
Philippians		1:5–6	251
1:20	260	2:7	25 f.
2:6–11	92	2:11	25 f.
Colossians		2:17	25 f.
4:16	24 f.	3:4	72 f.
1 Thessalonians		4:4	71 f.
1:10	26	6:11	72 f.
4:13–18	11, 25–27	6:15–16	188 f.
4:17	279	6:19–20	213 f.
5:1–6	33 f.	7:9	72 f.
5:27	24	7:13	72 f.
1 Timothy		10:19–20	213 f.
4:13	24	13:18	22
2 Timothy		15:6	71 f.
3:14–17	24 f.	16:15	187
Hebrews		17:9	22 f.
2:10–18	216 f.	19:14	71 f.
9:21	98 f.	21:5b	32 f.
		22:6a	32 f.

Greco-Roman Literature

Acta Alexandrinorum (Acts of the Alexandrians = Acts of the Pagan Martyrs) 161 f., 171–73, 209 Acts of Paul and Antoninus 209	Apollonius Rhodius <i>Argonautica</i> 1.179–184 54
Antoninus Liberalis <i>Metamorphosen synagoge</i> 25 230 f.	Appian <i>Roman History, The Civil War</i> 2.106 283 f.
Apollodorus <i>The Library</i> 1.4.3 54 f. 2.4.12 274 2.7.7 272 f.	Apuleius <i>Metamorphoses</i> 13 57 f.
	Artemidorus <i>Oneirocritica</i> 1.1 58 f.

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|---------|
| 1.3, 5, 7–8 | 58 f. | | |
| 3.16 | 58 f. | | |
| Berosus | | | |
| <i>Babyloniaca</i> | | | |
| 2.2.2 | 274 f. | | |
| Callimachus | | | |
| <i>Aetia</i> | | | |
| frag. 90 | 229 f. | | |
| Cicero | | | |
| <i>De natura deorum</i> | | | |
| 3.6.15 | 238 f. | | |
| <i>De re publica</i> | | | |
| 2.20 | 286 f. | | |
| <i>Letters to Atticus</i> | | | |
| 12.45.2 | 283 f. | | |
| 13.28.3 | 283 f. | | |
| 13.44.1 | 283 f. | | |
| <i>Tusculan Disputations</i> | | | |
| 1.118 | 174 f. | | |
| 2.42–65 | 171 f. | | |
| 7.71–74 | 198 f. | | |
| Demosthenes | | | |
| <i>Orations</i> | | | |
| 21.216 | 194 f. | | |
| Dio Cassius | | | |
| <i>Roman History</i> | | | |
| 44.4.4 | 283 f. | | |
| 44.6.4 | 283 f. | | |
| 56.31.2–43.1 | 292 f. | | |
| 56.46.1–3 | 288 f. | | |
| 63.13 | 238–39 f., 242 f. | | |
| 63.15 | 239 f. | | |
| Dio Chrysostom | | | |
| 11.129 | 58 f. | | |
| 30.30–31 | 56 f. | | |
| Diodorus Siculus | | | |
| 4.38.5 | 291 f. | | |
| | | Diogenes Laertius | |
| | | 1.72 | 215 f. |
| | | 1.117–118 | 214 f. |
| | | 1.118 | 215 f. |
| | | 2.15 | 215 f. |
| | | 2.112 | 200 f. |
| | | 2.120 | 200 f. |
| | | 2.144 | 200 f. |
| | | 3.2 | 82 f. |
| | | 3.40–41 | 215 f. |
| | | 4.3 | 200 f. |
| | | 4.44–45 | 200 f. |
| | | 4.61 | 200 f. |
| | | 4.64 | 215 f. |
| | | 5.68 | 200 f. |
| | | 6.90 | 194 f. |
| | | 6.100 | 200 f. |
| | | 7.164 | 200 f. |
| | | 7.184 | 199, f. |
| | | 9.26–27 | 170 f. |
| | | 9.58–59 | 170 f. |
| | | Dionysius of Halicarnassus | |
| | | <i>Ant. Rom.</i> | |
| | | 2.56.2–7 | 287 f. |
| | | 2.56.2 | 287 f. |
| | | 2.56.3 | 287 f. |
| | | 2.56.6 | 288 f. |
| | | 2.63.3–4 | 288 f. |
| | | 2.63.4 | 287 f. |
| | | Empedocles | |
| | | <i>Purifications</i> | |
| | | frg. 112 | 84 f. |
| | | frg. 102 | 84 f. |
| | | frg. 399 | 84 f. |
| | | Epictetus | |
| | | <i>Discourses</i> | |
| | | 4.1.159–177 | 174 f. |
| | | Euripides | |
| | | <i>Heraclidae</i> | |
| | | 499 | 226 f. |

- Iphigenia at Aulis*
 1383–1384 226 f.
 1420, 1472–1473 226 f.
- Phoenician Women*
 948, 952 226 f.
 997–998 226 f.
- Herodian
- De prosodia catholica*
 228 f.
- History of the Empire since
 the Death of Marcus Aurelius*
 4.1–2 291 f.
- Herodotus
- History*
 1.23–24 234 f.
 1.30 165 f., 166 f., 198 f.
 1.107–130 165 f.
 1.177–188 165 f.
 1.201–214 165 f.
 3.61–66 165 f.
 4.36 55
 5.39–41 165 f.
 6.34–38 165 f.
 6:38 166 f., 181 f.
 6.39–41 165 f.
 6:73–84 165 f.
 6.75 165 f.
 6.103–104 165 f.
 6.132–140 165 f.
 7.33–57 55
 7.35 56 f.
- Hesiod
- Catalogue of Women*
 63 84 f.
- Hymn to Demeter*
 101 86 f.
 118–122 86 f.
 211 86 f.
 248 86 f.
 268–274 86 f.
 275–280 86 f.
- Theogony*
 1–35 233 f.
 47 81 f.
 940–942 81 f.
 943–944 82 f.
 950–955 82 f.
- Homer
- Iliad*
 1.444 222 f.
 1.544 81 f.
 11.1 271
 13.26–30 52 f.
 14.321–322 272
 16.843–854 214 f.
 19.1–2 271
 20.215–229 59 f.
 20.230–235 271
 20.237 271
 22.303–305 198 f.
 22.355–360 214 f.
- Odyssey*
 4.560–570 272
 5.333–335 272 f.
 15.248–252 271 f.
 17.485–487 85 f.
- Homeric Hymns
 1 82 f.
 26 82 f.
- Hymn to Demeter*
 93–94 86 f.
 478–479 119 f.
- Hyginus
- Fabulae*
 14.15 54 f.
- De astronomia*
 2.34 54 f.
- Iamblichus
- On the Pythagorean Way of Life*
 136 55 f.

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------|--|--------|
| Isocrates | | Menander | |
| <i>Evagoras</i> | 37 | Frg. 924K | 57 f. |
| Julian | | Nepos | |
| <i>Oration</i> | | <i>Atticus</i> | 37 |
| 7.219D | 55 f. | Nicander | |
| <i>Life of Homer</i> | | <i>Theriaca</i> | |
| 2 | 234 f. | 15 | 54 f. |
| Livy | | <i>Of the Origin of Homer and Hesiod</i> | |
| 1.16.1–8 | 284 f. | <i>and Their Context</i> | |
| 1.16.1 | 284 f. | 315 | 234 f. |
| 1.16.3 | 284 f. | 322–323 | 234 f. |
| 1.16.5–7 | 284 f. | 323 | 233 f. |
| 8.9–10 | 238 f. | 324–325 | 235 f. |
| 33.36 | 177 f. | Ovid | |
| Lucian | | <i>Fasti</i> | |
| <i>A True Story</i> | | 6.743–762 | 85 f. |
| 1.2 | 59 f. | <i>Metamorphoses</i> | |
| 2.4 | 59 f. | 13.685–701 | 230 f. |
| <i>Alexander the False Prophet</i> | | 14.581–608 | 286 f. |
| 59 | 200 f. | 14.805–828 | 286 f. |
| <i>Demonax</i> | 37 | 14.810–811 | 286 f. |
| <i>Hermotimus</i> | | 14.816–828 | 286 f. |
| 7 | 274 f. | 14.829–51 | 286 f. |
| <i>How to Write History</i> | | 15.745–870 | 289 f. |
| 8 | 59 f. | 15.746–751 | 290 f. |
| 40 | 57 f. | 15.760–761 | 290 f. |
| <i>Saturnalia</i> | | 15.780–842 | 290 f. |
| 6 | 236 | 15.781–782 | 290 f. |
| <i>The Dead Come to Life</i> | | 15.783–798 | 290 f. |
| | 15–16 | 15.799–800 | 290 f. |
| = <i>The Fisherman</i> | 15–16 | 15.803–808 | 290 f. |
| <i>The Passing of Peregrinus</i> | | 15.808–819 | 290 f. |
| 23, 42 | 215 f. | 15.819–839 | 290 f. |
| | | 15.840–842 | 290 f. |
| | | 15.843–850 | 290 f. |
| | | 15.843–846 | 291 f. |
| Lycophron | | Papyri Graecae Magicae | |
| <i>Alexandra</i> | | I | |
| 886 | 54 f. | 119–121 | 58 f. |
| | | 42–195 | 121 f. |
| | | 130–132 | 121 f. |

192–193	121 f.	Pliny	
III		<i>Letters</i>	
275–281	249 f.	5.5	165 f., 173 f.
IV		6.16	174 f.
52–85	249 f.	8.12	174 f., 181 f.
296–466	249 f.	Plutarch	
475–476	122 f.	<i>Lives:</i>	
XII		<i>Caesar</i>	
319–324	121 f.	69.3–5	88
XIII		69.4–5	178 f., 215 f.
1–343	250 f.	69.4	181 f.
XXXIV		<i>Cato Minor</i>	37
1–24	57 f.	<i>Comparison: Demosthenes and Cicero</i>	
XXXVI		5	200 f.
256–264	250 f.	<i>Numa</i>	
Pausanias		22.2	292 f.
9.17	230 f.	22.4–5	292 f.
Plato		<i>Pelopidas</i>	
<i>Apology</i>		21.4	239 f.
17D	167 f.	<i>Romulus</i>	
32A–33B	167 f.	27.5–8	289 f.
37E–38C	167 f.	27.5	288 f.
37E	167 f.	27.6–7	89 f.
38C	167 f.	28.1–3	288 f.
39AB	167 f.	28.2	289 f.
<i>Phaedo</i>		28.6–7	289 f.
115C–116A	168 f., 181 f.	<i>Moralia:</i>	
115D	169 f.	<i>Dinner of the Seven Wise Men</i>	
117C–118	166 f.	19 (<i>Moralia</i> 162C–F)	
<i>Phaedrus</i>		233 f.	
230D	228 f.	Porphyry	
260C	216 f.	<i>Life of Pythagoras</i>	
274E	228 f.	29	54 f.
275A–B	229 f.	Pseudo-Eratosthenes	
Philostratus		<i>Catasterismi</i>	
<i>Apollonius of Tyana</i>		32	54 f.
37		Sallust	
4.40–41	96 f.	<i>Cataline</i>	1

Satyrus		15.44–64	174 f.
<i>Euripides</i>	37	15.62	174 f.
		15:64	180 f.
Seneca		16	174 f.
		16:11	180 f.
<i>Epistulae Morales</i>			
24.14	171 f.	Thucydides	
		1.22	276–77
<i>Hercules furens</i>		2.49.5	186 f.
322–324	55	3.96	233 f.
796–807	202 f.	6.28	120 f.
Strabo		Virgil	
10.2.9	230 f.	<i>Aeneid</i>	
10.3.9	85 f., 119 f.	5.1057–1059	53 f.
Suetonius		5.1081–1085	53 f.
<i>Lives of the Caesars</i>		<i>Georgics</i>	
	37	1.463–468	88 f.
		1.468	178 f., 215 f.
<i>Divus Augustus</i>		<i>Vita Aesopi</i>	
2.100	292 f.	127	237 f.
<i>Divus Julius Caesar</i>		132	233 f.
76.1	283 f.	Vita G	
80–82	181 f., 215 f.	142	233 f.
84, 88	181 f., 215 f.	Vita W	
Tacitus		132	237 f.
<i>Agricola</i>	37	142	233 f.
<i>Annals</i>		Xenophon	
4.68–70	174 f.	<i>Agésilas</i>	37
6:47–48	174 f.	<i>Memorabilia</i>	
11.1–3	174 f.	2.2.13	222 f.
11:3	180 f.		
14	174 f.		
15	174 f.		

Other Early Christian Literature

Acts of Pilate		[Pseudo-]Clement of Alexandria	
15:6	188		191, 193, 195
<i>Apostolic Tradition</i>		Didache	
21.3–20	189	4.5–7	249 f.
		7	189

Eusebius		Martyrdom of Polycarp	
<i>Hist. eccl.</i> 3.5	22 f.		164
<i>Praep. ev.</i>		Origen	
34.14–15	98 f.	<i>Contra Celsum</i>	
Gospel of Peter		2.9	197 f.
37	277 f.	2.24	197 f.
Gospel of Philip		2:34	210 f.
65.1–8	69 f.	2.38	197 f.
66.2–4	69 f.	2.42	197 f.
Justin Martyr		3.1	216 f.
<i>First Apology</i> 66.3		6.10	197 f.
6		[So-called] Secret Gospel of Mark	
			191, 193

Index of Modern Authors

- Abrahams, Israel 99, 103, 110
Achtemeier, Paul 17 f., 18, 19, 47
Ådna, Jostein 108 f., 109 f., 152 f.
Alsup, John 285 f.
- Baltzer, Klaus 39–40
Barkun, Michael 126
Bauckham, Richard 101–103
Bauer, A. 172
Beasley-Murray, G. R. 20
Benoit, P. 263
Berger, Klaus 165 f.
Bertram, Georg 194
Best, Ernest 23
Betz, Hans Dieter 96, 121, 250 f.
Bickermann, Elias 291
Booth, Wayne 210 f.
Bousset, Wilhelm 75 f., 80, 91, 93, 267
Brandenburger, Egon 19
Brandon, S. G. F. 99
Bremmer, Jan 119, 120 f., 126, 231 f., 232 f.
Brown, Raymond 264
Brown, Schuyler 114
Brown, Scott 193
Brox, Norbert 164
Buckler, William H. 244, 245
Buell, Denise 293 f.
Bultmann, Rudolf 17, 49, 62 f., 82, 114, 255, 260, 266 f., 266–67
Buraselis, Kostas 283 f.
Buresch, Karl 243, 244, 245
Burkert, Walter 120
Burkill, T. A. 114 f.
Burnett, Anne Pippin 235 f.
Burridge, Richard 6, 36–38, 40–41, 42, 43
- Cancik, Hubert 41
Cancik-Lindemaier, Hildegard 239
Clarysse, Willy 248 f.
Colani, Timothy 22
Collins, John J. 67 f.
- Colwell, E. C. 88, 91
Coppens, Joseph 125 f.
Cotter, Wendy 51 f., 52, 53 f., 55, 59 f., 285 f.
Cranfield, C. E. B. 186 f.
Crossan, John Dominic 263 f., 265 f., 269 f.
Culler, Jonathan 36
Cullmann, Oscar 201
- Dalman, Gustaf 75 f.
Dauer, Anton 175
Day, John 51
Deissmann, Adolf 95, 244, 247
Delekat, Lienhard 248
Derrett, Duncan 103
Dewey, Joanna 18
Dibelius, Martin 17, 48–49, 114, 123
Dihle, Albrecht 41, 42
Doering, Lutz 136 f., 138
Dölger, Franz Josef 91 f., 93–94
Donahue, John 22 f., 100, 102 f., 191
Dormeyer, Detlev 4, 40–41, 163, 164, 171, 175, 236 f.
Droge, Arthur J. 166 f.
Dubrow, Heather 36
Dupont, Florence 291–92
- Ebeling, Hans Jürgen 122
Ebner, Martin 136 f.
Eppstein, Victor 104 f.
Evans, Craig 102 f.
Evelyn-White, Hugh 54
- Farrer, Austin 188
Fee, Gordon 24 f.
Field, Frederick 194
Finnegan, Ruth 17
Fitzmyer, Joseph 64, 78–79
Fleddermann, Harry 10, 190
Fowler, Alastair 36, 161, 162 f.
Fowler, Robert M. 21
Fraade, Stephen 144

- Frankemölle, Hubert 41
 Freyne, Sean 11
 Frymer-Kensky, Tikva 52f.

 Gamble, Harry 64f.
 Geiger, Joseph 37
 Georgi, Dieter 242f.
 Gerhart, Mary 1
 Gnilka, Joachim 187, 226f.
 Gould, Ezra 87f., 99f.
 Gradel, Ittai 282f., 292
 Green, Joel 2
 Groff, Kent 189, 190, 191

 Hallett, Christopher 283f.
 Haren, M. and M. Haran 187
 Harrington, Daniel 22f., 191
 Hartman, Lars 6, 20, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30,
 31f.
 Harvey, Van 258
 Hase, K. 214f.
 Hatton, Stephen 191, 194
 Hauerwas, Stanley 255
 Heil, John Paul 62f.
 Heitmüller, Wilhelm 29
 Henaut, Barry 17, 25
 Hengel, Martin 80–81, 88, 92–93, 197,
 226f.
 Henrichs, Albert 239–40
 Heschel, Abraham 200
 Hirsch, E. D. 36
 Hoenig, Sidney 104f.
 Hölscher, Gustav 22
 Holtz, Traugott 26f.
 Hooker, Morna 21
 Horbury, William 64, 75, 79
 Horgan, Maurya 205f.
 Horsley, G. H. R. 246
 Horsley, Richard 100–101

 Johnson, Earl 88, 91
 Johnson, Janet 248f.
 Juel, Donald 77f., 210f.

 Karlsen Seim, Turid 11
 Kelber, Werner 17, 20, 31, 269f., 270
 Kellermann, Ulrich 169f.
 Kermodé, Frank 189–90

 Kister, Menahem 12, 135, 139, 141, 143, 144
 Klauck, Hans-Josef 243f.
 Klein, Ralph 164
 Klostermann, Erich 187, 194f.
 Knibbeler, Lily 227f.
 Knox, John 188, 190, 191f.
 Koester, Helmut 1, 7, 192, 193
 Kramer, S. N. 270f.
 Kremer, J. 265f.

 Lalor, Brian 109f.
 Lambrecht, Jan 21, 32, 33f.
 Lane, Eugene 244, 245–46
 Lefkowitz, Mary 234f.
 Lessing, Gotthold 36, 66
 Lindars, Barnabas 203
 Lindbeck, George 255f.
 Linnemann, Eta 187, 194
 Litwa, M. David 1f.
 Lohmeyer, Ernst 62, 62f., 186f.
 Lohse, Eduard 224
 Loisy, Alfred 187
 Lord, Albert 17
 Luz, Ulrich 114

 Malherbe, Abraham 27f., 42
 Marcus, Joel 31f.
 Matera, Frank 77f.
 Meshorer, Yaakov 110
 Meyer, Marvin 192
 Milgrom, Jacob 106f.
 Millar, Fergus 176
 Momigliano, Arnaldo 4f., 39
 Moule, C. F. D. 30f.
 Musurillo, Herbert 172

 Nagy, Gregory 233f.
 Neiryneck, Frans 194f., 266f.
 Nickelsburg, George 4, 162, 163
 Niebuhr, Richard R. 257

 Osiek, Carolyn 249
 Otto, Eberhard 39

 Parry, Milman 17
 Peddinghaus, C. D. 163
 Perkins, Pheme 267
 Pesch, Rudolf 19, 187, 191f., 265f.

- Petzl, Georg 245, 248
Price, Simon 90, 93
- Räisänen, Heikki 114
Ramsay, William M. 243
Reimarus, Hermann 36, 66, 99
Resch, Alfred 25
Richter, Wolfgang 40
Rigaux, Béda 26
Robbins, Vernon 27 f.
Rohde, Erwin 273
Roloff, Jürgen 114
Ross, J. M. 195 f.
Ruppert, Lothar 4, 162, 163
- Saldarini, Anthony 134
Sanders, E. P. 17, 99, 100, 149
Schenk, W. 188 f., 195 f.
Schenke, Hans-Martin 192 f., 193
Schenke, Ludwig 205
Schiller, Friedrich 201, 202 f.
Schmidt, Karl Ludwig 2, 17, 161 f.
Schmithals, Walter 114 f.
Schneider, Gerhard 187, 190
Schnellbacher, Ernst 188 f.
Schweizer, Eduard 186–87 f.
Scroggs, Robin 189, 190, 191
Sethe, Kurt 248 f.
Sjöqvist, Erik 109 f.
Speiser, E. A. 271 f.
Stegemann, Hartmut 106 f.
Steichele, Hans-Jörg 75 f.
Steinleitner, Franz 247 f.
Stern, David 25
- Stuedel, Annette 106 f.
Surkau, Hans-Werner 224 f.
- Tabor, James D. 166 f.
Taeger, Fritz 92–93
Talbert, Charles 37, 42
Tannehill, Robert 190
Taylor, Vincent 30 f., 186 f.
Theissen, Gert 22, 24 f., 49–50, 50 f., 114–15, 124 f., 186–87
- van den Hoek, Anniewies 244 f.
van der Horst, P. W. 274 f.
Vanhoye, Albert 10, 188–89 f., 190, 191 f.
Vansina, Jan 17
Varinlioglu, Ender 248
Vellacott, Philip 237 f.
Versnel, H. S. 227 f., 240 f., 243 f.
Von Woess, F. 248 f.
- Wanamaker, Charles 26 f.
Warren, Austin 36, 162 f.
Weizsäcker, Carl 23
Wellek, René 36
Wellhausen, Julius 23, 24
Wenham, David 26
Wente, Edward 39
Westermann, Claus 199 f.
Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. 172 f.
Wilcken, Ulrich 172, 248
Wilcox, Max 247 f.
Wilkinson Duran, Nicole 153 f.
Williams, James 1
Wrede, William 113, 122