

REDESCRIBING THE GOSPEL OF MARK

SBL Press

EARLY CHRISTIANITY AND ITS LITERATURE

David G. Horrell, General Editor

Editorial Board:

Amy-Jill Levine

Margaret Y. MacDonald

Dale B. Martin

Laura S. Nasrallah

Number 22

SBL Press



REDESCRIBING THE GOSPEL OF MARK

Edited by

Barry S. Crawford and Merrill P. Miller

SBL Press



SBL PRESS

Atlanta

Copyright © 2017 by SBL Press

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by means of any information storage or retrieval system, except as may be expressly permitted by the 1976 Copyright Act or in writing from the publisher. Requests for permission should be addressed in writing to the Rights and Permissions Office, SBL Press, 825 Houston Mill Road, Atlanta, GA 30329 USA.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Crawford, Barry S., editor. | Miller, Merrill P., editor.

Title: Redescribing the Gospel of Mark / edited by Barry S. Crawford and Merrill P. Miller.

Description: Atlanta : SBL Press, 2017. | Series: Early Christianity and its literature ; Number 22 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016056524 (print) | LCCN 2016057451 (ebook) | ISBN 9781628371635 (paperback) | ISBN 9780884142041 (hardcover) | ISBN 9780884142034 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Bible. Mark—Criticism, interpretation, etc.

Classification: LCC BS2585.53 .R434 2017 (print) | LCC BS2585.53 (ebook) | DDC 226.3/06—dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2016056524>

Printed on acid-free paper.



CONTENTS

Acknowledgments.....	vii
Abbreviations.....	ix
Introduction	
Barry S. Crawford.....	1
Conjectures on Conjunctures and Other Matters: Three Essays	
Jonathan Z. Smith.....	17
The Markan Site	
Jonathan Z. Smith.....	99
Cartwheels: Or on Not Staying Upside Down Too Long	
Burton L. Mack.....	127
On Smith, On Myth, On Mark	
William E. Arnal.....	145
Markan Grappings	
Christopher R. Matthews.....	169
The Spyglass and Kaleidoscope: From a Levantine Coign of Vantage	
Burton L. Mack.....	181
The Social Logic of the Gospel of Mark: Cultural Persistence and Social Escape in a Postwar Time	
Merrill P. Miller.....	207

Mark, War, and Creative Imagination William E. Arnal.....	401
Q and the “Big Bang” Theory of Christian Origins Robyn Faith Walsh.....	483
Ancient Myths and Modern Theories of Christian Origins: The Consultation (1995–1997) and Seminar (1998–2003) in Retrospect with Attention to Successor Groups and a Recommendation Barry S. Crawford and Merrill P. Miller.....	535
Bibliography.....	575
Contributors.....	647
Index of Ancient Texts.....	649
Index of Modern Authors.....	664
Index of Subjects.....	672

SBL Press

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Our thanks to David Horrell, series editor, and the anonymous readers for accepting this volume for publication, and to Nicole Tilford, Bob Buller, and the entire staff of SBL Press for their assistance throughout the publication process.

A special word of thanks to Sharon Urban and Sue Taylor-Owens at Washburn University, whose kindness, patience, and, above all, word processing expertise rescued the present volume on numerous occasions. We also wish to express our gratitude to Yoram and Gabriel Miller. Your timely interventions and your heavy lifting continually kept the project on course. And Abby Aron, this book may have little to do with your own third-grade book project, “Jonathan’s Spooky Adventures,” but thank you for persistently inquiring about the progress of our book, even though it could not be imagined as a graphic novel.

We recognize the contributions of our indexers to the benefit of readers of the volume: for the index of ancient texts, Ian Brown, University of Toronto, and for the index of subjects, Katherine Koopman of Koopman Information Services.

To Bill Arnal, Erin Roberts, and all the current and future participants in the SBL Redescribing project, it is you we had especially in mind while writing the concluding chapter of the volume. The book is dedicated to Sherwood D. Miller, in loving memory.

SBL Press

ABBREVIATIONS

Primary Sources

X	Monacensis, tenth century CE
Ψ	Athous Lavrensis, eighth–ninth century CE
Ⲛ	Sinaiticus, fourth century CE
1 En.	1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)
2 Bar.	2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)
3 Bar.	3 Baruch (Greek Apocalypse)
4 Bar.	4 Baruch (Paraleipomena Jeremiou)
A	Alexandrinus, fifth century CE
Avot R. Nat.	Avot of Rabbi Nathan
Avod. Zar.	Avodah Zarah
<i>Abr.</i>	Philo, <i>De Abrahamo</i>
<i>Abst.</i>	Porphyry, <i>De abstinentia</i>
Acts Pet.	Acts of Peter
<i>Ag. Ap.</i>	Josephus, <i>Against Apion</i>
<i>Alex.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i>
<i>Ann.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
As. Mos.	Assumption of Moses
<i>Apol.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Apologeticus</i>
<i>Bib. hist.</i>	Diodorus Siculus, <i>Bibliotheca historica</i>
B	Vaticanus, fourth century CE
b.	Babylonian Talmud
C	Ephraemi Rescriptus, fifth century CE
<i>Conf.</i>	Philo, <i>De confusione linguarum</i>
<i>Contempl.</i>	Philo, <i>De vita contempliva</i>
D	Beza, fifth century CE
<i>Deipn.</i>	Athenaeus, <i>Deipnosophistae</i>
<i>Descr.</i>	Pausanias, <i>Graeciae descriptio</i>

<i>Dial.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Dialogus de oratoribus</i>
<i>Diatr.</i>	Epictetus, <i>Diatribai (Dissertationes)</i>
<i>Dion.</i>	Nonnus, <i>Dionysiaca</i>
<i>Dom.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Domitianus</i>
<i>Edict.</i>	Justinian, <i>Edicta / The Digest</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	Pliny the Younger, <i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	Seneca, <i>Epistulae morales</i>
<i>Ex. quaest. Rom.</i>	Augustine, <i>Expositio quarumdam quaestionum in epistula ad Romanos</i>
<i>Fab.</i>	Phaedrus, <i>Fabulae</i>
<i>Flacc.</i>	Philo, <i>In Flaccum</i>
<i>Fug.</i>	Philo, <i>De fuga et inventione</i>
<i>Geogr.</i>	Strabo, <i>Geographica</i>
<i>Git.</i>	Gitṭin
<i>Gos. Thom.</i>	Gospel of Thomas
<i>Hal.</i>	Hallah
<i>Hist.</i>	Herodian, <i>Historia</i> ; Herodotus, <i>Historiae</i> ; Tacitus, <i>Historiae</i>
<i>Hist. Rom.</i>	Dio Cassius, <i>Historia Romana</i>
<i>Ign. Eph.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Ephesians</i>
<i>J.W.</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish War/Judean War</i>
<i>Jub.</i>	Jubilees
<i>Ketub.</i>	Ketubbot
<i>Lam. Rab.</i>	Lamentations Rabbah
<i>Legat.</i>	Philo, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>
<i>Life</i>	Josephus, <i>The Life</i>
<i>LXX</i>	Septuagint
<i>m.</i>	Mishnah
<i>Mos.</i>	Philo, <i>De vita Mosis</i>
<i>MT</i>	Masoretic Text
<i>Mut.</i>	Philo, <i>De mutatione nominum</i>
<i>Nav.</i>	Lucian, <i>Navigium</i>
<i>Nero</i>	Suetonius, <i>Nero</i>
<i>Noct. Att.</i>	Aulus Gellius, <i>Attic Nights</i>
<i>Od.</i>	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i>
<i>Opif.</i>	Philo, <i>De opificio mundi</i>
<i>Philops.</i>	Lucian, <i>Philopseudes</i>
<i>Praep. ev.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Preparatio evangelica</i>
<i>Prec. ger. rei publ.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Praecepta gerendae rei publicae</i>

<i>Prov.</i>	Philo, <i>De providentia</i>
<i>Pun.</i>	Silius Italicus, <i>Punica</i>
QG	Philo, <i>Questiones et solutiones in Genesin</i>
<i>Rerum nat.</i>	Lucretius, <i>De rerum natura</i>
<i>Resp.</i>	Plato, <i>Respublica</i>
Shabb.	Shabbat
<i>Satry.</i>	Petronius, <i>Satyricon</i>
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
<i>Somn.</i>	Philo, <i>De somniis</i>
<i>Spec.</i>	Philo, <i>De specialibus legibus</i>
<i>Syr.</i>	Appian, <i>Syriaca</i>
<i>Syr. d.</i>	Lucian, <i>De Syria dea</i>
t.	Tosefta
T. Levi	Testament of Levi
<i>Tranq.</i>	Seneca, <i>De tranquillitate animi</i>
<i>V. Procli</i>	Marinus, <i>Vita Procli</i>
<i>Vita</i>	Josephus, <i>The Life</i>

Secondary Sources

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
AcBib	Academia Biblica
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AJSR	<i>Association for Jewish Studies Review</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Part 2, <i>Principat</i> . Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–.
AOS	American Oriental Series
AR	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
ATLA	American Theological Library Association
BAGD	Bauer, Walter, William F. Arndt, F. Wilbur Gingrich, and Frederick W. Danker, <i>and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BCSSR	<i>Bulletin of the Council of Societies for the Study of Religion</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovanien- sium
BFCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>Bib. hist.</i>	Diodorus Siculus, <i>Bibliotheca historica</i>
BibInt	Bible Interpretation Series
BibSem	The Biblical Seminar
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BSGRT	Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wis- senschaft
CB	Cultura Bibica
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . Edited by August Böckh. 4 vols. Berlin: Reimer, 1828–1877.
CIJ	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum</i> . Edited by Jean-Bap- tiste Frey. 2 vols. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1936–1952.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin, 1862–
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> . Paris, 1881
ConBNT	Coniectanea Neotestamentica or Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CPJ	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i> . Edited by Victor A. Tcherikover. 3 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964.
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamen- tum
CSHJ	Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism
DDD	<i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> . Edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. Leiden: Brill, 1995. 2nd rev. ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999.

DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
ECL	Early Christianity and Its Literature
EPRO	Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
FGH	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . By Felix Jacoby. Leiden: Brill, 1954–1964.
FHG	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> . Edited by C. Müller and T. Müller. 5 vols. Paris: Didot, 1841–1870.
Historia	<i>Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte</i>
HR	<i>History of Religions</i>
HRCS	Hatch, Edwin, and Henry A Redpath. <i>Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament</i> . 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1897. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988.
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ID	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> . Edited by Félix Dürbach, Pierre Roussel, Marcel Launey, André Plasart, and Jacques Couprey. Paris: Académie des inscriptions & belles-lettres, 1926–.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae. Editio Minor</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter, 1924–
IGRR	<i>Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes auctoritate et impensis academiae inscriptionum et litterarum humaniorum collectae et editae</i> . Edited by René Cagnat. Reprints from the collection of the University of Toronto Libraries. Toronto: University of Toronto Libraries, 1901.
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> . 3 vols. Edited by Hermann Dessau. Berlin: Berolini Apud Weidmannos, 1892–1916.
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
JAJ	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JGRChJ	<i>Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>

JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
Jud	<i>Judaica</i>
KAI	<i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> . Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig. 2nd ed. Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966–1969.
KlPauly	<i>Der kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike</i> . Edited by Konrat Ziegler and Walther Sontheimer. 5 vols. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1964–1975.
LASBF	<i>Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
MTSR	<i>Method and Theory in the Study of Religion</i>
MTSRSup	Supplements to Method and Theory in the Study of Religion
NA ²⁷	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . Edited by Eberhard Nestle, Erwin Nestle, and Kurt Aland. 27th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1993.
Neot	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version

NTL	New Testament Library
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
Numen	<i>Numen: International Review for the History of Religions</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary: Being a Corrected Re-issue with an Introduction, Supplement, and Bibliography of A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles.</i> Edited by James A. H. and Murray R. W. Burchfield. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933.
OGIS	<i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.</i> Edited by Wilhelm Dittenberger. 2 vols. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903–1905.
PGL	<i>Patristic Greek Lexicon.</i> Edited by Geoffrey W. H. Lampe. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.
PL	Patrologia Latina [= <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina</i>]. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 217 vols. Paris: Migne, 1844–1855.
Proof	<i>Prooftexts: A Journal of Jewish Literary History</i>
PW	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i> New ed. by Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll. 50 vols. in 84 parts. Stuttgart: Metzler & Druckermüller, 1894–1980.
RBL	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
RE	<i>Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i>
RevPhil	<i>Revue de philology</i>
RHR	<i>Revue dell'histoire des religions</i>
RIA	<i>Reallexicon der Assyriologie.</i> Edited by Erich Ebeling et al. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928–.
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLStBL	Society of Biblical Literature Studies in Biblical Literature
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCJ	Studies in Christianity and Judaism / Études sur le christianisme et le judaïsme
Semeia	<i>Semeia</i>

SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SR	<i>Studies in Religion</i>
SSEJC	Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica
SymS	Symposium Series
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentliche Zeitalter
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
TJT	<i>Toronto Journal of Theology</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
UBS3	<i>The Greek New Testament</i> . Edited by Kurt Aland et al. in cooperation with the Institute for New Testament Textual Research. 3rd ed. New York: United Bible Societies, 1975.
WGRWSup	Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplement Series
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>