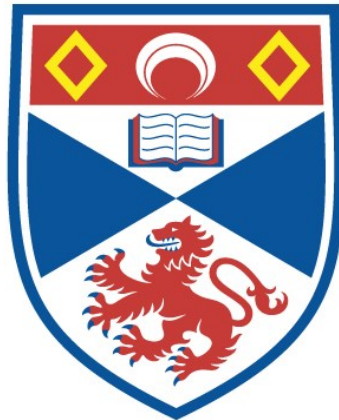


MARK 13 AND THE RETURN OF THE SHEPHERD: THE NARRATIVE
LOGIC OF ZECHARIAH IN MARK

Paul Sloan

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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Logic of Zechariah in Mark

Paul Sloan



University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

Date of Submission
28/07/16

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Abstract

Mark 13 contains numerous interpretative puzzles that continue to generate discussion in contemporary scholarship. One such puzzle is the apparent disparity between a question from the disciples about the destruction of the temple, and the answer by Jesus that seemingly refers to his second coming. Why are the two events conjoined? Additionally, how should one interpret the numerous allusions throughout Mark 13? This study seeks to contribute to the conversation on these and other topics by employing narrative analysis of Mark's Gospel with special attention to his intertextual allusions to Zechariah.

By incorporating intratextual, intertextual, and extratextual data, this study examines the extent to which Zechariah informs Mark's narrative, with particular focus on Jesus' speech on the Mount of Olives in Mark 13. Within the parameters of this project, broadly speaking, intratextual data refers to the narrative as Mark presents it; intertextual data refers to Mark's allusions to external bodies of literature; and extratextual data refers to the codified knowledge of Mark's cultural encyclopedia. By examining Mark, and particularly Mark 13, with reference to each body of data, I argue that Mark alludes to Zechariah throughout the Gospel in order to express several elements of Jesus' life and teaching.

In particular, I argue that Mark alludes to Zech 13–14 throughout the Gospel in order to describe the tribulations of the disciples and the tribulations of Jerusalem that obtain after “the striking of the shepherd.” In Zech 13–14, the shepherd is struck, the people of God are refined, Jerusalem is attacked, and then God comes with his angels. Mark's allusions to the latter scenario throughout the Gospel and Mark 13 make sense of Mark's arrangement of the Olivet Discourse, where, after Jesus has been “stricken,” his disciples suffer, Jerusalem is attacked, and the Son of Man comes with his angels. Recognizing such allusions not only resolves a long-standing interpretative puzzle regarding Mark's arrangement of the discourse, namely the question as to why he discusses the destruction of Jerusalem and the *parousia* in a single discourse, but it also contributes to the understanding of Mark's use of Zechariah in his narration of Jesus' life and teaching.

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Chapter 1: Shape of the Question

1.1: Introduction

Mark presents the story of Jesus as in accord with Israel's scriptures. Of particular importance for Mark are Israel's prophets. This thesis explores Mark's use of one of those prophets – Zechariah – in his portrayal of Jesus' actions and teaching. My overall purpose is to examine the extent of Zechariah's influence upon Mark 13, and to offer an interpretation of that discourse in light of Mark's allusions to that prophetic text. This project thus entails two distinct, but interrelated components: Mark's intertextual use of Zechariah, and a comprehensive narrative analysis of Mark 13 within the context of Mark as a whole.

Mark 13 provides a quagmire at every turn. Why, for example, does the discourse conspicuously shift from the temple courts to the Mount of Olives? How should one interpret the disciples' two-part question? What is "the end" in 13:7? What is the "abomination of desolation" in 13:14? What is the nature of the apocalyptic language in 13:24–25, what is the meaning of the "coming of the Son of Man" in 13:26, and when does it all happen? Does Jesus predict his "second coming" within a generation? How are the subsequent parables related to the events depicted in the discourse? How does one interpret the many scriptural allusions in the discourse? And what is the relation of Mark 13 to the rest of the Gospel?

These questions have generated plentiful discussion. But even if one answers them all, and concludes that Jesus discusses the temple's destruction and his second coming in the same discourse, a question remains: why does Jesus answer a question about the timing of the destruction of the temple with a discourse about earthquakes, persecution, an abomination, and his so-called *parousia*? The *parousia* seemingly has nothing to do with the destruction of the temple, so why are the events joined? The latter question, in fact, has been an underlying *crux interpretum* for nearly 200 years. D.F. Strauss, for example, writing between 1835–40, concludes, "Thus it is impossible to evade the acknowledgement, that in this discourse, if we do not mutilate it to suit our own views, Jesus at first speaks of the destruction of Jerusalem, and . . . of his return at the end of all things, and that he places the two events in immediate connexion. . . . It follows that in this particular he was mistaken."¹ In 2008,

¹ D.F. Strauss 1973, 589, 591. This English translation reproduces that of G. Eliot's 1892 edition, which is itself the second edition of her 1846 translation. Her 1846 edition translated Strauss' fourth edition (1840) of his original work (1835). Eliot's second edition (1892) only modifies the typeset of her first translation (1846). Strauss' fourth

on the other hand, Michael Bird writes, “I cannot imagine Mark depicting the disciples as asking Jesus a question about the destruction of the Temple and then having Jesus respond by engaging in a speech about his return from heaven.”² Bird thus concedes no error in Mark 13, but interprets the “coming of the Son of Man” not as his *parousia*, but as “Israel’s vindication through the fulfilment of Jesus’ prophecy against the Temple.”³

The above conclusions, in addition to indicating the wide range of possible interpretations of Mark 13, demonstrate the need to address apparent disparity between the disciples’ question and Jesus’ answer. Thus a major conundrum created by the Olivet Discourse is, why does it begin with a prophecy and question about the destruction of the temple and end with a statement about “the coming of the Son of Man”? How do those events relate? The different exegetical paths one could take throughout the discourse naturally lead to varied destinations. The outline in Figure 1.1 below⁴ lists four common interpretations of Mark 13:1–37, which is said to refer to:

Figure 1.1

- 1) Temple’s destruction and Jesus’ *parousia*⁵
 - a. 13:1–4: Jesus’ prophecy and disciples’ question about temple’s destruction
 - b. 13:5–23: events leading up to the temple’s destruction
 - c. 13:24–27: Jesus’ *parousia*
 - d. 13:28–31: resumes discussion of Jerusalem and temple
 - e. 13:32–27: resumes discussion of Jesus’ *parousia*
- 2) Future tribulations and Jesus’ *parousia*⁶

edition (1840), represented a return to the more “radical” positions of his first edition (1835). This timeline is explained in *op. cit.*, xxiv–xlvii.

² Bird 2008, 56.

³ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁴ This outline is indebted to that of Robert Stein 2008, 584–85.

⁵ Strauss (1973, 588, n 16) cites H.A. Schott 1819, ad loc. See also William Lane 1974, 466–82; Larry Hurtado 1989, 211–27; Ben Witherington 2001, 336–50; Stein 2008, 582–626; *idem* 2014; C. Clifton Black 2011, 264–75. Option 1 naturally contains variations. See e.g. George Beasley-Murray 1993, 377–475; Adela Yarbro Collins 2007, 603–17. Beasley-Murray and Collins take the tribulation in 13:5–23 to refer to the events of 66–70 CE, but include reference to Jesus’ *parousia* in point (d). Schott, Lane, Hurtado, Witherington, and Stein, however, distinctly interpret points (b) to (e) in Option 1 in an ABA’B’ pattern. Option 1 is common in contemporary scholarship.

⁶ This option is not completely distinct from Option 1, as some from Option 2 understand 13:5–23 to refer both to the events of 66–70 CE and still-future tribulations. The distinction is one of emphasis, where Option 1 takes the events of 66–70 CE to be in focus, while Option 2 relativizes, or even excludes, that focus in favor of future-for-Mark’s audience tribulations/persecutions, with or without reference to events of 66–70 CE. See e.g. Ferdinand Hahn 1975, 240–66; Robert Gundry 1993, 733–50; Craig A. Evans 2001, 293–342; Edward Adams 2005, 39–61; *idem* 2007, 139–66; Joel Marcus 2009, 894–96; Elizabeth Shively 2012, 197–211. Hahn (254–55) takes 13:7–8 to refer to the events of 66–70 CE, including the temple’s destruction, and 13:14ff to refer to future tribulations.

- a. 13:1–4: Jesus’ prophecy and disciples’ question about temple’s destruction
 - b. 13:5–23: future tribulations
 - c. 13:24–27: *parousia*
 - d. 13:28–37: parables regarding the unknown time of Jesus’ *parousia*
- 3) Temple’s destruction⁷
- a. 13:1–4: Jesus’ prophecy and disciples’ question about temple’s destruction
 - b. 13:5–23: signs and tribulations which precede temple’s destruction
 - c. 13:24–27: vindication of Jesus and his prophecy regarding temple’s destruction
 - d. 13:28–37: parables and exhortations regarding unknown time of previous predictions
- 4) Temple’s destruction and *parousia*⁸
- a. 13:1–4: Jesus’ prophecy and disciples’ question about temple’s destruction
 - b. 13:5–23: tribulation preceding temple’s destruction
 - c. 13:24–27: vindication of Jesus and his prophecy regarding temple’s destruction
 - d. 13:28–31: parable about timing of temple’s destruction
 - e. 13:32–37: Exhortations about unknown day of *parousia*

This outline does not represent an exhaustive list, but rather attempts to show common interpretations in currency. The above conclusions result from various methodologies, including form criticism, redaction criticism, and narrative criticism. Broadly speaking, however, a common denominator in each methodology is intertextuality.⁹ That is, it is universally recognized that Mark 13 contains numerous allusions to Israel’s scriptures, and that every interpretation must make decisions regarding their meaning in Mark. This study seeks to contribute to the discussion by attending to the allusions to Zechariah throughout Mark, and particularly Mark 13, and by providing a detailed interpretation of the Olivet Discourse in light of those allusions.

Gundry (738) claims that Jesus ignores the disciples’ question and describes future tribulations and the *parousia* without reference to the events of 66–70 CE. Evans (292, 322), Adams (2007, 145–46), Marcus, (894–96), and Shively (211) understand the tribulations in Mark 13 to be split between those related to the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, on the one hand, and still-future, “end-time” tribulations, on the other, typically claiming 13:19 as the transition. Option 2 is common among contemporary scholarship.

⁷ Adherents of Option 3 take all of Mark 13 to refer exclusively to the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, and therefore completely fulfilled in the events of 66–70 CE. Strauss (1973, 585) cites C.F. Bahrtdt 1773, 1103; J.C.R. Eckermann 1801–03, 579. See also Ezra Gould 1896, 240–55; George Caird 1994, 365–66; N.T. Wright 1996, 339–66; Thomas Hatina 1996, 43–66; idem 2002, 325–73; Scot McKnight 1999, 139–49; Rikki Watts 2007, 223–29; Bird 2008, 55–58; Timothy Gray 2010, 106–55. Option 3 is still *relatively* rare, but it has gained adherents, in my estimation, due to the work of Wright, Hatina, and France.

⁸ Option 4 follows the exegesis of Option 3 through Mark 13:31, but takes 13:32 as reference to the *parousia*. See Keith Dyer 1998, 195–200, 276–77; R.T. France 2002, 494–546. Option 4 is the least attested among contemporary scholars.

⁹ For discussion on “intertextuality,” see Sections 1.3, 1.3.1, and 1.3.2.

Mark contains numerous allusions to Zechariah throughout the Gospel,¹⁰ and these allusions partially shape his presentation of Jesus' actions and teaching. This thesis aims to demonstrate both Mark's use of Zechariah throughout the Gospel, and the underestimated importance of Zech 13–14 for an understanding of the Olivet Discourse. In particular, I argue that allusions to Zech 13–14 contribute to the shape and content of Mark 13. Undoubtedly Zech 13–14 is not the sole influence to the exclusion of other texts. On the contrary, I argue that Mark brings Zechariah into conversation with other texts on the basis of shared themes and lexemes, and show, within the matrix of prophetic texts utilized in Mark 13, that recognition of the allusions to Zech 13–14 affects the interpretation of the discourse.

In particular, I argue that Mark describes Jesus' death and *parousia* with a citation of and allusion to Zech 13:7 and Zech 14:5, respectively.¹¹ Those allusions serve as frames, or bookends, for the tribulation depicted in Mark 13. Zechariah 13:7 prophesies the "striking of the shepherd," and Zech 14:5 describes God's theophany with angels. The material between those bookends, namely Zech 13:8–14:4, is 1) the tribulation in all the land;¹² 2) the refinement by fire of God's covenantal people;¹³ and 3) an international war waged in Jerusalem, with concomitant suffering for Jerusalem's inhabitants.¹⁴ These events culminate in the arrival of the Lord "with all his holy ones."¹⁵ Such events, I argue, comprise the material of Mark 13, the narrative fulfilment of which takes place precisely between "the striking of the shepherd" and the arrival of the Son of Man "with the holy angels." The events of Mark 13 are 1) earthquakes, famines, and wars;¹⁶ 2) the persecution and affliction of God's covenantal people;¹⁷ and 3) an attack on Jerusalem, with concomitant suffering for Jerusalem's inhabitants.¹⁸ These events similarly culminate in a theophany with angels.¹⁹ I argue that the sequence of events in Zech 13–14 influences Mark's description of the tribulations in the Olivet Discourse.

¹⁰ See discussion in Section 1.5 and 1.5.9.

¹¹ In Mark 14:27 and 8:38, respectively.

¹² Zech 13:8.

¹³ Zech 13:9.

¹⁴ Zech 14:1–4.

¹⁵ Zech 14:5.

¹⁶ Mark 13:7–8.

¹⁷ Mark 13:9–13.

¹⁸ Mark 13:14–22.

¹⁹ Mark 13:26–27.

In short, Jesus' quotation²⁰ of Zech 13:7 indicates that the striking of the shepherd signals the onset of the eschatological tribulations of Zech 13:8–9 and 14:1–4, which culminate in the theophany of Zech 14:5. Those tribulations, I argue, comprise the content of Mark 13, which also culminates in a theophany. I detect such influence not only by mapping thematic coherence between Zechariah and Mark, but also by identifying lexical parity between phrases from Zech 13–14 and Mark, and interpreting them in light of Mark's Gospel as a whole.

1.2: Narrative Analysis and the Cultural Encyclopedia

This study employs narrative analysis with special attention to Mark's intertextual dynamics. Narrative analysis entails examining the Gospel with typical literary tools, attending to Mark's plot and characterization, and interpreting the Gospel as a unified, coherent story.²¹ The scope of the study is limited by necessity to certain Markan passages, but each passage is interpreted within both its immediate literary context and within the "universe of discourse"²² created by the whole of Mark. The goal of this study is not to discover the history behind the text,²³ but to propose the meaning that the text could generate within its historical location. This method does not deny the use of multiple sources by "Mark" (the author), nor does it deny that Mark redacted pre-existing material; it simply limits its object of study to the material as Mark has presented it: the Gospel itself as a story with a plot, characters, conflict, and resolution.²⁴

²⁰ In order to avoid cumbersome circumlocutions, I typically avoid phrases like "the Markan Jesus" or "Mark's Jesus." In this study I use "Jesus" always in reference to "Mark's Jesus," i.e. the "character" named "Jesus" in Mark's Gospel.

²¹ See e.g. the definition by Robert C. Tannehill 1990, 488–89. I use "coherent" as opposed to "incoherent." I do not mean that its "coherence" contains no tensions. See Mary Ann Tolbert 1989, 11, for a similar description of the intrinsic "coherence" of the text that narrative/literary criticism assumes.

²² See discussion of "intratextuality" in Section 1.3.

²³ For example, my goal is not to verify the historicity of a particular account or the origin of Mark's sources. See the discussion of narrative criticism and "methodological pluralism" in Hatina 2002, 49–89. Regarding narrative criticism he writes, "Instead of focusing on biblical narratives as historical sources for the purpose of uncovering that which lies behind them, narrative critics begin with the view that a narrative is a literary whole, a coherent and intelligible story, which is dynamic and interactive in its own right" (59). See the comparable distinction between "historical criticism" and "literary criticism" in Norman Petersen 1978, particularly pp 9–23. Malbon 1982, 242–55, also criticizes interpretations of Mark whose *goal* is to deduce something historical about the author of the Gospel, or its community/original audience. See especially *ibid.*, 255.

²⁴ This study accordingly examines Mark in its so-called final form, which I take to end with Mark 16:8 (so mss. \aleph and B). Whether or not Mark *intended* a longer ending (so e.g. France 2002, 670–73; Wright 2003, 617–24; Stein 2008, 733–37) does not change the present goal of interpreting the best-preserved text.

Though the primary object of study is the meaning generated by the story,²⁵ the study does not ignore historical data. On the contrary, the existence of the Gospel assumes an author and an audience. Thus the object of this study is the potential meaning of the Gospel as produced by a mid-first-century author for a mid-first-century audience; accordingly, the meaning of the Gospel is conditioned by its location in a given historical time and place.²⁶ Thus the meaning of individual words and pericopae is examined within the presumed “cultural encyclopedia” in which they were produced. Umberto Eco describes the “cultural encyclopedia” as the conventional knowledge and shared beliefs of a given people group in a given time and place.²⁷ Thus the probable meaning of a phrase, action, or gesture is conditioned by the location of its utterance, and the parameters of its “location” entail both the contextual and circumstantial conditions of the utterance, and the “most statistically probable” meaning in light of the virtual knowledge of that socially defined group.²⁸ Eco’s theory describes language as a dynamic reality in constant interaction with its users and environment, continually shaping and being shaped by the culture in which it is used.

Eco describes this reality with an illustration of a box of marbles, where each marble emits a certain wavelength and thereby attracts a limited, but vast, number of other marbles.²⁹ The box represents the cultural encyclopedia or framework within which a given utterance takes place; the marbles represent “cultural units.”³⁰ The marbles emit charges that attract and repel other respective marbles. The given charges are “transitory” and “conventional,” that is, conditioned by their historical location and are subject to change.³¹ Eco characterizes this change as “shaking the box,”³² the manifestation of which includes cultural events on any scale. The event could be as large-scale as a nation-wide catastrophe, in which case the ramifications upon the cultural encyclopedia, and thereby the “statistically probable meaning” of an utterance, would be great; or it could be as small-scale as the

²⁵ By “meaning generated by the story,” see below on “narcotizing,” “blowing up” and narratological “pressure.”

²⁶ See the conclusion drawn by Hatina (2002, 70): “The intention on the part of the author to communicate with his audience must remain as a foundational hermeneutical principle. If this is the case then all background (i.e. historical) information becomes a useful resource for illuminating the ‘universe of possible meanings.’” Hatina quotes from Christopher Marshall 1989, 28. See also David Rhoads 1982, 413, for a similar discussion regarding the importance of historical and cultural data for understanding “Mark’s story-world.”

²⁷ Eco 1976, 110.

²⁸ Ibid. The “contextual” conditions refer to the intratextual, syntactical/grammatical conditions of the utterance. The “circumstantial” conditions refer to the narrative *situation* of the utterance, interpreted within its presumed cultural encyclopedia. See *ibid.*, 107–8.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 124–26.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 124. A “cultural unit” is an utterance or act of communication, including, but not limited to, written text, a spoken word or phrase, or a gesture.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 126.

³² *Ibid.*, 124.

events in a popular television show, in which case the ramifications would be considerably fewer, felt only by those who watch that show, and perhaps less likely to conjure vastly different connotations.

For an instance of a large-scale occurrence that “shook the box,” David Moffitt supplies the example of the events of September 11, 2001.³³ He argues that a competent user of the English language living in America in the mid-21st century could expect to be understood when she refers to “the events of September the eleventh.”³⁴ The cultural encyclopedia that she shares with most adults living in the United States at that time includes an “entry” that she can expect a hearer to understand, because that phrase probably conjures the events of that day, and thereby conjures a probable sphere of connotations. Importantly, such connotations are not the probable connotations that would have been conjured by the same phrase in the year 2000.³⁵

A pertinent example that demonstrates the relevance of the encyclopedia and the “box of marbles” for the study of early Christianity is the crucifixion of Jesus. It is highly improbable, for example, based on the available knowledge of the religious, political, and social data of most, if not all, Jewish groups of the first century BCE, that the phrase “the cross of the Messiah” would have meant then what it evidently means when Paul says it in Phil 3:18.³⁶ In other words, to use Eco’s metaphor, within the box of Jewish discourse of the first decade of the first century BCE, the marbles “cross” and “Messiah” seemingly emitted different wavelengths, such that the concepts shared no attraction. Or, if there were any attraction, it was one of negative assessment, where “crucifixion” implied the person was certainly not “Messiah.” For Jesus’ disciples, the latter arrangement of marbles slowly *shifted* in response to Jesus’ teaching. At first, those cultural units, “cross” and “Messiah,” were antithetical to Peter,³⁷ but suddenly seeing Jesus risen from the dead shook Peter’s framework such that “cross” and “Messiah” were inextricable.³⁸ This example illustrates a presupposition of this study, namely that Jesus’ claim to be Messiah, his subsequent death, resurrection, and ascension, and the community’s reception of God’s Spirit,³⁹ function as box-shaking events that reordered Mark’s marbles. The reordering of

³³ See Moffitt 2006, 299–320. The cited example is in 301–2, n 8.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 302, n 8.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ “The cross of Christ” plausibly refers to Jesus’ mode of death, and metonymously, to his self-giving. In context, it may refer to a pattern of self-sacrificial living. See Markus Bockmuehl 1997, 230–32.

³⁷ E.g. Mark 8:28–33.

³⁸ E.g. Acts 2:36: “Therefore [as a result of Jesus’ crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension] . . . God made him Lord and Messiah, this Jesus whom you crucified” (my translation).

³⁹ Each of these events is a demonstrable feature of Mark’s text. Respective to the order of events listed above, see Mark 8:28; 15:25–37; 16:6; 14:62; 13:11.

Israel's scriptures, already plausibly a feature of Mark's encyclopedia, accordingly finds expression in Mark's Gospel in its description of the action and teaching of Jesus.

In summary, the encyclopedia represents the body of knowledge that might be known by members of a given culture in a given time and place, and as such, it conditions what a sender might intend, and therefore what a receiver might understand, with respect to a given utterance.⁴⁰ The narrative, circumstantial conditions of the utterance pressure the receiver to "narcotize" certain elements of the discourse and "blow up" others.⁴¹ For the study of early Christianity, the codified knowledge of the encyclopedia is available through various media, including, but not limited to: coins, art, inscriptions, archaeology, geography, and literature, whether that literature is "historical," such as the works of Josephus or Tacitus, or "narrative," such as Virgil's *Aeneid* or Matthew's Gospel.

This project assumes, on the basis of internal Markan evidence, that Israel's scriptures form a major part of the author's cultural encyclopedia.⁴² The Gospel betrays the influence of Israel's scriptures from the first sentence, and such influence continues throughout the Gospel, evident through multiple citations from, and references to, "the scriptures."⁴³ Due to limited knowledge of Mark's date and provenance, the selection of a precise cultural encyclopedia within which to interpret Mark is

⁴⁰ See Mark Allan Powell 2011, 24, for a comparable description of Powell's "implied reader," who theoretically knows everything that is "assumed to be common knowledge within the story" (e.g. the worth of a denarius, or the job description of a centurion, or certain contemporary cultures' burial practices). For Powell, such knowledge, in conjunction with the narrative itself, sets limits around "expected readings" (ibid., 24–25).

⁴¹ See Eco 1981, 23–24. Eco describes "narcotizing" as reducing, or setting aside, certain semantic connotations in favor of other ones. The connotations that the reader/receiver does select are those she "blows up." The reader is pressured by the text, in light of the contextual and circumstantial conditions of the discourse, to narcotize certain connotations and blow up others. When faced, for example, with the phrase, "I passed the bar," the receiver requires contextual and circumstantial information to know which connotations of "passed" and "bar" to actualize. In the 21st century in the United States, "bar" may refer to many things, including the exam that law students must pass, or the local drinking establishment. Thus the phrase, "I passed the bar" may mean that the speaker can now practice law, as she passed the bar exam; or it may mean that she walked by the pub and needs to turn around. The receiver resorts both to "common frames," which are stores of encyclopedic information common to daily life (Eco 1981, 21), and to the circumstantial conditions of the utterance, in order to narcotize certain connotations and blow up others, and thereby actualize a discursive meaning.

⁴² Richard Hays (2016, 10) summarizes this position well in his work on the Gospels: "This study presupposes that all four canonical Gospels are deeply embedded in a symbolic world shaped by the Old Testament – or, to put the point in a modern critical idiom, that their 'encyclopedia of production' is constituted in large measure by Israel's Scripture." See the similar conclusion by Juel 1988, 14.

⁴³ "The scriptures" (αἱ γραφαί) is used in Mark 14:49 in reference to Jesus' arrest. To name but a handful of citations and allusions to Israel's texts, see Mark 1:2; 4:12; 7:6, 10; 8:18; 9:48; 10:6–8, 19; 11:17; 12:26; 13:26–27; 14:27, 62; 15:34. For references to Jesus' teaching from what is "written" (γέγραπται), from what his interlocutors should have "read" (from ἀναγινώσκω), or from "the writings" (αἱ γραφαί), see Mark 9:11–12; 11:17; 12:10, 26; 14:49.

necessarily provisional. I follow the view that the Gospel was composed pre-70 CE,⁴⁴ though a date immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple is certainly possible.⁴⁵ In either case, I agree with the majority who take certain features of the Gospel to reflect a concern over the events of the Jewish conflict with Rome from 66–74 CE.⁴⁶ The particular arguments set forth in this study do not require settling upon a precise date and provenance, not because such matters are unimportant, but because I do not want thereby to exclude some elements of a potential encyclopedia on the basis of limited hypotheses. In other words, the specific arguments set forth could be made whether the Gospel were written in Rome or a Syrian city.⁴⁷

1.3: Method

This study proceeds by examining Mark's "intratextual," "intertextual," and "extratextual" relationships in order to provide an interpretation of Mark 13 within Mark as a whole. Stefan Alkier employs these three categories to describe a methodology he calls "semiotic exegesis."⁴⁸ Semiotic exegesis proceeds by first examining the "intratextual data," that is, all the textual data within the object of study – in the present case, the Gospel of Mark. These data include the "syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic textual relationships in connection with the models of analysis of literary-critical structuralism."⁴⁹ Potential categories of an intratextual examination of Mark may include, but are not

⁴⁴ So e.g. Martin Hengel 1985, 1–30; idem 2005, 70–96; Evans 2001, lxii–lxiii; Collins 2007, 11–14; Stein 2008, 12–15. Fergus Millar 2006, 141, does not decide firmly on a date, but argues that the present form of the Gospels demonstrates familiarity with the geography, social structures, and "*concerns*" of pre-70 Palestinian Judaism (*italics original*).

⁴⁵ So e.g. Rudolf Pesch 1976, 1:14; Marcus 1992a, 441–62; John Kloppenborg 2005, 419–50; Joachim Gnilka 2010, 34. The external evidence for Mark's date and provenance is Papias' testimony (recorded in Eusebius' *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.15), which places Mark in Rome and dates his Gospel to the mid-60s. Those who date Mark post-70 consider that testimony unreliable, and rely on internal evidence, which characteristically centers upon data from Mark 13, namely the prediction of the destruction of the temple in 13:2. Kloppenborg (2005, 448–50), for example, concludes that Mark 13:2 is evidence of Mark's knowledge that the temple is destroyed. He dates Mark post-70 on that basis.

⁴⁶ Gnilka perhaps overstates the point, but he is nonetheless clear: "Das entscheidende Kriterium ist der Jüdische Krieg mit der Tempelzerstörung. Alle Interpreten gruppieren ihre Meinung um dieses Ereignis, sind aber geteilter Auffassung, wenn zu entscheiden ist, ob das Markusevangelium vor, in oder nach dem Krieg entstanden ist" (2010, 34).

⁴⁷ Marcus (1992a, 441–62) argues for a Syrian provenance. Marcus bases his argument on features of Mark 13 (namely, the prediction of 13:2, the cryptic warning in 13:14, and the "false messiahs" in 13:22) that suggest a familiarity with the events unfolding in Jerusalem. For example, the warnings of "false messiahs" in 13:22 reflect knowledge of messianic pretenders in the late 60s (442). Marcus could be right, but his methodology rests on much of Mark being necessarily reactionary to the actions of the "revolutionaries."

⁴⁸ For the three separate "textual" categories, see Alkier 2009a, 8–9. He provides an extended discussion on "semiotic exegesis" in Alkier 2009a, 251 n 17; idem 2009b, 223–48. Cf. Vernon Robbins 1996, 24–36, for comparable categories that he terms the "inner texture," "intertexture," and "social and cultural texture."

⁴⁹ Alkier 2009a, 9.

limited to, Mark's syntax, characteristic vocabulary, and discernible plot.⁵⁰ Attending to Mark's intratextual "echoes" or "foreshadowings" is a vital feature of this study's interpretation of Mark 13.⁵¹ Such "echoes" refer to Mark's repetition of distinct events, phrases, and syntactical patterns, across multiple Markan passages. The echoes recall previous elements of Mark's narrative, and encourage mutual interpretation of the distinct passages. I discuss and employ this method in more detail in Section 4.2.2 and 4.2.2.1.

An example of a conclusion drawn from intratextual examination is the notion that Mark repudiates "signs" in and of themselves. Timothy Geddert examines all the uses of the word σημεῖον in the Gospel of Mark, noting their narrative context, and concludes that Mark's Jesus regards "sign-seeking" as fundamentally misguided.⁵² He uses this judgment to conclude that the disciples' question in Mark 13:4, which asks for the "sign" that will precede "all these things," is misguided, and as a result, that Jesus does not answer that question. Though I disagree with both of Geddert's conclusions about "signs" and Jesus' response to them, they nonetheless serve as good examples of the potential fruit of an intratextual examination.⁵³

Examination of "intertextual" relationships includes exploring the resultant meanings of references made by a given text to other texts.⁵⁴ Alkier delimits three types of an intertextual approach: *production-oriented*, *reception-oriented*, and *experimental*.⁵⁵ The present study pursues the production-oriented approach. This model explores the meaning created by identifiable texts embedded in a given text. The cultural encyclopedia in which a given text is produced naturally conditions both which prior texts may be available, and what their potential effect in the alluding text may be.⁵⁶ Ulrich Luz describes a comparable model for his study of Matthew in which he seeks "specific and identifiable intertexts in a

⁵⁰ See e.g. Shively 2009, 122–44, where she describes "Mark's larger narrative" as "a resource for interpreting" a given pericope (141).

⁵¹ "Echoes" and "foreshadowings" are Elizabeth Malbon's terms. See Malbon 1993, 213. Joanna Dewey 1991, 221–36, prescribes and employs a comparable method using the terms "forecasts" and "echoes."

⁵² Geddert 1989, 29–58. See especially pp 33, 57.

⁵³ For my critique of Geddert's position, see Section 5.2.1. Another example gleaned from intratextual examination is Mark's practice of "intercalation," often called "Markan sandwiches," in which he interweaves events for rhetorical purposes. A good example is Mark's account of the temple incident wrapped by the accounts of the cursed fig tree (see Mark 11:12–21).

⁵⁴ Alkier 2009a, 9.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* "Alluding text" and "reference text" are Ziva Ben-Porat's terms. She refers to the antecedent text from which a phrase or theme is borrowed as the "reference text." The "alluding text" is the borrowing text. In this study, for example, Zechariah would be the "reference text," and Mark the "alluding text." See Ben-Porat 1978, 105–28. I occasionally use this terminology.

manner that is subject to control and verification.”⁵⁷ Participating in what Alkier would call the “production-oriented perspective,” Luz seeks to interpret such “intertexts as reflections of a specific historical and cultural situation.”⁵⁸ In line with these approaches, this study seeks to identify uses of Zechariah in Mark and to interpret the resultant meaning of the intertext in Mark, noting both the ways in which Mark’s presumed cultural encyclopedia, and the circumstantial and contextual conditions in which the utterance is embedded, affect the meaning of Mark.⁵⁹

Examination of the “extratextual” data includes analysis of a given text in relation to all extratextual, or “text-external” signs.⁶⁰ Such signs include all elements of a cultural encyclopedia outside of “literary” media; for example, geography, socio-political questions, patterns of behavior, and day-to-day existence.⁶¹ The media of such codified knowledge include, for example, coins, inscriptions, archaeology, and the writings of ancient historians. The labels “intertextual” and “extratextual” are heuristic labels intended to capture different aspects, or different media, of a cultural encyclopedia.⁶² That is, both labels technically refer to text-external signs in that “intertextual” and “extratextual” signs are both “outside” of any given text. “Intertextual,” however, is employed here and by Alkier to refer to the aspect of the cultural encyclopedia represented by literary works. Thus with respect to Mark, other works of literature represent potential “intertexts”⁶³ in his cultural encyclopedia. “Extratextual” signs are similarly representative of a given cultural encyclopedia, though the media of such data are all signs other than “literary” works.

1.3.1: Method for Identifying Intertexts

Richard Hays supplies seven well-known criteria for identifying “echoes of scripture in the letters of Paul.”⁶⁴ He employs the criteria both in order to identify the presence of prior texts, and to interpret

⁵⁷ Luz 2004, 119–37. Quotation from p 122.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁵⁹ Criteria for identifying uses of a prior text are delineated below.

⁶⁰ Alkier 2009a, 9.

⁶¹ Elizabeth Malbon’s articulation of “narrative criticism” (2000, 1–40) largely neglects “extratextual data,” focusing instead only on what Alkier terms “intratextual” and “intertextual” data. See also Malbon 1982, 247–48.

⁶² Alkier 2009a, 8. He says, “The level of encyclopedia involves the intertextual and extratextual opening of the autonomous structure of the universe of discourse of a given text” (8).

⁶³ An “intertext” in this study refers to the prior text that is embedded in the alluding text. Studying the “intertextual” relationship is not confined, however, simply to identifying the prior text, but includes interpreting the resultant meaning of the alluding text’s invocation of the prior text. In the present study, this means interpreting the resultant meaning of a given Markan passage in light of its appropriation of words or themes from Zechariah.

⁶⁴ Hays 1989, 29–31.

the new meaning created by their use. In dialogue with John Hollander's claim that "allusive echo generates new figuration"⁶⁵ [in the alluding text], Hays writes, "The twofold task of a criticism attuned to such echoes, then, is (a) to call attention to them so that others might be enabled to hear; and (b) to give an account of the distortions and new figuration that they generate."⁶⁶ Similarly, my task does not cease after alerting readers to the presence of Zechariah, but necessarily continues into exploration of the new meaning of Zechariah and Mark that is generated by Mark's use of that prophet. Hays employs these seven criteria with respect to the letters of Paul, though I adapt them below to suit the contours of my project on Mark.

- 1) **Availability:** *Was the proposed source of the echo available to Mark (the implied author) and/or the readers?*⁶⁷
- 2) **Volume:** *What is the degree of explicit repetition of words or syntactical patterns in the Markan text? How distinctive or prominent is the precursor text among the Jewish scriptures? How much rhetorical stress does the echo receive in Mark's text?*⁶⁸
- 3) **Recurrence:** *How often does Mark elsewhere cite or allude to the same scriptural passage?*⁶⁹
- 4) **Thematic coherence:** *How well does the echo fit into the plot or argument Mark is developing?*⁷⁰
- 5) **Historical plausibility:** *Could Mark have intended the alleged meaning effect? Could his readers have understood it?*⁷¹
- 6) **History of interpretation:** *Have other readers, both critical and pre-critical, heard the same echoes?*⁷²
- 7) **Satisfaction:** *Does the proposed reading of Mark make sense? Does it illuminate the surrounding discourse? Does it produce for the reader a satisfying account of the effect of the intertextual relation?*⁷³

Hays' work has been frequently utilized in works whose arguments depend upon an alleged use of Jewish scriptures.⁷⁴ As influential as it remains, it has not been received without criticism. Three

⁶⁵ Hollander 1981, ix; cited in Hays 1989, 19.

⁶⁶ Hays 1989, 19.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 29–30.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 30–31.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 31. Hays regards this criterion as "one of the least reliable guides of interpretation" (31).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 31–32.

⁷⁴ See for example: Roy Ciampa 1998; Sylvia Keesmaat 1999; Charlene Moss 2008; Kelly Liebengood 2013.

particular criticisms are presently pertinent. First, Hays largely bypasses the interpretative traditions in which his subject, Paul, might have received the scriptures. Craig Evans raises this issue and claims it would be more accurate “to speak of the echoes of *interpreted* Scripture in the letters of Paul.”⁷⁵ This study will accordingly examine the uses of Zechariah throughout extant, Second Temple literature to ascertain the ways it has been read and reemployed. Those readings will not *require* that Mark use Zechariah in the same way as those Second Temple texts, but those texts will provide a plausible context in which Mark may have read or received traditions from Zechariah.

Second, Paul Foster criticizes Hays for only interpreting Paul within the cultural framework of the Jewish scriptures, thereby ignoring Paul’s other textual influences.⁷⁶ Foster claims that “this prior decision to limit Paul’s cultural sphere solely to the Jewish scriptures fails to take account of the multicultural world that Paul inhabited, and it ignores the variegated textual influences that may have shaped Paul’s thought.”⁷⁷ Hays himself admits this limitation of scope in his own study, saying, “Such an approach to reading Paul in no way seeks to deny or exclude the presence of nonscriptural influences on his discourse. Paul’s discursive space encompassed countless codes and elements ‘already read’ from his Hellenistic culture . . .”⁷⁸ In any case, Foster’s criticism is duly noted, particularly when such criticism is aimed at studies that otherwise intend to give a holistic account of a given New Testament document. This deficiency will be addressed in this study by the incorporation of the “extratextual” data as described in Section 1.3.

Third, William Tooman criticizes the lack of consistency and clarity with respect to the employment of the terms “allusion” and “echo.”⁷⁹ Again, Hays admits using the terms “flexibly,” though this owes more to the complexity of distinguishing between “allusion” and “echo” than to Hays’ sloth. For Hays, “*allusion* is used of obvious intertextual references, *echo* of subtler ones.”⁸⁰ Tooman, however, in contradistinction to Hays, employs “echo” to refer to a deliberate use of an antecedent text that is not intended to affect the semantic value of the alluding text.⁸¹ “Echoes” for Hays are also potentially

⁷⁵ Evans 1993, 20 (italics added).

⁷⁶ Foster 2015, 96–111.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 98, critiquing a statement from Hays 1989, 15.

⁷⁸ Hays 1989, 16. In addition to accounting for nonscriptural textual influences, Foster desires more methodological controls that might preclude fanciful identification of allusions and echoes; he correspondingly suggests the necessity of “significant or extensive verbal parallels” between the antecedent and alluding text.

⁷⁹ Tooman 2011, 8 n 26. For a similar criticism of terminology, particularly with respect to the need for a broader definition of “quotation,” see Stanley Porter 1997, 79–97.

⁸⁰ Hays 1989, 29 (italics original).

⁸¹ Tooman 2011, 8.

intended, but the prescribed criteria must distinguish between intentional, semantic-affecting echoes, and those which may only be “murmurings of our own imaginations.”⁸² Hays describes quotation, allusion, and echo as descending points on “a spectrum of intertextual reference.”⁸³ Discerning authorial intent is difficult when attempting to distinguish between “allusion” and “echo,” as Hays defines them. Irrespective of Hays’ alleged inconsistency, this study uses only the terms “quotation,” “allusion,” and “influence.”⁸⁴ I use “quotation” to refer to texts that contain introductory formulas and lexical replication,⁸⁵ and “allusion” to refer to instances in which Mark uses no formula, but the Markan text contains lexical or thematic parity. Each Markan text regarded as an “allusion” to a prior text will be argued for case-by-case. I use the term “influence” to describe an effect in the Markan text that is present because of the antecedent text, and which may affect the meaning of the Markan text. Such effects include distinct syntactical parallels or correspondences between *events*, even when the instance contains no lexical parity.⁸⁶ “Influences” and their potential semantic effect will also be examined case-by-case.

Far from limiting his work to deconstructive criticism, Tooman contributes to the conversation considerably by offering his own five criteria for determining “literary borrowing.” For Tooman, “Literary allusion . . . is between written texts, and it is intentional.”⁸⁷ Tooman’s five criteria for determining “literary borrowing” are 1) uniqueness; 2) distinctiveness; 3) multiplicity; 4) thematic correspondence; 5) inversion. I summarize only the first four below, as the latter is not pertinent to this study.

Uniqueness refers to the element of a marker that is unique, or *exclusive*, to a potential reference text, except for its presence in the alluding text.⁸⁸

Distinctiveness describes a marker that is distinctive, but not exclusive, to a particular source.⁸⁹ He gives the example of the locution “in the beginning.”⁹⁰ Though that phrase appears in many texts,⁹¹ it

⁸² Hays 1989, 23.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ “Influence” is categorized by Tooman (2011, 8–9) as a potential literary dependence that does not transform or affect the alluding text. I use the term differently than Tooman.

⁸⁵ Introductory formulas include, for example, “it is written” (γέγραπται). See Mark 14:27.

⁸⁶ In contradistinction to Tooman (2011, 8–9), I take “influences” as potentially transformative of the alluding text. This is really only an issue of labels, however, as what I am describing as an “influence,” Tooman would probably describe as an “allusion” that is made by thematic similarity (See 2011, 30).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 28. This criterion is similar to Hays’ “volume.” Cf. Hays 1989, 30.

⁹⁰ Tooman 2011, 28.

⁹¹ E.g. Jer 26:1; Hos 9:10.

is the well-known beginning of the creation account; thus a reuse of that phrase may constitute an allusion to Gen 1. Tooman advocates utilizing the subsequent criterion – *multiplicity* – to support the case for an allusion that is otherwise based on distinction, as the example shows that many texts besides Gen 1 could be evoked by the phrase “in the beginning.”

Multiplicity refers to the presence of multiple elements from an antecedent text in the alluding text. In other words, the replication of multiple locutions from a source text in the alluding text supports recognition of an allusion to that prior text.⁹²

Thematic correspondence describes an allusion that obtains on the basis of shared themes between the alluding text and the reference text.⁹³ Typically the reuse still contains shared locutions, but occasionally, “one can observe a whole constellation of thematic correspondences between two texts, so many that the identification of the source text is beyond doubt, *even without the appearance of identical language*.”⁹⁴ Tooman gives the example of Ps 79:1–4 and Ezek 39, each of which contains elements of “unprovoked invasion, defilement of the land, uninterred corpses, wild animals feasting on human carcasses, and verbal abuse from Gentile nations.”⁹⁵ These themes are present in other texts, but only Ps 79 and Ezek 39 *collocate* them so closely; accordingly, Ezek 39 probably depends literarily on Psalm 79.⁹⁶

As Hays’ and Tooman’s criteria are not completely distinct from one another, this study employs their various criteria throughout. In particular, I consistently utilize Hays’ criteria of availability, history of interpretation, and satisfaction. I use the latter two cautiously as “the history of interpretation” neither proves nor disproves a case, and “satisfaction” is somewhat subjective. I use the latter, however, with respect to the clarification that can be provided in the alluding text once the reference text is recognized and interpreted.⁹⁷ Additionally, I use Hays’ and Tooman’s shared criteria of distinctiveness, multiplicity,

⁹² Ibid., 28–29. This criterion is similar to Hays’ “recurrence.” Cf. Hays 1989, 30.

⁹³ Tooman 2011, 29–30. This criterion is similar to Hays’ “thematic coherence.” Cf. Hays 1989, 30.

⁹⁴ Tooman 2011, 30 (italics mine).

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ To clarify: the relationship between Ezek 39 and Ps 79 is not *exclusively* thematic. In this case, Ezek 39 and Ps 79 contain linguistic correspondences, but the case for the allusion is built on the thematic correspondence because the linguistic overlaps are not unique or necessarily distinctive.

⁹⁷ A forthcoming example in this study (Section 5.10.1) is Mark 13:10 and its declaration that “all the nations must first be evangelized.” Scholars often regard that verse as an intrusion in the natural flow of Mark 13:9–13, but I argue that recognizing the influence of Zech 14 and its recurrent insistence that “all the nations” will worship YHWH after he comes with his angels, clarifies the presence of that concern in Mark 13. The argument creates a satisfactory interpretation of Mark 13:10 within Mark 13 as a whole, which is atypical in most interpretations of the Olivet Discourse.

and thematic coherence/correspondence, and I use Tooman's (unique) criterion of uniqueness. Importantly, these criteria represent only one feature of the methodology, namely identifying and interpreting a literary intertext. I also incorporate intratextual and extratextual data as conditioning elements of the final interpretation of the Markan passage.

1.3.2: Applying the Criteria

The study proceeds by arguing for literary allusions to Zechariah in certain Markan passages. In each case, I argue for the presence of the allusion and interpret the Markan passage in light of its use of Zechariah. Each argument does not walk through every criterion, noting its presence or absence; rather, I note the criteria when pertinent. One criterion, however, can be discussed at the outset: availability. For reasons already mentioned,⁹⁸ this study assumes the availability of Jewish scriptures, and in particular, the book of Zechariah, to the author of the Mark. The quotation from Zechariah in Mark 14, in addition to the number of accepted allusions to Zechariah throughout the Gospel, indicate either Mark's possession of a physical text of Zechariah, or familiarity with its traditions and expressions, or both. Even if Mark (the author) does have a physical text, the question of Mark's versions must remain open (as opposed to assuming he only relies on Septuagintal versions). The possibility that Mark knows Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek versions is a live option.⁹⁹

Joel Marcus, for example, argues that the conflated citation of Isaiah and Malachi in Mark 1:2–3 is formed by the shared phrase “prepare the way.”¹⁰⁰ That verbal link, however, obtains only between known Hebrew versions of the passages; Septuagintal versions of the passage contain different verbs. If the verbal link is the justification of joining the passages, then either the traditions Mark handles are based on Hebrew versions, or they attest to Greek versions now lost that contained those verbal links. In light of the extant evidence, however, the notion that the traditions are based on Hebrew versions of the passages remains the best explanation of the data. If Mark himself composed the conflated citation, as Marcus argues,¹⁰¹ then Mark himself is familiar with Hebrew, and probably Aramaic, sources. Knowledge of Hebrew sources, however, does not in principle exclude knowledge of Greek sources. It is widely acknowledged, for example, that the allusions to Dan 12 in Mark 13 attest to Mark's use of a

⁹⁸ See notes 42–43 above.

⁹⁹ The most recent study on the Old Greek of Zechariah concluded that it originated ca. 150 BCE, possibly in an Egyptian setting. See Gunnar Eidsvåg 2016.

¹⁰⁰ Marcus 1992b, 15–17.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

proto-Theodotion Daniel.¹⁰² Thus, as stated, the question of the traditions known to, and used by, Mark remains open, and this study presumes he uses various text types.¹⁰³

Importantly, my goal is not to identify and interpret every potential intertext in the Olivet Discourse. My overall argument concerns the influence of Zechariah, particularly Zech 13–14, in Mark 13, thus I only argue for allusions to that prophetic text. In light of this goal, I note two important, interrelated points: 1) my focus on the influence of Zech 13–14 in Mark 13 does not presume that the former is the sole influence on the latter. On the contrary, Zech 13–14 is one of many prophetic texts meaningfully utilized in Mark 13. However, 2) the presence of non-Zechariah texts does not wholly indicate the non-influence of Zech 13–14. When an alluding text uses various reference texts in a single discourse or pericope, the various reference texts are often interconnected by shared themes and lexemes. Thus other reference texts may be present due to their lexical and/or thematic relationship to material from Zech 13–14, and vice-versa. This practice of text-combination is well-observed by scholars,¹⁰⁴ thus I only note a single example: 1 Enoch 1:1–9.

Scholars acknowledge various allusions in the opening theophany of 1 En 1, particularly to Deut 33:2 and Mic 1:3.¹⁰⁵ Importantly, these reference texts are probably combined on the basis of their shared event of a theophany. Notably, they are not necessarily combined due to lexical parity. In any case, however, the presence of Mic 1:3 in 1 En 1:3–9, for example, does not thereby indicate the non-

¹⁰² See e.g. C.H. Dodd 1952, 69; T.F. Glasson 1958, 213–215; Dyer 1998, 101–22. Dyer argues that Mark uses traditions composed of several text types, including proto-Theodotion, LXX, MT, and Targum.

¹⁰³ See also statements by Craig Evans 2006a, 83–103. He claims (85) that “all three major text types [are] represented in Mark’s quotations of or allusions to the Old Testament: the Greek, the Hebrew (or proto-Masoretic Text), and the Aramaic (or proto-Targum).” He gives numerous examples from Mark (85). Hays (2016, 374 n 22) reaches a similar conclusion, following Marcus’ argumentation regarding Mark 1:2–3. When referring to Septuagintal traditions, I use the common descriptor “LXX.” Greek reproduced in a given argument corresponds to the critical text represented in the Göttingen Septuagint edited by Joseph Ziegler, unless otherwise stated. When reproducing the results of a broad search for the frequency of a common phrase across LXX (for example, ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις) the results reproduced correspond to the searchable entries of Rahlfs *Septuaginta*. The Hebrew consonants reproduced in this study correspond to the consonants represented in Codex Leningradensis, unless stated otherwise.

¹⁰⁴ See e.g. Lars Hartman 1966. He argues for the prominent influence of Daniel 9–12 in the formation of Mark 13, a conclusion with which this study can agree. His argument, however, notes the presence of other intertexts besides Dan 9–12, and at times Hartman argues for their presence due to their thematic and lexical relationship to the Daniel material. See e.g. Hartman 1966, 149, where he argues for the influence of 2 Chr 15:6 and Isa 19:2 in Mark 13:8 due to their thematic and lexical relation to phrases in Dan 11. This study affirms the majority of Hartman’s findings, but I interact with his work only occasionally due to differing goals and methodologies.

¹⁰⁵ Matthew Black, in consultation with James VanderKam 1985, 105–7. See also George Nickelsburg 2001, 144. Nickelsburg argues that while many texts are influential, the description of the theophany is probably a traditional conflation of Mic 1:3–4 and Deut 33:2. So also VanderKam 1973, 129–50.

influence of Deut 33:1–2; rather, *both* texts are present due to their interrelated thematic data. This observation is important for the present interpretation of Mark 13, as other scriptural texts employed in Mark 13 do not indicate the non-use of Zech 13–14. Rather, the range of prophetic texts utilized in Mark 13 are arguably present due to their mutual correspondence via shared phrases and events.

1.4: History of Research

As this project advances a study of Mark 13 that depends on its use of Zechariah, two distinct, but interrelated, histories of interpretation must be pursued. First, I trace the history of scholarship that has attempted to describe not just Mark’s use of Jewish scriptures, but particularly Mark’s use of Zechariah. The majority of the conclusions reached by such studies reinforce many aspects of the present proposal, but this study will diverge from the majority interpretation of Mark’s quotation of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27. Second, this study requires a history of the interpretation of Mark 13, beginning approximately with studies from the late 1980s. George Beasley-Murray’s magisterial study on the history of interpretation of the Olivet Discourse¹⁰⁶ makes it unnecessary to repeat his arguments here. My review of scholarship on Mark 13 surveys studies that utilize a similar methodology as mine, namely narrative criticism.¹⁰⁷ The remainder of this chapter surveys the history of interpretation of Mark’s use of Zechariah. I reserve the survey of the interpretation of Mark 13 until the final chapter, placing it immediately before my own interpretation of the discourse.

1.5: Zechariah 9–14 in Mark

1.5.1: C.H. Dodd, Barnabas Lindars, and F.F. Bruce

In 1952, C.H. Dodd argued that after Jesus’ death, resurrection, and ascension, the early church characteristically read and taught from large sections of Jewish scriptures that appeared to express “the Gospel facts” as the early Christian community knew them.¹⁰⁸ *En route* to concluding that New

¹⁰⁶ Beasley-Murray 1954. The second edition was published in 1956 under the same title and by the same publishers. His 1993 edition updated the history of scholarship to include works from the early 1990s. I interact with the latter edition.

¹⁰⁷ This decision is conditioned by the assumption that different methods concern different questions. My question does not pertain to the potential oral or written sources behind Mark 13, but to the interpretation of the discourse as Mark has presented it within the context of the Gospel. Accordingly, it would be unfair to criticize findings of source-critical or redaction-critical studies for not coming to the “right” conclusion about Mark 13 when such studies, by definition, exclude examination of the questions I am asking. Thus, as I pursue largely “narrative” questions, I limit my examination to scholars who have similarly examined Mark 13. I occasionally discuss the works of Strauss, Colani, and Beasley-Murray due to the conversation-setting nature of their contributions.

¹⁰⁸ See summary of his hypothesis in Dodd 1952, 57.

Testament authors knew whole passages of scripture *in extenso*,¹⁰⁹ C.H. Dodd described Zech 9–14 as “setting forth a whole eschatological programme, many elements of which have been taken up in the New Testament.”¹¹⁰ According to Zech 9–14, the “programme” consists of at least 1) the entry of the king into Jerusalem,¹¹¹ 2) the shedding of the “blood of the covenant,”¹¹² 3) the slaying of the shepherd,¹¹³ 4) the clearance of the merchants from the temple,¹¹⁴ 5) the gentile mission,¹¹⁵ and 6) the appearance of the Lord with all his holy ones.¹¹⁶ According to Dodd, Mark alludes at least to elements (1), (2), and (3) in Mark 11:1–11, Mark 14:24, and Mark 14:27, respectively.¹¹⁷

In 1961, Barnabas Lindars, in wide agreement with Dodd’s conclusions, set out to detect the shift in application of various passages that are widely attested across the New Testament.¹¹⁸ Hypothesizing that the shifts in application of various texts arise from the apologetic needs of the particular author or community,¹¹⁹ he argued that the Gospels primarily use Zech 9–14 in defense of the church’s claims that Jesus is Messiah and that the Messiah had to suffer.¹²⁰ Regarding Mark’s use of Zech 9–14, Lindars, like Dodd, concluded that Mark alludes to Zech 9:9 in Mark 11:1–10, and to Zech 9:11 in Mark 14:24. Regarding the quotation of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27, he noted that Zech 13:7–9’s notion that the remnant would be refined after the striking of the shepherd “is highly suitable for the Church’s needs.”¹²¹ He did not, however, justify that claim by citing any texts.

In 1968, F.F. Bruce sought “to take a few of the chief themes, motifs or images which are used as vehicles of revelation in the Old Testament and consider how the New Testament writers continue to use them to set forth the perfected revelation in Christ.”¹²² His study devoted a section entirely to the Gospels’ use of Zech 9–14 in their description of Jesus as “the Shepherd King.”¹²³ In his survey of Zech 9–14 in Mark, he concluded, as Lindars and Dodd before him, that Mark alludes to Zech 9:9 in Mark 11:1–

¹⁰⁹ See *ibid.*, 57–60.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹¹¹ Zech 9:9.

¹¹² Zech 9:11.

¹¹³ Zech 13:7.

¹¹⁴ Zech 14:21.

¹¹⁵ Zech 14:16.

¹¹⁶ Zech 14:5. Summary of “programme” in Dodd 1952, 73–74.

¹¹⁷ See *ibid.*, 49, 64. He claims that the quotation of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27 is “nearer to the Hebrew than to the LXX” (66). He takes many allusions to Zechariah by the Gospels to reflect “the Massoretic [sic] text” (65).

¹¹⁸ Lindars 1961.

¹¹⁹ See *ibid.*, 28.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 75–77.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹²² F.F. Bruce 1968, 21.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 100–14.

10, “even in the absence of an explicit quotation,”¹²⁴ and to Zech 9:11 in Mark 14:24.¹²⁵ Additionally, Bruce claimed that Zech 14’s “day of the Lord” imagery, particularly in reference to its depiction of the siege of Jerusalem, “has influenced some of the language in the eschatological discourse.”¹²⁶ Bruce did not say more than this, except by noting that the influence is especially detectable in Luke 21.

In accord with the method described in Sections 1.2 and 1.3 above, my project goes beyond the work of Dodd, Lindars, and Bruce by: 1) arguing for the presence of more allusions to Zechariah than they note; 2) spending more time interpreting the Markan passage in light of the recognition of a scriptural allusion; and 3) arguing for the influence of the scriptural context, if any, on the basis of intratextual and extratextual data.

1.5.2: H.C. Kee

In 1975, Howard Clark Kee contributed to the conversation both by inquiring after the function of scriptural allusions in Mark, and by limiting his scope to Mark.¹²⁷ After surveying in tabular form the numerous quotations, allusions, and scriptural influences in Mark 11–16,¹²⁸ he noted that Mark uses a range of text types, including the Targum of Isa 53, “the traditional Hebrew text,” “the LXX tradition,” and “the tradition of the Greek Bible associated with Theodotion.”¹²⁹ Additionally, he identified a key element of Mark’s exegetical procedure that informs the present study, namely, the synthesis of multiple passages to form a composite image in the Gospel.¹³⁰ He cited as an example the heavenly voice at Jesus’ baptism that “acclaims Jesus . . . by blending two [scriptures] (Isa 42:1 and Ps 2:7) into a role which combines the kingly tradition of David with the servant of II Isaiah.”¹³¹ The table below reproduces his findings regarding allusions to Zech 9–14 in Mark.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 107.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 102 n 3. Bruce wonders if the “blood of the covenant” from Zech 9:11 may be the same “covenant” of Zech 13:9. He does not pursue the point, but the connection is intriguing in that it may supply a textual connection between Jesus’ covenant-inaugurating suffering, described as “the blood of the covenant” (Zech 9:11) and the covenantal status of those who are refined after the striking of the shepherd (Zech 13:7–9).

¹²⁶ Ibid., 108.

¹²⁷ H.C. Kee 1975, 165–188.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 167–171.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 171–72.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 176.

¹³¹ Ibid., 177.

Figure 1.2

Mark	Zechariah
11:2a, 7	14:4 (MT) ¹³²
11:2b	2:10; 9:9 (MT)
11:15–16	14:21 (MT)
11:17a	14:16, 21 (MT) ¹³³
13:8	14:4 (MT) ¹³⁴
13:27	2:6, 10 (MT), ¹³⁵ 14:5 (MT)
13:32	14:7 (MT)
14:11	11:12 (MT)
14:23–24	9:11 (MT)
14:27	13:7 (LXX) ¹³⁶
14:50	13:7 (MT)

An interesting trend begins with Kee. By limiting his scope, and consequently examining Mark more closely, he detected many more allusions to Zech 9–14 in Mark than his predecessors. He does not, however, make the requisite arguments for each case. Additionally, like the other studies summarized, Kee did not often interpret the Markan passages in light of the proposed scriptural influence; he often only noted the presence of the allusion. Finally, though I am in agreement with the vast majority of Kee’s suggestions, I do not concur with his conclusions regarding the influence of Zechariah in Mark 11:2a, 11:7, or 14:50, and I am less certain about his conclusions regarding Mark 13:8 and 14:11. In response, my study will offer arguments for each proposed case.

1.5.3: *Douglas Moo*

In 1983, Douglas Moo examined the use of scripture across the Gospel passion narratives.¹³⁷ Like Dodd, Bruce, and Lindars before him, his scope was relatively large, and thus the space he devoted to each Gospel and each potential reference text was limited. With respect to Mark, he discusses only

¹³² The abbreviations “MT” and “LXX” are Kee’s. All of these references are labeled as “allusions” by Kee unless otherwise noted.

¹³³ He labels Mark 11:17 (the teaching after the temple incident) as a “quotation” of Zech 14:16, 21.

¹³⁴ Labeled as an “influence.”

¹³⁵ He labels Mark 13:27 as a “quotation” of Zech 2:6, 10, and he labels the source as the MT, though the verbal parallel obtains in Septuagintal traditions.

¹³⁶ Labeled as a “quotation.”

¹³⁷ Moo 1983.

the quotation of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27. In short, he argued that Mark alludes to the context of Zech 13:7–9 in his quotation of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27.¹³⁸ According to Moo, Jesus’ arrest is that which “scatters” the disciples, and the disciples’ flight exhausts the significance of their “scattering” and “falling away.” His resurrection prediction (Mark 14:28) is that which reconstitutes the scattered disciples, thereby fulfilling the context of Zech 13:8–9, which depicts a reconstituted people of God after a scattering and refining.¹³⁹ I critique his position in detail in Section 4.2.1.

1.5.4: *Mark C. Black*

The work of Mark Black marks a considerable advance in the study of Zech 9–14 in the Gospels.¹⁴⁰ Recognizing that many scholars had noted the vast influence of Zech 9–14 on the Gospels, he expressed his surprise that no scholar had yet attempted a “detailed inquiry . . . in the wake of the seminal and monumental works of Dodd and Lindars.”¹⁴¹ His stated goal was to explain how “Zech 9–14 has influenced the gospel passion narratives on the most fundamental level.”¹⁴² The following table summarizes his findings regarding the influence of Zech 9–14 in Mark.¹⁴³

Figure 1.3

#	Zechariah	Event	Mark
1	9:9	Triumphal Entry	11:1–11
2	13:7	Desertion of Disciples	14:27–31 ¹⁴⁴
3	12:10–14	The Pierced One	14:62
4	14:21	Temple Cleansing	11:15–17
5	9:11	Blood of the Covenant	14:24
6	14:3–5	Mount of Olives	13:3; 14:26
7	14:5	Parousia with Angels	8:38; 13:27 ¹⁴⁵

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 215–17.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 217.

¹⁴⁰ Black 1990; *idem* 2008, 97–114. Black regards the latter work as “an updated summary with an expanded argument.”

¹⁴¹ Black 1990, 9.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁴³ This table summarizes the conclusions drawn from Black 2008, 98–111.

¹⁴⁴ Black follows Moo’s interpretation of Mark 14:27’s quotation of Zech 13:7, citing him throughout his discussion (*ibid.*, 102–3).

¹⁴⁵ He regards Mark 8:38 and 13:27 as “a likely echo” of Zech 14:5, though he is not sure whether Mark was “aware of the echoes” (*ibid.*, 110–11).

Though I am sympathetic to many of Black's findings, his method is largely driven by redaction-critical questions, and thus he is often more concerned with the influence of Zech 9–14 across the Gospels and pre-Markan tradition, and whether or not Mark (the author) is aware of Zechariah's influences. Regarding the influence of Zech 14 in Mark 13–14, he writes, "Once again, there is little reason to think that Mark recognizes the background in Zech. 14. If they are echoes, they are imbedded in his tradition."¹⁴⁶ His method leads to a relative dearth of exploration of the significance of a given allusion or quotation with respect to the Gospel narrative as a whole. This study, on the other hand, will argue for the significance of Zech 13–14 in Mark 13, and spend more space discussing the significance of a given allusion to Zechariah in Mark.

1.5.5: Joel Marcus

Joel Marcus' *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark* distinguished itself from its predecessors by its attention to extratextual data and Mark's narrative goals. Marcus incorporated material from a wider cultural encyclopedia than most, including data from Josephus, Qumran, and "the Old Testament," and interpreted it all within the matrix of Mark's narrative.¹⁴⁷ He argued that Mark recontextualizes Israel's "holy war" traditions to depict Jesus and his disciples as the means by which God's apocalyptic victory against the true enemies will be won. Marcus described a Jewish expectation of "holy war" based on the pattern of Deutero-Isaiah (perhaps attested in 1QM),¹⁴⁸ in which the victorious campaign begins in the Judean wilderness and culminates in the liberation of Jerusalem.¹⁴⁹ For Marcus, Mark does not abandon this pattern, but instead inserts into it new characters, means, and goals. His explanation of Mark 10:33–34 – Jesus' prophecy of his own death and rejection – is representative of Marcus' view. He writes, "this prophecy is not a *denial* of the Deutero-Isaian hope for a holy war victory; it is, rather, a radical, cross-centered adaptation of it. For those with eyes to see . . . Jesus' suffering and death there [in Jerusalem] *are* the prophesied apocalyptic victory of the divine warrior."¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 109.

¹⁴⁷ See Marcus 1992b, 9. He clarifies that he will not "lay aside the redaction-critical arsenal," but that he will also "accommodate the concern of the 'narrative' approach." "Old Testament" is Marcus' term.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 23.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 26–41.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 36.

It is within the above pattern of interpretation that Marcus explained Mark's allusions to Zech 9–14. Marcus noted, for example, a cluster of allusions to Zech 9–14 in Mark 14:24–28. The table below summarizes his findings.¹⁵¹

Figure 1.4

Zechariah	Event/Phrase	Mark
9:11	My blood of the covenant	14:24
14:4, 9	That day, the kingdom of God	14:25
14:4	Mount of Olives	14:26
13:7	Strike the Shepherd, etc.	14:27
14:4; 13:8–9	Resurrection; restoration of sheep	14:28

Marcus noted that the majority of these Zechariah contexts relate to God's eschatological war, and he argued that Mark typically appropriates Zechariah's language with reference to Jesus' suffering and vindication.¹⁵² Accordingly, the allusions to Zechariah function within Mark's narrative as indicators that God's eschatological war is won precisely through Jesus' death.¹⁵³ This study agrees with Marcus' findings in that regard, but disagrees with his interpretation of 1) Mark 14:26 vis-à-vis Zech 14:4 and "the Mount of Olives," and 2) Mark 14:28 vis-à-vis Zech 13:8, which he interprets as do Moo and Black.

Regarding the former, Marcus suggested that Mark locates Jesus' resurrection prediction on the Mount of Olives in Mark 14:26 in line with the association only attested in "later Jewish exegesis"¹⁵⁴ of the Mount of Olives with the future resurrection.¹⁵⁵ He cited as evidence (1) Targum Canticles 8:5, (2) a 12th century manuscript (Codex Reuchlinianus) of Targum Zech 14:4, and (3) the synagogue at Dura-Europus.¹⁵⁶ Describing all three of his cited sources Marcus writes, "the earthquake on the Mount of Olives in Zech 14:4–5 allows the dead to arise through the cleft that is created."¹⁵⁷ These data, however, do not require Marcus' interpretation. The painting at the synagogue of Dura-Europus, for example,

¹⁵¹ A comparable table is in Marcus 1992b, 157.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 156–59.

¹⁵³ Marcus also argues for the influence of Zech 9:9 in Jesus' "triumphal entry" (158), and Zech 14:21 in Jesus' action in the temple (160).

¹⁵⁴ Marcus 2009, 969. Marcus' argument in his commentary is more detailed, thus I cite it rather than his earlier work. Marcus (2009, 155 n 10) cites Black 1990, 141–50, for supporting evidence.

¹⁵⁵ This argument is also made by Black 1990, 141–50.

¹⁵⁶ Marcus 2009, 969.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

contains a scene of a split mountain with dead bodies inside, which Marcus interprets as the Mount of Olives and the imminent resurrection. The mountain depicted, however, is probably not the Mount of Olives, but rather the valley of dry bones à la Ezek 37. The “split” that Marcus takes as the Mount of Olives probably actually renders the “earthquake” of Ezek 37:7.¹⁵⁸ Kraeling notes that paintings in that synagogue uniformly depict one biblical text/scene.¹⁵⁹ As the painting conclusively depicts scenes from Ezekiel, and particularly the prophecy of Ezek 37, an allusion to a different biblical text (in this case Zech 14) is unlikely.

The two Targum citations do in fact associate the Mount of Olives with the resurrection, but that is not the probable association in Mark. The feature that characteristically conveys the resurrection in the accounts cited by Marcus is not simply the “Mount of Olives,” but the *earthquake* that splits it. Matthew 27:51–52 is a good example of such a reading, where Jesus dies and the temple veil is torn, the earth quakes, the rocks split, and the bodies of “the holy ones” rise. In Matt 27 it is the earthquake itself that permits the resurrection, rather than any association with the Mount of Olives. Additionally, I argue that Mark alludes to Zech 14 throughout Mark 13 to refer to the eschatological tribulation and *parousia*.¹⁶⁰ Accordingly, I take the shared setting on the Mount of Olives between Mark 13 and Mark 14:26–31 as a link encouraging mutual interpretation of those predictions. Moreover, the Mount of Olives seems to have had a unique significance in the mid-first century CE that is different than the post-70 interpretations cited.¹⁶¹ Aside from Marcus’ interpretation of Mark 14:26 and 14:28, this study is greatly indebted to his work on Mark. His attention to intratextual, intertextual, and extratextual data is exemplary.

1.5.6: *Craig A. Evans*

In 2006 Evans examined “the degree of influence Zechariah may have had on the evangelist Mark.”¹⁶² Though this study shares neither Evans’ question of the mindset of Jesus or the evangelist, nor his consequent methodology, Evans’ study makes an important contribution distinct among the studies summarized here.

¹⁵⁸ See C.H. Kraeling 1956, 190–91.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 191.

¹⁶⁰ See Section 4.3 and Chapter 5. Marcus also notes that “the reference to the Mount of Olives [in Mark 13:3] fits precisely the context of judgment found in Zech. 14:1–5” (1992b, 156).

¹⁶¹ See e.g. Josephus, *War* 2.13.4–5; *Ant.* 20.8.6; examined in Section 5.8.3. Ironically Marcus himself notes this different interpretation of the Mount of Olives in pre-70 Palestine via Josephus (Marcus 1992b, 156 n 11, 159).

¹⁶² Evans 2006b, 64–80.

After arguing for the typical allusions to Zech 9–14 in Mark 11–16,¹⁶³ Evans suggested that Mark 13 is influenced by Zech 14. The latter in itself is not completely novel among the studies summarized thus far, but he alone enumerated the actual correspondences. He stated that the influence is largely thematic, but that the correspondences obtain between 1) Mark 13 *in toto* and Zech 14:2, via the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem; 2) Mark 13:8 and Zech 14:2, 5, via reference to “wars and earthquakes”; 3) Mark 13:14 and Zech 14:5 and 2:6, via the warning to “flee”; 4) Mark 13:27 and Zech 2:10, via the description of “gathering” God’s people; 5) Mark 13:32 and Zech 14:6–7, via “that day” being known by God.¹⁶⁴ While I do not disagree with Evans’ findings, my argument will go considerably beyond that of Evans’, adding at least three correspondences he does not mention here, and expending more than the single paragraph Evans uses to claim these correspondences.

1.5.7: Sandra Hübenthal

Sandra Hübenthal’s *Transformation und Aktualisierung: Zur Rezeption von Sach 9–14 im Neuen Testament* contributed both to the discussion of intertextuality *per se*, and the use of Zech 9–14 in the New Testament.¹⁶⁵ Regarding the former, she discussed three categories by which to label the presence of a *Prätext* in a subsequent text: quotation (*Zitat*), allusion (*Anspielung*), and echo (*Echo*).¹⁶⁶ One of the distinctions she drew between these categories is the descending order of *Erkennbarkeit*,¹⁶⁷ or “recognizability,” by the reader. Accordingly, “Zitat ist die klarste Aufnahme eines Prätextes in einen neuen Text, Echo die unbestimmteste.”¹⁶⁸ More specifically, a text is considered a quotation when it reproduces the language of a prior text, typically, though not necessarily, with an introductory formula, and the reproduced language is uniquely associated with only that prior text.¹⁶⁹ Authorial intent is usually assumed if the new text is labeled a “quotation.”¹⁷⁰

She considered a reference an “allusion” when it reproduced the language of a prior text. For Hübenthal, the difference between an allusion and an unmarked quotation is the clarity of the presence of the prior text in the new text.¹⁷¹ She characterized a quotation, for example, as a “manifest” presence

¹⁶³ He agrees with Marcus’ (1992b) conclusions (see Figure 1.4 and n 153 above).

¹⁶⁴ Evans 2006b, 75.

¹⁶⁵ Hübenthal 2006.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 51–58.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹⁶⁸ Quotation is from M. Grohmann 2000, 32, cited approvingly by Hübenthal 2006, 58.

¹⁶⁹ Hübenthal 2006, 52.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 54.

of a prior text, and an allusion as a “latent” presence of a prior text.¹⁷² An “echo” is the least clear reference of a prior text in a new text, perhaps only reproducing a single word, concept, or event, and it is probably not intended by the author.¹⁷³ The significance of these distinct categories lies in the extent to which the prior text transforms the new text. For Hübenthal, the meaning of the alluding text is *transformed* when the reader recognizes an allusion or quotation to a prior text.¹⁷⁴ Accordingly, the less likely a reader is to detect a prior text, the less that prior text is able to transform the meaning of the new text. Thus when Hübenthal labels a given reference an “echo” of a prior text, that prior text has little transformative power on the alluding text. The table below reproduces her conclusions regarding the quotations, allusions, and echoes, of Zech 9–14 in Mark.

Figure 1.5

Quotation	Allusion	Echo
Zechariah 13:7 in Mark 14:27	-	Zech 13:3 in Mark 3:21
-	-	Zech 14:4 in Mark 11:1
-	-	Zech 14:21 in Mark 11:15

As the table indicates, Hübenthal regarded Mark as having one quotation, no allusions, and three echoes, to Zech 9–14. While Hübenthal’s opening discussion on the transformational effects of intertextual connections is strong, her expectations for what qualifies as an allusion or echo, in my judgment, are too stringent. She seemingly discounts the weight of the cultural encyclopedia, which potentially *reduces the required lexical data to conjure certain connotations*. She thereby requires more data than is necessary to grant that something is an echo, or even more, an allusion.¹⁷⁵ By taking into account intratextual, intertextual, and extratextual data (a method with which Hübenthal would agree¹⁷⁶) this study argues for more influences of Zech 9–14 upon Mark.

1.5.8: Richard B. Hays

The final work examined in this portion of the review is Richard Hays’ *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*. As mentioned, Hays assumed that Israel’s scriptures form a part of Mark’s “encyclopedia of

¹⁷² Ibid., 51.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 57.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 45.

¹⁷⁵ A good example might be her argument against Mark 11:1–10 alluding to Zech 9:9.

¹⁷⁶ See *ibid.*, 40–48.

production.”¹⁷⁷ His stated goal was to study the literary shape of the Gospels, pursuing their evocations of Israel’s scriptures in their narrative figuration of the stories of Israel, Jesus, and the church.¹⁷⁸ Regarding Zech 9–14, Hays argued for some of the typical allusions: Zech 9:9 in Mark 11:1–10;¹⁷⁹ Zech 14:21 in Mark 11:15–16;¹⁸⁰ Zech 9:11 in Mark 14:24;¹⁸¹ and Zech 13:7 in the garden before his arrest.¹⁸²

Regarding Mark’s quotation of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27, Hays provided an interpretation consonant with that of the present study. He writes that “the citation of this one ominous prophecy . . . encourages readers to understand the rapidly unfolding events of the passion narrative in the strongly *apocalyptic* context signaled by Zechariah’s closing chapters.”¹⁸³ Jesus’ death accordingly indicates that “the climactic days prophesied by Zechariah have at last arrived,” and that though the shepherd has been struck and the sheep have been scattered, the days promised by Zech 13:8–9 and 14:1–9, where God will restore his people and become king over all the earth, are close at hand.¹⁸⁴ Hays did not expand this point or explicitly argue that such events are fulfilled in Mark 13, so I do not intend to force his interpretation into a box he does not provide. His interpretation of features of Mark 13, however, led me to think that he regards God’s restoration as ultimately obtaining via the events described in at least Mark 13:32–37.¹⁸⁵

1.5.9: Summary

The history of interpreting the use of Zech 9–14 in Mark has continued unabated for decades. The following table illustrates the findings of the scholars examined here. This table is meant as a shorthand summary; as such, it does not represent the nuance with which each scholar articulates his or her position, including the range of vocabulary (quotation, allusion, echo, influence) used or not used by a given author. In this table, (✓) indicates that the author assents to the intertextual influence; (–) indicates that the author does not address the passage; (≈) indicates that the author sees a potential

¹⁷⁷ Hays 2016, 10.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 6–7.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 51–52.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 35–36, 87.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 82.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ See e.g. *ibid.*, 60, 76, 91, 97.

influence, but is essentially non-committal on that particular case; (X) indicates that the author argues against the influence.¹⁸⁶

Figure 1.6

	Zech 9:9 in Mark 11:1–10	Zech 14:21 in Mark 11:15–17	Zech 9:11 in Mark 14:24	Zech 14:9 in Mark 14:25	Zech 14:4 in Mark 14:26	Zech 14 in Mark 13
C.H. Dodd	✓	–	✓	–	–	–
B. Lindars	✓	–	✓	–	–	–
F.F. Bruce	✓	–	✓	–	–	≈
H.C. Kee	✓	✓	✓	–	–	✓
D. Moo	–	–	–	–	–	–
M. Black	✓	✓	✓	–	✓	≈
J. Marcus	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	≈
C.A. Evans	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
S. Hübenthal	X	≈	–	–	–	–
R.B. Hays	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	≈

This table indicates that the majority of scholars examined note both the influence of Zech 9:9 in Mark 11:1–10, and Zech 9:11 in Mark 14:24. Half of these scholars argue for the influence of Zech 14:21 in Jesus' action in the temple, while approximately one-third of them argue for the influence of Zechariah in Mark 14:25–26. A more important trend is demonstrable, however, once the scope of the respective studies is taken into account. Notably, the studies that focus on Mark rather than the Gospels or the New Testament, exhibit wide, though not unanimous, agreement with respect to the influence of Zechariah in Mark. Among these studies, Kee is the first who examines the use of Jewish scripture in only Mark 11–16. He finds over a dozen allusions to Zechariah in Mark, and notes four of the six listed in the table. Black is the next to focus particularly on Mark and pre-Markan tradition, and he notes five out of the six listed above. Finally, similarly focusing on Mark only, Marcus, Evans, and Hays, note six out of six from the list above, arguing for each case-by-case. My study largely agrees with the conclusions of Marcus, Evans, and Hays, with three exceptions.

¹⁸⁶ The authors' names indicate the studies by the respective authors as already summarized in this section. Page numbers are not noted in this table as they are copiously noted in the summary of each individual author.

First, I argue for four additional allusions not included in the table above. Second, I do not follow their conclusion regarding Zech 14:4 in Mark 14:26, as I argued above in 1.5.5. Third and finally, I considerably expand the suggestions of Marcus and Evans that Mark 13 contains allusions to Zech 14. Though I agree with such a conclusion, it remains both to be argued for in detail, and to be integrated with the larger patterns of Mark's use of Zechariah throughout the Gospel.¹⁸⁷

1.6: Conclusion

The prophecies of Zechariah are vital to the expression of several momentous events in Mark's narration of the life and death of Jesus. If the allusions to Zechariah discussed above are plausible,¹⁸⁸ they contribute to major themes of Mark's Gospel, including Jesus' royal identity, his action and teaching in the temple, his teaching about his own death at Passover, his hopes about the future kingdom of God, and his being God's "stricken shepherd." Jesus' entry into Jerusalem on a donkey, for example, depicts him as Israel's awaited, Davidic king, while Jesus' quotation of Zech 13:7 demonstrates that his kingship entails being stricken by God and abandoned by his followers. His teaching in the temple converges with his expectations regarding the nature of God's kingdom, namely that "all the nations" would be welcome, while his teaching at Passover clarifies at what cost this kingdom comes. Mark expresses each of these events under the influence of Zechariah's prophecies, and importantly, none of these events is incidental to the story Mark tells. On the contrary, each of these events serves as a plot-altering factor in the story as a whole. The importance of Zechariah for interpreting Mark's Gospel, therefore, should not be underestimated.

This study seeks to impact both the conversation regarding the function of Zechariah in Mark, and the interpretation of Mark 13 in light of the Gospel's use of Zechariah. The studies examined above confine their scope to Mark 11–16, arguing for allusions to Zechariah only in those Markan chapters. This study widens that scope and examines potential allusions to Zechariah outside Mark 11–16. With such influence in mind, I turn to Mark 13 to examine the extent to which Zechariah also informs interpretation of the Olivet Discourse.¹⁸⁹ I argue that Mark alludes to prophecies of Zech 13–14 in order

¹⁸⁷ As noted, Marcus (1992b) only suggests the influence of Zech 14 in Mark 13 in a single sentence, and Evans (2006b) elaborates his case in a single paragraph.

¹⁸⁸ I argue for the presence and significance of the majority of these allusions in Chapter 3.

¹⁸⁹ I label Mark 13 an "apocalyptic" discourse insofar as 1) it is *revelatory*, that is, it provides previously unknown information, especially in effort to persuade; and 2) it shares features of the genre "apocalypse," though Mark 13 is not one itself (contra Brandenburger 1984, 13). The shared features with an apocalypse include Mark 13's pertinence to "eschatological salvation." This label reflects the definition of "apocalypse" in both Paul Hanson 1976, 27–28, and John Collins 1979, 9. See also Collins 2003, 42–53, where he distinguishes between "apocalypse"

to express the eschatological scenario that is initiated by the striking of the shepherd and resolved in the theophany with angels. That eschatological scenario in Zechariah moves from the striking of the shepherd¹⁹⁰ to the refinement of God’s covenantal people,¹⁹¹ to the attack of Jerusalem by enemy nations,¹⁹² and finally to the coming of the Lord with his angels.¹⁹³ This study argues that Mark invokes that scenario in his quotation of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27, and that Zechariah’s consequent events, that is, Zech 13:8–14:5, comprise the events of Mark 13, which similarly occur after the striking of the shepherd, and depict the refinement of God’s covenantal people,¹⁹⁴ the attack upon Jerusalem,¹⁹⁵ and the Lord’s return with angels.¹⁹⁶ The influence of Zech 13–14 is not detected via thematic similarity alone, but by several allusions to the pertinent prophecies from Zechariah throughout Mark’s Gospel, and in Mark 13 in particular. Recognizing the influence of Zech 13–14 in Mark 13 resolves the apparent disparity perceived in much of scholarship of Mark 13 discussing Jerusalem’s tribulation and a theophany in the same discourse.

In the next chapter I discuss the use of Zech 13–14 in Second Temple literature. In Chapter 3, I argue for Markan allusions to Zechariah throughout the Gospel. In Chapter 4, I analyze in detail two allusions to Zechariah in Mark, namely the allusion to Zech 14:5 in Mark 8:38, and the quotation of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27. As they depict Jesus’ death and second coming, I argue that they comprise the bookends of Mark 13, which narrates events that take place between Jesus’ death and *parousia*. I argue in Chapter 5 that Mark 13 comprises the material between those bookends, namely the tribulations that are initiated by the striking of the shepherd and resolved in the coming of the Son of Man. In the final chapter, I offer two ancient receptions of material from the Olivet Discourse that support this study’s argument, and some concluding thoughts.

(= genre of literature), “apocalyptic” (= the descriptor of a work that exhibits *some* features of an apocalypse), and “apocalypticism” (= worldview of the apocalypses). See Dennis Nineham 1963, 340–41; A.Y. Collins 1992, 77; and Shively 2012, 187–88, for similar reasoning on Mark 13’s classification. Shively (2012, 187), rightly states that in view of Mark 13’s various literary features (including e.g. prophecy and paranesis), “Mark 13 defies strict genre classification.”

¹⁹⁰ Zech 13:7.

¹⁹¹ Zech 13:8–9.

¹⁹² Zech 14:1–2.

¹⁹³ Zech 14:5–6.

¹⁹⁴ Mark 13:9–13.

¹⁹⁵ Mark 13:14–22.

¹⁹⁶ Mark 13:26–27.

Chapter Two: Analysis of Second Temple Literature

2.1: Introduction

This chapter examines extant non-Markan uses of pertinent material from Zechariah in order to show usage consistent with the proposed employment in Mark 13. I address passages from 1 Enoch, Qumran, Sibylline Oracles, 1 Thessalonians, and Matthew. In addressing a given passage, I note how the quotation or allusion is marked, and how it functions in the alluding text. This chapter demonstrates that Zech 13–14 is often employed to describe 1) eschatological suffering, whether of the people of God or of Israel's enemies, and 2) the future coming of an eschatological judge or savior. Proceeding in a loose chronological fashion, I begin with 1 Enoch.

2.2: 1 Enoch 52:6

1 Enoch 1:3–9 depicts a theophany of “the Lord” using the cosmic imagery of several texts, including Deut 33:2, Mic 1:3–4, and Isa 24:17–23.¹ 1 Enoch 52’s theophany within the Similitudes of Enoch² reuses that cosmic imagery, particularly that of Mic 1:3–4, which suggests that 1 En 52 reinterprets the theophany of 1 En 1:3–9.³ The figure who arrives in 1 En 52:6 is the “Elect One,” otherwise known in the Similitudes as “the Righteous One,” “the Son of Man,” and “Messiah.”⁴ In each passage, the mountains “melt like honeycomb before fire” at the approach of the figure. An additional feature in 1 En 52’s theophany, however, suggests the influence of Zech 14.

The end of 1 En 52:6 reads: “all of them [the mountains] in the presence of the Elect One, will become like a honeycomb before fire, like water that gushes down from the top of such mountains, and become helpless by his feet.” The latter phrase “by his feet” may be an influence of Zech 14:4, which reads in part: “And on that day [of the Lord’s arrival] his feet shall stand upon the mountain. . . . And the mountain shall split . . .” Much of the theophanic language in 1 En 52 comes from traditional texts, such

¹ VanderKam 1973, 129–50; Nickelsburg 2001, 144.

² Most scholars date the Similitudes between the 1st centuries BCE and CE. Collins, for example, dates it to the 1st century CE, while Charlesworth, who pairs the condemnation of “the landowners” in the Similitudes to an occasion in the 1st century BCE, dates it between 20–4 BCE. See Collins 1993, 82; J. Charlesworth 2013, 37–57. VanderKam prefers a date between 37–4 BCE. For his full discussion, see Nickelsburg and VanderKam 2012, 62. For my purposes the precise date is not important as I am not arguing for literary dependence.

³ See Black 1985 and Nickelsburg/VanderKam 2012.

⁴ For a survey of the titles in the Similitudes of Enoch, see VanderKam 1992, 169–91. VanderKam demonstrates that each epithet refers to the same figure.

as Ps 97:5, Mic 1:3–4, and Nah 1:5.⁵ In the case of 1 En 52, reference to “feet” affecting the mountains at a theophany most plausibly derives from Zech 14:4, as the latter uniquely refers to “feet” destroying a mountain at God’s arrival. Zech 14 is not utilized to the exclusion of other texts, but is employed due to its thematically correspondent portrayal of a theophany.

Additionally, if 1 En 52 recalls the theophany of 1 En 1, then 1 En 52 exemplifies the application of a prophecy that originally depicted a theophany of Israel’s God, to a theophany of God’s agent, “the Elect One.” These observations are important for the ensuing interpretation of Mark 13 for two reasons: 1) Mark 13:26–27 too depicts a theophany of the Son of Man, that is, a figure other than God himself, with imagery from texts (e.g. Isa 13:10) that originally applied to God; and 2) one of the texts used to depict the theophany in 1 En 52 and Mark is Zech 14:4–5. 1 Enoch 52 accordingly serves as an example of the reading strategy that I argue occurs in Mark 8:38 and 13:26–27.

2.3: Qumran

I turn now to material from Qumran, specifically *The War Scroll* (hereafter: 1QM), *4QTanḥûmîm* (4Q176), and the Damascus Document (CD).⁶ I argue that these texts use Zech 13:7–9 and 14:1–5 in ways consistent with their proposed employment in Mark, that is: to refer to the suffering of the community in the last days, and to depict the scenario of the eschatological confrontation between God, his angels, and his people on the one hand, and their mutual enemies on the other. I begin with 1QM.

2.3.1: 1QM

1QM contains nineteen columns, dates from between 164 BCE and 50 BCE,⁷ and should probably be regarded as a manual of rules and instructions for the impending eschatological war between “the sons of light” and “the sons of darkness.”⁸ According to scholars of 1QM, the document as preserved is probably composite, and possibly contains traditions concerning different wars, or different stages of the same war. Schultz notes, for example, that in 1QM 1:2–4, the impending battle wages

⁵ Black (1985, 216) regards Mic 1:4 as the main source.

⁶ As I do not argue for literary dependence, it is sufficient that these texts are either pre-Markan or roughly contemporary to it.

⁷ Certainty in dating is impossible. Jean Duhaime argues for the date ca. 164 BCE on the basis of 1QM 1’s reliance upon Dan 11–12, and for ca. 50 BCE upon paleography. See Duhaime 2004, 74–82. See also Brian Schultz 2009, 31–39, especially *Table 4* on p 32. He charts the dating of 1QM (and other “war documents” from Cave 4) and matches the various dates with the scholars who espouse them. Schultz himself argues for a range similar to Duhaime’s.

⁸ So Yigael Yadin 1962, 15. See also Duhaime 2004, 52–54. Duhaime’s logic is that 1QM exhibits similar tendencies as *The Rule of the Community* (1QS) and CD, which are themselves collections of community-governing rules and teachings/prophesies. The material of 1QM governs, however, the expected “behavior” in the impending war.

between three tribes (the sons of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin) and “the Kittim.”⁹ In 1QM 2:7–14, however, the battle is between “all the tribes of Israel” and the sons of Ham, Shem, and Japhet, the latter three representing the whole of the inhabited world.¹⁰ For this reason, some regard 1QM to contain traditions regarding a regional battle against the Kittim, a universal one against the Kittim, and a universal one against “all the nations.”¹¹ These traditions are evidently brought together, however, into a unity of prescriptions about impending conflict between “the sons of light” and “the sons of darkness.” I examine a single feature of 1QM that suggests the influence of Zech 14: the assistance of “the holy angels” in the war.¹²

2.3.1.1: Assistance of the Holy Angels

One aspect of the worldview of the community that produced 1QM is the belief in communion with angelic beings.¹³ They believe that “holy angels” (מלאכי קודש) dwell among their armies (7:6); that the final battle includes a clash between “the assembly of gods” (עדת אלים) and the “congregation of men” (1:10); that God’s chosen nation contains “seers of the holy angels” (10:11); and that these “holy ones” (קדושים) and “armies of angels” (צבא מלאכים) assist indispensably in the final battle (12:1–8). Indeed, victory is assured because God and his holy, angelic army are on the side of the community. Many of these aspects are succinctly demonstrated in 1QM 12:7–8: “You, God, are awesome in the splendor of your majesty, and the congregation of your holy ones (קדושים) is amongst us for everlasting assistance. We will treat kings with contempt . . . for the King of glory is with us . . . and the army of his angels (מלאכים צבא) is enlisted with us.” The belief in the assistance of “holy ones” (קדושים) in the eschatological battle against “all the nations” (כל הגוים)¹⁴ suggests the influence of Zech 14:1–5, which depicts Israel in battle against “all the nations” (כל הגוים) but being ultimately assisted to victory by God and “all his holy ones” (כל־קדושים).

⁹ See 1QM 1:2–4. Schultz 2010, 156.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 161. For variations of this scheme in recognition of multiple sources and redactional layers, see: J. van der Ploeg 1959; P. von der Osten-Sacken 1969; Duhaime 2004, 53; Aleksander Michalak 2012, 150.

¹² Though 1QM may be composite, it nonetheless exhibits a unified hermeneutic in its selection of texts that envisage God’s holy war; for that reason I discuss the use of texts by the unified “1QM.”

¹³ An excellent resource for the angelology of Second Temple Judaism across the board, including 1QM, is Michalak 2012.

¹⁴ 1QM 11:16.

By suggesting the influence of Zech 14:5, I do not exclude the influence of other reference texts. Some traditions may have been more important than others, but ultimately, several texts were probably influential in the development of this belief, especially Enochic literature. I simply highlight the role of Zech 14:5 among the traditions. The texts often cited as potential backgrounds include: Ex 23:20; 33:2; 2 Kgs 19:35; 2 Chr 32:21; 68:2, 18; Isa 13:4; Dan 7:21; and Zech 14:5.¹⁵

A notable feature of many of the above texts, however, namely Ex 23:20, 33:2, 2 Kgs 19:35, and 2 Chr 32:21, is the notion that the single “angel of the Lord,” assists Israel in their military campaigns, rather than a plurality of angels. Psalm 68:18, Isa 13:4, Dan 7:21, and Zech 14:5, on the other hand, refer to “the hosts” or “the holy ones” accompanying God in his assistance of Israel. As Zech 14:5 explicitly refers to “all the holy ones” (כל־קדושים) fighting with God on the day of battle against “all the nations” (כל־הגוים), and as 1QM explicitly acknowledges that “the holy ones” (קדושים) are fighting with God and the community on the day of battle against “all the nations” (כל־הגוים), the former should probably be regarded as an influence upon the latter. Thus in the case of 1QM, Zech 14:1–5 plausibly informs the conception of the impending holy war and the assurance of angelic help.

2.3.1.2: *Summary*

1QM describes the condition of the community in the last days as one of intense suffering and refining.¹⁶ This testing evidently takes the form of the battle against all the nations, for which the language of Zech 14 is used. Zechariah 14:5 plausibly influences the notion that “the holy ones” would assist the people of God in the battle. These features, while not *identical* to the proposed reading of Mark 13, nonetheless provide significant parallels. Specifically, as I argue in subsequent chapters, Mark uses Zech 13–14 to depict 1) the testing of God’s covenantal people, 2) a militaristic attack upon Jerusalem, and 3) the assistance of God’s elect by the Son of Man and “the holy angels.” 1QM, therefore, presents a pattern of reading and of utilizing Zech 14 that makes plausible its proposed use in Mark 13. I turn now to *4QTanḥûmîm* (4Q176).

¹⁵ Yadin (1962, 237) cites Ex 23.20; 33.2; 2 Kgs 19:35; 2 Chr. 32:21; Ps. 31:6. See also Michalak 2012, 16–56. He traces the development of the tradition of angels as warriors in God’s divine retinue.

¹⁶ See 1QM 17:1–9.

2.3.2: 4Q176

4QTanḥûmîm is a fascinating text.¹⁷ It contains 54 fragments that comprise four or five columns,¹⁸ and can be cautiously dated to about the middle of the first century BCE.¹⁹ The text is extremely fragmentary, thus the conclusion regarding the number of columns is the result of reconstruction.²⁰ An intriguing aspect of the text is that it contains a string of seven quotations from Isa 40–55 without textual comment. That is, the texts are quoted and arranged in their “canonical” order, and the document does not alternate between text and explanation; rather, it proceeds from quotation to quotation. The quotations are often nearly verbatim, thus use of a *Vorlage* is presumed, though this of course cannot be proven.²¹ The text often agrees with 1QIsa^a against MT, but the data provided by 4Q176 cannot secure the use of 1QIsa^a.²² The passages quoted from Isaiah are: 40:1–5; 41:8–10; 43:1–7; 44:3; 49:7, 13–17; 51:22–52:3; and 54:4–10. The document as it stands functions analogously to the Greco-Roman compilations of extracts and quotations.²³ Such compilations facilitate access to extensive material without having to search the original source repeatedly. Thus the quotations from Isaiah were presumably compiled for accessibility, either because of the meaning already attached to them by the compiler/community, or for future consultation, or both.

Importantly, the text does not only contain quotations from Isaiah. In addition to an introductory invocation based on Ps 79, and a few fragments of non-biblical material in columns separate from the Isaiah quotations, there is also one other single quotation: Zech 13:9. Based on reconstruction, it appears that the document begins with an allusion or paraphrase of Ps 79, which acts as a prayer for God to act on behalf of his people. Then the quotations from Isaiah are introduced by the phrase, “And from the book of Isaiah: words of consolation” (תנחומים). Then proceed the seven passages from Isa 40–55. The end of the string of quotations is marked by another text that says “the words of

¹⁷ The secondary literature on 4Q176 is sparse. The majority of it is represented here.

¹⁸ As pictured in *DJD V*, it contains 57 fragments. Menahem Kister, however, concluded that three of the fragments (19–21) belonged to *Jubilees*; see Kister 1987, 529–36. His conclusions have been followed by many Qumran scholars. This is noted by Jesper Høgenhaven 2007, 99–123.

¹⁹ Høgenhaven 2007, 101.

²⁰ The conclusion that it contains five columns is based on the reconstruction by Strugnell 1970, 163–276. His conclusion is followed, more or less, by several scholars of 4Q176. Stanley agrees there were at least four columns, but is not certain about the fifth; C.D. Stanley 1992, 569–82. Høgenhaven agrees with Strugnell’s claim and tries to advance it by arguing for a particular arrangement of those five columns. See Høgenhaven 2011, 151–68.

²¹ So Stanley 1992, 576.

²² Høgenhaven 2007, 109–110.

²³ Stanley 1992, 579, who cites Pliny the Younger, *Epistles* 6.20.5 for an example.

consolations,” which acts as an *inclusio*. Then follows the fragmentary, non-biblical material, another quotation from Isa 52, and the quotation of Zech 13:9.²⁴

The presupposition of 4Q176 is that God’s people are distressed and afflicted. Hence the text opens with a prayer that God act to relieve or comfort them. Following the invocation comes the string of quotations from Isaiah which declare that God will redeem his people from their dire conditions. Each quotation from Isaiah is a word from God in the first person, promising to rescue his people.²⁵ The latter conditions seem to be the criteria of selecting those texts from Isaiah. Stanley summarizes this position well: “In every instance Yahweh speaks in the first person to his downtrodden people Israel, assuring them of his continued love and faithfulness and promising them a future restoration to an even more glorious state.”²⁶ For this reason, the inclusion of Zech 13:9 in this compilation is significant.

Zechariah 13:9 too is a speech from God in the first person to his covenantal people. The verse declares that God will take them through the fire in order to test and refine them, but that in the end, they will call on him, and he will answer, “You are my people.” Its inclusion in this compilation indicates that Zech 13:9 was interpreted to refer to the eschatological affliction of the people of God that would precede God’s great act of redemption. Two features of the text support this hypothesis. First, the text meets the criteria of the passages selected from Isaiah: a first person address by God to Israel that pertains to their suffering, yet promises deliverance. Second, the quotation of Zech 13:9 is without a surrounding context, and its fragmentary nature precludes knowing its precise placement within the overall text. There are, however, two scribal hands at work in 4Q176, and the hand that produced the quotations from Isa 40–55 also produced Zech 13:9.²⁷ That it is an isolated quotation without comment suggests a function and significance similar to that of the quotations from Isaiah. Thus 4Q176 understands Zech 13:9 to refer to the eschatological affliction that the people of God would necessarily undergo before God’s redemptive act. If these arguments are sound, 4Q176 presents a use of Zech 13:9 that perfectly exemplifies its proposed use in Mark, where the suffering of the disciples is that which necessarily precedes God’s final deliverance. The use of Zech 13:9 in Mark is partially detected in Mark

²⁴ This reconstruction follows Høgenhaven 2007, who is himself indebted to Strugnell 1970 and Stanley 1992.

²⁵ Technically the first quotation is from Isa 40:1–5, which is not the direct speech of God, but the words are God’s directions to the prophet of what to say Israel, thus the description is fair.

²⁶ Stanley 1992, 576–77. He is followed by Høgenhaven 2011, 165.

²⁷ So Høgenhaven 2007, 101–2.

9:49 via the necessity of the disciples being “salted with fire,”²⁸ and because their suffering occurs as a consequence of Jesus’ being “stricken” (Zech 13:7). I turn now to the final relevant text from Qumran.

2.3.3: *The Damascus Document*

The Damascus Document (CD) is comprised of manuscripts A and B and contains twenty columns. CD^A and CD^B date approximately to the 10th and 11th centuries CE, respectively.²⁹ Original composition may date to the mid-first century BCE. The matter of its use of Zech 13:7 is simplified in that it is quoted with a partial explanation, but the discussion has been complicated by the long history of text-critical questions. CD^A and CD^B share common material in A 7:4–8:2 and B 19:1–14. The passages diverge, however, in their respective, substantiating use of scripture. Each passage states what will happen to those disobedient to (the community’s interpretation of) the covenant when God visits the land, declaring that God will “return their evil upon them.” CD^A 7:10–21 then expounds this statement with a midrash on Isaiah-Amos-Numbers,³⁰ while CD^B 19:7–12 does so by Zechariah-Ezekiel.³¹ While interesting, these text-critical questions fall outside the scope of discussion as the suggested emendations of text critics do not affect the interpretation of Zech 13:7.³² And in any case, the only evidence by which to interpret Zech 13:7 is by the material within which it is embedded: CD^B 19:7–12.

CD^B 19:1 cites Deut 7:9, which says that God keeps covenant with those who “keep his precepts.” This quotation grounds the document’s subsequent exhortations, the first of which is the teaching that men should take women as wives, reside in camps “in accordance with the rule of the land,” and that wives should bear children. Column 19:5–7 states that all who “despise the precepts and ordinances” will be punished “when God visits the earth, when there comes the word which is written by the hand of the prophet Zechariah.” The quotation of Zech 13:7 follows. The wording of Zech 13:7 and the embedded explanation vis-à-vis Zech 11:7 are given in full:

Wake up, sword, against my shepherd, and against the male who is my companion – oracle of God – strike the shepherd and the flock may scatter, and I shall turn my hand against the little ones. Those who keep it are “the afflicted ones of the flock.”³³ These shall escape in the age of

²⁸ I argue this point in detail in Section 4.2.2.

²⁹ See G.F. Moore 1911, 330–77, for a summary of the content of the documents. For an updated study of CD, see Stephen Hultgren 2007.

³⁰ Isa 7:17, 8:7; Amos 5:26–27; 9:11; Num 24:17.

³¹ Zech 13:7, 11:7; Ezek 9:4.

³² Notably, each scholar who has debated the text-critical issue at length (and there are many) has reached the same conclusion regarding the meaning of Zech 13:7 in context. See e.g. Jerome Murphy-O’Connor 1971, 379–86; Michael Knibb 1991, 243–51; Hultgren 2007, 29–39; Kister 2007, 61–76.

³³ Zech 11:7.

the visitation, but those that remain shall be delivered up to the sword when there comes the Messiah of Aaron and Israel.

The passage goes on to quote from Ezek 9, where the prophet was instructed to slay everyone in the city who did not grieve the abominations being committed. CD^B 19:11 describes the destruction of the disobedient from Ezek 9 as that which occurred “in the age of the *first* visitation.” The event is cited as a paradigm for that which will happen to the present disobedient in the age of the *next* visitation. Thus the “sword” is interpreted as the instrument of God’s vengeance, and the shepherd and the male are the recipients of the blow, and thus refer to the disobedient. The community interprets the “turning of God’s hand” as an act of benevolence rather than anger, and “the little ones” they interpret by the phrase from Zech 11:7, “the afflicted ones,” referring to themselves. Thus the community is “the afflicted,” and it will escape judgment in the future visitation. Zechariah 13:7’s phrase “little ones” attracted Zech 11:7 because each descriptor, “little ones” and “afflicted ones,” refers to a smaller group within the larger flock.³⁴

Four important features emerge from this use of Zech 13:7. First, the passage is read as a prophecy concerning the future, as opposed to Ezek 9, which was understood as a past event. It is possible that the imperative of Zech 13:7 and its lack of surrounding narrative enabled the future, prophetic interpretation. Mark 14:27 too interprets it as a prophecy, albeit one that is fulfilled in the immediate future in Mark’s narrative. Second, the text is applied to the eschatological judgment. This use is not identical to the proposed interpretation of its use in Mark, but it need not be. It is significant enough that it is interpreted within a grid of eschatological significance, where the community will be saved, even though it is currently afflicted. Though “the shepherd” in CD 19 is evidently not a positive figure as in Mark 14:27, the Damascus community nevertheless self-identifies as “the little ones,” as I propose occurs in Mark vis-à-vis the disciples. Third, the passage attests to intratextual use of Zechariah whereby similar phrases in Zechariah are interpreted in light of one another. This feature is not surprising, but it is akin to what I am proposing occurs in Mark 13, where intratextual connections between passages in Zechariah are interpreted in light of one another, and their fusion surfaces in the Markan text. Fourth, this future judgment occurs when the Messiah comes (בבוא משיח). The Messiah’s arrival is apparently an appearance on earth. The latter is precisely what this study proposes occurs in Mark 8:38 and 13:26–27, namely, judgment by the Messiah at his arrival.

³⁴ This interpretation of CD 19:7–11 is espoused by: Murphy-O’Connor 1971, 379–86; Philip Davies 1983, 151–53; George J. Brooke 1991, 223; Knibb 1991, 244; Hultgren 2007, 29–39; Kister 2007, 61–76.

2.3.4: Summary

Several documents from Qumran attest to the belief that in the last days the community will be “tested and refined.”³⁵ 1QM describes this refinement with reference to the last battle against all the nations, using material from Zech 14 to depict the eschatological conflict. Assurance of victory stems from their belief in the assistance of “the holy ones,” arguably derived from their reading of Zech 14. 4Q176 includes Zech 13:9 in its compilation of verses from Isa 40–55. The material was collected on the basis of the respective promises that God would rescue them from present tribulation. The presupposition is that the community is experiencing the time of affliction. Finally, CD quotes Zech 13:7 in its claim that judgment will occur at the Messiah’s arrival, and that the disobedient are assured “the sword,” while the “afflicted ones” are assured blessing.

2.4: Sibylline Oracles III

Book 3 of Sibylline Oracles³⁶ contains material widely regarded as predictions of eschatological afflictions.³⁷ The passage in question is 3:538–544. It occurs within the unit 3:489–544, which begins with the inspiration to “prophesy concerning the earth.”³⁸ The prophet proceeds to proclaim “woes” (αἰαῖ) to each “race” (γενός). He predicts troubles upon Phoenicia, Crete, Thrace, Gog and Magog, and many others before declaring, “Why indeed should I proclaim each one according to its fate? For on all peoples, as many as inhabit the earth will the Most High send a terrible affliction.”³⁹ The oracle then describes the imminent attack upon Greece which results in “all Greece” being enslaved. Then the oracle describes generally the afflictions to be endured by “the whole earth.”

The passage (3:538–44) should be read in full:

At the same moment, war (πόλεμος) and pestilence (λοιμός) will come upon all mortals. God will build a great bronze sky above and cause drought upon the entire earth, which will be iron. Then all mortals (βροτοί) will terribly bewail the barrenness and the

³⁵ See e.g. 4Q Catena A (4Q177) 2:10: “in the last days, because [. . .] to test them (לבוחנם) and to refine them (ולצורפם).” Though fragmentary, the sense is clear enough. Interestingly, these are precisely the Hebrew words used in Zech 13:9 to refer to the suffering of the covenantal people of God. 4Q177, however, has many allusions to the Psalms, and this wording is probably indebted to Psalm 17:3–4. Yet the psalmist is claiming in those verses that God *has already tested him*, while Zech 13:9, like 4Q177, regards the suffering as present and future (ongoing). The overall lack of data does not allow a firmer conclusion.

³⁶ Translations are by Rieuwerd Buitenwerf 2003, 239. Buitenwerf uses Greek text of J. Geffcken 1902. Collins (1983, 355) dates Book 3 to 163–45 BC.

³⁷ See Dale Allison 1987, 24; J.J. Collins 2000, 87; Brant Pitre 2005, 71–78.

³⁸ Sib Or 3:491.

³⁹ Sib Or 3:517–19.

impossibility of ploughing. And the one who created heaven and earth will put many-tongued fire upon the earth. And then, only a third of all people will survive (πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἔσσεται αὐτίς).

Four features of this passage require comment. First, the scope of these afflictions is unambiguously universal. The war and drought and famine are not confined to Greece or any other single nation or people, but are instead endured by “the whole earth,” “mortals,” and “all humanity.” Second, the afflictions endured are both moral and natural, if these terms may be employed. They entail international wars and natural disasters, including pestilence, drought, and famine. Third, the ultimate cause of some of these tribulations is God who will “build a great bronze sky above and cause drought upon the entire earth,” and cast “fire on the earth.” Finally, the scripture that grounds these claims is Zech 13:8, as indicated by the last line of the oracle: τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἔσσεται αὐτίς.⁴⁰

Zechariah 13:8 reads, “‘And it will come about in all the land,’ declares the Lord, ‘two measures (μέρη) will be cut off and perish, but a third will be left in it’” (τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑπολειφθήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ). Presumably the author of the oracle interprets Zech 13:8’s “all the land” as “all the earth,” and interprets the destruction that wipes out two-thirds of humankind with reference to wars and natural disasters. Thus Sib Or 3:538–44 alludes to Zech 13:8 to refer to universal tribulations that will take the form of international wars, famine, droughts, and fire.

This observation is important for the proposed interpretation of Mark 13:7–8. In Mark 13:7–8, Zech 13:8 may function as an influence that supplies the *events* (war, famine, and earthquakes) that Jesus predicts will occur in the near future. That is, the international disasters in Mark 13:7–8 correspond to the prophecy of international disasters in Zech 13:8. That Mark could use Zech 13:8 accordingly is supported by the example from Sibylline Oracles. Each alluding text (Sib. Or. 3 and Mark 13) predicts international disasters in the form of wars and famines, and each attributes them ultimately to the hand of God.⁴¹ I turn now to the Paul’s allusion to Zech 14:5 in 1 Thess 3:13.

2.5: 1 Thessalonians 3:13

1 Thessalonians attests to several elements of the foundational teaching of Paul and his fellow missionaries,⁴² much of which pertains to the *parousia*. The Thessalonians’ concerns about the fate of

⁴⁰ Sib Or 3:544. Buitenwerf 2003, 255, also notes the allusion.

⁴¹ I argue this in detail in Section 5.9.2.

⁴² This is widely accepted by scholars; see e.g. David Wenham 1981, 345–75; Seyoon Kim 2002, 225–42; Alan Garrow 2009, 191–215.

those who died before Jesus' return required Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy to respond. This response comprises much of the material in 1 Thess 4–5. Throughout much of the letter Paul⁴³ reminds them of the apostolic teaching.⁴⁴ Some of that teaching evidently emphasizes that the time between Jesus' ascension and return would be characterized by suffering and persecution. In 1 Thess 3:4, Paul writes, "For indeed when we were with you, we kept telling you in advance that we were going to suffer affliction; and so it came to pass, as you know." Since leaving them, Paul learned of the Thessalonians' afflictions and sent Timothy to check on them.⁴⁵ Having learned about their faithfulness from Timothy's report, Paul rejoices for their perseverance, and tells them he hopes to visit them soon. In 1 Thess 3:11–13, Paul expresses his desire to see them soon, and that God would establish their hearts "blameless in holiness before our God and Father at the coming of our Lord Jesus with all his holy ones."

The last phrase alludes to Zech 14:5. This position is nearly unanimous, so I do not belabor it.⁴⁶ I provide the texts for comparison:

Zech 14:5: καὶ ἦξει κύριος ὁ θεός μου καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ

1 Thess 3:13: ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ

Three features indicate 1 Thess 3:13's reliance upon Zech 14:5. First, Paul maintains the notion of an expected *arrival*. Zech 14:5 employs the term ἦξει, and Paul the word παρουσίᾳ. The presupposition in 1 Thessalonians is that Jesus is absent in some way, but will be present in the future. Thus the implication is that he will *come* from heaven.⁴⁷ Second, Paul maintains the word κύριος, but identifies him as Jesus rather than YHWH, as in Zech 14:5. Thus "the Lord will come," but in 1 Thess it is the Lord Jesus. Third, Paul maintains the whole phrase "with all his holy ones," only slightly rearranged in word order. Scholars debate whether Paul intends "holy ones" to indicate angels, resurrected Christians, or both.⁴⁸ Ultimately the question is outside the present scope as it does not impinge upon

⁴³ I refer to "Paul" for short, though the greeting contains "Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy," and the 1st person plural "we" is used throughout the letter. The only uses of "I" are in 1 Thess 2:18, where Paul is explicitly singling himself out from the others as having wanted to come to them; 3:5, where Paul mentions that he sent Timothy to them; and 5:27, when presumably Paul tells them to read the letter aloud to the congregation.

⁴⁴ According to Garrow (2009, 197), such teaching is embedded in 1:10; 2:19; 3:4–5, 13; 4:1–6, 16; 5:1–2, 9–10, 23.

⁴⁵ 1 Thess 3:5.

⁴⁶ For the most elaborate defense that 1 Thess 3:13 depends on Zech 14:5, and that the referent of "saints" is "angels," see Gordon Fee 2009, 134–35. For a response to Fee's conclusion, see Justin King 2012, 25–38. King concedes that Zech 14:5 is the reference text, but argues that "saints" does not refer to angels but to "holy" Christians.

⁴⁷ See 1 Thess 1:10.

⁴⁸ See Fee 2009, 134–35, who argues for reference to angels, and response by King 2012, 25–38, who argues for resurrected Christians.

the conclusion that Paul in fact uses Zech 14:5 to depict Jesus' *parousia* "with holy ones." Paul's inclusion of this phrase from Zech 14 in a prayer suggests it was material with which the Thessalonians were already familiar.⁴⁹

This observation may be important if 1 Thessalonians is one of the earliest extant Christian texts.⁵⁰ As the material in 1 Thess 5:1–10 corresponds specially to material from the Olivet Discourse, many scholars accept that Paul knows parts, if not all, of the eschatological tradition that is attested in the Olivet Discourse in some form (particularly Luke's version).⁵¹ Additionally, the appropriation of Zech 14:5 to refer to Jesus' *parousia* may have formed part of the apostolic teaching, and is therefore plausibly not original to Paul.⁵² Consequently, the eschatological material correspondent to the Olivet Discourse in 1 Thessalonians is early, as it probably predates 1 Thessalonians, and it plausibly exhibits a tradition in which Jesus is the returning Lord of Zech 14:5. Thus the tradition of using Zech 14:5 to refer to Jesus' *parousia* is early, likely predating the composition of Mark's Gospel.

2.6: Matthew 16:27 and 25:31

Two passages in Matthew require our attention: Matt 16:27 and 25:31. Each relates to the Son of Man's future "coming" with the angels. It appears that Zech 14:5 has influenced the wording of each verse. Matthew 16:27 is the parallel saying to Mark 8:38. First, Peter confesses that Jesus is the Messiah (16:16). Jesus then teaches them plainly that as the Messiah he must suffer in Jerusalem (16:21). Then Peter rebukes Jesus (16:22), and Jesus rebukes Peter (16:23). Finally Jesus turns to his disciples and tells them that any who would follow him must first deny themselves, take up their cross, and only then follow him (16:24). Jesus grounds that declaration in three successive $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ clauses in Matt 16:25–27.

16:25: *For* whoever wishes to save his life shall lose it, but whoever loses his life for my sake shall find it.

⁴⁹ So Garrow 2009, 197 n 6.

⁵⁰ G.K. Beale (2003, 14) and Gordon Fee (2009, 4–5) date 1 Thess to ca. 49–51 on the basis of Paul's trial in Corinth by Gallio after his departure from Thessalonica. Gallio probably held office in 51–52, thus these years serve as the upper-limit. Douglas Campbell argues a fresh case for dating Paul's mission to Thessalonica, and the resultant correspondence, to ca. 40 CE. He argues that Paul's "eschatological scenario," features of which are mostly discernible in 2 Thess, reflect knowledge of Gaius' plan to erect a statue of himself in the temple ca. 40 CE. He then argues that 1 Thess more plausibly preceded 2 Thess, than vice versa. Accordingly, 1 Thess preceded 2 Thess, and may be similarly dated to ca. 40 CE. See Campbell 2014, 220–47. Campbell (247) maintains that 1 Thess is the earliest extant Pauline letter.

⁵¹ Luke 21:34–36. See Wenham 1981, 345–75; Kim 2002, 225–42.

⁵² So Garrow 2009, 197.

16:26: *For* what will a man be profited, if he gains the whole world, and forfeits his soul? Or what will a man give in exchange for his soul?

16:27: *For* the Son of Man is going to come in the glory of his Father with his angels, and will then recompense every man according to his deeds.

The disciples are given the conditions of following Jesus in Matt 16:24, and in 16:25 Jesus explains the value of following him: finding (eternal) life. In Matt 16:26 Jesus asks a rhetorical question that demonstrates the logic of preferring to lose one's life now rather than in the future judgment. Matthew 16:27 then confirms that there will indeed be a judgment. The metric will be one's deeds or habitual activity (τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῦ), the judge will be the Son of Man, and the judgment will occur when he comes in the glory of his Father with his angels (μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ).

The phrase, “the son of man will come in the glory of his Father with his angels,” I suggest, alludes to Dan 7:13 and Zech 14:5. Daniel 7:13 provides the terms “son of man” and possibly “glory.” Zechariah 14:5 provides the notion that the “coming” is accompanied by angels. The reference texts may be combined on the basis of the shared event of a theophany and their shared emphasis on the “kingdom.”⁵³ The result is Jesus as the Son of Man of Dan 7:13 accomplishing the angel-accompanied theophany of the Lord of Zech 14:5.⁵⁴ The case of Matt 25:31 is comparable.

Matthew 25:31 reads: “But when the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with Him, then He will sit on His glorious throne.” The scene is the final judgment at which the Son of Man, Jesus, will gather all the nations to himself and act as judge, and the metric for judgment is the extent to which one served Jesus by serving “the least of these.”⁵⁵ Once more, the depiction of the Son of Man's coming with angels alludes to Dan 7:13 and Zech 14:5, combined on the same bases described above.⁵⁶ I compare the texts below.

Zech 14:5: καὶ ἦξει κύριος ὁ θεός μου **καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ**

Matt 25:31: ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ **καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ**, τότε καθίσει ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ

⁵³ Dan 7:14; Zech 14:9.

⁵⁴ This is the reasoning of Edward Adams, only he applies it to Mark 8:38. See Adams 2006, 9–10. France (2007, 639) too considers Matt 16:27 to contain an “echo” of Zech 14:5 that sounds more loudly in 25:31.

⁵⁵ Matt 25:31–40.

⁵⁶ So Jonathan Draper 1997, 155–79, especially 168–69; Davies and Allison 2004, 451; France 2007, 960–61.

Three comparisons should be made. First, Matt 25:31 follows the syntax of Zech 14:5. Each proceeds with a verb depicting “coming,” then the subject, and finally the conjunction καί followed by a nearly identical phrase: “all the holy ones/angels with him.” Second, each phrase communicates a similar event: an angel-accompanied theophany. In Zech 14:5, “the holy ones” most likely refer to angels. Matthew has simply made that meaning clearer, if it were not already so. Third, Matthew uses the word πάντες, which is unique to Zech 14:5’s theophany. The uniqueness of πάντες, in conjunction with the first two points indicate Matt 25:31’s reliance upon Zech 14:5.⁵⁷

Thus Matthew uses Zech 14:5 in conjunction with Dan 7:13 to depict the “coming” of the Son of Man. The assumption of Markan priority and Matthew’s use of Mark, which I grant, suggests that Matthew’s depiction of the *parousia* is partially dependent on Mark’s. To be sure, the means by which Matthew arrived at his use of Zech 14:5 is outside the scope of this investigation. The early attestation of Zech 14:5, however, in 1 Thess 3:13 and Mark 8:38, suggest that the depiction of Jesus’ *parousia* vis-à-vis Zech 14:5 was traditional. Matthew’s use of it, therefore, could derive from any number of sources, including his own independent reflection on Zechariah. Whatever the source, then, the presence of Zech 14:5 in Matt 25:31 is highly plausible.⁵⁸

2.7: Targum Zechariah 13:9

The last piece of the survey is the Aramaic translation of Zech 13:9. The current understanding of the targumim is that they developed in the synagogues and represent exegetical/interpretative traditions whose continuing development plausibly preceded and coincided with the composition of Mark and the Gospels.⁵⁹ Thus Targum Zechariah may be indicative of a near-contemporary interpretative tradition that may have influenced Mark, but it also may reflect a later, independent tradition. I provide the text below.

⁵⁷ For these reasons, I do not follow Luz’s conclusion: “With Zech 14:5 LXX there are scarcely any connections.” This statement does not account for the lexical and thematic parity. See Ulrich Luz 2005, 265 n 12.

⁵⁸ Notably, several later Christian texts that presuppose either the Gospels or traditions in the Gospels, depict Jesus’ *parousia* in ways that recall the language of Zech 14:5, sometimes at the expense of Dan 7:13. That is, when some texts depict the *parousia* (Ap. Pt. 1:7; As. Isa. 4:14; Apc. Eli. 3:4; 5:36) they highlight features of Zech 14:5 (such as the use of “Lord” or “holy ones” or “holy angels”) and do not use features typical of the Danielic scene (such as reference to “clouds” or the title “Son of Man”).

⁵⁹ For this understanding of the development of targumic traditions, see Flesher and Chilton 2011, 1–7, 385–86.

Targum Zech 13:9: And I will bring the third into *affliction, into a furnace of fire*, and I will refine them just as they refine silver and will try them just as they try gold. They shall *pray* in my name and I will *hear their prayer*; I have said, “They are my people,” and they shall say, “The Lord is our God.”⁶⁰

The “fire” into which the people are led is explicitly described as “affliction.” This reading may have influenced the saying of Jesus or Mark, or it may only be an independent witness to a comparable interpretation that understands the “fire” as “affliction.”

2.8: Conclusion

This brief review demonstrates several meaningful interpretations of Zech 13–14. After a summary of the findings, I suggest some ways that these conclusions could inform the interpretation of Mark’s use of Zechariah throughout the Gospel and in Mark 13.

In 1 En 52, the language of Zech 14:4 portrays the arrival of the Elect One and the resultant “splitting of the mountain” by his feet. 1 Enoch 52:6 picks up the language of 1 En 1:1–9, which describes the theophany of God himself. Thus the Elect One of 1 En 52:6 arguably accomplishes 1 En 1:1–9’s theophany of the Lord. 1 Enoch 52’s interpretative move parallels Mark’s proposed use of Zech 14:5, as Mark 13 arguably depicts the theophany of the Son of Man accomplishing the theophany of “the Lord,” and it does so with reference to the same text – Zech 14:5.

1QM exhibits several themes from Zech 14. The notions of a “day of battle” against “all the nations,” in which the community receives the help of “the holy ones” or “holy angels,” arguably derive from Zech 14. The proposed use of Zech 14 in Mark 13 is comparable insofar as Jesus describes a militaristic attack on Jerusalem by an enemy, after which the elect receive help from the angels.

4Q176 quotes Zech 13:9 alongside lines from Isa 40–55, evidently attesting to the belief that the community was enduring affliction, but that God would eventually rescue them from it.

The Damascus Document quotes Zech 13:7 to refer to the eschatological judgment that would fall on those disobedient to the covenant. The “sword” of Zech 13:7 is God’s agent of vengeance, and just as it fell in the past, so it would fall in the future on those who disobey the covenant and afflict God’s people. Significantly, the covenanters interpret the “little ones” of Zech 13:7 by the phrase in Zech 11:7, “the afflicted of the flock.” Use of these passages from Zechariah indicates the community’s belief in a present and ongoing state of affliction. Such a use is comparable to Mark’s to the degree that he too

⁶⁰ From Cathcart and Gordon 1989. Words in italic represent differences from MT.

states that the Jesus-community will enter a time of affliction after, and as a result of, Jesus' messianic death.⁶¹

Book 3 of the Sibylline Oracles alludes to Zech 13:8 to refer to the eschatological afflictions that will befall the whole world. The afflictions include international war, famines, and droughts. Such a use is consonant with Mark 13:7–8, which predicts similar events, I argue, on the basis of Mark's use of Zech 13 at that juncture in the discourse.

Early Christian literature, including Matt 16:27, 25:31, and 1 Thess 3:13, alludes to Zech 14:5 to depict the angel-accompanied theophany of Jesus as "the Son of Man" or "Lord." The early date of 1 Thessalonians suggests that appropriation of Zech 14:5 to Jesus' *parousia* was traditional before the composition of Mark. These traditions do not prove that Mark uses Zech 14:5, but its plausibility is strengthened. Notably, in 1 Thessalonians the references to Dan 7:13 are somewhat diminished, and Jesus' *parousia* is depicted almost exclusively in the language of Zech 14:5. This characteristic of highlighting Zech 14:5 to the exclusion of the elements from Dan 7:13 is present in post-Gospel material, namely Didache,⁶² Apocalypse of Peter, Ascension of Isaiah, and Apocalypse of Elijah.⁶³ Finally, Tg. Zech 13:9 interprets the fire as "affliction," adding the latter word as an appositional phrase.

These allusions and quotations of Zech 13–14 throughout various Jewish and Christian writings do not require the proposed interpretation of their use in Mark. They do, however, establish a norm of usage that is consonant with this study's proposal. Ultimately, the interpretation of Mark's employment of any intertextual material depends on the context in which Mark embeds the allusion. Thus, it is to those contexts I now turn. In the next chapter I address Mark's use of Zechariah throughout the Gospel in order to show that the influence of Zech 13–14 in Mark 13 is not sudden or out of place, but is rather one example of Mark's patterned, consistent use of Zechariah.

⁶¹ See Sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.2.1.

⁶² I discuss Did 16 in Section 6.2.

⁶³ See n 58 above.

Chapter Three:

Allusions to Zechariah throughout Mark

3.1 Introduction

In Zech 9–14 a righteous and humble king rides into Jerusalem on a donkey, received by rejoicing and shouting. This Davidic King restores Israel because of the blood of the covenant, and reigns over all the nations.¹ In the restoration, the temple is free of the presence of traders,² all the nations will worship the Lord in the temple,³ and the Kingdom of God will be established.⁴ Before the arrival of God's Kingdom, however, the Shepherd-King of Israel is struck, and God's people are scattered and tested.⁵ These passages from Zechariah have influenced the Gospels at a structural level, and the influence betrays itself repeatedly by bubbling up onto the surface of the Gospel narratives in the form of borrowed phrases and images. In short, the evangelists saw in the actions of Zechariah's humble, Davidic, stricken, Shepherd-king, material which gave adequate expression to Jesus' own teaching and action.

These passages have long been recognized as having influenced the Gospel narratives, and several studies have devoted attention specifically to the use of Zech 9–14 in the Passion Narratives.⁶ This chapter broadens the scope of many previous studies, and aims to demonstrate Mark's use of Zechariah throughout his Gospel. Thus I limit the scope neither to Mark's Passion Narrative nor to Zech 9–14; rather, I argue for occasional uses of material from all of Zechariah throughout the whole of the Gospel.⁷ This chapter does not seek to overturn the conclusions of the studies discussed in Section 1.5,⁸ but only to expand and add to their findings. Rather than proceeding in the order of the Markan narrative, I begin with the mostly accepted uses of Zech 9–14 in Mark 11–16 before turning to those outside of the Passion Narrative.

¹ Zech 9:9–11.

² Zech 14:21.

³ Zech 14:16.

⁴ Zech 14:9.

⁵ Zech 13:7–9.

⁶ See discussion in Section 1.5.

⁷ I reserve discussion of Mark 8:38, Mark 13 and Mark 14:27, to the subsequent two chapters.

⁸ With the exception of the interpretation of Zech 13:7 espoused by Moo 1983, Black 1990, and Marcus 1992b.

3.2: Zechariah 9:9–10 and Mark 11:1–10

Most scholars conclude that Zech 9:9–10 has informed the scene of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem in Mark 11:1–10.⁹ A major difference of opinion among scholars lies in whether Mark (the author) was aware of the influence of Zech 9. Ironically, some of those who do not think Mark was aware of the tradition nonetheless argue that the historical Jesus "had it in mind."¹⁰ The irony lies in their ability to ascertain what Jesus had in mind through the text of Mark, which is the only access to the alleged "mind" of Jesus, while simultaneously arguing that Mark did *not* have it in mind. Additionally, the notion that Mark is unaware of the correspondence with Zech 9 typically results from privileging Matthew's characteristic style of explicitly alerting the reader to the reference text, which simply is not Mark's style.¹¹ Ultimately the question is outside this study's scope, and the present argument seeks to demonstrate the influence of Zech 9:9–10 on the text of Mark 11 as presented.

In Mark 11:1–10, Jesus, mounted on a donkey, enters Jerusalem amidst shouts of acclamation. The story is widely considered to be modeled after Gen 49:10–12 and Zech 9:9.¹² In Mark 11:1, Jesus and the disciples are said to be "nearing Jerusalem," where the reader knows that Jesus faces rejection and suffering.¹³ By this point in the narrative, Jesus has been hailed "Messiah" by Peter, and presumably the other eleven agree with Peter's claim.¹⁴ Thus though Jesus will suffer, he is nonetheless the Messiah.¹⁵ The latter is notable as both Gen 49:11 and Zech 9:9 were regarded as *messianic* oracles in some

⁹ Each of the isolated studies discussed in Section 1.5, with the exception of Moo 1983 and Hübenthal 2006, agree on this point. Moo does not argue against it; he simply does not address the passage.

¹⁰ Gundry 1993, 628. So also Dodd 1952, 64.

¹¹ So Kee 1975, 165–88; Morna Hooker 1988, 220–30; Hays 2016, 79. These scholars argue that Mark characteristically weaves his allusions into the fabric of the speech and narrative. Mark's use of Zech 13:7 is noteworthy in this regard. In Mark 14:27 he introduces the quotation with a citation formula (ὅτι γέγραπται), but in his narration of its fulfillment, no single word from the reference text is repeated. Thus Mark presents us with a case where he explicitly relates the event to a prophecy, and even still the narration is not colored with a single word from Zech 13:7. Therefore, *the lack of specific, unique words from a reference text provides no certainty regarding Mark's knowledge and/or use of it.*

¹² See e.g. Joseph Blenkinsopp 1961, 55–64; Deborah Krause 1997, 141–53. Furthermore, David Catchpole adduces many Second Temple and historical texts that similarly describe a triumphal entry of a victor/leader into a city followed by activity in a temple, such as occurs in Mark 11. Catchpole assumes that Zech 9:9 undergirds Mark 11:1–10, and argues that Mark presents Jesus as a victor enacting a triumphal entry. See Catchpole 1984, 319–34.

¹³ See e.g. Mark 8:31 for Jesus' prediction of suffering at the hands of "chief priests." Mark 10:33 makes explicit that the suffering will take place in Jerusalem.

¹⁴ In Mark 8:29, Jesus' question about his own identity is addressed to all the disciples. Only Peter answers in 8:29, but the statement in 8:30, "He warned them not to tell anyone about him," suggests that all the disciples agreed with Peter.

¹⁵ Indeed it is *as* Messiah that he will suffer. Jesus apparently teaches from scripture the necessity of the Messiah's suffering (Mark 8:31–32).

contemporary Jewish exegesis.¹⁶ Thus if Mark already presents Jesus as Messiah, then modeling Jesus' entry on the basis of oracles that were regarded as "messianic" would make good sense. Six features of the Markan text suggest an allusion to Zech 9:9.

First, the "rejoicing" and "proclaiming" of Zech 9:9 are matched by the "crying out" (ἐκραζον) of the crowds in Mark 11:9. Second, "Jerusalem" is labeled as the destination of the coming king in Zech 9:9 and Mark 11:1, 11. Third, both passages proclaim the arrival of a king. In Zech 9:9 the content of the proclamation is that Jerusalem's "king" (βασιλεύς) "comes/is coming" (ἔρχεται). In Mark 11:9–10, the shouts from Ps 118 acclaim "the one coming" (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) and "the coming kingdom" (ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία), thereby hailing Jesus as the king.¹⁷ Fourth, the coming king/kingdom in each passage is Davidic.¹⁸ Zechariah 9:10 describes the dominion of the coming king with Davidic terminology derived from Ps 72:8, which describes the ideal reign of the Davidic king.¹⁹ Similarly, in Mark 11:10 the crowds bless the coming kingdom "of our father, David" explicitly identifying the kingdom as Davidic. Fifth, in each passage the king comes mounted on a donkey. The term for "donkey" in Zech 9:9 and Mark 11:2, 4, 5, and 7 is πῶλος. In Zech 9:9 the animal is a "new donkey" (πῶλον νέον), which may explain Jesus' description of the donkey in Mark 11:2 as one "on which no one has ever sat."²⁰ Sixth and finally, the use of Ps 118:26 in Mark 11:9 may have resulted from an attraction between it and Zech 9:9 by catchword association.²¹ Each employs a form of the verb "save." In Zech 9:9 the coming king is "saving" (σῶζων) or "endowed with salvation,"²² and in Ps 118:25, the Lord is petitioned to "save!" (σῶσον), which is the translation of the Aramaic "Hosanna!" that the crowds shout in Mark 11:9.

These six intertextual parallels suggest that Mark 11:1–10 is influenced by Zech 9:9–10.²³ Within Mark's Gospel, the allusion to Zech 9 indicates that Jesus is in fact the king. The latter is significant given

¹⁶ Regarding Gen 49:10–12, see Blenkinsopp 1961, 55–64. For its messianic interpretation, see 4QCommGenA [4Q252] 5:1–5; Tg. Neofiti Gen 49:10–12; Tg. Onqelos Gen 49:10–12. Regarding Zech 9:9, see Black 2008, 97–104. He argues that 1 En. 71:14–15; Pss. Sol. 17:33; T. Dan. 6:2, 9; T. Jud. 24:1; Sib. Or. 8:324 (regarded as a Christian interpolation) describe their respective messiah figure with terms likely informed by Zech 9:9 such as, "lowly," "humble," "righteous," or "peaceful," or some combination of more than one.

¹⁷ So Lindars 1961, 112; Krause 1997, 147–51.

¹⁸ This view is widespread among scholars. See e.g. Evans 2001, 772–73.

¹⁹ Carol Meyers and Eric Meyers 1993, 172–73; Mark Boda 2016, 564–74.

²⁰ So A.Y. Collins 2007, 518; Marcus 2009, 772.

²¹ So Evans 2001, 147.

²² NASB's translation of MT's niphal נִשְׁוֶה.

²³ Paul Duff argues that Mark 11's entry is modeled after the divine warrior myth of Zech 14, and that Jesus' entry into Jerusalem fulfills the Lord's "coming with his holy ones" therein described. On Duff's interpretation, the reference to "the Mount of Olives" in Mark 11:1 alludes to the prophecy in Zech 14:4, and the subsequent event in Mark 11 corresponds to the events described in Zech 14. I do not follow Duff's arguments for the following

Jesus' persistent explanation that the Messiah must suffer²⁴ and "give his life as a ransom for many."²⁵ As Peter demonstrates in Mark 8:32, one might reasonably take the experience of rejection and suffering as a sign that Jesus is *not* the king. On the contrary, the Markan Jesus does not separate kingship and suffering, but presents his task to suffer as intrinsically related to his being the expected Davidic king. The allusions to Zech 9 facilitate the fusion between the seemingly disparate categories of "he who must suffer," on the one hand, and "the expected king," on the other. He who must suffer rejection is no other than he who comes as the awaited king.

3.3: Zechariah 14:21 and Mark 11:15–19

After Jesus enters Jerusalem he goes to the temple, looks around, and leaves. The next day, he performs his action in the temple (intercalated with his cursing of the fig tree), where he "casts out" the buyers and sellers, overturns the moneychangers' tables and the seats of those selling doves, and does not permit any to carry "vessels" through the temple. He subsequently begins teaching from scripture, claiming "you" have made God's house a "den of robbers" and have kept it from being a house of prayer "for all the nations."²⁶ This tradition in the Gospels, and Mark in particular, has generated numerous studies.²⁷ The present goal is to offer a brief defense of one interpretation and demonstrate the influence of Zech 14:21 on the event as Mark 11 presents it.

Several scholars note the congruity of Jesus' action in the temple, particularly expelling the buyers and sellers, with Zech 14:21,²⁸ which says, "And there will no longer be a merchant in the house

reasons: 1) Duff never explains why Zech 14 provides a better background than Zech 9. In fact, nowhere in his article does he discuss Zech 9 or the several studies that argue for its influence. This alone may indicate his error, as he does not account for any of the lexical/thematic parallels that obtain between Zech 9 and Mark 11. 2) The analogy for which he argues is not really present. In Zech 14, the Lord comes from heaven to the Mount of Olives; in Mark 11, Jesus comes from Bethany/Bethphage to Jerusalem. 3) His interpretation requires the "holy ones" of Zech 14:5 to refer to Jesus' disciples; a better case, however, is made by Mark 8:38 that Mark has understood "the holy ones" to refer to the "holy angels" that accompany the future coming of the Son of Man. He argues convincingly that Jesus' action in the temple is influenced by Zech 14:21, but it seems he has allowed the latter to over-color Jesus' entry. See Duff 1992, 55–71.

²⁴ Mark 8:31, 9:31, 10:33–34.

²⁵ Mark 10:45.

²⁶ Mark 11:15–17.

²⁷ E.g. Cecil Roth 1960, 174–181; Neill Hamilton 1964, 365–72; Étienne Trocmé 1968, 1–22; William Telford 1980; E.P. Sanders 1985, 61–76; C.A. Evans 1989, 237–70; Bruce Chilton 1992, 91–112; Henk Jan de Jonge 2003, 87–100; Marcus 2013, 22–30.

²⁸ E.g. Roth 1960; Hamilton 1964, 372; Lane 1974, 406; Ben Meyer 1979, 198; Evans 1989, 252; idem 2006b, 70–72; Chilton 1992, 135–36; Wright 1996, 422; H. de Jonge 2003, 87–100; Marcus 2013, 22–30; Hays 2016, 27.

of the Lord of hosts in that day.”²⁹ In the history of debate on this subject, two arguments are consistently put forward. The first is that Jesus’ prohibition of people carrying vessels through the temple flows from the statement in Zech 14:21 that “every cooking pot in Jerusalem and Judah will be holy to the Lord.”³⁰ Roth, for example, argues that the latter verse declares that all vessels will be holy, and therefore capable of use in the cultus. On that basis, any vessel brought in would be for use in the temple, and therefore not allowed to be brought out again. The latter logic, he argues, underlies Jesus’ hindrance of anyone carrying a vessel through the temple.³¹

The second argument posits that Jesus’ action of expelling the “buyers and sellers,” that is, the merchants and the concomitant commerce, is done on the basis of Zech 14:21’s declaration that “in that day there will be no merchant in the house of the Lord.”³² That Mark does not cite Zech 14 is not decisive in the question of its influence. As noted, Mark does not share Matthew’s apologetic style, where most scriptural bases for an action are cited. Four reasons suggest that Zech 14:21 influences the passage.

First, Zech 14:21 evidently functioned as the scriptural basis for some of the practices of the Zealots in the revolt of 66–70 CE, a hallmark of which was the exclusion of gentiles from the temple.³³ Marcus notes that the coins struck in the first years of the revolt may betray the scriptural logic behind this exclusionary practice.³⁴ One side of the coin reads: *ירושלם קדשה* (Jerusalem is holy) or *ירושלם הקדשה* (Jerusalem, the holy).³⁵ On the other side is a picture of a cultic vessel. These images probably derive from the eschatological ideal described in Zech 14:20–21, which declares that every vessel in Jerusalem and Judah will be holy. On that basis, Marcus deduces that the Zealots’ exclusion of gentiles may too derive from Zech 14:21, where the Zealots plausibly rendered *כנעני* not as “merchant” but “Canaanite,” and interpreted the latter as entailing all gentiles.³⁶ Thus on the basis of Zech 14:21, Zealots excluded gentiles from activity in the temple. If Mark’s Gospel were composed around the years of the revolt, he

²⁹ The word “merchant” translates the Hebrew consonants *כנעני*, which can be translated either “merchant” or “Canaanite.” Al Wolters notes that it is rendered “merchant” by Aquila, the Vulgate, and the Targum. LXX Zechariah renders it *Xavavāioç*. See Wolters 2014, 473.

³⁰ Roth 1960, 177–78.

³¹ Ibid.

³² See n 28 above.

³³ For the Zealots exclusion of Gentiles, Marcus (2013, 25) cites Josephus, *War* 2.17.2–3.

³⁴ Marcus 2013, 25.

³⁵ Marcus refers to Ya’akov Meshorer 1982, 2.96–113.

³⁶ Marcus 2013, 25–26.

would be participating in some “competitive exegesis,” as it were, countering the reading of the revolutionaries. Hypothetically, knowing that the Zealots use Zech 14 to justify their occupation of the temple and their exclusion of gentile activity, Mark reacts by using the same passage to identify different culprits (in this case, merchants) and to justify *inclusion* of gentiles. It is necessary to concede, as Marcus does, that this argument is “pre-textual,” that is, not self-evident from the text itself.³⁷ Irrespective of (the author) Mark’s pre-composition exegesis, however, this extratextual datum demonstrates that Zech 14 was a meaningful text around the time of the composition of Mark’s Gospel, and that exegesis of Zech 14 justified actions done in the temple. Accordingly, within circa-70 CE Jewish discourse, the cultural encyclopedia may have closely associated the temple, merchants, gentiles, and Zech 14:21.³⁸ The action as Mark presents it, therefore, may not have required extensive lexical replication or narrativel explanation in order for Mark’s audience to grasp the association. On this basis it is reasonable to conclude that Zech 14:21 informs the action in the temple as Mark narrates it.

Second, excluding merchants is precisely what Jesus *does*. If כַּנְעָנִי is understood as “merchant,” then the declaration, “There shall no longer be a merchant in the house of the Lord,” would reasonably entail casting out merchants. Thus the narration of Jesus’ action reflects the influence of Zech 14:21 insofar as its declaration is enacted. Resistance to understanding Jesus’ action in light of Zech 14:21 may betray an unwarranted preference for lexical replication in all narration, and such resistance does not recognize the parity between the *event narrated* and its scriptural background.

Third, the prophecy of Zech 14 supplies a logic that offers a satisfying explanation of both Jesus’ actions in the temple and broader elements of his teaching. In Mark 11, he casts out the buyers and sellers, and subsequently teaches about the inclusion of “all the nations” in the temple/worship. Presumably his action and teaching are related to his overall ministry, including his preaching of the nearness of the “kingdom of God.”³⁹ The latter is noteworthy as Zech 14 unites the arrival of “the kingdom of God”⁴⁰ with the inclusion “all the nations” in worship at the temple, while explicitly mentioning exclusion of merchants. More specifically, Zech 14 presents the kingdom of God as a future

³⁷ Ibid., 30. For additional support, he notes that Mark could have made a pun on כַּנְעָנִי and instead translated (pre-textually) its near homonym, קַנְאָנִי or קַנְאָן, which mean “zealot.” Thus Mark would have read Zech 14:21: “And there will no longer be a Zealot in the house of the Lord.” Marcus (30) concedes the conjectural nature of this argument.

³⁸ See the “box of marbles” analogy in Section 1.2 and my explication of “extratextual data” in 1.3.

³⁹ E.g. Mark 1:15; 4:30; 9:1.

⁴⁰ Zech 14:9.

reality in which “all the nations” are permitted (and indeed demanded) to worship Israel’s God in Israel’s temple, and this future state also restricts the presence of merchants. Thus, if preaching the nearness of the kingdom of God were “the reason for which [Jesus] came,”⁴¹ the prophecy of Zech 14 would likely be of utmost importance, as it is one of the very few texts in Israel’s scriptures that not only explicitly mentions the kingdom/kingship of God, but actually describes the circumstances to be realized when it arrives. Accordingly, for the realization of God’s kingdom, the presence of “merchants” and the prohibition of gentiles in the temple would require rectification. Thus on the basis of Zech 14, one who taught the presence of the kingdom of God might banish merchants and teach that “all the nations” should be welcomed. As the latter is precisely what Mark narrates, the influence of Zech 14 is plausible and logical.⁴² Recognition of Zech 14’s influence, therefore, does not only elucidate the account in Mark 11, but it provides a satisfying interpretation of Markan intratextual data as well, incorporating broader elements of Jesus’ teaching throughout the Gospel.

Fourth and finally, Zech 14, which plausibly governs the action *narrated*, contains an intertextual relationship with a scripture cited in Jesus’ subsequent *teaching*. In Mark 11:17 Jesus introduces his teaching with the formula, “Is it not written?” before quoting Isa 56:7 and Jer 7:11. From Isa 56:7 he says, “My house is to be called a house of prayer for all the nations,” (ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν). Two connections obtain between Zech 14:21 and its wider context, on the one hand, and Isa 56:7, quoted in Mark 11:17, on the other. First, Zech 14:21 explicitly describes one of the conditions that will obtain in the future regarding “the house of the Lord” (ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κυρίου).⁴³ Thus the logic might be that Jesus enacts Zech 14:21’s ideal regarding “the house of the Lord,” and then teaches from Isa 56:7, which also centers on “the house of the Lord.” Second, one of the conditions to obtain when God is king in Zech 14 is the inclusion of “all the nations” in temple worship. The latter phrase is another textual link between Zech 14, which uses the phrase “all the nations,” “families,” or “clans” six times in twenty-one verses,⁴⁴ and Isa 56:7. Zechariah 14 and Isa 56 also share a thematic relationship. Each passage conveys the startling position that non-Israelites will be included in the temple-worship of Israel’s God. Thus, whether the teaching from Isa 56 generated the action from Zech

⁴¹ See Mark 1:14–15.

⁴² Contra Hübenthal 2006, 327, who calls the connection with Zech 14 “unlikely” (unwahrscheinlich) and “forced” (gezwungen). She argues that the citations of Isaiah and Jeremiah are sufficient explanations of the action, but that is not an argument against Zech 14.

⁴³ The latter phrase “house of the Lord” is common, but it is nonetheless a textual link between the scripture behind Jesus’ action and the scripture Jesus quotes.

⁴⁴ See Zech 14:2, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19.

14, or vice versa, the intertextual relationship between those two passages justifies their collocation in Mark, as all three texts (Isa 56, Zech 14, and Mark 11) relate the inclusion of “all the nations” in “the house of the Lord.”

These four elements suggest that Zech 14 influences the action narrated in Mark 11. The interpretation of the event is another matter. Both the action and the teaching it generated should clearly guide the interpretation. In Jer 7, the people trust in the security that the temple offers, while they themselves “practice injustice,”⁴⁵ “oppress the alien, widow, and orphan,”⁴⁶ and commit idolatry.⁴⁷ It is those actions in Jer 7 that make the temple a “den of thieves.” Correspondingly, Jesus’ teaching that the temple has become a “den of thieves” suggests that he impugns the behavior of some within the temple. His expulsion of the buyers and sellers and his prohibition of carrying vessels suggests that Jesus objects to some element of those practices. His concurrent teaching about “all the nations” suggests that perhaps some element of the buying and selling hindered the nations from participating. It is hard to secure the exact practices, or nature of the practices, to which Jesus objected, but the combination of these elements indicates that Jesus condemned a failure of the temple establishment. There may have been many failures, but the incident in the temple hints that it may have been financial corruption,⁴⁸ perhaps exploiting the poor or the gentiles. The eviction of the buyers, however, might militate against this interpretation, as the buyers are not at fault for the corruption. Nonetheless, the framing account of the cursing of the fig tree indicates that Jesus observed some “lack of fruit,” whatever it might have been.⁴⁹ This failure precluded proper worship of Israel’s God, and in light of the intercalated account of the fig tree, secured its future judgment.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Jer 7:5.

⁴⁶ Jer 7:6.

⁴⁷ Jer 7:9.

⁴⁸ So Evans 1989, 258–60. He cites abundant textual evidence demonstrating corruption in financial matters within the temple and priesthood. From Qumran: 1QpHab 8:12; 9:5; 10:1; 12:10, as evidence of the “wicked priest” robbing the people/poor; 1QpHab 8:8–12; 9:4–5, for accusations that the wicked were “amassing wealth.” As evidence of the abundant wealth in the temple: 2 Macc 3:1–8; Josephus, *War* 5.5.6; *Ant.* 14.7.1; 20.8.8. For rabbinic accounts of priestly extortion during the 1st century CE: b. Pesah̄ 57a; t. Menah̄. 13:21f; t. Zebah̄. 11:16–17; b. Yebam. 86a–b; b. Ketub. 26a; y. Ma’as. Š. 5:15.

⁴⁹ Shively (2012, 193) argues convincingly that Mark’s depiction of the temple incident recalls Jesus’ prior exorcisms, in that Jesus “casts out” the merchants, and the people respond as they did post-exorcisms (they are “amazed,” and the authorities plot to “destroy” him). She compares Mark 11:15–19 with 1:21–28 and 3:6. She concludes that Jesus’ conflict in the temple is an “extension of his struggle against Satan” (193).

⁵⁰ E.g. Telford 1980, 238; Sanders 1985, 70–76; Stein 2008, 516; Shively 2012, 192–94. The views that Jesus condemned some practice in the temple, on the one hand, and prophetically enacted its judgment by overturning the tables on the other, are not mutually exclusive. Unless Jesus’ enactment of judgment were completely arbitrary, one would expect a *reason* or an observed failure on the part of the Markan Jesus. Thus viewing Jesus’

3.4: Zechariah 9–14 and Mark 14:24, 25, 26, 27

Many scholars see a cluster of allusions to Zech 9–14 in Mark 14:24, 25, 26, and 27.⁵¹ Though the case for each individual allusion must be put forth on individual bases, it is helpful to realize upfront the cumulative case being mounted. The concentrated use of themes and phrases from Zech 9–14 (four allusions in the span of four Markan verses) adds plausibility to each individual case. I begin with Mark 14:24.

3.4.1: Zechariah 9:11 and Mark 14:24

In Mark 14, Jesus and his disciples eat a Passover⁵² meal before Jesus' betrayal and crucifixion. Taking the bread, Jesus says, "Take, this is my body." After giving them the cup of wine, Jesus says in Mark 14:24, "This is my blood of the covenant (τοῦτο ἐστὶν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης), poured out for many." Many scholars see in this verse an allusion to Zech 9:11,⁵³ which reads: "As for you also, because of the blood of the covenant with you, I have set your prisoners free from the waterless pit."⁵⁴ The phrase "blood of the covenant" also appears in Ex 24:8, which may well also be behind Mark 14:24. In fact, Zech 9:11 may itself allude to Ex 24:8,⁵⁵ thus any hypothetical use of Zech 9:11 would resonate with Ex 24:8. Five reasons affirm an allusion to Zechariah 9:11 here.

First is the simple fact of the lexical replication. Only two passages in Jewish scriptures refer to "(the) blood of (the) covenant": Ex 24:8 and Zech 9:11.⁵⁶ Second, the previous influence of Zech 9:9 in reference to Jesus' action in Jerusalem adds to the plausibility that Zech 9:11 is influential here. That is, the influence of the Zechariah passage on the passion narrative is already established; thus an additional influence from the same passage is readily acceptable. Third, the context of Zech 9:11 recalls the Passover, which may explain its use in the Passover meal in Mark 14.⁵⁷ In Zech 9:11 God declares that he

action as a condemnation of financial practices, for example, and an enacted parable of impending judgment, is not contradictory.

⁵¹ E.g. Marcus 1992b, 154–63; Evans 2006b, 64–80.

⁵² Mark 14:16.

⁵³ Dodd 1952, 64; Bruce 1968, 102; Lindars 1961, 131–33; Marcus 1992b, 157; idem 2009, 958, 966; Evans 2006b, 75–76; Hays 2016, 87.

⁵⁴ NASB translation of MT. LXX contains the 2nd person singular, "you freed/sent" (ἐξαπέστειλας); MT the 1st-person singular, "I freed/sent" (שלחתי).

⁵⁵ Meyers and Meyers 1993, 138–39, 174–75; Boda 2016, 579.

⁵⁶ Contra Sharyn Dowd and Elizabeth Malbon 2006, 292, who claim that Ex 24:8 is "the only place in the Scripture of Israel where 'blood' and 'covenant' are connected in a text."

⁵⁷ Marcus 2009, 958.

has “freed” the prisoners (exiles)⁵⁸ because of “the blood of your covenant.” Zech 9:11’s “freed” or “sent forth” (from פָּלַח/ἐξαποστέλλω) is the word used throughout the narration of the exodus in Ex 3–10 to refer to the “freeing” of God’s people from Egypt.⁵⁹ Additionally, Tg. Zech 9:11 relates the blood of the covenant to the original exodus, translating the verse: “You also, for whom a covenant was made by blood, I have delivered you from the bondage to the Egyptians . . .”⁶⁰ In addition to an echo of the original exodus, however, Zech 9:11 actually frames the return from exile in terms of a new exodus, thus resembling features of Isa 40–55.⁶¹ As Mark consistently expresses aspects of Jesus’ ministry with language that alludes to Isa 40–55,⁶² the intertextual relationship between Zech 9:11 and features of Isa 40–55 strengthens the notion that Zech 9:11 influences Mark 14:24.

Fourth, the figures of Isa 40–55 and Zech 9–14 exhibit an intertextual relationship.⁶³ Each figure (the royal servant of Isaiah and the royal figure of Zechariah) is described as “afflicted,”⁶⁴ “stricken,”⁶⁵ and “righteous.”⁶⁶ Such features would have allowed a reader to combine the figures, or descriptions/functions of the figures, and apply them to a single person. The latter combination arguably happens in Mark, where Jesus is the Davidic King of Zech 9:9,⁶⁷ the suffering servant of Isa 53:12,⁶⁸ and the stricken shepherd of Zech 13:7.⁶⁹ Such a combination is evident in Mark 14:24 where “the blood of the covenant” (Zech 9:11) is “poured out for many” (Isa 53:12).⁷⁰ On this reading, the combination of texts like Zech 9–14 and Isa 53 describe Jesus as the Davidic, Shepherd-King who effects the New Exodus by his own blood. The case for Mark 14:24’s allusion to Zech 9:11, therefore, rests on lexical replication, comparable Jewish use from a plausibly contemporary tradition (the targum), and on intratextual data that showcases Mark’s characteristic use of material from Zech 9–14 to describe Jesus and his actions.

⁵⁸ Meyers and Meyers 1993, 174–75; Boda 2016, 577.

⁵⁹ E.g. Ex 3:20, 4:21, 5:1, 2, et al.

⁶⁰ Cathcart and Gordon 1989, 205–6.

⁶¹ Meyers and Meyers 1993, 175.

⁶² E.g. Mark 1:2–3. See e.g. Watts 1997; Marcus 2009, 753–57.

⁶³ See discussion in Black 2008, 86–87, where he enumerates fourteen parallels. So also Boda 2016, 565–67.

⁶⁴ See Isa 53:11/Zech 9:9, translating עָנִי “afflicted.”

⁶⁵ See Isa 53:4, 8, 12/Zech 13:7.

⁶⁶ See Isa 53:11/Zech 9:9.

⁶⁷ Mark 11:1–10

⁶⁸ Mark 10:45; 14:24

⁶⁹ Mark 14:27

⁷⁰ So Marcus 2009, 966.

3.4.2: Zechariah 14 and Mark 14:25–26

In Mark 14:25, Jesus says, “Truly I say to you, I shall never again drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.” The use of the phrase “that day” with reference to “the kingdom of God” probably alludes to Zech 14.⁷¹ As mentioned, reference to “the kingdom of God”⁷² in the Jewish scriptures is rare, thus the centrality of this theme in both Mark and Zech 14 suggests the influence of the latter. Additionally, while “that day” is a common phrase, it is used twenty-five times in Zechariah to refer to future, salvific realities that God will effect for his people. This does not count the three uses of the plural “those days” to the same end. Of these twenty-five instances, seventeen occur in Zech 1–13. The remaining eight instances occur in the span of twenty-one verses in Zech 14 to refer to the day the Lord arrives and becomes king. In other words, Zech 14 uses “that day” to refer to the day of God’s “kingdom” eight times. Accordingly, the use of “that day” in reference to “the kingdom of God” in Mark 14:25 may be indebted to Zech 14.

In Mark 14:26, the setting shifts from the Passover meal to the Mount of Olives. Several scholars agree that the setting of the Mount of Olives alludes to Zech 14:4,⁷³ but not all agree on its significance in Mark 14. The Mount of Olives is explicitly named only twice in Jewish scriptures, and both occasions are Zech 14:4. The rarity of this locale in Jewish scriptures, in combination with the cluster of previous allusions to Zech 9–14 in Mark 14:24–25, and the quotation of Zech 13:7 in the next verse, suggest that Zech 14 influences this setting as well. I argue for the significance of this setting in 5.3.2.1. Suffice it to say that the setting of the Mount of Olives serves to link the subsequent prophecy from Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27 to Jesus’ teaching on the Mount of Olives in Mark 13.⁷⁴ I discuss the significance of the quotation of Zech 13:7 in the next chapter through four consecutive sections, beginning with Section 4.2

3.5: Summary

I began with the above examples as they comprise a tight sequence in Mark, following the actions of Jesus from his entry into Jerusalem to his betrayal on the Mount of Olives. Comparing Mark’s Passion Narrative to Zech 9–14 yields fruitful results. Mark exhibits the presence of Zech 9–14 by lexical replication, shared settings, similarly structured accounts, and parallel events. Significantly, Mark’s

⁷¹ Marcus 1992b, 156–57; Evans 2006b, 77.

⁷² See Tg. Zech 14:9: “The kingdom of the Lord will be revealed.” See Cathcart and Gordon 1989, 224.

⁷³ E.g. Wilcox 1971, 430–31; Black 2008, 222; Marcus 1992b, 156; Evans 2006b, 75.

⁷⁴ So Wilcox 1971, 430–431; Pitre 2005, 458–60.

narrative does not simply pilfer Zech 9–14 for various lexemes, but demonstrates a reflection of Zechariah’s content in service of the whole story Mark tells.

Mark 11:1–10 corresponds to the event narrated in Zech 9:9, and includes several lexical correspondences. Mark 11:15–19 corresponds to the prophetic ideal expressed in Zech 14:21, and corresponds to a comparable reading of Zech 14:21 by the Zealots, mediated through the extratextual data of coins and accounts by Josephus. Additionally, the scriptures adduced in Jesus’ teaching – Isa 56:7 and Jer 7:11 – share several lexical and thematic links with Zech 14, entailing most importantly the inclusion of “all the nations” in eschatological temple worship. Finally, the teaching at Passover and the subsequent setting on the Mount of Olives bear lexical and thematic relationships to Zech 9:11 and Zech 14:4, 9, where Jesus functions as the Davidic King who sheds his “blood of the covenant” in service of the coming “Kingdom of God.” I turn now to the influences of Zechariah outside the Passion Narrative.

3.6: Zechariah 3:2, 13:2, and ‘Rebuking the Unclean Spirit’ in Mark

At Jesus’ baptism the Spirit descends upon Jesus, and a heavenly voice declares to him, “You are my son, in you I am well-pleased.”⁷⁵ Immediately following this declaration, the Spirit “casts him” into the wilderness where he is tempted by Satan.⁷⁶ Following his temptation, he preaches the nearness of the Kingdom of God, he calls his first four disciples, and he enters a synagogue in Capernaum with his disciples.⁷⁷ After teaching “with authority,” he encounters in this synagogue a “man with an unclean spirit” (ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ). The unclean spirit identifies Jesus as “the Holy One of God” before Jesus silences it and casts out “the unclean spirit.”⁷⁸ The pericope ends with the crowd’s amazement as they exclaim, “He commands even the unclean spirits (καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις), and they obey him.”⁷⁹

These opening scenes in Mark set the stage for the rest of Jesus’ ministry by identifying Jesus as “God’s Spirit-empowered Son who fights against Satan.”⁸⁰ The confrontation with Satan in the wilderness identifies Satan as the enemy against whom Jesus wages war.⁸¹ Several scholars rightly note that the Markan temptation narrative does not depict a once-for-all victory over Satan in the wilderness.

⁷⁵ Mark 1:10–11.

⁷⁶ Mark 1:12–13.

⁷⁷ Mark 1:14–21.

⁷⁸ Mark 1:23–26.

⁷⁹ Mark 1:27.

⁸⁰ Shively 2012, 154. See her discussions in *op. cit.*, 1–3, 20–21, 25–26, and 153–66. She describes the narration as “characterization,” in which the events related establish the identity and function of the characters involved.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 158: “In the temptation narrative . . . Mark establishes Satan as Jesus’ first and foremost adversary.”

Rather, the whole of Mark is a narration of Jesus' victory over Satan, effected in his teaching and healing, but most dramatically in his exorcisms.⁸² Indeed, Mark provides summaries of Jesus' ministry throughout the Gospel, and the summaries characteristically emphasize Jesus' exorcisms. For example:

And he healed many who were ill with various diseases, and he cast out many demons.⁸³

And he went into their synagogues throughout all Galilee, preaching and casting out the demons.⁸⁴

A great multitude heard of all that he was doing and came to him. . . . And whenever the unclean spirits beheld him, they would fall down before him and cry out, saying, "You are the Son of God!"⁸⁵

And he appointed twelve [disciples] that they might be with him, and that he might send them out to preach, and to have authority to cast out the demons.⁸⁶

And he summoned the twelve and began to send them out in pairs. And he was giving them authority over the unclean spirits (ἐξουσίαν τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν ἀκαθάρτων).⁸⁷

Mark clearly emphasizes Jesus' exorcisms.⁸⁸ Within these accounts, the evil forces that Jesus casts out are variously termed "demons" (τὰ δαίμονια) and "unclean spirits" (τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα). Mark uses the terms interchangeably,⁸⁹ with both occurring eleven times each.⁹⁰ Nonetheless, Mark characteristically refers to these entities as "unclean spirit(s)." Matthew, by comparison, uses the term "unclean spirit" twice,⁹¹ but the terms "demon" or "demon-possessed" eighteen times.⁹² Similarly, Luke uses "unclean spirit" five times,⁹³ while vastly privileging the terms "demon" or "demon-possessed," using them twenty-four times.⁹⁴ Of the two Matthean uses of "unclean

⁸² E.g. Ulrich Mauser 1963, 101, 32; Lane 1974, 61–62; Marcus 2000, 170; Shively 2012, 159–63.

⁸³ Mark 1:34.

⁸⁴ Mark 1:39.

⁸⁵ Mark 3:7–8, 11.

⁸⁶ Mark 3:14–15.

⁸⁷ Mark 6:7.

⁸⁸ Marcus (2000, 189) comes to the same conclusion with a view to presenting the exorcisms as battles within the larger war waged against Satan throughout Jesus' ministry in Mark.

⁸⁹ See the episode of the Gerasene demoniac in Mark 5, where the man in 5:2 has "an unclean spirit" (ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ), and in 5:18, the same man is "the one who had been demon-possessed" (ὁ δαίμονισθείς). See also Mark 7:25–26, where the narrator says that the Syrophenician's daughter had an "unclean spirit," and that the woman was begging Jesus to cast "the demon" out of her.

⁹⁰ Mark uses "unclean spirit(s)" in 1:23, 26, 27; 3:11, 30; 5:2, 8, 3; 6:7; 7:25; 9:25. He uses "demon(s)" in 1:32, 34 (x2), 39; 3:15, 22; 6:13; 7:26, 29, 30; 9:38.

⁹¹ Mt 10:1; 12:43.

⁹² Mt 4:24; 7:22; 8:16, 28, 33; 9:32, 33, 34 (x2); 10:8; 11:18; 12:22, 24 (x2), 27, 28; 15:22; 17:18.

⁹³ Lk 4:36; 6:18; 8:29; 9:42; 11:24.

⁹⁴ Lk 4:33, 35, 41; 7:33; 8:2, 27, 29, 30, 33, 35, 36, 38; 9:1, 42, 49; 10:17; 11:14 (x2), 15 (x2), 18, 19, 20; 13:32.

spirit,” one is common to Mark,⁹⁵ and of the five Lukan uses of “unclean spirit,” four are common to Mark.⁹⁶ The single instance of “unclean spirit” in Matthew and Luke that Mark does not have shows up in a double tradition. Matthew 12:43//Luke 11:24 says, “Now when the unclean spirit goes out of a man, it passes through waterless places, seeking rest, and does not find it.”⁹⁷ Additionally, “rebuking”⁹⁸ the spirit is a characteristic description of Jesus’ exorcisms in Mark. In three accounts, Jesus’ interactions with the unclean spirits are termed “rebukes.”⁹⁹ Mark 1:25, for example, reads, “And Jesus rebuked it (ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ), saying, “Be quiet, and come out of him!”

These two features – the use of “rebuke” and “unclean spirit” – strongly suggest the influence of Zech 3 and 13 respectively. The case for the influence of Zech 3 is strengthened by the proposed argument for Zech 13 and vice-versa. I begin with the term “unclean spirit” and the influence of Zech 13.

3.6.1: Zechariah 13:2 and the Unclean Spirit

Contemporary Jewish literature uses the phrase “unclean spirit” to refer to demons.¹⁰⁰ The term itself, however, plausibly derives from Zech 13:2, which reads: “‘And it will come about in that day,’ declares the Lord, ‘that I will cut off the names of the idols from the land, and they will no longer be remembered. And I will also remove the false prophets and the unclean spirit (רוח הטמאה; τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον) from the land.’” The prophecy is marked as occurring “on that day,” a phrase which Zechariah consistently employs to refer to the ideal future. Thus the prophecy refers to an eschatological ridding of “the unclean spirit” from the land of Israel.¹⁰¹ Three features of the Markan texts suggest the influence of Zech 13:2: 1) six different thematic correspondences; 2) an overarching thematic coherence; and 3) the distinctiveness of Zech 13:2’s phrase.

⁹⁵ Matt 10:1 corresponds to the same sentence in Mark 6:7.

⁹⁶ 1) Luke 4:36//Mark 1:27; these depict the exorcism in the Capernaum synagogue; 2) Luke 6:18//Mark 3:11; these are summaries of Jesus’ ministry; 3) Luke 8:29//Mark 5:8; these depict the exorcism of the Gerasene; 4) Luke 9:42//Mark 9:25; these depict the exorcism of the boy whom the disciples could not heal themselves.

⁹⁷ So Matt 12:43; Luke 11:24 is identical with the exception of the final two words, in which Matthew reads: οὐχ εὕρισκει, and Luke reads: μὴ εὕρισκον.

⁹⁸ From ἐπιτιμᾶω.

⁹⁹ Mark 1:25; 3:12; 9:25. See also 8:33, where he “rebukes” Peter, and calls him “Satan.”

¹⁰⁰ So Marcus 2000, 189, who cites T. Benj. 5:2. See also Armin Lange 2003, 254–68. Lange (263) argues that the Greek phrase in T. Benj. 5:2 denotes a demonic being. He concludes that the phrase in Zech 13:2 itself denotes a demonic entity.

¹⁰¹ See Clinton Wahlen 2004, 28–29. By virtue of Zech 13:2’s intertextual affinities with (MT) Ezek 14–15 and Ps 106, he argues that Zech 13:2’s “unclean spirit” may refer to a demon.

First, Zechariah’s wider context exhibits striking correspondences to the context of the first occurrence of “unclean spirit” in Mark. The Gospel opens with the ministry of John the Baptist preaching “a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins” (ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν) to “all the country of Judea, and all the people of Jerusalem” (οἱ Ἱεροσολυμίται πάντες).¹⁰² Jesus then appears, is baptized by water (ὔδατι), and the Spirit (τὸ πνεῦμα) descends from heaven upon him.¹⁰³ Immediately after his reception of the Spirit, he confronts Satan and consequently casts out “the unclean spirit” in Mark 1:23–26.

Zechariah provides many parallels to the Markan context. Zechariah 12:10–14 contains a prophecy that leads directly into Zech 13:1–2. The prophecies are linked by virtue of their contiguity in Zechariah and their shared use of the phrase “in that day.” Zechariah 12:10–14 declares that “in that day” God will pour out “a Spirit of grace” (πνεῦμα χάριτος) upon “the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem” (ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Δαυιδ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ἱερουσαλημ), and “in that day the mourning will be great” (μεγαλυνθήσεται ὁ κοπετός). The next verses, Zech 13:1–2, continue by declaring that “in that day” a “fountain will be opened up” for “sin and impurity,”¹⁰⁴ and “I will remove the unclean spirit from the land.” Six features of this prophecy in Zechariah correspond to Mark 1.¹⁰⁵

1. Zech 13:4 describes a typical prophet as clothed in a “hairy robe” (ἐνδύσονται δέριον τριχίνην).¹⁰⁶ Similarly, Mark 1:6 states that John the Baptist “was clothed in camel’s hair” (ἦν ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου).¹⁰⁷
2. Each passage depicts an outpouring of the Spirit (πνεῦμα).
3. As Jesus is understood in some way as a Davidic figure in Mark,¹⁰⁸ each passage depicts the outpouring of this Spirit onto a Davidic recipient.
4. Each relates the effect of this outpouring particularly on Jerusalem. In Zechariah, “the inhabitants of Jerusalem” receive the Spirit, whereas in Mark “all of Jerusalem” is the recipient

¹⁰² Mark 1:4–5.

¹⁰³ Mark 1:9–10.

¹⁰⁴ LXX lacks “for sin and impurity.”

¹⁰⁵ These six features belong to the first overall point.

¹⁰⁶ The context of this particular verse in Zechariah pertains to false prophets and declares that a prophet will no longer wear such garb in order to deceive. Nonetheless, that a prophet might don “a hairy robe” in order to deceive indicates that it was considered traditional garb.

¹⁰⁷ The table of allusions in NA28 lists Mark 1:6 as an allusion to Zech 13:4.

¹⁰⁸ See the entry into Jerusalem and his reception in Mark 11:1–10.

of John the Baptist's message. Additionally, there may be a thematic correspondence between the resultant "mourning" of Jerusalem in Zechariah and their "repentance" in Mark.¹⁰⁹

5. Zechariah's "the fountain opened for sin and impurity" thematically corresponds to the "baptism [by water] for the forgiveness of sins" in Mark. The "fountain" in Zechariah conveys the notion of "purification by water."¹¹⁰ In Mark, the baptism by water is explicitly "for the forgiveness of sins."¹¹¹

6. Each passage subsequently conveys the removal of "the unclean spirit." The "cutting off" of the "unclean spirit" from Israel corresponds to Jesus' "casting out" of the "unclean spirit" from those "from Galilee, Judea, and from Jerusalem, and from Idumea, and beyond the Jordan, and the vicinity of Tyre and Sidon."¹¹²

The cumulative weight of these six correspondences suggests that Zech 12–13 influences Mark's narration of Jesus' baptism and his subsequent confrontations with the unclean spirits.

Second, the thematic correspondence between Mark and Zechariah is strong. As Zechariah prophesies a removal of the "unclean spirit" in the eschaton, so Mark's Jesus effects this removal through exorcisms.¹¹³ Third, the phrase τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον is extremely rare, appearing only in T. Benj. 5:2, where it also denotes a demonic being, and Zech 13:2.¹¹⁴ The concept, however, of "demons" and "evil spirits" abounds in extant literature, thus I do not suggest that Zech 13:2 is the only text or source from which Mark accesses the concept of "demons." I do suggest, however, that the near non-existence of that precise phrase in extant Jewish literature, and its comparatively frequent use in Mark,

¹⁰⁹ The mourning in Zechariah more specifically connotes lamentation, but there is a connection between lamentation and repentance. See e.g. Joel 2:12: "'Yet even now,' declares the Lord, 'return to me with all your heart, and with fasting, weeping, and mourning (ἐν κοπτεῖ).'"

¹¹⁰ Wolters 2014, 424–25. So also Boda 2016, 724–25.

¹¹¹ The "purifications for sin and impurity" in Zechariah are not necessarily identical to one another, nor is either of those necessarily identical to the baptism of John the Baptist in Mark. The significance of each event need not be identical for the connection to obtain.

¹¹² See Mark 3:7–11.

¹¹³ Marcus (2000, 193) notes that Zech 13:2 becomes associated with exorcisms in rabbinic traditions (e.g. Num. Rab. 19:8; Pesiq. Rab. Kah. 4:7).

¹¹⁴ The parallel Hebrew phrase רוח הטמאה is found only in Zech 13:2, 4Q444, and 11QPs^a 19:15. The latter text reads, "Do not let Satan or the unclean spirit have power over me" (my translation). See James Sanders 1965, 76.

in conjunction with the thematic correspondences between Mark and Zech 12–13 described above, strongly suggest the influence of Zech 13:2 in Mark.¹¹⁵

From these correspondences, a picture emerges where Jesus (and his disciples) accomplish the “eschatological ideals” of that prophetic text. Accordingly, by the power of God’s Spirit, Jesus and his disciples are the agents who perform the task of removing “the unclean spirit from the land.”

3.6.2: *Zechariah 3:2 and Rebuking Satan*

The case for the influence of Zech 3:2 in Mark is based on the use in Mark of various terms collocated in Zech 3, namely, “Jesus,” “rebuke,” and “Satan.” In Zech 3:1–2, Satan (שָׂטָן; ὁ διάβολος) stands beside the Lord accusing “Joshua” (Ἰησοῦς). The Lord responds to Satan’s accusation saying, “The Lord rebuke (ἐπιτιμήσαι) you, Satan . . . indeed, the Lord rebuke you!”¹¹⁶ The latter phrase, particularly the use of “rebuke,” was widely used in later incantations and exorcisms.¹¹⁷ The examples in Mark confirm such usage as Jesus’ miracles, particularly against malignant spiritual forces, are termed “rebukes” (consistently from ἐπιτιμάω). In Mark 4:39, for example, Jesus “rebuked” (ἐπετίμησεν) the wind. Additionally, in three accounts of Jesus’ exorcisms, Jesus “rebuked” (ἐπετίμησεν) the unclean spirit.¹¹⁸ The latter Markan examples are significant with respect to Zech 3:2’s “rebuke of the Satan” insofar as 1) Mark clearly utilizes “rebuke” to narrate an exorcism, as subsequent traditions indebted to Zech 3 do, and 2) the unclean spirits are in line with the Satan in Mark. Jesus’ defeat of the “unclean spirits” is in service of his larger defeat of the Satan.

Most significant, however, is Jesus’ exchange with Peter in Mark 8:33. Peter and the disciples have just acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah, and Jesus has responded by telling them that as the Son

¹¹⁵ Wahlen (2004, 29, n 30) takes Zech 13:2 as informative of the synoptic usage. See also Steffen Jöris 2012, 49–66. He argues (65–66) that Jesus’ defeat of “unclean spirits” is a reference to the eschatological ideal of Zech 13:2, and that such a link is in line with Mark’s other “messianic” uses of Zechariah.

¹¹⁶ MT: יַעַר יְהוָה בְּךָ הַשָּׂטָן. LXX: ἐπιτιμήσαι κύριος ἐν σοί διάβολε, καὶ ἐπιτιμήσαι κύριος ἐν σοί.

¹¹⁷ Wolters (2014, 92) notes that Zech 3:2 became an incantation against evil spirits, citing Jude 9, the Babylonian Talmud (*Berakhot* 51a), and quotations of Zech 3:2 in Jewish Aramaic magic amulets and bowls. See Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked 1985. See e.g. Amulet 1 (Naveh/Shaked 1985, 40–41) and Bowl 11 (184–85). With the possible exception of Jude 9, these examples considerably post-date the composition of Mark. They are adduced only as examples of how the passage was eventually used. Additionally, see H.C. Kee 1968, 232–46. Kee argues that the Hebrew term “rebuke” (גָּעַר) became a technical term that denoted the subjugation of demonic powers in service of the implementation of God’s reign (235–39). He concedes the derivation of the terminology from Zech 3:2 (239). See also Gordon Hamilton 1996, 215–49. He argues (230) that “rebuke” was a near synonym to “exorcise.”

¹¹⁸ Mark 1:25; 3:12; 9:25

of Man/Messiah, he must suffer.¹¹⁹ In 8:32, Peter resists this path for Jesus (termed a “rebuke” by Peter), but 8:33 famously says that Jesus “rebuked Peter, and said, ‘Get behind me, Satan!’” The latter verse, particularly the use of “rebuke,” “Satan,” and “Jesus” in close succession, and the subsequent transfiguration, suggest the influence of Zech 3. Indeed, four features of the Markan text suggest the influence of Zech 3.

First, Zech 3 presents a scene in which, besides God himself, the protagonist is one “Joshua,” or Ἰησοῦς, whose antagonist is “Satan.” In addition to the lexical correspondence of the name “Jesus” is the more complex narrative context, in both Zech 3 and Mark, in which Satan is Jesus’ opponent. Second is the corresponding “rebuke” of Satan. In the heavenly scene of Zech 3, the devil/Satan is present to accuse (לשתן), or to oppose (ἀντικεισθαι), Jesus. The effective response (by God) in Zech 3 is to address Satan by name, and to “rebuke” him. Both of these elements are present in Mark 8:33. Jesus, after being reproved by Peter, “rebukes” him and calls him “Satan.” Interestingly, both Zech 3 and Mark 8 address the devil in the vocative. In Zech 3, God says, “The Lord rebuke (יגער) you, Satan! (השתן)” or “The Lord rebuke (ἐπιτιμήσαι) you, devil! (διάβολε)” Similarly in Mark 8:33, Jesus “rebuked” (ἐπετίμησεν) Peter and said, “Get behind me, Satan! (σατανᾶ)”.¹²⁰

Third, interestingly, each passage subsequently refers to Jesus’ “garments,” signifying either a new status, or at least a newly recognized status. In Zech 3, after the Lord rebukes Satan, the narrator claims that Jesus was dressed in “soiled garments.”¹²¹ As a result, God tells the surrounding angels to clothe Jesus, and Jesus is accordingly clothed with new garments (ἱμάτια).¹²² Similarly, in Mark, the very next scene after Jesus’ rebuke of Peter/Satan is atop the mountain with Peter, James, and John, where Jesus’ clothes (ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ) become “exceedingly white.”¹²³ Thus just as Zech 3:1–5 proceeds from the Lord’s “rebuke” of “Satan” to “Jesus” receiving new “garments,” so Mark 8:33–9:9 proceeds from Jesus’ “rebuke” of Peter, calling him “Satan,” to the “garments” of “Jesus” becoming exceedingly white.

Fourth, after Joshua/Jesus receives new clothes in Zech 3, God says that he will give to him access “to those standing here” (העמדים האלה; ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐστηκότων τούτων). In Mark 9:1, immediately after Jesus’ rebuke, but before his transfiguration, Jesus declares that some “standing

¹¹⁹ Mark 8:29–31.

¹²⁰ Noted by Evans 2006b, 67, who cites an unpublished paper by John Poirier 1996.

¹²¹ Zech 3:3.

¹²² Zech 3:4–5.

¹²³ Mark 9:2–9, especially 9:3.

here” (τινες ὧδε τῶν ἐστηκότων) will not taste death until they see the kingdom of God in power.¹²⁴ The phrases “those standing here” lexically correspond.

References to “Satan,” though somewhat rare in LXX and MT,¹²⁵ abound in some fashion or another in extant Jewish literature.¹²⁶ Thus the presence of the name “Satan” in Mark is not inconsistent with the wider literary context within which the Gospel is located. The *multiplicity*, or collocation, of several distinct phrases from Zech 3 in Mark 8–9,¹²⁷ however, suggests the correspondence may not be coincidental. The proposed influence of Zech 3 in Mark, however, and particularly Mark 8, does not rest on these lexical replications alone. While these constitute a helpful starting point, it is the fact that the term “rebuke,” which possibly derives from Zech 3:2, became the technical term for exorcisms,¹²⁸ and the fact that Zech 3:2 itself became an incantation in exorcisms,¹²⁹ that further supports the case in Mark.

Thus, the fourth and final point is that the contexts (exorcisms) in which Mark uses these terms (Satan, rebuke, unclean spirit) is comparable to the contexts (exorcisms) in which such terms were employed by later traditions that are evidently indebted to Zech 3. The latter point depends on tradition that is considerably later than the composition of Mark; the other evident influences of Zechariah in Mark, however, in conjunction with the cumulative weight of this argument, including the lexical replication, the narrative consistency, and the related use of “unclean spirit” from Zech 13:2, suggest that here too the accounts of Zech 3 influence Mark’s Gospel.

Mark 8:33 is of course not an exorcism, but the account may be provocatively narrated to resemble one, thereby depicting the gravity of Peter’s error. The statement should be understood as Jesus’ command to Peter to resume his proper position as a disciple, that is, “behind” Jesus.¹³⁰ Peter

¹²⁴ Evans 2006b, 68.

¹²⁵ For references to an individual, probably angelic, figure [termed (ὁ) διάβολος] see e.g. 1 Chr 21:1, Job 1:6 [and the subsequent thirteen uses referring to the same individual throughout Job 1–2] and Zech 3:1–2. The term σαταν is used 1 Kgs 11:14 to refer to a human adversary.

¹²⁶ Included in this statement are references to “Beliar,” “Beelzebul,” “Mastema” and “the devil.” For references to “Satan,” Evans (2001, 19) cites 1QS (ms B) 1:8; T. Dan 3:6; 5:6; 6:1; T. Gad. 4:7; T. Asher 6:4; T. Job 3:6; 4:4; 6:4; 7:1. See the discussion of the role of such figures in Second Temple literature in Shively 2012, 105–26.

¹²⁷ Cf. Hays’ description of “recurrence,” and Tooman’s of “multiplicity” in Section 1.3.1.

¹²⁸ So Kee 1968, 232–46; Hamilton 1996, 215–49.

¹²⁹ See n 117 above.

¹³⁰ See Santiago G. Oporto 2011, 7–18. He argues (12) that Peter’s words are demonic “porque le ha desplazado a él del lugar que le corresponde y le ha colocado frente a Jesús.” Regarding the phrase “get behind me,” he writes: “La expresión: ‘ir detrás de’ (הלך אחרי) se utilizaba en el Judaísmo del tiempo de Jesús para describir la relación entre un líder y sus seguidores” (12). See e.g. Gundry 1993, 433; Marcus 2009, 608.

evidently understands Jesus' Messiahship and his suffering as incompatible. The latter dichotomy is likely due to Peter's false presuppositions regarding that which the Messiah must be and do.¹³¹

3.7: Zechariah 8:23 and Mark 6:56

Throughout Mark's Gospel, Jesus demonstrates considerable healing powers. He is able to heal with a word, a touch, and even saliva. In Mark 2:11–12, for example, he commands the paralytic to stand, take his mat, and walk home, and the paralytic does so. Astoundingly, in 7:29, though technically an exorcism, Jesus is not even present with the possessed, and he is able to declare to the Syrophenician woman that her daughter is well.¹³² Examples of his healings by touch similarly abound. In 1:41, he touches the leper, and the leper is immediately cleansed. In 7:33–34 and 8:23, he heals by a combination of touching, commanding, and administering saliva. Jesus' powers, however, are not limited to his own words and commands; rather, throughout Mark it is the sick who can simply touch him and be healed.

On three occasions, people seek Jesus because they have heard all that he has done, and they are healed by touching him. First, in Mark 3:7–10, Jesus withdraws to the sea with his disciples. People from surrounding cities, "having heard all that he was doing" (ἀκούοντες ὅσα ἐποίει),¹³³ flock to him, and "all those who had afflictions pressed about him in order to touch him" (αὐτοῦ ἄψωνται ὅσοι εἶχον μάστιγας).¹³⁴ Implicit in these accounts is that those who touched him were healed. Second, in 5:22–34, Jesus is on his way to Jairus' house when "a great multitude" begins to follow him and "press in on him."¹³⁵ In the crowd is a woman who has suffered with a hemorrhage for twelve years, and physicians have only made it worse. "Having heard about Jesus" (ἀκούσασα περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ), however, she thinks, "If only I touch his garments, I will be saved" (ἐὰν ἄψωμαι κἄν τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ σωθήσομαι). So she reached out, touched his cloak (ἤψατο τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ), and was healed. Here the power of the healing is heightened. Whereas before the afflicted touched Jesus, this woman only needed to touch his cloak. Finally, third, in 6:53–56 the pattern is the same. Jesus lands in Gennesaret, and immediately the people recognize him, they gather their sick "from that whole region," and carry them to where they have heard (ἤκουον) he is staying. Mark 6:56 summarizes: "And wherever he entered villages, or cities,

¹³¹ So e.g. Evans 2001, 19–20; Shively 2012, 189. This position is deduced by Peter's acknowledgement of Jesus as Messiah, his subsequent rejection of Jesus' necessary suffering, and Jesus' final remarks that Peter is setting his mind on "human things."

¹³² See also Mark 5:41 and 10:52.

¹³³ Mark 3:8.

¹³⁴ Mark 3:10.

¹³⁵ Mark 5:24.

or countryside, they were laying the sick in the market places, and entreating him that they might just touch the tassel of his cloak (κὰν τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ ἄψωνται), and as many as touched it were being cured (ἔσώζοντο). Once more the healing power is heightened. Now they need not touch Jesus, nor his cloak, but simply “the tassel of his cloak.”¹³⁶

In each of these examples, there are three constants: 1) great crowds, often from surrounding regions and cities, come to Jesus; 2) they come to him particularly because they have “heard” about him and all that he has done; 3) they seek to touch him in some way, escalating from touching Jesus himself, to his cloak, and finally to “the tassel of his cloak.” These healings, culminating in the particular account of Mark 6:56, potentially allude to the prophecy of Zech 8:23, which reads: “Thus says the Lord of hosts, ‘In those days ten men from all the nations will grasp the garment of a Jew (ἐπιλάβωνται τοῦ κρασπέδου ἀνδρὸς Ιουδαίου) saying, ‘Let us go with you, for we have heard (ἀκηκόαμεν) that God is with you.’”¹³⁷ Just as men from surrounding nations “grab the tassel of a Jew” to enjoy eschatological salvation, so people from surrounding regions seek to touch even “the tassel of [Jesus’] garment” so that they might be saved (= healed). Four features of the respective texts suggest an allusion to the whole prophecy of Zech 8:20–23 in Mark 6:56.

First is the lexical and thematic correspondence in the geography of both accounts. Thematically, in both Zechariah 8:20–23 and Mark 3, 5, and 6, the people come from all regions just to be in the presence of the Lord/Jesus. In Zech 8:20, “many people will come, even the inhabitants of many cities.” In Zech 8:21, the inhabitants of some cities go into other cities and say, “Let us go seek the presence of the Lord,” and then together they all seek the Lord. Similarly, in Mark 3:7–8, Jesus is by the sea and “a great multitude from Galilee followed; and also from Judea, and from Jerusalem, and from Idumea, and beyond the Jordan, and the vicinity of Tyre and Sidon.” In 6:53–56, as soon as Jesus arrives at the shore of Gennesaret, those who recognized Jesus “ran around that whole region” to gather people to take to him, “and wherever he entered villages, or cities, or countryside” people would lay their sick around him. Thus in both Zech 8:20–23 and these Markan texts, the people come from surrounding cities and villages to be in the presence of the Lord/Jesus.

¹³⁶ Pesch notes that in the examples adduced above, Mark demonstrates a “targeted increase of Jesus’ ‘power’” (“eine gezielte Steigerung der Illustration der ‘Kraft’ Jesu”); see Pesch 1976, 1:366.

¹³⁷ J.T. Cummings argues for this allusion in the parallel account in Matt 14:36 but not Mark. See Cummings 1980, 47–61.

Second, in both texts the people come because of what they have “heard.” In Zech 8:23, the very basis for “men from every tongue and nation” taking hold of “the tassel of the Jew” is “because we have heard (כי שמענו; διότι ἀκηκόαμεν) that God is with you.” In Mark 3:7–8, similarly, the great crowds from Galilee, Judea, Jerusalem, Idumea, those beyond the Jordan, and Tyre and Sidon come because they have heard all that Jesus has been doing (ἀκούοντες ὅσα ἐποίει). In 5:27, the woman touches his cloak “having heard about Jesus” (ἀκούσασα περι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ). Finally, in 6:54–55, the people recognize Jesus (ἐπιγινόντες αὐτόν) and bring the sick to where they have heard he is staying (ὅπου ἤκουον ὅτι ἐστίν). In each of these cases, in both Zech 8 and Mark 3, 5, and 6, the people from the surrounding areas come to “the Jew”/Jesus on the basis of what they have “heard” about him. Presumably they have heard, “God is with you.”

Third and fourth is the rarity of the phrase “the tassel” (τό κράσπεδον) in conjunction with others taking hold of it. The term “tassel” is used in only three locations in Jewish scriptures: 1) Num 15:38–39, which is God’s command for “the sons of Israel” to make “tassels” for the end of their garments; 2) Deut 22:12, which is the same command; and 3) Zech 8:23. The term “tassel” alone would probably not conjure the prophecy of Zech 8:23, as tassels are too common an element of the contemporary cultural encyclopedia to connote a prophecy by themselves. But its use in conjunction with other features of the prophecy, namely people *taking hold of it*, may alert a reader to Zech 8:23. The latter declares that the people will “take hold of the tassel” (יקחו בקנה; ἐπιλάβωνται τοῦ κρασπέδου). The latter feature corresponds to Mark 6:56, which declares that the people seek only to “touch the tassel of his cloak” (κἄν τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ ἅψωνται). That the sick seek to touch only “the tassel” is pronounced in the narrative by the fact that Mark 6:56 is the last in the line of escalating accounts.¹³⁸

These four correspondences suggest that Mark 6:56 alludes to Zech 8:23. A corollary of this allusion in Jesus’ healings is that the days of Zechariah’s eschatological salvation, for which both Israel and the “men from every nation” hope, has drawn near in the presence of Jesus. In Mark, the people flock to this man because they have heard, “God is with you” (ὁ θεὸς μεθ’ ὑμῶν ἐστίν).

¹³⁸ So Pesch 1976, 1:366; Cummings 1980, 52.

3.8: Zechariah 8:6–8 and Mark 10:27

The final example of a Markan allusion to Zechariah is an isolated saying in Mark 10:27 whose particular turn of phrase is influenced by Zech 8:6–7.¹³⁹ Mark 10:17–22 documents the exchange between Jesus and the rich man, who leaves disheartened because of his wealth. In 10:25 Jesus teaches: “It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.” Jesus’ claim astonishes his disciples, who ask, “Then who can be saved?” (καὶ τίς δύναται σωθῆναι;). This question forms the context for Jesus’ response in 10:27: “With men it is impossible, but not with God; for all things are possible with God” (παρὰ ἄνθρωποις ἀδύνατον, ἀλλ’ οὐ παρὰ θεῶ· πάντα γὰρ δυνατὰ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ). Importantly, the implicit subject in the first clause is the eschatological “salvation” in question in Mark 10:23, 25–26. The latter clause regarding the power of God to accomplish salvation constitutes the allusion to Zech 8:6–7, which reads in part: “Thus says the Lord Almighty: ‘Because it will be impossible (διότι εἰ ἀδυνατήσει) before the remnant of this people in those days, will it also be impossible for me (μὴ καὶ ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ ἀδυνατήσει)? . . . Behold, I will (after all!) save my people (ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀνασώζω τὸν λαόν μου).¹⁴⁰ The affirmation that God will save his people demonstrates that the subject of the preceding clause is salvation. Thus the people think salvation is impossible, but God declares that it is not so for him. Two features of the Markan text suggest that Zech 8:6–7 forms the background for the saying in Mark 10:27.

First, both texts utilize the proverbial juxtaposition of that which is impossible for humans and that which is possible for God. A few texts demonstrate a similar association.¹⁴¹ Job 42:2, for example, says, “I know you can do all things, and nothing is impossible for you,” (οἶδα ὅτι πάντα δύνασαι ἀδυνατεῖ δέ σοι οὐθέν). Gen 18:14 similarly asks, “Surely it is not impossible for God?” (μὴ ἀδυνατεῖ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ). Notably, these texts *implicitly* juxtapose God’s power to do all things with humans’ inability to do certain things. The contrast in Mark 10:27, however, is *explicit*, contrasting human inability with God’s power, and Zech 8:6–7 is the only text also to make the contrast explicit. In Zech 8:6–7, eschatological salvation appears an impossible task for the people, but God declares that it will not be impossible for him.

¹³⁹ John Bowman 1965, 270, claims that “Zech. 8:6 LXX seems to be drawn upon.” He does not argue the case. Evans (2001, 102) mentions Gen 18:14 and Job 42:2 as potential backgrounds for this saying. Marcus (2009, 732) mentions the same texts but adds Zech 8:6–7. Stein (2008, 473) says that Zech 8:6 is one of the texts that forms the context of this proverb.

¹⁴⁰ My translation.

¹⁴¹ The sayings are present in Septuagintal versions, whereas in Hebrew sources the expression is typically something like, “Will it be too wonderful/extraordinary (היפלא) for me?” See e.g. Gen 18:14.

Second, both texts explicitly contextualize God’s ability over against humans’ inability *with respect to salvation*. No other text in Jewish scriptures does this. In Zech 8:6–7, the very thing the remnant believes to be impossible is “salvation.” But while it is impossible (ἀδυνατήσει) for the people, it will be possible for God, for he will indeed “save” (ἀνασώζω) the people. Similarly, the disciples in Mark 10:26 ask, “Who then can be saved?” (τίς δύναται σωθῆναι), with the fearful thought that few if any will be able to be saved. But Jesus’ answer assures them, “For humans it is impossible” (παρὰ ἄνθρωποις ἀδύνατον), “but not for God. For all things are possible with God” (πάντα γὰρ δυνατὰ παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ). In summary, other texts contain the implicit juxtaposition, but only Zech 8, as in Mark 10, makes the contrast explicit. And while other texts contain a version of the proverbial juxtaposition, no text except Zech 8 does so with respect to salvation.¹⁴²

Thus Mark 10:26–27 includes distinct lexemes from Zech 8:6–7, a comparable, if proverbial, juxtaposition between human and divine power, and a similar context regarding salvation. These correspondences demonstrate the influence of Zech 8 in Mark 10.¹⁴³ Zechariah’s declaration of hope in God’s ability to save has been woven into the fabric of the saying in Mark 10:27, giving expression to Jesus’ teaching that eschatological salvation is possible with God.

3.9: Summary

The preceding discussion demonstrates the influence of Zechariah throughout the Gospel of Mark. The influence of Zech 13:2 and 3:2 was noted throughout the Gospel with reference to Jesus’ systemic battle against “Satan” and “the unclean spirit.” The distinctiveness of Zechariah’s terminology of “rebuke” and “unclean spirit,” coupled with Mark’s pervasive usage of those terms, strongly suggests that Mark presents Jesus as the one who effects Zech 13:2’s prophecy concerning “the removal of the unclean spirit from the land.” Empowered by God’s Spirit, this “Jesus” effectively “rebukes Satan” and consequently battles “the unclean spirit,” freeing those captive to their powers.

Mark’s use of Zech 8:23 is more subtle. The former text relates the conversion of gentiles in the eschaton, seeking the presence of the Lord alongside “the Jew,” because the nations have heard that

¹⁴² Gen 18:14 pertains to the birth of Sarah’s child, and Job 42:2 acknowledges the effectuality of God’s purposes.

¹⁴³ Marcus (2009, 732) argues that the context of Gen 18:14 forms a better background for the saying as it pertains to the miraculous birth of a child, and Jesus will go on in Mark 10:29–30 to speak of the new family that the Christian community will bring. It may in fact be a backdrop, but certainly not to the exclusion of Zech 8:6–7. The shared elements between Zech 8 and Mark 10 with respect to the explicit juxtaposition between what the people fear and what God can in fact do, and the context of salvation, outweigh the thematic correspondence between Gen 18 and Mark 10 with respect to a son for Sarah and a new family for Christians, particularly as the latter is not yet in view when Jesus declares the proverb in 10:27.

God is with him. In Mark this prophecy is realized, not in an international flock to Jerusalem, but into the real locus of the divine presence: Jesus himself. People from all the surrounding cities and regions have heard about this Jesus and seek his presence, even if only to touch “the tassel of his cloak.” As in Zech 8, so in Mark, simply touching the fringe of the cloak of this man is sufficient, and Jesus is sought because the people have heard that “God is with him.”

Similarly, the use of Zech 8:6–7 demonstrates the understated influence of this prophet on the Gospel of Mark. The allusion demonstrates the extent to which the Gospel of Mark bubbles with the language of Zechariah, re-expressing Zechariah’s hopes in the teachings of Jesus. In that regard, recognition of Zech 8:6–7 in Mark 10:27 is, in some ways, the most significant.

3.10: Conclusion

Lexical and thematic correspondences to Zechariah are scattered throughout Mark. Several studies have shown that material from Zech 9–14 influences the Passion Narrative, shaping, for example, Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem, providing a basis for his temple action, supplying language in his teaching at Passover, and governing the significance of the setting on the Mount of Olives at his betrayal. This chapter demonstrates the indebtedness of Mark’s narrative to the respective prophecies in Zechariah. The influence of these motifs from Zechariah manifests itself in the replication of distinct terms and events in the respective Markan contexts, and contributes considerably to the overall shape of Mark’s narrative. Accordingly, Jesus is the Davidic king who sheds his own blood of the covenant for the kingdom of God, and permits the inclusion of all the nations in the worship of Israel’s God.

Allusions outside Mark 11–16 demonstrate a more subtle presence of Zechariah. As God’s Spirit-empowered Son, Jesus is the one who will “rebuke Satan” and eradicate the “unclean spirit” from the land.¹⁴⁴ As the Spirit-empowered man who embodies the presence of God, he is the one whom the nations seek, if only to touch “the tassel of his cloak.”¹⁴⁵ As the Spirit-empowered teacher, he delivers the teaching of the prophets, echoing Zechariah’s declaration that while salvation is impossible for humans, it is not impossible for God.¹⁴⁶

I add one final feature of the Zechariah texts that supports the case for these allusions to Zechariah in Mark. It pertains not to that which is evident in Mark’s text, but to a ubiquitous element of

¹⁴⁴ Examine Mark 1:10–13 and 1:23–27 with respect to Zech 13:2. See also Mark 1:12–13 and 8:33 with respect to Zech 3:2.

¹⁴⁵ See Mark 3:7–10; 5:24–34; 6:53–56, with respect to Zech 8:23.

¹⁴⁶ See Mark 10:27 with respect to Zech 8:6–7 (LXX).

the Zechariah prophecies argued for presently. More precisely, it pertains to an element of Zechariah that may have facilitated applying different elements of Zechariah singularly to Jesus, as Mark has done. A common feature in every text from Zechariah adduced by Mark is the declaration that the given prophecy will happen “on that day.” Each text used by Mark – Zech 3:2, 8:6–7, 8:23, 9:9–11, 13:2, 14:4, 14:9, 14:21 – declares that that given prophecy or state of affairs will obtain “on that day.”¹⁴⁷ While the phrase is certainly common among prophets, Zechariah alone uses it twenty-five times to refer to an idealized state of affairs in the eschaton; the count increases to twenty-eight if the phrase “those days,” which is employed to the same end, is included. The presence of this phrase throughout Zechariah serves as a unifier that would justifiably allow a reader to apply all the prophecies to a single “day.” In Mark’s case, the common element of occurring “on that day” may serve as the basis for applying the disparate prophecies to a single individual at a single time. Accordingly, Mark is telling his reader that in Jesus, “that day” has finally arrived: the unclean spirit is being removed, the kingdom of God is at hand, and God’s king has come.

Each allusion I have argued for contains some lexical correspondence, but very often the events of Zechariah are simply woven into the fabric of Mark’s narrative. Mark displays, in that regard, prophecy *narrated*, rather than prophecy *repeated*. In other words, Mark does not always exhibit the same technique as Matthew, highlighting for the reader the scriptural basis for a given event. Rather, Mark carefully and artfully crafts the narration in such a way that the accounts simply exhale the scriptures upon which they are based. An example of the latter may be Jesus’ ridding of the merchants from the temple and Zech 14:21. Mark’s account manifests minimal lexical correspondence with extant Greek versions of Zechariah, but the accounts correspond at a basic *event* level. It is at this juncture that this study’s methodology seeks to contribute to the conversation on “intertextuality.”

Cases for an intertextual allusion that rest on lexical replication alone exclude a vital medium of evidence, namely, extratextual data. Incorporation of extratextual data, as discussed in Section 1.3, attempts to account for the implicit knowledge and linguistic associations of a given culture in a given time and place. Such evidence deepens present understanding of that culture’s linguistic/cultural associations. Importantly, if a given association is relatively common within the examined timeframe, the requirement for extensive narrational explanation or “lexical replication” to conjure a given

¹⁴⁷ In some cases, the phrase “on that day” does not occur in the exact verse present in Mark, but in the conclusion of the prophecy in Zechariah. For example, Zech 9:9–11 is part of the larger unit, 9:9–16, and the phrase “that day” occurs in 9:16, and it pertains to the conditions that will obtain on the basis of the event of 9:9.

association may be significantly diminished. In other words, with respect to the present study's focus, that which the circa-70 CE cultural encyclopedia of Mark and his audience closely associates, Mark need not spell out in his narrative. Therefore, with respect to Mark's "triumphal entry," for example, given that Zechariah was not only an element known in the cultural encyclopedia of Mark's time,¹⁴⁸ but also plainly used by him, it is highly plausible that Mark's text recalls Zech 9:9's prophecy. The same could be said for Jesus' action in the temple. The extratextual data of the Zealot coinage may indicate that Zech 14:21, temple, nations, and/or merchants, were closely associated within Mark's cultural encyclopedia *such that* Mark need not explain the scriptural basis nor highlight the parity with abundant lexical replication in order for his account of Jesus' action to reflect Zech 14:21's prophecy. I do not hereby suggest a vague, ungoverned use of scripture in the Gospel, as if Mark (the author) were using scripture without leaving an identifiable, textual thumbprint in his own product. On the contrary, all of the examples adduced manifest at least some lexical replication. But inclusion of extratextual data "opens the universe of discourse,"¹⁴⁹ that is, the intratextual data of Mark's Gospel, by casting light upon implicit cultural and linguistic associations shared by Mark and his audience. The latter consequently elucidates material in Mark by permitting the identification of plausible intertexts in Mark's cultural encyclopedia, and properly interpreting them within Mark's universe of discourse. It is in that sense that Mark demonstrates "prophecy narrated" rather than "prophecy repeated."

This chapter demonstrates the use, and more, the importance, of Zechariah in Mark's Gospel. The narrational location of a given allusion is significant, and in Mark, Zechariah shows itself in momentous events, including Jesus' confrontations with Satan and the unclean spirits, Jesus' healings, his teaching on God's power to effect salvation, his entry into Jerusalem, his temple action, his teaching at Passover, and the night of his betrayal. The significance of these events in Mark indicates the importance of Zechariah for the narration and interpretation of the Gospel. Recognizing the allusions to Zechariah, however, not only enriches the interpretation of the relevant Markan passages, but also indicates that potential allusions to Zech 13–14 in Mark 13 would be entirely consistent with Markan practice. In other words, Mark's allusions to Zechariah are an intratextual phenomenon that, in the least, justifies examining other features of Mark's Gospel for additional allusions. The next chapter

¹⁴⁸ For Zechariah in general, see e.g. 4Q176; CD B 19:7–9; Sib. Or. 3:538–44; coinage from the Jewish revolt (see Section 3.3); Josephus, *War* 2.13.4–5; *Ant.* 20.8.6 (see Section 5.8.3). For Zech 9:9 in particular, see e.g. 1 En 71:14–15; Pss. Sol. 17:33; T. Dan. 6:2, 9; T. Jud. 24:1.

¹⁴⁹ See Alkier 2009a, 8–9, and my Sections 1.2 and 1.3.

highlights two more important allusions to Zechariah outside Mark 13: 1) his arrest and death vis-à-vis Zech 13:7, and 2) the coming of the Son of Man vis-à-vis Dan 7:13 and Zech 14:5.

Chapter 4:

The Bookends: The Use of Zechariah 13:7 and 14:5 in Mark

4.1 Introduction

Mark 13 is widely considered to describe time between Jesus' death and his second coming. Even without presently granting, however, that Mark 13:26–27 refers to Jesus' second coming, scholars nonetheless universally grant Jesus' absence from the events of Mark 13. His absence is noted by the presence of the Spirit among the disciples,¹ the fact that false messiahs come to Jesus' disciples "in his name" in order to deceive them,² the persecution and potential execution of the disciples, which occurs on the basis of Jesus' own persecution and execution,³ and the concluding parable about the master who "goes away" and "returns."⁴ In light of Jesus' absence, the discourse is implicitly framed by Jesus' death and "the coming of the Son of Man." In other words, the events described in Mark 13 happen only after Jesus has "departed," and they come to a close when "they see the Son of Man coming on the clouds." Those events therefore constitute the "bookends" of the material in Mark 13, their inauguration and their conclusion. I contend that Mark narrates these events, namely Jesus' death and the "coming of the Son of Man," with a citation and allusion to Zech 13:7 and 14:5 respectively.⁵ This chapter examines the quotation of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27 and the allusion to Zech 14:5 in Mark 8:38 with a view to establishing them as "the bookends" of the material in Mark 13.

First I offer an interpretation of Mark 14:26–31 in order to show that the flight of the disciples does not by itself, as many argue, fulfill the events of Zech 13:7–9. Second, I argue for seven lexical and thematic intratextual connections between Mark 13 and Mark 14:26–31 that indicate the passages can and should be interpreted in light of one another, and on that basis, that Mark 13 serves as the content of the "refinement" of Zech 13:9. Third, as evidence for the latter claim, I incorporate intratextual data to show that Mark reproduces language from Zech 13:7–9 to refer to the future tribulations of the disciples, of which Mark 13 supplies the content.⁶

¹ Mark 13:12.

² Mark 13:5–6, 21–22.

³ Mark 13:9–13.

⁴ Mark 13:34–36.

⁵ Mark's quotation of Zech 13:7 plausibly translates proto-MT Zech 13:7, thus it is uncertain whether Mark's *Vorlage*, or the *Vorlage* of his tradition, is Hebrew or Greek. For a comparison of the linguistic data, see Moo 1983, 183–84, and Menken 2011, 45. The present consensus is that Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27 could be based on proto-MT or LXX.

⁶ See both Alkier 2009a, 9, and my Section 1.3 for the description of "intratextual examination."

In the second half of the chapter, I argue that Mark 8:38 alludes to Dan 7:13 and Zech 14:5 to describe the “coming of the Son of Man.” Though not essential to this study as a whole, I contend that the passage most likely refers to what is commonly called Jesus’ “second coming” or *parousia*. I argue that Mark 8:38 and 13:26–27 refer to the same event by virtue of their numerous lexical and thematic correspondences. As such, the descriptions of Jesus’ departure and his return, his death and second coming, depend lexically and thematically on Zech 13:7 and 14:5. These conclusions serve the discussion in the next chapter, which argues in detail that Mark 13 constitutes the material between these bookends, namely Zech 13:8–14:4.

4.2 Mark 14:26–31

After eating the Passover meal and singing a hymn, Jesus and eleven disciples relocate to the Mount of Olives. The subsequent passage, Mark 14:26–31, receives detailed discussion, so I reproduce it below:

²⁶And after they sang hymns, they went out to the Mount of Olives. ²⁷And Jesus said to them, “All of you will be scandalized (πάντες σκανδαλισθήσεσθε), because it is written, ‘I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered.’” ²⁸But after I am raised, I will go ahead of you to Galilee.” ²⁹But Peter said to him, “Even if all others will be scandalized (πάντες σκανδαλισθήσονται), surely I will not.” ³⁰And Jesus said to him, “Truly, I tell you that today – this very night! – before the rooster crows twice you will deny me three times.” ³¹But he kept insisting, “Even if it is necessary (ἐὰν δεῖ) for me to die with you (συναποθανεῖν σοι), I will not deny you.” ³¹And they were all saying the same thing.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, numerous scholars note the high volume of allusions to Zech 9–14 clustered in Mark 14:24–27. Many argue that Mark 14:24 alludes to Zech 9:11; Mark 14:25 to Zech 14:9; Mark 14:26 to Zech 14:4; and Mark 14:27 to Zech 13:7.⁷ This cluster of allusions has led many to regard the contexts of the given Zechariah passages as significant for the interpretation of Mark 14:26–31;⁸ this has not, however, produced a consensus interpretation of the Markan passage.

I agree that Mark alludes to the context of Zech 13:7–9 in the quotation of Zech 13:7. I propose that the Markan Jesus quotes Zech 13:7 to refer to his death, and that the disciples’ flight is the inauguration of the eschatological tribulation depicted in Zech 13:8–9 and 14:1–4. Thus the “scattering of the sheep” *begins* with the disciples’ flight, but their flight does not *exhaust* their “scattering.”

⁷ See Section 1.5.5 and Figure 1.6 in Section 1.5.9.

⁸ See e.g. Lindars 1961, 128–31; Bruce 1968, 105; Wilcox 1971; Moo 1983, 216–17; Marcus 1992b, 154–59; Evans 2006b, 77–79.

Zechariah 13:7–9 depicts the striking of the shepherd as the first action in a chain of events. After the striking of the shepherd and the scattering of the sheep, Zech 13:8–9 claims affliction will befall “all the land” (13:8), and that “refinement”/“testing” of God’s covenantal people follows (13:9). Rather than seeing Zech 13:8–9 as fulfilled in the disciples’ flight from the garden, I propose that their flight signals the first step, or first event in the sequence, after which comes the afflictions of the land, the refinement, and vis-à-vis Zech 14, the attack on Jerusalem.⁹ Those events constitute the tribulations described in Mark 13, where the land suffers from “earthquakes and wars,” the covenantal people, i.e. Jesus’ disciples, suffer through persecution, and Jerusalem is attacked.

On this reading, the sequence looks like this:

Zechariah 13:7 = Strike the shepherd, sheep are scattered	Mark 14:27 = Jesus’ arrest and death, disciples flee
Zechariah 13:8–14:4 = tribulation of land, people, and Jerusalem	Mark 13:5–23 = tribulation of land, people, and Jerusalem
Zechariah 14:5 = theophany with angels	Mark 13:26–27 = theophany with angels

Elements of this proposal were put forward by Max Wilcox in 1971.¹⁰ Douglas Moo, in his 1983 monograph, *The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion Narratives*, objected to Wilcox’s view and proposed a different interpretation of Mark 14:27–31. Moo’s objections to Wilcox double as potential objections to the present interpretation. As Moo’s objections have been sustained in subsequent scholarship,¹¹ and as Moo’s interpretation is representative of a widespread interpretation of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27, it will be helpful to summarize Wilcox’s view, analyze Moo’s objections to Wilcox, analyze Moo’s alternative explanation, and finally provide a response to Moo and fresh arguments for this proposal.

⁹ Breytenbach 2009, 29, states that the disciples’ “scattering” leads to their “great suffering . . . and the destruction of the temple (Mark 13).” Though I agree with him, he does not provide the basis for his conclusion.

¹⁰ Wilcox 1971, 426–36. Cook 1993, 464–66, follows Wilcox’s conclusion, but he argues that Mark 14:28 alludes to Zech 13:9, and that it refers to Jesus’ *parousia*. I argue against both of those conclusions in Section 4.2.1.

¹¹ E.g. Collins approvingly cites Moo’s argument in her 2007 commentary on Mark in her interpretation of 14:27–31 (670–671).

4.2.1: *Wilcox and Moo on Mark 14:27–31, Mark 13, and Zechariah 13:7–9*

Wilcox argues that the shared setting between Mark 13 and 14:26–31, namely “the Mount of Olives,” connects the two Markan passages while evoking the context of the Zech 13–14.¹² In summary, Wilcox claims that with Jesus’ arrival on the Mount of Olives with his disciples in Mark 14, “the hour has dawned for the time of desolation and testing described in Zech xiii. 7–xiv. 4.”¹³ The “time of desolation and testing” in Wilcox’s argument refers to the events predicted in Mark 13,¹⁴ and the account in Mark 14:27–31 provides but an instance of that testing as faced by Peter and the disciples.¹⁵

Moo’s objections to Wilcox amount to the following:

The context of Zech. 13:7–14:4 is not entirely appropriate. . . . [Zechariah] 14:4 can not [sic] easily be construed with 13:7–9 in view of the clear shift in subject matter at 14:1 and the emphatic distinction in vv. 7–9 between a third of the flock who are refined and come to call on God’s name and the remainder who perish does not closely represent the situation in Mark 14.32ff at all.¹⁶

I proceed by first analyzing Moo’s three key objections to Wilcox; second, critiquing Moo’s position; and third, offering a fresh, positive case for connecting the prophecy in Mark 14 with the events of Mark 13.

Moo’s first objection to Wilcox is that “the context of Zech. 13:7–14:4 is not entirely appropriate.”¹⁷ Moo does not, however, clarify what aspects of the context are inappropriate, nor does he clarify the element of the Markan context that he finds incongruous with the context of Zech 13–14, thus it is difficult to address this point. In Moo’s second objection, he claims that Zech 14:4 cannot be easily construed with Zech 13:7–9 because of the obvious subject change between Zech 13:9 and Zech 14:1. This may be answered on three grounds: 1) the passages could be easily linked by a catchword association as each describes a militaristic attack on Israel in which people are, or are not, “cut off” (from ἐξολεθρεύω). Zechariah 13:8 says that “two measures will be ‘cut off’” (ἐξολεθρευθήσεται) from the land, and Zech 14:2, in its description of the attack on Jerusalem, declares that one half of the people will not be “cut off” (μὴ ἐξολεθρευθῶσιν). The attacks depicted are different, but a shared

¹² Wilcox 1971, 430.

¹³ Ibid., 430–31.

¹⁴ Ibid., 436.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Moo 1983, 216. The rest of his objections pertain to Wilcox’s arguments regarding Mark 14:28’s authenticity and “original” context, and intended reference of Jesus’ quotation of Zech 13:7. My proposal does not require a change in context or intended reference, thus I do not address Moo’s objections to those elements of Wilcox’s article.

¹⁷ Ibid.

catchword could easily allow a first-century interpreter to associate the passages; 2) this objection may suffer from an anachronistic privileging of the chapter and verse divisions, though of course Moo does not use those terms. The fact is, however, that Zech 14:1 is contiguous with Zech 13:9, and any reader might read on from Zech 13:9 without stopping; 3) 1QM arguably attests to a correlative use of Zech 13:9 and Zech 14:1–5. In several instances, 1QM’s depiction of the impending eschatological battle reflects the scenario and terminology of Zech 14.¹⁸ Simultaneously, in 1QM 17:1–9, the battle is described as God’s “fiery testing” and God’s “shaking his hand,” perhaps reflecting the terminology of Zech 13:7–9, where God “turns his hand” upon the little ones, and puts them “through the fire” and “tests” them. Thus God’s fiery testing is reminiscent of Zech 13:7–9, and that very testing is constituted by the impending eschatological battle, which is described vis-à-vis Zech 14:1–5. 1QM therefore indicates that some Second Temple Jews read Zech 13:7–9 and Zech 14 together. Mark, I suggest, did so as well.

Moo’s third objection is that “the emphatic distinction in [Zechariah 13] vv. 7–9 between a third of the flock who are refined and come to call on God’s name and the remainder who perish does not closely represent the situation in Mark 14:32ff at all.”¹⁹ This objection, however, does not address Wilcox’s actual argument. Wilcox writes, “the story [Mark 14:27–31] is not primarily about Peter . . . but rather about the time of testing . . . foreshadowed in Zech. xiii. 7—xiv. 4 . . . [This is] a time of testing coming upon the whole world. In that crisis even Peter himself was brought to the test and found wanting.”²⁰ Wilcox argues that Peter’s denial, which is predicted in Mark 14:27–31 and sporadically narrated in 14:32ff,²¹ is an *instance* of the “testing” that Jesus predicted (in Mark 13 vis-à-vis Zech 13–14) would come upon the whole world. Wilcox’s larger goal is not to unite the prophecy of Zech 13:7–9 to Mark 14:32ff, as Moo implies, but to claim its reference to Mark 13 as a whole. In other words, for Wilcox Mark 13 depicts, vis-à-vis Zech 13:7–14:4, the “hour of testing” that will come upon the whole world, and Mark 14:27–31 describes the particular instance of that testing for Peter. Moo’s objection, then, that Zech 13:7–9 cannot be construed with the narration of Peter’s denial is not pertinent, as it does not address the larger thesis within which the point is made in Wilcox’s argument, namely, that Zech 13:7–9 prophesies the testing predicted in Mark 13.²²

¹⁸ See Section 2.3.1.

¹⁹ Moo 1983, 216.

²⁰ Wilcox 1971, 436.

²¹ Using Moo’s (216) presentation of Wilcox’s argument.

²² The significance of this misunderstanding of Wilcox’s argument is demonstrated by its persistence in recent interpretations. Moss (2008, 165–66, especially n 29) approvingly cites Moo’s objections to Wilcox. She is writing

Having objected to Wilcox's thesis, Moo offers his own alternative, which I now summarize and critique. Moo argues: 1) Mark probably alludes to the whole context of Zech 13:7–9;²³ and 2) Jesus' un-narrated resurrection appearance restores the disciples after their scattering, thereby constituting the fulfilment of the restoration in Zech 13:9. He summarizes his view accordingly:

Thus, Jesus' death as the event which leads to the scattering of the disciples is contrasted with his Resurrection as the event which enables the scattered flock to be reconstituted. The latter thought is clearly implied in προάγω, which points to Jesus' restoration as leader (i.e., Shepherd!) and to the fact that the disciples would be reunited with him. If this interpretation is accepted, Jesus may well have had in mind Zech. 13:7–9, which presents a similar movement from the scattering of the flock to its reconstitution.²⁴

An implication of his argument is that the flight of the disciples fulfills the refinement of Zech 13:8–9. The last point is significant, because taking Zech 13:8–9 as "fulfilled" in the disciples' flight, and their flight alone, allows him to rule out the possibility that Zech 13:8–9 is actually "fulfilled" by the events of Mark 13. While acceptance of Moo's interpretation is not unanimous, it is followed by numerous scholars.²⁵

Moo's interpretation errs on two grounds. First, there is no lexical relationship between any element of Zech 13:8–9 and Mark 14:28 or 16:7 that would suggest that Jesus' resurrection appearance constitutes the fulfilment of the refinement and restoration of Zech 13:9.²⁶ The thematic relationship loosely obtains insofar as both texts depict a "restored people of God." Moreover, in addition to the absence of any lexical relationship between Zech 13:8–9 and Mark 14:27–31, Moo's interpretation

about the Matthean version of the quotation of Zech 13:7, but she does so with comparison to Mark 14:28 and 16:7, and she argues with respect to Wilcox's thesis. She writes: "Of special concern is the timing imposed between the events related in Matt 28:1–10 [the announcement of the resurrection] and . . . Matt 28:16–20 [Jesus' appearance to his disciples in Galilee]: there is not enough narrative time allowed for the eschatological testing, as suggested by the Zech 13.8–9 passage, to take place" (166). This statement well summarizes the misunderstanding of Wilcox's point. Wilcox is not arguing that the testing takes place between Jesus' death and resurrection, but between his death and second coming, i.e. the testing predicted vis-à-vis Mark 13/Matt 24.

²³ Moo 1983, 217.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ E.g. Lane 1974, 511. Lane's commentary preceded Moo's monograph, but their arguments and conclusions are similar. See also Hurtado 1989, 244; Marcus 1992b, 154–59; Susan Garrett 1998, 144–45; A.Y. Collins 2007, 670–71. Hooker (1991, 345) and Stein (2008, 654) agree with Moo's conclusion, though they do not argue their point with respect to the larger context of Zech 13:7–9.

²⁶ So Moss 2008, 162–63, especially n 21.

ignores the numerous lexical and thematic relationships that actually obtain between the events narrated in Mark 13 and the prophecy in Mark 14:27–31.²⁷ I expound these in Section 4.2.2.1 below.

Second, the consensus interpretation, inclusive of Moo's, that Jesus' resurrection appearance is that which "restores" the scattered disciples is completely acceptable; it simply does not have to be regarded as the fulfilment of Zech 13:9. This point bears repetition as this misunderstanding has implicitly persisted in subsequent interpretation and has functioned as an implicit grounds against the thesis that Mark 14:27–31 relates to Mark 13:²⁸ Jesus' resurrection can be that which restores the disciples without that "restoration" being the fulfilment of Zech 13:9. In other words, Jesus' declaration that he will "go before" the disciples into Galilee is a prediction of his resurrection, but his resurrection is not the event that caps the disciples' "refining,"²⁹ and no element of the Markan prediction or its narration reflects the language of Zech 13:9.

These criticisms – both the analysis of Moo's objections to Wilcox and of Moo's own interpretation – do not prove the present proposal. They only demonstrate that the potential for Mark 13 and 14:27–31 to allude to Zech 13:7–14:4 remains. I now turn to the task of building the positive case for this mutual interpretation of Mark 13–14 vis-à-vis Zech 13, identifying several textual features in Mark that indicate that the context of Zech 13:7–9 is intended, and that its fulfilment obtains in the events of Mark 13.

4.2.2: Specific Features of Mark 14:27–31 vis-à-vis Zechariah 13:7–9 and Mark's Gospel

I propose that Mark 14:27's quotation of Zech 13:7 alludes to the context of Zech 13:7–9, and consequently, that Mark's Jesus teaches that the people of God will be refined as a result of the striking of the shepherd. I argue that the tribulations of Mark 13 constitute that refining. Seven elements of the prediction in Mark 14 suggest the latter.

²⁷ See also Moss 2008, 165–66. She writes, "Zechariah 13.7–14.4 is an intriguing interpretive template for Mark, but there is not enough evidence to warrant an enthusiastic endorsement of Wilcox's thesis, particularly with reference to Zech 13:8–9." This statement again demonstrates the (unfounded) basis for dismissing Wilcox's, and consequently the present, thesis. Contra Moss, abundant evidence – intertextual, intratextual, and extratextual – unites Mark 13 and Zech 13:7–14:4.

²⁸ See Moss 2008, 165.

²⁹ Moo's claim that the use of προάγω picks up the shepherding imagery may or may not be true, but it is irrelevant with respect to the claim that Jesus' resurrection appearance fulfils Zech 13:9. Gundry (1993, 849) argues, however, that προάγω is not shepherding imagery at all, but simply indicates that Jesus will precede them in Galilee. The use of the same term in Mark 6:45, 10:32, 11:9, and 16:7 to depict "walking ahead" supports Gundry's thesis that no "shepherding" significance should be attached to it in 14:28.

First, there is no reason to suppose the refining of Zech 13:8–9 is intended, or exhausted, by the disciples' flight. In Zechariah the "refining" is an event other than the "scattering;" likewise, the events of Mark 13 are a potential "scandalizing" separate from the disciples' immediate flight. The narrative logic of Zech 13:7–9 is better maintained vis-à-vis a comparison to Mark 13. As the striking of the shepherd leads inexorably to the refining of the people, so the persecution of Jesus leads necessarily to the persecution of his disciples. Mark scholars widely acknowledge such a relationship between the suffering of Jesus and that of his disciples,³⁰ particularly as exhibited in Mark 8:34–38 and 13:9–13.

Mark 8:34–38, for example, presents the suffering of the disciples as a necessary corollary of following a suffering Messiah. Mark 13:9–13 shares that corollary and adds the notion that the suffering of the disciples is not simply due to following Jesus, but will also be like Jesus' suffering. Thus each pericope presents a corporate solidarity between Jesus and any who would follow him. The logic present in Mark 8:34–38, that is, that the Messiah's necessary suffering leads to the necessary suffering of the disciples, persists in Mark 13:9–13. Each premise in this narrative logic can be traced to Zech 13:7–9, where the shepherd is struck (Zech 13:7), and as a result the people of God are refined (Zech 13:9). Thus, as Mark uses Zech 13:7 to refer to Jesus' death, and as Mark describes the testing of the disciples to be a result of Jesus' death, the afflictions of the disciples are arguably "predicted" on the basis of Zech 13:9.

Second, the "scattering" predicted in Mark 14:27 on the basis of Zech 13:7 (διασκορπισθήσονται) finds a tidy resolution in Mark 13:27 when the Son of Man "gathers" (ἐπισυνάξει) the elect from the four winds. The terms "scattered" and "gathered" in various forms are often juxtaposed in the Torah and prophetic literature,³¹ typically referring to the Babylonian exile and the return to the land. In such contexts, being "scattered" is an impending threat whose resolution is being "gathered." Even when the two terms are not collocated, the term "gathered" may be used, implying a

³⁰ See most commentaries on Mark 8:34–38 and 13:9–13. See e.g. Hooker 1967, 156–57; Shively 2012, 188–89, 201–03. Shively (202) rightly notes the similarity of Jesus' warnings for his disciples in 13:9–13 to that which happens to him in Mark 14–15.

³¹ See Deut 30:3; Isa 11:12; 56:8; LXX Jer 30:21 (=MT/ET 49:5); LXX 39:27 (=MT/ET 32:37); Ezek 11:17; 28:25; 29:13; Joel 4:2 (=ET 3:2); Tob 13:5. In the Greek versions, the words for "gather" in these references are from συνάγω and ἐπισυνάγω; the words for "scatter" are from (δια)σκορπίζω and (δια)σπείρω. In the Hebrew versions, the word for "gather" is from קָבַץ, and the words for "scatter" are from פָּוַץ and נָדַח. Jer 30:21 does not pertain to exile and return, but to the punishment of the Ammonites (i.e. they will be "scattered" with no one to "gather" them). Mark 13:27 and 14:27 use forms of ἐπισυνάγω and διασκορπίζω respectively.

condition of “scattered.”³² Thus as “scattering” is characteristically resolved by “gathering,” the use of “gathered” in Mark 13:27 implies a “scattered” condition, which explicitly obtains via Jesus’ death vis-à-vis Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27. Further evidence that the disciples’ “scattering” entails the tribulations of Mark 13 is provided by Mark 13:19’s allusion to Dan 12:1. Mark 13:19 uses the language of proto-Theodotion Dan 12:1 to say that the tribulation described in Mark 13:14–22 will be the worst in history. Notably, proto-Theodotion Dan 12:7 calls that tribulation of Dan 12:1 the “the *scattering* (διασκορπισμόν) of the power of sanctified people.” The textual affinity between Dan 12 and Zech 13 via the notion of “scattering” depicts the connection proposed in Mark 13–14, namely that the scattering Jesus predicts in Mark 14 entails the tribulations predicted in Mark 13.

Third, the wording of Mark 14:27’s prophecy and its fulfilment suggest that the disciples’ flight is not the most plausible referent of Jesus’ prediction. Intratextual evidence indicates that Jesus’ predictions are typically precise, and that the narration of their fulfilment characteristically repeats multiple words of Jesus’ predictions, or says explicitly that it all happened “just as Jesus told them.”³³ The prediction in Mark 14:27–31, however, and its narration later in Mark 14, do not lexically correlate, suggesting that further fulfilment may be found in an event other than their flight. Four examples of Jesus’ predictions demonstrate this observation.

1. *Bringing the colt.* In Mark 11:2 Jesus says, “Immediately upon entering, you will find a colt tied up (εὐρήσετε πῶλον δεδεμένον) . . .” In 11:3 he continues, “And if anyone says to you, ‘Why are you doing this?’ (τί ποιείτε τοῦτο;), tell them . . .” The narration of this task in 11:4–5 says, “And they went out and found a colt tied up . . .” (καὶ ἀπῆλθον καὶ εὔρον πῶλον δεδεμένον . . .) Some bystanders ask, “What are you doing, untying the colt?” (τί ποιείτε . . .) The disciples find exactly what Jesus said they would, and Mark’s narration of the event repeats multiple words from Jesus’ prediction.
2. *Preparing the Passover meal.* In Mark 14:13–15, Jesus tells two of his disciples to go “into the city” (εἰς τὴν πόλιν), and he gives them particular directions about following a man with a pitcher of water: wherever that man enters, they should follow, and there they will find a large, furnished room. Jesus concludes, “And prepare for us there” (καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐτοιμάσατε ἡμῖν). The narration of this task in 14:16 reads in part, “And they went into the city (εἰς τὴν

³² E.g. LXX Zech 2:10 (=ET 2:6), which declares without explicit reference to their prior scattering that God will “gather” his people from Babylon.

³³ Mark 14:16.

- πόλιν), and they found it just as he told them (εὔρον καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς), and they prepared the Passover” (καὶ ἠτοίμασαν τὸ πάσχα). Once more, the disciples do just as Jesus tells them, the narrator declares that it all happened as Jesus said, and the narration repeats words of Jesus’ directions.
3. *Predicting rejection and betrayal.* In Mark 8:31 Jesus predicts he will be rejected “by the elders, chief priests, and scribes” (ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν γραμματέων). In 10:33 he says, “The Son of Man will be handed over to the chief priests and scribes (τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς γραμματεῦσιν), and they will condemn him to death (κατακρινοῦσιν αὐτὸν θανάτῳ), and they will hand him over to the gentiles.” These are fulfilled in 14:10, where Judas “went off to the chief priests to betray him” (ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ἵνα αὐτὸν παραδοῖ αὐτοῖς); and 14:43, where those who arrest Jesus came “from the chief priests and scribes and elders” (παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν γραμματέων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων); and 14:64, where they [the chief priests and Sanhedrin] “condemned him to be worthy of death” (κατέκριναν αὐτὸν ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτου); and 15:1, where the chief priests, elders, scribes, and Sanhedrin, “delivered him to Pilate” (παρέδωκαν Πιλάτῳ). Similarly at the Passover meal, Jesus says “One of you will betray me,” (εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με), and in its fulfilment in Gethsemane, Jesus says, “Behold, the one who betrays me is at hand (ἰδοὺ ὁ παραδιδούς με ἤγγικεν).³⁴ In each case, the narration of the fulfilment repeats the wording of the prediction with respect to the agents, the action taken, and the sequence of the action.
4. *Predicting the suffering.* In Mark 10:34, for example, Jesus says he will be mocked (ἐμπαίξουσιν αὐτῷ), spit upon (ἐμπτύσουσιν αὐτῷ), scourged, and killed (ἀποκτενοῦσιν [αὐτόν]). Correspondingly, in 14:1 the chief priests and scribes plot how they might seize him so that they can kill him (ἀποκτείνωσιν); in 14:65, some begin to spit upon him (ἐμπτύειν αὐτῷ); in 15:17–20, the Roman soldiers mock him (ἐνέπαιξαν αὐτῷ). Once more, Jesus’ predictions are fulfilled with precision, and their narration repeats Jesus’ very words.

In each of the preceding cases, the fulfilment is narrated with several precise words of the prophecy.³⁵ These examples lead one to expect a similar method at work in the prediction of Mark 14:27; there are not, however, any extensive overlapping phrases in Mark 14 between Jesus’ prediction,

³⁴ Mark 14:18 and 42, respectively.

³⁵ Another example is Jesus’ prediction of Peter’s denial before the rooster crow (14:30), and its narration in 14:72, which repeats Jesus’ prediction verbatim.

the scripture he uses to justify the claim, or the narration of the disciples' flight. In Mark 14:27, he says that the disciples will "fall away" (σκανδαλισθήσεσθε) because it is written that they will be "scattered" (διασκορπισθήσονται), and in Mark 14:50, the narrator says that "they fled" (ἔφυγον). Given the demonstrated intratextual pattern of repeating multiple, specific words of Jesus in the narration of the prophecy, considering the "flight" of the disciples as the fulfilment of their "falling away"/"scattering" becomes questionable.³⁶

Fourth, importantly, the "striking" of Jesus most plausibly refers to Jesus' death, which means the disciples' "falling away"/"scattering" occurs *as a result of*, and consequently *after*, his death. Therefore, their flight is not that which fulfils their "falling away" or "scattering," because their flight happens *before* Jesus' death. That Jesus' death is intended by the quotation of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27 is indicated by the fact that he immediately assures them of his *resurrection* in 14:28. It would be strange for Jesus to predict his arrest, but then assure his disciples that he will be raised from the dead. Accordingly, he predicts that they will "fall away" and "scatter" *after* he is killed, thereby indicating that their flight *before* he is killed is not the fulfilment of the prediction.³⁷ Such a conclusion suggests that another event(s) is the fulfilment of the "falling away." Accordingly, the repeated threat of "falling away" throughout Mark suggests itself as a category worthy of examination.

Fifth, "falling away" or being "scandalized" throughout Mark obtains on the basis of persecution and affliction, which are potential occurrences in Mark 13. The term (from σκανδαλίζω) also occurs in Mark 4:17 and 9:42–49. In Mark 4:17, Jesus explains the parable of the seeds and sower. According to the explanation in 4:14, the "seed" sown is the "word," which refers to the gospel message.³⁸ Those for whom the seed falls upon "rocky places" are like those who "immediately receive the word with joy, but when affliction or persecution arises on account of the word (εἴτα γενομένης θλίψεως ἢ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον), they fall away immediately" (εὐθὺς σκανδαλίζονται).³⁹ The warning addresses potential disciples who might "fall away" from the faith as a direct result of "affliction and persecution."⁴⁰ Another

³⁶ The single correlation is the word "all," but the narrative context indicates the word "all" does not refer to the same group of people. In Mark 14:27, Jesus predicts, "You will all (πάντες) fall away," and he is addressing "all the disciples" minus Judas. In 14:50, Mark says, "Leaving him, they all (πάντες) fled." The "all" in context only refers to those present with him, namely, Peter, James, and John. See 14:41–50. I owe this observation to David du Toit 2006, 139.

³⁷ See Du Toit 2006, 136, 139. He writes, "Die Zerschlagung des Hirten bezieht sich auf das Todesleiden Jesu, darauf folgt die Auferweckung" (136). He continues, "Die Zerstreuung der Schafe ist nämlich Folge der Zerschlagung des Hirten und nicht umgekehrt" (139).

³⁸ See Robert Guelich 1989, 222–23.

³⁹ Mark 4:17.

⁴⁰ So Stein 2008, 218.

use occurs in 9:42–49, where Jesus exhorts faithful discipleship. He teaches that any who “scandalizes” (σκανδαλίση) one of “these little ones,” which refers to the disciples, is doomed,⁴¹ and that disciples should remove any “scandalizing” instruments of sin, such as a hand, foot, or eye. This passage will receive more detailed examination below, but at present it is sufficient to note that “being scandalized” refers to a potential departure from the faith. In Mark 4:17, they “fall away” due to persecution; in 9:42–49, unrepentant sin potentially leads to condemnation, and in 9:49, Jesus teaches that all disciples will be tested. These passages relate to Mark 13 insofar as all three pertain to the necessity of fidelity to Jesus and “the word” in light of coming tribulation and persecution.

Accordingly, the uses of “fall away” in Mark 4 and Mark 9 may suggest that in 14:27, something greater than the disciples’ immediate flight is at risk. Peter’s reply in Mark 14, for example, indicates that he expects Jesus’ prediction to contain the potential for persecution and death. In Mark 14:29–31, Peter says that the others may fall away, but that he would never deny Jesus, but indeed that he would *die* with him. The uses of “scandalize” in Mark 4 and Mark 9 do not necessitate that Mark 14 requires a similar interpretation; the previous examples, however, regarding the precision of Jesus’ prophecies, indicate that something in addition to their immediate flight is at risk. As such, the contexts of Mark 4:17 and 9:42–49 provide a potential meaning understandable within the context of the Gospel as a whole. Accordingly, Jesus’ prediction of “falling away” probably reflects an impending threat of “persecution and affliction,” the latter of which is constituted by the events of Mark 13.⁴²

Sixth, the influence of Zech 13:9 is not limited to a thematic or logical correlation in Mark. One Markan passage – Mark 9:42–49 – uses terms derived from Zech 13:7–9, and is itself related to both the quotation of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27, and the predictions of persecution in Mark 13:9–13. This is a key argument in this chapter. Mark 9:42–48 exhorts faithful discipleship in light of the prospect of Gehenna. The sayings warn that anyone who causes one of these “little ones” to stumble (ὅς ἂν σκανδαλίση ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων) will be doomed, and that it would be better to remove any “offending” body part – eye, hand, or foot – and thereby enter into the Kingdom maimed rather than be cast into Gehenna “where their worm does not die and their fire is not quenched.” The next verse, 9:49, concludes, “For everyone will be salted with fire” (πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἀλισθήσεται). The latter is widely regarded as a

⁴¹ Mark 9:42.

⁴² None of this is to say that the flight of the disciples and Peter’s denial are not the content of their *immediate* falling away; it suggests only that their flight and Peter’s denial are not the exhaustive referents of the “falling away,” and that the events of Mark 13 are additional instances that potentially “scandalize” a disciple. Peter’s denial in the courtyard is clearly the fulfilment of Jesus’ prediction of Peter’s denial; his denial is not, however, the only event predicted in the potential “scandalizing.”

reference to the purification and life of sacrifice that disciples necessarily undergo.⁴³ The positive element of the disciples' "having salt" in 9:50 suggests that being "salted with fire" is something even the disciples will undergo. Given the context's emphasis on faithful discipleship and Mark's consistent emphasis regarding the necessity of suffering as an expression of faith, being "salted with fire" likely refers to the necessary suffering that will refine God's people.⁴⁴

Most scholars recognize an allusion to Lev 2:13 in the words of Mark 9:49.⁴⁵ The former declares that every offering should be seasoned with salt (καὶ πᾶν δῶρον θυσίας ὑμῶν ἀλὶ ἄλισθήσεται). Given the sacrificial context of Lev 2:13, the potentially purifying effects of fire, and Jesus' directing this statement to the disciples in a context that exhorts fidelity and warns of judgment, Mark 9:49 arguably refers to the necessity of purification. The disciples' being "salted" suggests their lives are offered as sacrifices to God, and in this case, the seasoning is "fire," which probably refers to the purifying and transforming effects of self-sacrifice and persecution.⁴⁶ On the basis of the verb "salted" scholars rightly ascertain the allusion to Lev 2:13; it is not, however, the lone influence. The use of "little ones," "fire," and "scandalize" in Mark 9:42–49 strongly suggests the influence of Zech 13:7–9.

Three intertextual correspondences indicate a Markan allusion to Zech 13:7–9. First, Zech 13:7 and Mark 9:42–49 each refer to "the people of God" as "the little ones." Use of this Greek nomenclature in reference to God's people is *unique* to LXX Zech 13:7. Zechariah 13:7 declares that God will strike the shepherd, and then turn his hand upon "the little ones" (הַצִּעְרִים/τοὺς μικρούς).⁴⁷ The root צער is used

⁴³ See e.g., Lane 1974, 349; Evans 2001, 73; France 2002, 384; Stein 2008, 450. Bratcher and Nida (1961, 304–5) refer to 15 different interpretations of this verse. The difficulty the verse presents, however, pertains to the translation of ἀλισθήσεται. The fire's reference to "purification" is nearly a consensus. Though see Weston Fields 1985, 299–304. He interprets 9:49 as a declaration that everyone who is thrown into hell will be destroyed by fire. He arrives at his conclusion by retroverting the Greek verb "salted" into a Hebrew idiom and thereby translating it, "For everyone will be destroyed by fire." He does not justify his retroversion of the Greek into Hebrew, and he claims that "the verse cannot say what it seems to say in Greek" (301). He also does not explain 9:50's five uses of the word "salt" in various forms, which suggest that 9:49's use of "salt" is not accidental, and therefore not best understood by retroversion to Hebrew. His arguments do not convince, and the statement can be explained on other grounds.

⁴⁴ So Lane 1974, 349; Evans 2001, 73; France 2002, 384; Stein 2008, 450; Karl Schmidt 2010, 92. Schmidt refers the saying to the future martyrdom of the apostles.

⁴⁵ See Fields' summary of interpretation in 1985, 299–301. See also Lane 1974, 349; Evans 2001, 73; France 2002, 384; Marcus 2009, 692.

⁴⁶ So Evans 2001, 73; Marcus 2009, 692.

⁴⁷ The reading "upon the little ones" (ἐπὶ τοὺς μικρούς) in Zech 13:7c is present in LXX B–S (original reading), Syro-haxaplaric (corrected textual reading), and Symmachus. LXX W contains "upon the shepherds" (ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας). The latter is present in the main text of Rahlfs' edition, which may explain why recognizing an allusion to Zech 13:7–9 in Mark 9:49 is not typical.

thirteen times in MT. Ten of those occurrences refer to the location, Zoar,⁴⁸ two occurrences are as the adjective “insignificant,”⁴⁹ and the remaining instance is Zech 13:7. It is the only instance of the use of the plural substantive “little ones” in reference to God’s people.⁵⁰ In Septuagintal texts outside of Zech 13:9 there are over 160 uses of the adjective μικρός in various forms. None but Zech 13:7 refers to the people of God as an entity. Similarly, as noted, Damascus Document (CD^B 19:9) identifies the “little ones” of Zech 13:7 with the “afflicted ones” of Zech 11:7 on the basis of common sheep imagery.⁵¹ The community members apply those terms to themselves, *particularly with reference to their endurance of eschatological tribulation*. Thus the use of the substantive “little ones” (from οἱ μικροί) in Mark 9:49 to refer to God’s (suffering) people both corresponds to the similar, unique phrasing in Zech 13:7, and resembles a near contemporary interpretation of Zech 13:7 attested at Qumran.

Second, in Zech 13:9, God will take these “little ones” “through the fire” (שׂאב; διὰ πυρός), referring to their purification. Similarly, in Mark 9:49 it is “these little ones” who will be salted “with fire” (πυρί). The *combination* of these features is *unique* to Zech 13:7–9, and their replication in 9:42–49 again suggests the influence of Zechariah.

Third, Mark 9:42–48 describes the potential of falling away from discipleship as being “scandalized” (σκανδαλίση). This is the very prediction Jesus makes in Mark 14:27, namely, that all the disciples will be “scandalized” (σκανδαλισθήσεσθε), and the explicit scriptural basis for this claim is Zech 13:7.

Thus Zech 13:7–9 depicts “the little ones” as God’s people, and predicts their purification by “fire.” Similarly, the disciples in Mark are the “little ones” and they will be salted “with fire.” “Falling away” or “being scandalized” in 9:49 (and 4:17) is a product of affliction, persecution, and/or characteristic missteps in discipleship, and such an outcome is later predicted in Mark on the basis of the text in question (Zech 13:7). Outside Zech 13:9, reference to “fire” as a purifying agent occurs in Isa 48:10 and Mal 3:2–3; only Zech 13:7–9, however, *combines* each of the elements involved in Mark 9:42–49, namely, reference to “little ones,” “fire,” and the related threat of “falling away.”⁵² Importantly, as

⁴⁸ Gen 13:10; 14:2, 8; 19:22, 23, 30 (x2); 34:3; Isa 15:5; Jer 48:34.

⁴⁹ Job 14:21; Jer 30:19.

⁵⁰ MT Jer 50:45 uses צעירי, “little ones,” but in reference to Babylonians. LXX Jer (27:45) translates its *Vorlage* τὰ ἄρνια.

⁵¹ See Section 2.3.3.

⁵² The reference to “falling away” pertains to the use of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27.

mentioned, being “salted with fire” probably refers to purification by the endurance of persecution and testing.

Mark 9:42–49 pertains to Mark 13 by virtue of their mutual concern for discipleship, particularly vis-à-vis persecution, as 13:9–13 certainly has in mind the persecution of the disciples, which they must endure to be saved. On the basis of an intratextual reading, the disciples in Mark 13 are the “little ones” of 9:42–49, and the persecution spelled out in 13:9–13 is the type of persecution alluded to in 9:49. The future “fire” of 9:49, in other words, is the future tribulation predicted in Mark 13. Thus the connection of Mark 13:9–13 to Zech 13:7–9 is not simply thematic, nor is it solely based on logical connections to Mark 14:27–31. Rather, based on an intratextual reading of Mark 9:42–49, 13:9–13, and 14:27, the correspondence of Mark 13’s tribulations with Zech 13:7–9 is lexical, where Mark uses terms that are unique to Zech 13:7–9 to refer to the eschatological, purifying suffering of the disciples, or “little ones,” that obtains as a result of Jesus, the shepherd, being struck.

Finally, seventh, Mark 14 contains seven intratextual correspondences between 14:27–31, its fulfillment narration in 14:32–54, 66–72, and the events of Mark 13. In *The Oral and Written Gospel*, Werner Kelber observes that the repetition of lexemes and/or phrases across multiple passages in a text like Mark, which would have been read aloud and potentially performed, allows the reader/hearer to recall the earlier uses and mutually interpret them.⁵³ Many narrative critics accept this observation,⁵⁴ and consequently argue for a mutual interpretation of Mark 13 and 14 on the basis of their lexical correspondences.⁵⁵ I list the seven intratextual links below, and they suggest that the passages – Mark 13 and 14 – be mutually interpreted.

⁵³ Kelber 1982, 67. See also my comments in Sections 1.2 and 1.3 for discussion on the interpretative value of intratextual data. There I argue that any given utterance should be interpreted in the light of related passages within the same “universe of discourse.” See also Eric Havelock 1984, 175–97, especially p 183, for similar observations regarding the interpretative value of “echoed” phrases and events within a single narrative.

⁵⁴ See e.g. Dewey 1989, 32–44; idem 1991, 221–36; Malbon 1993, 211–30; Richard Horsley 2001, 70; Holly Hearon 2006, 3–20. A good example of this principle is the correspondence between the afflictions predicted for the disciples in 13:9–13, and those endured by Jesus in Mark 14–15. See Mark 13:9–13 and 14:42–15:20. Geddert (1989, 167–73) and Shively (2012, 202) note this correspondence.

⁵⁵ See Robert Lightfoot 1950, 48–59; Francis Dewar 1961, 99–110; Kelber 1976, 41–60; Geddert 1989, 89–111, 158–76; Peter Bolt 1995, 10–32. Of these interpretations, only Bolt’s is antithetical to my own. The rest do not come to my conclusions, but their observations are helpful nonetheless. As Bolt’s view is incompatible with mine, his view is briefly analyzed here. He interprets the discourse as a precursor to the passion narrative. He matches lexemes and themes from Mark 13 to their repetition in Mark 14–15, consequently arguing that (1) the “abomination of desolation” is Jesus’ crucifixion and its mockery (24); (2) the consequent tribulation (fleeing the city, etc.) is Jesus’ own suffering from the cross (24); (3) the arrival of false prophets/messiahs refers to the corrupt Jerusalem leadership (27–29); (4) the four “watches” of the parable are recapitulated in the events that take place in the four watches in Mark 14–15 (22–25); (5) the coming of the Son of Man (of 13:26) is Jesus’ resurrection (26);

4.2.2.1: Correspondences between Mark 13–14

1. *Post-death predictions.* Mark 13 and 14:27–31 are both predictions by Jesus of what will happen to the disciples after and as a result of Jesus' death.⁵⁶ Just as Mark 13 declares that they will endure tribulations for Jesus' sake and be hated on account of his name after his death, so Mark 14 predicts that they will all "fall away" as a result of Jesus' being "stricken."
2. *The setting.* Mark 13 and 14:27–31 share the setting of the Mount of Olives. The setting links these Markan passages and relates the suffering of the disciples to the afflictions of Zech 13–14.⁵⁷ The influence of Zech 13 is evident insofar as it is quoted in Mark 14. The influence of Zech 14 is evident both as (1) the latter is alluded to by reference to "the Mount of Olives" in Mark 13:3 and 14:26, and (2) due to the related material between Zech 14 and Mark 13, which both depict a time of tribulation upon Jerusalem before a theophany. In Mark 13, Jesus stands on the Mount of Olives teaching the imminence of the tribulations depicted in Zech 13–14. In Mark 14, he teaches that those tribulations are about to begin, claiming his death as their onset.⁵⁸
3. *The rooster crow.* The post-parable exhortation in Mark 13:35 and the prophecy of Peter's denial in 14:30 both mention the "rooster crow." In Mark 13, Jesus teaches that "the master" could return home at any time, even at "cockcrowing" (ἀλεκτοροφωνίας), and

and (6) the gathering of the elect is an implicit future command given by the "glorified" Jesus in 16:7–8 (25). His interpretation errs on four grounds: (1) He does not interpret Mark 8:38, which is a significant deficiency, as that passage potentially falsifies his argument. He says (16) only that it should not be interpreted as the *parousia*, as it did not happen within a generation. See Sections 4.3 and 4.4 for my interpretation of 8:38. (2) He says that Jesus' prediction in 13:2 "is a passing remark" (25). Bolt consequently treats the destruction of the temple as insignificant with respect to the interpretation of Mark 13 (19, esp. n 35). Bolt thus dismisses the setting and arguably context-determining question of the disciples. (3) He does not interpret 13:10, which too potentially falsifies his interpretation. In 13:10, no matter how one interprets the coming of the Son of Man in 13:26, the evangelism of "all the nations" occurs "first." Thus if the "coming of the Son of Man" is Jesus' resurrection, as Bolt argues, then the evangelism must happen before it, but according to his interpretation, the command to evangelize the nations is implicit in Jesus' resurrection appearance in 16:7–8, and therefore happens after it. (4) Bolt interprets the "abomination of desolation" as fulfilled in Jesus' crucifixion. See my critique of this position in Section 5.4.1. He also does not explain how Jesus' commands to flee into the mountains, not gather one's things, nor return to the city, are fulfilled in Jesus' own anguish on the cross. The same errors obtain in his reiteration in Bolt 2004, 90–103. Bolt's interpretation has not been followed by the vast majority of scholars. His method, however, is similar to my own with respect to comparison to Mark 14, thus it warrants a response.

⁵⁶ Geddert (1989, 178) partially summarizes the rhetorical goal of Mark 13: "It is that chapter [Mark 13] which most clearly indicates what will be experienced by believers in the post-resurrection situation." By cross-referencing (89–111, 158–76) Mark 13 with Mark 14–16, he concludes that Jesus' passion is the model for the disciples' mission, and that the content of their mission is spelled out in Mark 13: to evangelize and to suffer (175).

⁵⁷ So also Wilcox 1971, 430–31; Pitre 2005, 456–60.

⁵⁸ So Cook 1993, 465; Pitre 2005, 456–60. I examine the significance of the Mount of Olives in detail in Sections 5.8.3 and 5.8.3.1.

Jesus commands the disciples therefore to stay alert. In 14:30, Jesus predicts that Peter will deny him three times before the rooster crows twice (δὶς ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι). Just as Peter will “fall away before the cockcrow” in Mark 14, so the time between Jesus’ death and the coming of the Son of Man is a potential time of falling away in Mark 13. For that reason the disciples must be “alert” at all times, whether it is parabolically “the evening, midnight, the cockcrow, or dawn.”⁵⁹

4. *The command to ‘watch’* (γρηγορεῖτε). In Mark 13:34, the servants in the parable are commanded to “stay alert” (γρηγορεῖ) lest their master “finds them sleeping” (καθεύδοντας). In 14:34–37, immediately after Jesus’ prediction of Peter’s denial, he departs to pray. He commands his disciples to “keep watch” (γρηγορεῖτε), but then he comes and “finds them sleeping” (καθεύδοντας). Only these two Markan passages use those specific terms. In Mark 13, “to keep alert” is to remain faithful to the master’s commands, particularly in light of potential persecution. In 14:38, similarly, Jesus’ command is for his disciples to “keep alert” so that they might not enter into “testing” (πειρασμόν). The particular testing in Mark 14 is not made explicit, but it is commonly interpreted to refer to their potential “falling away” as a result of persecution, which in this case is the threat of being associated with Jesus at his arrest and trial.⁶⁰ Each passage thus demands the disciples to stay alert in view of impending testing/persecution.
5. *The threat of death*. In Mark 13:12, Jesus warns that family members will betray one another and put each other to death (θανατώσουσιν αὐτούς). In 14:31, Peter insists that even if necessary, Peter will die together with Jesus (συναποθανεῖν σοι). Thus in 13:9–13, Jesus tells his disciples that the impending tribulations, including death, result on account of fidelity to him, and in 14:31, Peter declares that he will prove his fidelity to Jesus by submitting to death with him.
6. *The ‘hour’ of tribulation*. Both passages refer to the particular time of suffering and testing as “the hour” (ὥρα).⁶¹ In 13:11, the persecution of the disciples takes place “in that hour,” while in 14:35, Jesus’ prayer in the garden (immediately after the denial prediction) refers to

⁵⁹ So Wilcox 1971, 433, 436, n 2; Geddert 1989, 101.

⁶⁰ E.g. France 2002, 587; Stein 2008, 661. Geddert (1989, 98) argues that this term for “watch” contributes to the Markan depiction of discipleship as being willing to suffer like and for Jesus. He bases his argument on the connection between Mark 13:9–13, 33–37, and the passion and resurrection narration in chapters 14–16.

⁶¹ Noted by Kelber 1976, 44–46; Geddert 1989, 90–91; Shively 2012, 165.

his impending passion as “the hour.” The suffering of the disciples is thus described with terms associated with the eschatological suffering of Jesus.

7. *The use of δεῖ*. Both passages use δεῖ to refer to tribulations endured for Jesus. Mark 13 describes the wars and earthquakes, and therefore presumably all the afflictions mentioned in the discourse, as a divine necessity, as things that “must happen” (δεῖ γενέσθαι).⁶² Similarly, Peter, responding to Jesus’ prediction that all would scatter, insists that he certainly would not. He says that even if it were necessary (ἐὰν δεῖ), Peter would die with Jesus. Though the use of δεῖ is not confined to Mark 13 and 14, Mark consistently employs it with respect to occurrences that obtain in accordance with God’s plan for history. In 8:31, Jesus uses δεῖ in reference to the Son of Man’s necessary suffering. In 9:11, Jesus uses it in reference to the necessity of Elijah coming “first.” His declaration that Elijah had in fact come, and that he had suffered, leads to his teaching that the Son of Man too will be treated with contempt in accordance with the scriptures.⁶³ Two instances of δεῖ in 13:7 and 10 also refer to things that will happen in the future in accordance with the divine plan.⁶⁴ Thus given the consistent use of δεῖ in Mark to describe necessary aspects of the divine plan, typically in accordance with scriptures, Peter’s declaration that he will “necessarily” die with Jesus may also be a part of the divine plan revealed in scriptures. In that vein, Wilcox asks about Peter’s use of the term: “Why the δεῖ? Under what compulsion? That of the Jewish opponents of Jesus? Of Rome? Or not rather of the whole divine plan of salvation?”⁶⁵ If the latter proposal is affirmed, the plan/scriptures implicitly in question would presumably be those just quoted, namely, Zech 13.

In light of these intratextual connections, Mark 13–14 teaches that the disciples should expect to suffer as a result of their fidelity to Jesus, and that Jesus’ suffering serves as model for that of the disciples.⁶⁶ The numerous lexical correspondences between (1) the predictions of Mark 13 and (2) the passages that pertain to the prediction and fulfilment of events based on Zech 13:7 in Mark 14 encourage comparison of the two Markan texts. As the passage in Mark 14 makes predictions

⁶² See Mark 13:7 in particular.

⁶³ See Mark 9:11–13.

⁶⁴ The appearance of the abomination of desolation in 13:14 is presumably predicted on the basis of Dan 9:27 and is in that respect “necessary.” Mark’s use of δεῖ in 13:14, however, declares that the abomination will be standing where it ought not (ὅπου οὐ δεῖ). Thus while this verse depicts an event in accordance with the divine plan, it is not the use of δεῖ that conveys the point.

⁶⁵ Wilcox 1971, 436.

⁶⁶ So Kelber 1976, 59.

concerning that which will happen to the disciples on the basis of Jesus' being "stricken," and Mark 13 depicts that which will happen to the disciples after Jesus' "striking," I interpret Mark 13 and 14 in light of one another, and consequently regard Mark 13 as the content of the tribulations/"falling away" predicted in Mark 14:27 on the basis of Zech 13:7–9.

Mark 14:27 does, therefore, allude to the context of Zech 13:7–9. This supports the conclusion that the refining of Zech 13:9 is fulfilled not just in the disciples' flight, but in the events predicted in Mark 13. The correspondences between Mark 13 and Mark 14 exhibit a correlative, thematic relationship between that which happens in Zech 13:7–9 and that which happens to Jesus and the disciples in Mark. In Zech 13:7–9, the shepherd is struck, the sheep are scattered, and the little ones endure the refining "fire" of God's testing. In Mark 14:27, Jesus teaches that the eschatological refining, depicted in Mark 13, is about to commence, being initiated by his death.

These strong thematic relationships, however, are not the only links between Mark and Zech 13:7–9. Mark 9:42–49 describes aspects of discipleship and the disciples' future tribulation, and it does so *with terms whose collocation is unique to Zech 13:7–9*. In Mark 9:42–49, Jesus calls the disciples "little ones" and hints that their discipleship will contain a period of testing, telling them, "All will be salted with fire." The collocation of the terms "little ones" and "fire" is unique to Zech 13:7–9. The meaning of the saying in Mark 9:49 is not immediately explained, but the rest of Mark makes the point clear: the disciples will endure tribulations as a result of following Jesus. The "fire" the disciples will endure is the tribulation depicted in Mark 13.

Finally all the threads are connected, and the proposed connections between Mark and Zech 13:7–9 are evident on the basis of thematic correlation and unique lexical replication. I summarize the data below in two tables. The first (Figure 4.1) highlights the shared terminology between Zech 13:7–9 and Mark, following the sequence of usage in each text. The table is best read from top to bottom, beginning with the material from Zechariah. The second (Figure 4.2) arranges the Markan data in the order of its "experience" by Jesus and the disciples.

Figure 4.1

ZECHARIAH 13:7–9	MARK
Strike the shepherd!	In warnings about falling away , Jesus calls the disciples “ the little ones. ” ⁶⁷
The sheep will be scattered .	Jesus declares that they will all be salted with fire. ⁶⁸
God will turn his hand upon the little ones .	Jesus gives the content of the fire /tribulations on the Mount of Olives in Mark 13.
There will be tribulations in all the land, and God will lead his people through the fire .	On the Mount of Olives, Jesus predicts his disciples will all fall away , and he quotes Zech 13:7 , explicitly identifying himself as the stricken shepherd and the disciples as the scattered sheep. ⁶⁹

Figure 4.2

THE TRIBULATIONS IN MARK
The shepherd (= Jesus) is stricken
The sheep (= disciples) are scattered
The little ones (= disciples) endure the fire (= tribulations of Mark 13)

4.2.3: Summary

Mark 14:27–31 does not employ Zech 13:7–9 with limited reference to the disciples’ flight; rather, intratextual comparison shows that Mark employs language from Zech 13:7–9 throughout his Gospel. Accordingly, the most plausible reference of the disciples’ “falling away” is not their flight from Gethsemane, but their future tribulation that they endure in Jesus’ absence, beginning at his death and culminating at the coming of the Son of Man. Given that the events of Mark 13 take place between Jesus’ departure and return, that is, his death and *parousia*, the latter events constitute the bookends of the events of Mark 13. This section has demonstrated that Mark explicitly narrates the first bookend with reference to Zech 13:7. The next section argues that Mark describes the *parousia* with reference to Zech 14:5, and thereby *frames* the events of Mark 13 with the language of Zech 13:7 and 14:5.

⁶⁷ Mark 9:42–48

⁶⁸ Mark 9:49.

⁶⁹ Mark 14:27.

4.3: Zechariah 14:5 and the Coming of the Son of Man

Mark mentions the “coming of the Son of Man” three times throughout the Gospel: 8:38, 13:26, and 14:62.⁷⁰ The first reference is the present subject of inquiry as it establishes a potential precedent for 13:26. Mark 8:38 reads: ὁς γὰρ ἐὰν ἐπαισχυνθῆ με καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῆ μοιχαλίδι καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπαισχυνθήσεται αὐτόν, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων.

The above declaration by Jesus concludes a discussion about both the nature of Jesus’ mission and the consequent requirements of following him in 8:31–38. After Peter’s confession of Jesus as Messiah,⁷¹ Jesus teaches that as Messiah, he must suffer many things and be rejected and killed.⁷² Mark’s use of δεῖ, the verb διδάσκειν, and the phrase “he was speaking plainly,” present Jesus teaching the necessary suffering of the Messiah as a divine prescription, presumably from Israel’s scriptures.⁷³ The δεῖ of messianic suffering, however, is not limited to the Messiah, as Jesus goes on to explain. Having rebuked Peter’s objection, Jesus turns to the crowd and says, “If anyone wishes to follow after me, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me.”⁷⁴ Accordingly, whoever wants to save his or her life will lose it, but those who lose it because of Jesus and the gospel (ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου), will save it.⁷⁵ These teachings on discipleship form the context for Jesus’ climactic statement in 8:38: “For whoever is ashamed of me and my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of Man will also be ashamed of him when he comes in the glory of his father with the holy angels.”

Mark 8:38 contains the first declaration in the Gospel regarding the “coming of the Son of Man.” His advent “with holy angels” implies a heavenly origin, and thus an earthly descent. The language of “shame” and the presence of a metric suggests a judicial context.⁷⁶ The judgment seems to be a “final judgment” scenario between “this age” and “the coming age,” as it pertains to individuals and their fidelity to God’s Messiah. Mark 10:29–30 supports the notion of a “final judgment” as it similarly

⁷⁰ Space does not permit discussion of Mark 14:62. I take it also to refer to the *parousia* by virtue of its shared language with Mark 8:38 and 13:26, which I discuss in detail. Its precise reference, however, does not affect the particular arguments made in this study.

⁷¹ Mark 8:29.

⁷² Mark 8:31.

⁷³ Hooker 1967, 108; Stein 2008, 401.

⁷⁴ Mark 8:34.

⁷⁵ Mark 8:35.

⁷⁶ In reference to Mark 8:38, Nickelsburg (2001, 266, n 71) states that “shame” is used in judicial contexts, citing as evidence: Isa 41:11–13; 44:9–11; 50:7–9. See also Dan 9:4–11.

teaches that those who suffer “for Jesus and the gospel” (ἕνεκεν ἑμοῦ καὶ ἕνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου) will gain “eternal life in the coming age.” The lexical correspondence between the metrics, namely “suffering for Jesus and the gospel,” between 8:35 and 10:29–30, suggests that each passage supplies a metric for the same reason, namely the granting of eternal life. As such, the coming of the Son of Man with holy angels to judge in 8:38 probably refers to Jesus’ *parousia* in the unspecified future to act as judge between the present and “coming” age.

The majority of scholarship recognizes the influence of Dan 7:13 on Mark 8:38.⁷⁷ While the latter is certainly true, Dan 7 is probably not the only operative reference text. Mark 8:38 depicts Jesus coming “with the holy angels” (μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων). The most plausible reference text for this phrase is Zech 14:5, which describes a theophany with the holy angels.⁷⁸ Zech 14:5 (LXX) reads: καὶ ἦξει κύριος ὁ θεός μου καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ’ αὐτοῦ. The ἅγιοι in Zechariah’s context translates מַשְׁדֵּקַי, and plausibly refers to the angelic host;⁷⁹ thus the image is one of God’s coming from heaven to earth with angels. Mark evidently combines the imagery of Dan 7’s “coming Son of Man” with Zech 14:5’s theophany “with holy ones” to create the Markan image of Jesus as the Son of Man coming with the holy angels.⁸⁰

A Markan allusion to Zech 14:5 is probable on four grounds. First, Mark’s phrase μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων recalls the language of Zech 14:5’s οἱ ἅγιοι μετ’ αὐτοῦ. The substantive, ἅγιοι, in Zech 14:5 refers to the angelic host. Thus each passage depicts a theophany accompanied by angels, and each passage uses the adjective ἅγιος to refer to, or modify, the angelic host. The use of “holy” to modify “angels,” as in Mark 8:38, is distinct among early Christian literature, and its use in Mark probably stems from Zech 14:5’s use of the substantive “holy ones” (מַשְׁדֵּקַי/οἱ ἅγιοι), which itself refers to the angelic host. Mark’s Gospel mentions “angels” six times, and only in 8:38 are the angels described as “holy.” Similarly in, for example, the non-Markan literature of the New Testament, the word “angel”

⁷⁷ Scholars recognize the allusion due to the corresponding phrase, “son of man . . . coming on clouds.” For a review of uses of Dan 7:13 in NT, see Shepherd 2006, 99–111; for uses in Mark, see Dunn 2013, 18–34.

⁷⁸ So Adams 2005, 39–61; idem 2006, 1–19. Though I expand the argument for Mark’s use of Zech 14:5, I owe the original insight regarding its presence in Mark 8:38 to Adams. A similar case for an allusion to Zech 14:5 is argued by Joshua Leim 2013, 213–32.

⁷⁹ Meyers and Meyers 1993, 430.

⁸⁰ Adams 2006, 9–10.

is used 168 times,⁸¹ and in only three of those occurrences are the angels described as “holy.”⁸² Thus Mark 8:38 presents an anomaly. Why describe the angels as “holy” against both the typical Markan practice and against the wider practice of much of the early Christian literature? Plausibly Mark refers to the angels as ἄγγελοι rather than ἅγιοι because of the common practice among early Christians to refer to “believers” as ἅγιοι, and he modifies the angels as “holy” in order to maintain the lexical correspondence with Zech 14:5. Thus, by modifying the angelic entourage with τῶν ἁγίων, Mark is able to maintain lexically the allusion to Zech 14:5 while simultaneously clarifying the referent as “angels.”

Second, Zech 14:5 is *unique* among Israel’s scriptures in its description of a theophany with “holy ones.”⁸³ As no other text depicts a theophany with “holy” angels, Mark’s depiction of the Son of Man coming “with holy angels” may depend on Zech 14:5.⁸⁴ Third, Zech 14 and the Markan pericope each discuss “the kingdom of God.” In Mark 9:1, which occurs in the same “conversation” as 8:38, Jesus associates the “kingdom of God” and the Son of Man’s coming with angels. The same association obtains in the vision in Zech 14, where Zechariah envisages that the kingdom of God will be universally present and recognized precisely at the time of God’s coming with the angels.⁸⁵

⁸¹ This count refers to the use of ἄγγελος. Of the 174 total uses in the NT: 6 in Mark; 20 in Matt; 25 in Luke; 3 in John; 21 in Acts; 66 in Rev, and the rest are scattered throughout the epistles. This number does not account for 1 Thess 3:13, where Paul uses the substantive τῶν ἁγίων to refer to the angelic host which accompanies “the Lord” at his coming (ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ). As discussed in Section 2.5, 1 Thess 3:13 alludes to Zech 14:5.

⁸² The three occurrences are: 1) Luke 9:26, which is the parallel statement to Mark 8:38; 2) Acts 10:22, where Cornelius sends for Peter under the directive of “a holy angel”; and 3) Rev 14:10, where at the hour of judgment, the beast-worshippers will be tormented before the “holy angels” and the lamb.

⁸³ One might mention Deut 33:2 as well, as it may describe a theophany with angels, but three reasons suggest it is not the prominent influence on Mark 8:38. First, MT Deut 33:2 does not describe God coming “with myriads,” but “from the midst of myriads.” This reading is consistent with 4QPaleoDeut’ (= 4Q45), frag 42–43. The manuscript is fragmentary, but the only word maintained from Deut 33:2 is מרבבת, equal to MT Deut 33:2. It is also consistent with Aquila, which does not contain σύν μυριάσις, but ἀπὸ μυριάδων ἁγιασμοῦ. The latter translation corresponds to the meaning of MT Deut 33:2 in that it does not describe a theophany “with angels” but “from the midst of angels.” LXX Deut 33:2 translates מרבבת with σύν μυριάσις, but it translates the following word, קדש, with Καδης; thus it does not refer to the “myriads” as “holy.” The last words of LXX Deut 33:2 are ἄγγελοι μετ’ αὐτοῦ, which presumably clarify the referent of “myriads.” Thus LXX Deut 33:2 recalls a past theophany, and says that God “hastened” (κατέσπευσεν) from Mount Paran to Kadesh “with angels.” Given that the descriptor “holy” applied to “angels” is exceptional among early Christian literature, the lack of the descriptor “holy” in Deut 33 speaks against its influence on Mark 8. Third, when an allusion to Deut 33:2 obtains, as in 1 En 1:9, one of the key markers of the influence of Deut 33 is the term “myriads,” which is contained in all versions of Deut 33:2 and is used in 1 En 1:9 (which alludes to Deut 33:2), and in Jude’s quotation of 1 En 1:9. Accordingly, if Deut 33 were the prominent influence in Mark, one might expect the term “myriads” to surface, but it does not. Thus Mark’s use of “holy” angels coincides better with Zech 14:5’s “holy ones.”

⁸⁴ Adams (2005, 52) calls this a “clear allusion.” Leim (2013, 224 n 54) calls it “probable.”

⁸⁵ Zech 14:9. This link does not favor Zech 14 over against Dan 7. On the contrary, their mutual emphasis on “kingdom” serves as a basis for connecting the passages.

Fourth, the direction of the “coming” suggests the influence of Zech 14.⁸⁶ In Mark 8:38, the Son of Man’s coming “with the holy angels” implies a heavenly origin and thus an earthly descent, which is consistent with the direction of the theophany in Zech 14. If Dan 7 were the only influence, one might wonder why Mark evidently changed the direction from that which is depicted in Dan 7 itself, where the Son of Man seemingly goes into the presence of the Ancient of Days, rather than comes from heaven to earth. To be sure, Mark is not required to replicate the scene of Dan 7, but recognizing the influence of Zech 14 provides a satisfactory explanation for the direction of the advent as presented in Mark 8:38.⁸⁷

Fifth, the use of Zech 14:5 to depict Jesus’ “second coming” with angels is evidently traditional among early Christian literature. I discussed this point in detail in Sections 2.5 and 2.6. There I demonstrated that Jesus’ arrival with angels is consistently portrayed with reference to Zech 14:5, as in 1 Thess 3:13 and Matt 25:31.⁸⁸ Additionally, the multiple Markan allusions to Zechariah throughout the Gospel strengthen the case for the present allusion.⁸⁹

These five features suggest that Mark alludes to Zech 14:5 in his depiction of the coming of the Son of Man in Mark 8:38. The numerous connections between Zech 14 and Dan 7, namely the “coming” of a figure,⁹⁰ reference to angels as ἄγιοι,⁹¹ and the prominence of “the kingdom [of God],”⁹² likely enable the exegetical combination. Thus in summary, Mark combines Dan 7’s “coming of the Son of Man” with Zech 14’s “coming of the Lord with his holy ones” to create the Markan image of the “coming of the Son of Man with the holy angels.”⁹³

4.4: Mark 8:34–38 and Mark 13

Mark 8:34–38 contains significant implications for the interpretation of Mark 13. Three thematic similarities link the passages. First, as in 8:34–38, so in 13:9–13: Jesus’ disciples will suffer and stand on

⁸⁶ So Adams 2006, 9.

⁸⁷ See Section 1.3.1 for Hays’ criterion of “satisfaction.”

⁸⁸ The tradition is also present in Did 16:7, which I discuss in Section 6.2.

⁸⁹ See Section 1.3.1 for Hays’ and Tooman’s criteria of “recurrence” and “multiplicity,” respectively.

⁹⁰ Dan 7:13; Zech 14:5.

⁹¹ Dan 7:18; Zech 14:5.

⁹² Dan 7:14; Zech 14:9. In Zech, the kingship explicitly belongs to God. In Dan, the “kingdom” implicitly belongs to God, though the force of the vision in Dan 7 is the giving of the kingdom to Israel.

⁹³ Similarly, Adams (2006, 9) calls Mark 8:38 a “fusion of images” that meshes Dan 7’s “Son of Man” with Zech 14’s “Lord.”

trial because of their fidelity to him.⁹⁴ Each passage gives the same metric for “salvation”: willingness to suffer for Jesus and the Gospel.⁹⁵

Second, each passage contains two temporal horizons.⁹⁶ Mark 8:38 contrasts “this present and adulterous generation” with the undisclosed time of the future “coming of the Son of Man.” Similarly, in Mark 13 the events which will occur to “this present generation” (13:30) are contrasted with the unknown timing of the future coming of the Son of Man (13:32). The sufferings of Jerusalem and the disciples belong to the present generation, but the judgment and salvation concomitant with the coming of the Son of Man belong to the unknown future. Thus, not only does each context contain two temporal horizons, but each respective horizon in 8:34–38 and 13:5–37 associates the present with suffering, and the future with consummation in the form of judgment and salvation.⁹⁷

Third and finally, each context describes the coming of the Son of Man with nearly identical imagery. The lexical correspondence between 8:38 and 13:26–27, particularly via forms of “come,” “Son of Man,” “glory,” “father,”⁹⁸ and “angels,” implies that the passages refer to the same event.⁹⁹ Two significant implications follow from this conclusion. First, given that 8:38 depicts a future “second coming” for judgment,¹⁰⁰ the most likely deduction regarding the same imagery in 13:26–27 is that it also depicts the “second coming” of Jesus. This conclusion speaks against the notion that 13:24–27 should be interpreted with exclusive reference to the destruction of the temple.¹⁰¹ Second, on the basis that each passage refers to the same event, the “angels” in 13:27 are presumably the same entities as “the holy angels” of 8:38. The latter is again significant with respect to the interpretation of 13:27, because those who interpret the “coming” of 13:26 as a cryptic reference to the destruction of the temple then take the Son of Man’s “sending the angels to gather the elect” as either a type of “great commission” or a reference to evangelism. They translate the ἄγγελοι as “messengers,” which are then

⁹⁴ See Shively 2012, 165, 189. She rightly compares the passages on the basis of their mutual emphasis on discipleship.

⁹⁵ See Mark 8:35 and 13:9, 13.

⁹⁶ So Hooker 1967, 156–57. On the basis of the links between Mark 8 and 13, she concludes, “The whole of chapter 13 is thus an elaboration of the theme found in 8.34–8: those who wish to follow Christ must expect to follow the same path of suffering, for they will be hated by all because of his name; but those who are ashamed of Jesus, and who do not endure until the end, will not be saved” (156–57).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁹⁸ See 13:32’s reference to the unique knowledge of “the Father” regarding the timing of the “coming” of 13:26–27.

⁹⁹ So Shively 2012, 189.

¹⁰⁰ See discussion in Section 4.3.

¹⁰¹ Sections 5.3.1.1 and 5.12 contain detailed discussions.

interpreted as the disciples.¹⁰² The precedent set by 8:38, however, suggests that the ἄγγελοι of 13:27 are the angelic host that accompany the Son of Man's heaven-to-earth coming. Indeed, a telling pattern emerges among those who interpret 13:24–27 with exclusive reference to the destruction of the temple in that they routinely ignore, or *even misquote*, Mark 8:38, notably overlooking the phrase “with the holy angels.”¹⁰³

The thematic correspondences between Mark 8:34–38 and Mark 13, and the lexical connections between 8:38 and 13:26–27, indicate that the latter verses refer to the same event: the return of Jesus as the Son of Man in the future. As each text refers to the same event, Zech 14:5 may influence the depiction of the coming of the Son of Man with angels in Mark 13:26–27 as well. Even without the depiction in 8:38, one might detect the influence of Zech 14:5 in Mark 13:26–27 in that the Son of Man comes with angels; other elements unique to Mark 13:24–27, however, indicate that Mark alludes to Zech 14:5. I discuss that passage in detail in six consecutive sections, beginning with Section 5.12.3.

4.5: Conclusion

Mark 14:27 quotes Zech 13:7 to refer to the death of Jesus. The “striking” of Jesus sets off the eschatological tribulation entailed in the related prophecy in Zech 13:7–9. In the latter text, God strikes the shepherd, he turns his hand upon “the little ones,” and then he takes his covenantal people “through the fire.” The “fire” in Zech 13:9 does not entail the people's condemnation, but rather their purification, and it is likely manifest in some form of suffering. Mark provides evidence throughout the Gospel that he intends these elements of Zech 13:7–9, particularly in Mark 9:42–49 and 14:27–31,

¹⁰² E.g. Wright 1996, 363; Hatina 1996, 65; France 2002, 536.

¹⁰³ Hatina (1996, 61) lists Mark 8:38 as one of the instances of the “coming of the Son of Man” in Mark, but he does not discuss the passage. Wright (1996, 183) while listing verses that demonstrate that Jesus was an oracular prophet who spoke of an impending judgment on Israel, lists “Mk. 8.38/Lk. 9.26” and summarizes a conflated version of the saying, but he excludes the phrase “when he comes with the holy angels” from his conflated quotation. All the quotations on that page, however, admittedly present truncated versions for the sake of space. Nonetheless, Wright's interpretation of Mark 13 contains no recourse to Mark 8:38. Dyer (1998, 181) similarly provides an interpretation of the “coming” without referring to Mark 8:38. On p 195, point (iii), Dyer quotes Mark 8:38, but excludes “with the holy angels.” France (2002, 342) too does not interpret “with the holy angels.” Finally, see also Gray 2010, 143. Regarding Mark 8:38's significance for the interpretation of Mark 13, Gray writes, “In other words, Mark 8:38–9:1 helps us see through the thicket of controversy about temporal limits and understand that, for Mark, the coming of the Son of Man in judgment is both imminent and directed at the temple” (143). Gray does not, however, offer an interpretation of the phrase “with the holy angels,” nor does he explain how the metric of judgment that explicitly pertains to fidelity to God's Messiah in Mark 8:38 is “directed at the temple.” I single out these otherwise careful and helpful works because they are significant proponents of the “temple-only” interpretation of Mark 13, and I regard their collective exclusion of salient features of Mark 8:38 as an indication of an important weakness in that proposal.

where he both quotes Zech 13:7,¹⁰⁴ and uses language from Zech 13:7–9¹⁰⁵ to refer to the future tribulation of the disciples. Accordingly, the “striking of the shepherd” is fulfilled in Jesus’ death, and the consequent tribulation of God’s people is fulfilled in the subsequent tribulations of those who follow Jesus. In addition to Mark’s use of language unique to Zech 13:7–9 throughout his Gospel, Mark 13 and 14:27–31 contain several thematic and lexical links that encourage mutual interpretation. Consequently, Mark 13 presents the content of the cryptic references to “fire” and “stumbling” from 9:49 and 14:27–31, and should be understood as a fulfilment of the tribulations of Zech 13:8–9.

Additionally, Mark 8:38 alludes to Zech 14:5 in its depiction of the coming of the Son of Man. Comparing 8:34–38 to 13:26–27 demonstrates that each passage refers to the same event, namely the coming of the Son of Man with angels from heaven to earth to judge and to save. This implies that Mark depicts Jesus’ departure and his return by a citation and allusion to Zech 13:7 and 14:5 respectively. The latter events comprises the “bookends” of the events predicted in Mark 13.

As already suggested, the material between these bookends, that is, Zech 13:8–14:4, describes the suffering of the land or city, a subsequent testing of the people of God who are aligned with the stricken shepherd, and the attack of Jerusalem and the concomitant suffering. By virtue of the thematic and structural correspondence between this material in Zechariah and Mark 13, and by virtue of allusions to the pertinent material from Zechariah in the beginning, middle, and end of Mark 13, I propose that the Olivet Discourse gains shape and meaning from Zech 13–14. It is to this argument I finally turn.

¹⁰⁴ Mark 14:27.

¹⁰⁵ Namely “little ones” and “fire” in Mark 9:42–49.

Chapter 5:

Allusions to Zechariah throughout Mark 13

5.1: *Introduction to Studies on Mark 13*

I turn finally to the review of scholarship on the Olivet Discourse. Mark 13 has been the subject of countless studies. As Beasley-Murray completed a well-received history of interpretation of the Olivet Discourse from 1836 to 1993, surveying form-critical, redaction-critical, and narrative-critical studies, I do not repeat his discussion here.¹ The criteria for inclusion in the present review is the respective study's methodology, the depth of its discussion, and its impact on scholarship. Accordingly, I include studies whose methods are broadly narrative-critical, whose discussion of Mark 13 is not incidental to the larger goal of its study, and whose claims have shaped scholastic conversation on the topic.² I divide the review according to four types of interpretation: 1) that Mark 13 is intentionally ambiguous; 2) that Mark 13 pertains only to the destruction of the temple; 3) that Mark 13 pertains to tribulation generally conceived and the *parousia*; and 4) that Mark 13 pertains to the destruction of the temple and to the *parousia*. I interact with representative scholars of each view, and I note adherents to the respective views in footnotes.

5.2: *Intentional Ambiguity*

Timothy Geddert begins his study by stating that his method is "to read and interpret Mark 13 in the literary and theological context of the entire Gospel in which Mark placed it."³ As Mark 13's discourse is prompted by a request for a "sign" (σημεῖον),⁴ Geddert endeavors first to "learn something about Mark's broader perspective on the issue of 'signs.'"⁵ After examining the first instance of the term in Mark 8:11-12, where the Pharisees seek a sign and Jesus reproves them, Geddert concludes, "Outside Mark 13, the only time 'sign-seeking' is mentioned, the Markan Jesus categorically refuses to oblige those who want signs."⁶ He then examines Mark's non-use of the term relative to common synoptic material, and argues that Mark characteristically omits the term from his version of an event or

¹ Beasley-Murray 1993.

² I do not exclude insights of redaction-critical and form-critical studies. They will be noted as needed throughout the work. Such studies simply are not included in *this* portion of the review.

³ Geddert 1989, 15.

⁴ Mark 13:4

⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

teaching.⁷ Consequently, Geddert claims that the disciples' request for a "sign" in Mark 13:4 is misguided and "reprehensible," and concludes that Jesus' discourse does not provide an answer to that question.⁸

Next he examines the distinct meanings of "looking" (βλέπω) and "watching" (γρηγορέω).⁹ He describes the former as "discerning," that is, seeing beneath the superficial experience to the true meaning of events.¹⁰ For Geddert, these conclusions imply that the discourse should not be read as an "eschatological-timetable" that delineates the premonitory signs of "the end."¹¹ Instead, the disciples should discern the significance of the events and not be led astray. Examples of the latter include discerning the doom of the temple despite its external beauty,¹² or seeing past the misleading nature of the "false signs and wonders" of the false prophets and messiahs.¹³ Geddert then determines that the term "watching" (γρηγορέω) describes necessary "alertness," translated in terms of "faithfulness" to Jesus in the face of crisis.¹⁴ These terms (βλέπω, γρηγορέω) function in Mark 13 neither as warnings to self-preservation nor as commands to calculate the end. Rather, adequate discernment (= βλέπω) permits the disciples to see that the timing of the end is "utterly unknown." Not knowing the time of the end in turn "calls for faithful service and discipleship" (= γρηγορέω).¹⁵

With respect to Mark 13, Geddert notes a "lack of concord" between 13:1–4 and 13:5–37.¹⁶ He assumes that in 13:4 the disciples seek a timetable, or a sign, that would precede "the end."¹⁷ "The end" for Geddert is a descriptor in which he includes the events of 13:24–27. Thus Geddert claims the disciples request a sign that would precede "the end," which entails Jesus' *parousia*. Geddert concludes that such a question is misguided and does not condition the content of the discourse.¹⁸ His prior interpretation of "sign-seeking" leads him to conclude that Jesus *responds* to their question, but that he does not *answer* it, because Jesus repudiates sign-seeking *per se*. Instead Jesus teaches the disciples to discern the meaning of subsequent historical events, and exhorts them to faithfulness in the midst of

⁷ Ibid., 34–39.

⁸ Ibid., 57, 256.

⁹ Ibid., 59–111.

¹⁰ See *ibid.*, 67–71, 76–77, 81–84.

¹¹ See *ibid.*, 85, 90.

¹² *Ibid.*, 86. See Mark 13:2.

¹³ *Ibid.* See Mark 13:5, 23.

¹⁴ See *ibid.*, 98, 104, 109–111.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 203–4.

¹⁸ See e.g. *ibid.*

persecution. Importantly, Geddert claims that 13:32–37 should be taken as the “controlling exegetical principle for all of Mark 13.”¹⁹ As Mark 13:32 claims that Jesus is completely ignorant of the time of “the end,” the only responsibility of the disciples is to remain alert (= faithful). Indeed, Geddert claims that Mark/Jesus is intentionally ambiguous throughout Mark 13 in order to *prevent* the disciples from knowing the time of the end.²⁰ He concludes, “The evidence seems to indicate that Mark was trying to produce the very uncertainty which has troubled scholars, and that he deliberately incorporated the very ambiguity which scholars want to eliminate.”²¹ The lack of certainty created by Mark 13 enables the disciples’ right response to historical circumstances: discernment and faithful endurance.

5.2.1: Analysis

Geddert’s work offers many useful conclusions, particularly in his insistence that Mark is more concerned with engendering faithful discipleship than fostering a desire for an “eschatological timetable.” Additionally, he helpfully compares words and themes from Mark 13 to similar scenes in Mark 14–15 and concludes that the disciples’ suffering is modeled after Jesus’ own suffering.²² His study contains three major errors, however, that preclude accepting many of his conclusions: 1) his interpretation of “sign-seeking”; 2) his consequent interpretation of the disciples’ question in 13:4; 3) his axiomatic principle that Mark is intentionally ambiguous at nearly every turn. I proceed in the order listed.

First, his interpretation of sign-seeking is an example, to use James Barr’s phrase, of “illegitimate totality transfer.”²³ Geddert interprets the use of the word “sign” in a single context and imbues it with a technical sense that he applies to all other uses of the term.²⁴ The term first occurs in Mark 8:11–12. In that passage, however, the Pharisees are explicitly described as “testing” Jesus (πειράζοντες αὐτόν), and they seek a sign because they do not believe him. By contrast, in Mark 13 it is precisely *because* the disciples trust Jesus that they ask him for a sign. They believe his prophecy about the destruction of the temple, and consequently want to know when it will happen. Thus the sign-seeking of 13:4 differs from that of 8:11–12 by virtue of 1) the characters who seek it (disciples vs. Pharisees); 2) the reason the different groups seek the sign (for more information because they trust Jesus vs. demanding that Jesus

¹⁹ Ibid., 246.

²⁰ Ibid., 223–24.

²¹ Ibid., 257.

²² See *ibid.*, 89–111, 158–76, 185–97.

²³ Barr 1961, 218.

²⁴ Geddert 1989, 31–35.

prove his authority “from heaven” because they do not trust him); 3) the underlying goal of their sign-seeking (learning from Jesus vs. testing him); and 4) the subsequent answer Jesus gives (answering them vs. “sighing deeply in his spirit”).²⁵ These distinctions do not permit Geddert’s wholesale dismissal of “sign-seeking.” Instead, the sense of the term must be determined by the context in which it is used. Accordingly, Mark’s Jesus does not repudiate “sign-seeking” *per se*.

Second, as a result of Geddert’s interpretation of “signs,” he claims that Jesus repudiates the disciples’ request in 13:4, and consequently maintains that Jesus does not answer their question. As Jesus does not necessarily denounce all signs *per se*, however, Geddert’s position that Jesus does not answer their question is not a necessary interpretation. Additionally, I disagree with Geddert’s interpretation of the question itself, irrespective of his stance on “signs.” He assumes that they ask for a sign that would precede “the end,” and he defines “the end” with reference to the events of 13:24–27. As 13:32 claims that the timing of “the end” is unknown even to Jesus, Geddert claims that any interpretation that seeks an answer to the question in the discourse has fundamentally misread Mark 13. But this conclusion is based on his assumption that “the end” (= Jesus’ *parousia*) is the subject of the disciples’ question in 13:4, which is unfounded. The disciples do not request a sign that precedes “the end,” but one that precedes the destruction of the temple. “The end” is not mentioned until 13:7, and the meaning of that phrase is conditioned by the subject at hand, which up to that point pertains primarily to the destruction of the temple. In 13:1–4, Jesus prophesies the destruction of the temple, and the disciples, believing Jesus’ prophecy, ask for a sign that precedes its fulfillment. Interpreting their question with reference to “the end” or the events of 13:24–27 requires importing into 13:1–4 a subject hitherto unmentioned. Consequently, I argue in Section 5.8.4 that in 13:4 the disciples request a sign that *precedes*, and thereby “foretells,” the destruction of the temple, and that Jesus answers that question in 13:5–23.

Third, Geddert’s interpretation relies too heavily on “intentional ambiguity” throughout Mark 13. The latter feature could be true, but Geddert’s bases for concluding so are not compelling. As mentioned, he takes 13:32’s admission of Jesus’ ignorance as the “controlling exegetical principle” for all of Mark 13. He applies this principle to “all of Mark 13” because his interpretation of the question in 13:4 leads him to conclude that 13:32’s “No one knows,” is an answer to it. Consequently, Geddert applies the statement of Jesus’ ignorance in 13:32 to everything Jesus has said in response to the

²⁵ Geddert notes these features of sign-seeking in 8:11–12, but nonetheless argues for Mark’s comprehensive repudiation of it.

question, namely 13:5–31. Then he takes Jesus’ ignorance of “the end” as a sign that Mark (the author) *also* does not know the timing of the end. Finally, because Mark does not know the timing of the end, Geddert posits that Mark creates a discourse that is intentionally ambiguous. Regarding Jesus’ ignorance in 13:32, he writes, “It is hard to find a stronger motivation for interpreting Mark 13 along the lines that we are here suggesting.”²⁶ As argued in the previous paragraph, however, Geddert misinterprets the question and consequently falsely applies 13:32 to all of Mark 13. Additionally, on the basis of his misinterpretation of 13:32, he repeatedly makes the fallacious claim that multiple scholarly interpretations of any given passage are evidence that no single interpretation is correct. Regarding the interpretation of Mark 13:30, for example, he says, “One does not need to rehearse all the arguments and counter-arguments used to debate about which ‘unambiguous’ message it conveys. The effect of the arguments is to cancel each other out and render the usual alternatives unproven.”²⁷ Additional examples of this logic are available.²⁸ Multiple interpretations, however, are not evidence that no single interpretation is correct; they merely demonstrate the complexity of the data. To be clear, I do not deny an author’s potential intentional ambiguity, but Geddert’s arguments for that constant circumstance in Mark 13 are unfounded.

Geddert’s study is not wholly unsatisfactory; indeed, Geddert’s work contains many fruitful discussions of difficult passages. What I take to be shortcomings in his work, however, represent some of the lynchpins in the interpretation of Mark 13, namely the interpretation of “signs,” the interpretation of the disciples’ question in 13:4, and the consequent interpretation of the discourse as an answer, or not, to that question. I turn now to the view that Mark 13 describes only the destruction of the temple. I primarily analyze the position of R.T. France, with intermittent references to those of Wright and Hatina. France only interprets Mark 13:1–31 with reference to the destruction of the temple, shifting to the *parousia* in 13:32–37; thus he technically belongs to category (4).²⁹ His interpretation, however, contains the most detailed exegesis of the whole passage. Thus I treat his view of Mark 13:1–31 as representative of the category at hand, and I shift to the positions of Wright, Hatina, and Gray for an interpretation of 13:32–37.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 246.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 248–49.

²⁸ See 235–39, 228, 254.

²⁹ The four categories are described in Section 5.1.

5.3: Temple-Only Interpretation

The following outline (Figure 5.1) adapts one provided by France in his commentary; it offers a succinct summary of his interpretation of Mark 13.³⁰

Figure 5.1

- a) 13:3–4: the disciples’ question regarding the **timing** and the **sign** of the temple’s destruction
- b) 13:5–8: the end (of the temple) is not yet
- c) 13:9–13: the prospect of persecution in the meantime
- d) 13:14–23: the beginning of the end of the temple; 13:14 designates the **sign** the disciples seek
- e) 13:24–27: the vindication of Jesus via the (symbolically depicted) destruction of the temple
- f) 13:28–31: the answer to the disciples’ question about the **timing** of the temple’s destruction
- g) ^{France} 13:32–37: reference to a hitherto unknown day and hour (the *parousia*)
- g) ^{Wright, Hatina, Gray} 13:32–37: warnings that the **timing** of the destruction of the temple is unknown

Wright, Hatina, and Gray agree with France’s interpretation through (f).³¹ They diverge from France in (g) and maintain that 13:32–37 does not switch subjects to the hitherto unmentioned *parousia*, but remains focused on the destruction of the temple.³²

The substance of France’s interpretation begins with the disciples’ question in 13:4. Having believed Jesus’ prophecy in 13:2 about the destruction of the temple, the disciples say: εἰπὸν ἡμῖν, πότε ταῦτα ἔσται καὶ τί τὸ σημεῖον ὅταν μέλλῃ ταῦτα συντελεῖσθαι πάντα; France interprets this as a two-part question in which each part asks only about Jesus’ prophecy concerning the temple. Accordingly, the disciples ask when the temple will be destroyed, and they ask for the sign that will precede the temple’s destruction.³³

In Mark 13:5–8, Jesus responds by telling the disciples things that will occur, including the rise of false messiahs, wars, earthquakes, and famines. Though such events must occur, they are not the signs that precede the end of the temple.³⁴ In 13:9–13, Jesus warns the disciples of “the prospect of

³⁰ France 2002, 505. The following analysis interacts with France’s 2002 *Mark* commentary.

³¹ See Wright 1996, 339–68; Hatina 2002, 325–73; Gray 2010, 100–51.

³² See Wright 1996, 365–68, 640–42; See also Hatina 2002, 347–50; Gray 2010, 150–51. Gray interprets “that day” with reference to the tribulation of Mark 13.

³³ France 2002, 506.

³⁴ Mark 13:7; see *ibid.*, 508, 509–13.

persecution.”³⁵ Such persecution occurs in the same “unsettling period described in vv. 6–8, which is to be expected before the fulfilment of Jesus’ prediction.”³⁶ During this period of persecution, the disciples are to evangelize all the nations “first,” that is, before the end of the temple.³⁷

In Mark 13:14–23, Jesus finally answers the disciples’ request for a “sign.” In 13:14, Jesus tells the disciples that when they see the abomination of desolation, those in Judea should flee to the hills. Whatever the referent of “the abomination of desolation,”³⁸ France takes it as the event that profanes the temple, and therefore functions as the sign that precedes its destruction.³⁹ The concomitant tribulation in 13:15–22 refers to the afflictions associated with fleeing Judea and the destruction of the temple itself.⁴⁰

In Mark 13:23, Jesus sums up his discourse up to that point, claiming he has forewarned the disciples of everything (προείρηκα ὑμῖν πάντα). Thus, according to France, “the disciples will be prepared for what is to follow. . .”⁴¹ Importantly, France claims that by this point in the discourse, “there is an irresistible sense that the preliminaries are over, and that the answer to the question is now coming to its climax.”⁴² He then suggests that the opening ἀλλά in 13:24 signals that the “full answer” is at hand.⁴³ It is with 13:24–27 that this position distinguishes itself from other interpretative options. The common position is that 13:24–25 depicts catastrophic events that precede or coincide with the events of 13:26–27, which is taken to depict Jesus’ *parousia* and the collocation of God’s international people. France, however, like Wright, Hatina, Gray and several others,⁴⁴ interprets 13:24–27 with sole reference to the destruction of the temple. Taking the consensus that 13:24–25’s imagery of failing luminaries and falling stars derives from Israel’s prophetic literature, most likely Isa 13 and 34, France claims that such language refers not to the literal collapse of the space-time universe, but to “political changes within world history.”⁴⁵ He quotes Wright’s view approvingly, claiming that Mark 13:24–25 presents “typical Jewish imagery for events within the present order that are felt and perceived as ‘cosmic’ or, as we

³⁵ Ibid., 513.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid., with reference to 13:10.

³⁸ France (525) suggests three possibilities: 1) an idolatrous statue; 2) the standards of the Roman legions; 3) the occupation of the temple by the Zealots. He leans toward (3).

³⁹ Ibid., 522–25, 537–38.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 526–29.

⁴¹ Ibid., 530.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid. So too Gray 2010, 141.

⁴⁴ See notes 7–8 in Section 1.1.

⁴⁵ France 2002, 533.

should say, 'earth-shattering'.⁴⁶ Thus the language of 13:24–25 depicts the destruction of the temple in “the richly coloured and evocative language of OT prophecy.”⁴⁷

The latter, France writes, is the “negative side of Jesus’ prediction.”⁴⁸ With 13:26–27, Jesus describes the “positive” side: “the new order which is to take its [the temple’s] place.”⁴⁹ Rather than describing a descent of the Son of Man from heaven to earth, 13:26 evokes the vision of Dan 7:13, where the Son of Man ascends to the Ancient of Days and receives universal dominion. Thus Mark 13:26 depicts Jesus’ “enthronement,” where he receives the God-given authority that the temple itself previously represented.⁵⁰ The “visual” element of this enthronement, that is, that which 13:26 declares “they will see,” is that which 13:24–25 and 13:27 depict: the destruction of the temple, and the gathering of the international people of God.⁵¹ Thus 13:24–25 colorfully depicts the destruction of the temple; 13:26 depicts the enthronement of Jesus as the Son of Man, which is manifest in the events of 13:24–25 and 13:27. The phrase “the gathering of the elect from the four winds,” depicts “the growing membership of the people of God.”⁵² For France, the “angels” of 13:27 are the angelic host that may function in a “missionary role” à la Heb 1:14.⁵³ For Wright, the “angels” are “messengers,” and 13:27 functions along the lines of Matt 28’s “great commission.”⁵⁴ Hatina claims that both options are viable and does not decide between the two.⁵⁵

France then argues that Mark 13:28–30 provides the answers that the disciples request: the “sign” of the temple’s near-destruction, and the “timing” of it. The parable of the fig tree in 13:28 functions as a temporal analogy in which the appearance of the leaves lets one know that summer is near; in the same way (13:29), when the disciples see “these things,” they will know that “it” is near. France interprets “these things” as the events of 13:14–22, with particular reference to “the abomination of desolation.”⁵⁶ Mark 13:30 answers the question of “when,” by “within a generation.”⁵⁷

⁴⁶ Ibid., 533, quoting Wright 1996, 362.

⁴⁷ France 2002, 530.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 534.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 535. See also Wright 1996, 354–63; Hatina 2002, 257–71; Gray 2010, 139–45.

⁵² France 2002, 535.

⁵³ Ibid., 536–37.

⁵⁴ Wright 1996, 363. The comparison to Matt 28:19–20 is my summary of Wright’s view; Wright does not use “the great commission” analogy.

⁵⁵ Hatina 2002, 370–71.

⁵⁶ France 2002, 537–38.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 538–40.

As mentioned, France diverges from the “temple-only” perspective in 13:32–37. He argues that 13:32’s opening *περὶ δέ* signals a subject change, and reference to “that day” signals a hitherto unmentioned “day,” namely the time of the *parousia*.⁵⁸ Wright, Hatina, and Gray, however, maintain that 13:32–37 still refers to the destruction of the temple.⁵⁹ The commands to “stay awake,” for Wright, Hatina, and Gray, presumably are warnings to remain alert because the timing of the destruction of the temple is unknown, except for the timeframe of a single generation.

5.3.1: *Analysis*

This interpretation contains an internal coherence, and it is well-argued by its representatives. A number of interpretative issues, however, preclude me from following all of its conclusions. This study follows the above exegesis through 13:1–22. I diverge, however, with respect to 1) the nature of 13:24–25’s “apocalyptic language;” 2) the interpretation of 13:10 with respect to 13:27; 3) the interpretation of 13:27; and 4) the extent to which 13:24–27 is, or is not, the “full answer” to the question. I proceed in the order listed.

5.3.1.1: *Mark’s Apocalyptic Language*

In the above “temple-only” (TO) interpretations, the authors propose a dichotomy where the interpretative options for cosmic catastrophe language are its narrow reference to socio-political events in history on the one hand, or the “literal” collapse of the universe on the other. But these are not the only options.⁶⁰ One may also notice in such representations the pejorative use of “literal” attached to the interpretation of a “collapse of the universe.”⁶¹ The latter feature, however, is an unjust representation of those who do not interpret the language with reference to socio-political events “in history.” A variety of commentators agree that the portents of 13:24–25 do not refer to a literal collapse of space, time, and matter, without conversely arguing for metaphorical/symbolic reference to the destruction of the temple.⁶² Accordingly I discuss two factors of the TO position on Mark 13:24-25: 1) the use of “literal” to characterize the opposing view; and 2) the notion that cosmic catastrophe language primarily denotes localized socio-political events “in history.”

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 541–46.

⁵⁹ Wright 1996, 365–68; Hatina 2002, 347–50; Gray 2010, 150–51.

⁶⁰ So Allison 1999, 134.

⁶¹ See the descriptions of the opposing view by Caird (1994, 366) as “flat and literal prose”; by Wright (1996, 361) as “crass literalism”; by France (2002, 533 n 11) as “pitiful prosiness.” France is quoting Daniel Lamont 1934, 266.

⁶² See e.g. Hooker 1991, 317; Beasley-Murray 1993, 425; Witherington 2001, 347–48; Evans 2001, 328–29; Shively 2012, 203–11; Stein 2014, 112.

First, imagery can be *literal* in that it corresponds to the plain sense of the words used, but still be *hyperbolic* or *poetic*.⁶³ Thus the words “the sun shall be darkened” may refer “literally” to that: an eclipse. But the *intent* or *function* of the image of an eclipse may be poetic, and therefore would not necessarily refer to an actual, anticipatory eclipse. Instead, such language adds a certain *gravitas* to the subsequently reported event. Thus “cosmic phenomena” can be literal (as opposed to metaphorical), but poetic, and thus not expected to occur visibly. The latter interpretation does not rule out the possibility of such cosmic phenomena actually occurring (as the eclipse at Jesus’ crucifixion indicates),⁶⁴ but neither does it *confine the reference* of such imagery to socio-political occurrences, particularized only in the destruction of local cities or nations. This conclusion leads to the second point of contention, which relates to what such language necessarily denotes.

Second, the notion that cosmic catastrophe language *primarily* denotes socio-political events in history⁶⁵ is not, in my estimation, warranted by the data. Such language is more accurately described as a poetic conveyance of the fear and trembling of the created order as a result of its creator’s approaching wrath and judgment.⁶⁶ The latter description is not necessarily distinct from the TO view, but it is certainly broader. France’s position, for example, interprets the language *locally*, while I, and others, interpret it *generally* and *universally*. The term “generally” is not in opposition to “locally,” as if it meant “universally.” Rather, its “general” use refers to its “topical” use, which is often in conjunction with a theophany and/or judgment. “Local” and “universal” refer to the *scope* of the judgment. Thus the language is used *generally* in reference to, or in description of, a theophany and/or judgment. The *scope* of that judgment may be local, as in Isa 13:15–22, or universal, as in Joel 4, and, as I contend, Mark 13.

Three examples suffice. First, Joel 4:15⁶⁷ uses the language of darkening sun, moon, and stars (ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη συσκοτάσουσιν καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες δύσουσιν φέγγος αὐτῶν) in a context of judgment whose scope is universal. Before the description of the phenomena, God commands “all the nations” to gather into “the valley,” for the Lord will sit there to judge all the nations (διότι ἐκεῖ καθιῶ τοῦ διακρῖναι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη κυκλόθεν).⁶⁸ The “darkening of the sun, moon, and stars,” whether it actually occurs or is

⁶³ See discussion in Caird 1980, 133.

⁶⁴ Mark 15:33. Pitre (2005, 336–37) makes the same claim about the imagery in Mark 13:24–25 with respect to the eclipse in Mark 15:33.

⁶⁵ So Wright 1996, 362; Hatina 2002, 357–58; France 2002, 533.

⁶⁶ So Beasley-Murray 1993, 425.

⁶⁷ Joel 4:15 in LXX/MT; 3:15 in English translations.

⁶⁸ Joel 4:12–14 (English: 3:12–14).

poetic language for events that will not occur, signals the imminent judgment by God of all the nations.⁶⁹ The imagery does not, in other words, signal, or refer to, the downfall of a nation or city within the course of “history as usual.”⁷⁰

Second, similarly, Testament of Moses 10 utilizes cosmic phenomena in a recognizably “end-time” scheme. In this passage the Lord of the universe arises from his throne, “his holy habitation,” in order to punish the nations once and for all. His “appearance” signals the end of Satan, the abolition of sorrow, the unmitigated presence of God’s kingdom “in his entire creation” (*in omni creatura illius*), the destruction of idols, the oppression of Israel’s enemies, and the exaltation of Israel herself. Further, at God’s coming:

The earth will tremble; until its extremes it will be shaken. And the high mountains will be made low, and they will be shaken, and the valley will sink. The sun will not give its light, and the horns of the moon will turn into darkness, and they will be broken; and it will entirely be turned into blood, and the orbit of the stars will be upset. And the sea will fall back into the abyss, and the fountains of the waters will defect and the rivers will recoil.⁷¹

Notably the cosmic phenomena neither signal the downfall of a particular city or nation, nor do they function as a metaphor whose referent is the downfall of a city. They refer poetically to the reaction of creation to the presence of its creator. The author may or may not expect these phenomena to occur. The context is that of final judgment and salvation, and the scope is unambiguously universal. As a sign of the universality of the scope, Tromp notes the tripartite presentation of every aspect of creation: the land, the heavens, and the waters, each of which is further broken into three parts: earth, mountains, and valleys; sun, moon, and stars; sea, fountains, and rivers.⁷²

Third and finally, I turn to Isa 13 and 34. The passages depict God’s judgment against “sinners” (τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς)⁷³ and “all the nations” (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη).⁷⁴ Each passage *eventually* particularizes God’s wrath onto a single nation or people; the *immediate* context in which the cosmic phenomena are described, however, is not the destruction of either Babylon or Edom, but in a declaration that God’s

⁶⁹ For a concise interpretation along these lines, see H.W. Wolff 1977, 80–85.

⁷⁰ Joel 3:15 is cited by France (2002, 533) as an example of cosmic phenomena utilized in “a more universal perspective.”

⁷¹ T. Mos. 10:4–6, translation by Johannes Tromp 1993, 232–33. France (2002, 533 n. 8) refers to T. Mos. as an example of “later apocalyptic” and thereby dismisses its example. Several scholars, however, opt for a date just before or contemporaneous with the composition of Mark’s Gospel. See Tromp 1993, 93–117, for a review of the history of scholarship regarding date and provenance. He argues (116–17) for a date of composition ca. 25–30 CE.

⁷² Tromp 1993, 232.

⁷³ Isa 13:9.

⁷⁴ Isa 34:2.

judgment is about to consume the whole world.⁷⁵ Immediately following the “darkening of the sun” in Isa 13:10, for example, Isa 13:11–12 declares, “Thus I will punish the whole world for its evil . . .⁷⁶ and mankind will be scarcer than stones of Ophir/Souphir.”⁷⁷ Similarly, well before God’s declaration that Edom will be destroyed in Isa 34, the prophet declares that “the Lord’s indignation is against *all the nations*.”⁷⁸ Indeed, it is within the context of Isaiah’s announcement that the *whole world* will be called to account by God that he describes the shaking of the heavens and the falling of the stars. Isa 34:1–4a reads:

Draw near, O nations, to hear; and listen, O peoples! Let the earth and all it contains hear, and the world and all that springs from it. For the Lord's indignation is against all the nations, and his wrath against all their armies. He has utterly destroyed them. He has given them over to slaughter. So their slain will be thrown out, and their corpses will give off their stench, and the mountains will be drenched with their blood. And all the host of heaven will wear away . . .

This imagery is not “literal” in the sense of describing events that have necessarily occurred or will occur, but neither is it “metaphorical,” that is, depicting one thing with the language of another. It is nonetheless literal in the broad sense (that is, non-metaphorical), and it is poetic. Furthermore, it does not refer exclusively to the downfall of a particular nation. The destruction of Edom will be the eventual *result* of God’s wrath, but in these verses, the cosmic phenomena are the poetic reactions of the created world to God’s all-consuming “indignation” (רָצַח; θυμός) on account of which he will judge the “earth and all it contains.”

Thus in both Isa 13 and 34, the phenomena poetically occur in response to the wrath of God, and the scope *when the phenomena are employed* is unmistakably universal. The passages exhibit the prophetic pattern that Raabe calls “particularizing.”⁷⁹ He describes the latter pattern as a convention of prophetic oracles by which a prophet announces that a particular nation or city will be judged *because* the Lord has determined to judge the whole earth. Thus the universal judgment is not equal to the judgment of the city, but it is on account of God’s determination to judge the whole earth that he judges any single place at all. Among Raabe’s many examples is Isa 23:8–9, which warns Tyre of its imminent

⁷⁵ Adams (2007, 157) suggests that Mark’s use of imagery from Isa 13 and 34 is not in disregard for the literary context, but in preference to “the *immediate* context of the prophetic verses, the connection with worldwide judgment” (*italics original*).

⁷⁶ MT: רעה על-תבל רעה; LXX: καὶ ἐντελοῦμαι τῇ οἰκουμένη ὄλη κακά . . .

⁷⁷ MT: אופיר מכתם אופיר; LXX: καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος μᾶλλον ἔντιμος ἔσται ἢ ὁ λίθος ὁ ἐκ Σουφίρ.

⁷⁸ Isa 34:2

⁷⁹ Raabe 2002, 652–674.

destruction *on the basis of* God's desire to judge all the prideful of the earth.⁸⁰ Similarly, in Isa 28:22 the prophet warns Israel of its impending doom precisely *because* he knows of God's plan to judge all the earth ("for I have heard from the Lord God of hosts of decisive destruction *on all the earth*").⁸¹ Thus the particular judgment depicted in Isa 13 and Isa 34 occurs because of God's prior decision to judge the whole earth, as mentioned in Isa 13:9–13 and Isa 34:1–4. It is within the latter, universal context that the cosmic phenomena are employed, describing poetically the terror of creation at the prospect of God's wrath. It is only later in the passages that God's wrath toward the pride of all the nations is particularized onto a local city or people.

The evidence demands, then, a more precise description of what such cosmic catastrophe language denotes. To be sure, it can be, and was, applied to predictions concerning particular nations or peoples, but it was not confined to such ends. Precision is required in order to distinguish the *purpose* of the language from its distinctive uses. Regarding its purpose, I agree with Beasley-Murray: "the heavens above and the earth beneath are pictured as in terror before the overwhelming might of the Lord of hosts when he steps forth into the world to act in judgment and salvation. . . . The function of this ancient mythological language is purely to highlight the glory of that event . . ." ⁸² The psalmist articulates this point well: the earth saw and was shaken (ἐσαλεύθη); the mountains melted away like wax before the presence of the Lord, before the presence of the Lord of the whole earth.⁸³

The *scope* of such language is a different question. Joel 4 and T. Mos. 10 employ such language in their depictions of God's final coming to judge the world and vindicate his people. In Isa 13 and 34, even when the eventual scope is narrowed to Babylon and Edom, the failing sun and falling stars do not *denote* the destruction of those nations. Rather, the language *poetically* depicts the trembling of the created order in view of the approach of its creator. The imagery describes the terror of all of creation at the prospect of divine judgment; the passage *subsequently* depicts the judgment of God upon particularly Babylon or Edom in literal (= non-metaphorical), hyperbolic terms, but the two scenes remain distinct.

In light of this evidence, I take the cosmic imagery in Mark 13 to denote neither the destruction of the temple itself, nor its imminence; rather, the imagery conveys the glory of the subsequently

⁸⁰ Ibid., 658.

⁸¹ Ibid, 658–59. Additional examples include: Isa 2:9–22; 3:13–14 (MT); 10:22–23; 13:1–22; 14:26–27; 34:1–17; Jer 12:7–17; 25:15–29; Ezek 30:1–9; Hos 4; Joel 4:1–8; Amos 1–2; Obad 1:12–15; Mic 1:1–16; Zeph 1:1–4.

⁸² Beasley-Murray 1993, 425.

⁸³ Ps 96:4–5 (LXX).

narrated event: the coming of the Son of Man. Whether Mark uses the imagery exclusively poetically or expects actual cosmic occurrences is unclear; that he might expect such phenomena does not mean the statements in 13:24–25 necessarily devolve into predictions of a space-time collapse. It takes seriously, however, the fact that Mark narrates “darkness” at Jesus’ crucifixion. The latter may signify the creation’s reaction to an eschatological event of great import.⁸⁴ Whether Mark expects the occurrences in 13:24–25 or not, however, is secondary to the interpretation of the passage, which primarily intends to communicate the glory of the expected theophany.

That the event is a theophany, as opposed to a metaphor/symbol whose referent is the destruction of the temple, is suggested not least by the *subsequently narrated theophany*, but also by the use of the verb σαλεύω in the declaration that “the powers in the heavens will be shaken” (σαλευθήσονται).⁸⁵ Beasley-Murray notes that passages that depict a theophany, that is, an earth-oriented appearance of God, characteristically use the latter verb.⁸⁶ The passages he notes recount various events, including 1) God’s appearance at Sinai, as in Judg 5:5, which declares that the mountains quaked (έσαλεύθησαν) at his presence; 2) a particular moment of past deliverance, as in Ps 17:8–10, which declares that at the Lord’s *descent* (κατέβη; ԴԴ) the earth was shaken (έσαλεύθη) and the mountains quaked (έσαλεύθησαν); or 3) a future appearance to judge the whole created order, as in Ps 95:10–13, which declares to the nations that YHWH is king, and that creation should rejoice and the sea should tremble (σαλευθήτω ή θάλασσα) before the presence of the Lord, *because* the Lord is coming (ότι έρχεται). The psalmist clarifies that he is coming to judge the earth (ότι έρχεται κρΐναι τήν γήν), and that he will judge the world in righteousness and *the peoples* in truthfulness. Several examples of theophanies could be added: Ps 45:7–8; 76:19–20; 96:4–5; 97:7–9; 113:7;⁸⁷ Job 9:6; Amos 9:5; Mic 1:4; Nah 1:5; Hab 3:6.

Importantly, the scope differs from passage to passage. In Judg 5 and Ex 19, the account portrays God’s descent to Sinai. In Ps 95, 96, and 97, the Lord’s descent is to judge the whole world. In Amos, Micah, Nahum, and Habakkuk, as in Isa 13 and 34, the whole world is to be judged by its creator, and *therefore* every nation at any time in history, including Israel, is susceptible. When he does descend

⁸⁴ So e.g. Marcus 2009, 1062.

⁸⁵ Mark 13:25.

⁸⁶ Beasley-Murray 1993, 424. He cites Judg 5:5; Amos 9:5; Mic 1:4; Isa 64:11 (Theodotion); Hab 3:6; Nah 1:5; Ps 18:7; 114:7; Job 9:6. Jozef Verheyden (1997, 546) notes that Sir 16:18 declares that at God’s visitation, “heaven,” “the abyss,” and “the earth” will be shaken (σαλευθήσονται). Sir 16:18, like Mark 13:25, includes “the heavens” in its description of that which will be shaken. Typically only “mountains” and other earthly features “shake.”

⁸⁷ Psalm references from LXX.

creation responds in terror. The data regarding cosmic reactions to the divine presence suggest that “the coming of the son of man” is in fact a theophany. To what extent, however, is that label helpful? One could turn to Habakkuk, Nahum, or Micah, and rightly note that the theophanies depicted in those passages result in God’s judgment of a particular people (Israel in those cases) in a particular moment in time. That datum consequently leads some scholars to conclude that Mark 13:24–27 too is a theophany, but declare that the object of the Son of Man’s judgment is Jerusalem and the temple.⁸⁸ The question, then, turns out to be one of nature and scope. That is, is the coming for judgment, or salvation, or both? In either case, what is the scope? Is it judgment “within” history, and thus primarily aimed at Jerusalem and the temple? Or is it salvation and judgment at the fulcrum beyond which is expected “the life of the coming age,”⁸⁹ and thus a “final judgment” scenario?

Two factors indicate the latter is the better of the two options, the first of which is Mark 8:38. It depicts the Son of Man coming as judge. The object of his judgment, however, is not the temple or Jerusalem, but *individuals* who did or did not follow Jesus as Messiah.⁹⁰ “Suffering for Jesus” assures that one will gain entrance into “the Kingdom of God” and “eternal life in the coming age.”⁹¹ The latter point suggests that the approaching judgment lies at the pivotal moment between the present age and the age to come, indicating that final judgment, rather than judgment of the temple, is being depicted. This passage receives detailed discussion in Sections 4.3 and 4.4. The second factor, examined below, is the interpretation of Mark 13:27 in conjunction with 13:10.

5.3.1.2: Mark 13:27, “the Angels,” and Mark 13:10

In Mark 13:27, the Son of Man will send forth the angels and “he will gather the elect from the four winds.” TO interpreters claim the gathering refers to evangelism.⁹² They argue either that ἄγγελος means “messenger” and therefore that “sending his messengers” refers to something comparable to “the great commission,”⁹³ or that ἄγγελος in fact means “angel” and therefore that angels somehow

⁸⁸ See Andrew Angel 2006; Watts 2007, 223–29.

⁸⁹ Mark 10:30.

⁹⁰ Contra Gray (2010, 143), who asserts that Mark 8:38 proves that “for Mark, the coming of the Son of Man in judgment is both imminent and directed at the temple.” That 8:38 refers to the judgment of the temple is not clear; the explicit object of judgment is every individual, and the metric is whether they followed the Messiah, where “following” him is measured by “suffering for him.”

⁹¹ Mark 10:30.

⁹² Wright 1996, 363; Hatina 2002, 370–71; France 2002, 536.

⁹³ Wright 1996, 363; Hatina 2002, 370; France 2002, 536.

assist in evangelism.⁹⁴ With respect to the translation of ἄγγελος, excluding the present example of Mark 13:27, Mark uses the term ἄγγελος five times: 1:2, 13; 8:38; 12:25; 13:32. The messenger of 1:2 should be identified with John the Baptist. The rest refer unambiguously to the angelic host. Further, given the lexical and thematic similarity of 13:26–27 with 8:38, the “angels” of 13:27 should be identified with the “holy angels” of 8:38, and thus signify the angelic host. The notion that the angelic host assists in evangelism could be true, but the notion that 13:27 refers to evangelism is precluded by 13:10, which declares, “But *first* (πρῶτον) all the nations must be evangelized.”

“First” indicates that Mark envisages worldwide evangelism *before* the end, however “the end” is defined. Whether the latter refers to “the end of the temple” or “the end of the age” is irrelevant to the point at hand, as in either case Mark explicitly depicts the occurrence of the universal evangelism *before* the events of 13:26–27. Notably, neither Wright nor Hatina discuss 13:10 in their interpretations,⁹⁵ and France, perhaps sensing the incongruity 13:10 could present, says that 13:27 is the “fulfilment of the vision of v. 10.”⁹⁶ His use of “fulfilment of,” here appears interchangeable with “manifestation of.” He does not attempt, however, to explain the incongruity of 13:10 happening “first.” I contend that 13:27 is not the “fulfilment” of, or “manifestation of” the world-wide evangelism of 13:10. The latter claims the nations must be evangelized, and 13:27 depicts the “gathering” of the fruits of that labor at the coming of the Son of Man.⁹⁷

These factors suggest that the coming of the Son of Man with angels to gather the elect is a theophany that leads to final judgment and salvation. The salvific aspect of his coming is evident in his “gathering the elect,” and the judgment-oriented aspect by the use of “Day of the Lord” imagery,⁹⁸ whose consistent use in the prophets signals an impending judgment. Furthermore, that both salvation *and* judgment are entailed in 13:24–27 is made plausible by an intratextual reading of Mark, where 8:38, which pertains to the judgment of individuals, and 13:24–27, are mutually interpretive rather than mutually exclusive.⁹⁹ Accordingly, the cosmic phenomena are poetic imagery that communicate the

⁹⁴ So France (2002, 536) citing Heb 1:14 as the lone possible example, and Hatina (1996, 65) who calls it an “apocalyptic motif,” citing no texts.

⁹⁵ Hatina does not mention 13:10 in his interpretation of Mark 13, and 13:10 is not discussed in, nor does it appear in the index of, Wright 1996.

⁹⁶ France 2002, 536.

⁹⁷ See e.g. Hartman 1966, 157–58; Beasley-Murray 1993, 432–34; Gundry 1993, 784; A.Y. Collins 2007, 614–15; Marcus 2009, 905, 908–9.

⁹⁸ See e.g. Isa 13:6 vis-à-vis Isa 13:10.

⁹⁹ So Shively 2012, 207–210.

dread of the creation in view of the coming Son of Man. Lastly, I turn to the TO claim that 13:24–27 constitutes the answer to the disciples’ question.

5.3.1.3: *The Disciples’ Question and Jesus’ Answer*

The final issue with this interpretation, obtaining only in the iterations of France and Gray, is their insistence that the disciples’ question demands a restatement of the destruction of the temple. The disciples ask, however, for the sign that precedes the temple’s destruction. Therefore, once Jesus has answered that question, he is not “required” to depict the demise of the temple. Regarding the question, France says, “The disciples’ question . . . concerned the destruction of the temple which Jesus predicted in v. 2. They wanted to know when it would be and what sign would herald it.”¹⁰⁰ Similarly, Gray says, “The subject of this question is the temple’s destruction. It has, however, two aspects: 1) when will the temple end? and 2) what will be the signs of its demise?”¹⁰¹ Interestingly, both France and Gray interpret the question with respect to the timing and the preceding sign of the temple’s destruction, and each interprets 13:14’s “abomination of desolation” as the sign that the disciples’ request,¹⁰² yet both insist that the discourse *requires* a description of the temple’s destruction.

The disciples ask, however, about the *timing* of the event, and so Jesus’ response, if it is, after all, an answer to their question, is only required to tell them about the timing of the event. He predicts the temple’s destruction prosaically in 13:2, and as the disciples’ question is only about the timing and sign of its destruction, the answer need not include a further statement describing the destruction itself.¹⁰³ I highlight this aspect of the question because France and Gray arrive at 13:24–27 and think that Jesus has not answered the question fully yet. On that basis, they interpret 13:25–26 as the description of the event the disciples were asking about. Gray offers a clear example of this approach:

Although vv. 14–23 are the account of the tribulation that marks the profanation of the temple, the temple is never described as being destroyed – the very issue that launched this entire discourse. Thus, the reader is left waiting for the account of the temple’s demise – and that account is given in vv. 24–26.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ France 2002, 530.

¹⁰¹ Gray 2010, 110.

¹⁰² France 2002, 506, 530; Gray 2010, 128.

¹⁰³ So Adams 2005, 56.

¹⁰⁴ Gray 2010, 141. See also France (2002, 530), who says, “So far [through Mark 13:23] everything has fallen short of the full answer . . .”

The logic that leads to the conclusion that “the reader is left waiting for the account of the temple’s demise” is based on the premise that the disciples’ question requires such an answer, but it simply does not. Jesus need not repeat symbolically that which he predicted prosaically. The disciples ask for the sign, and they get it in 13:14. In principle, once Jesus has answered that, that part of the question ceases to govern the discourse’s direction, and 13:24–25 is not of necessity the remaining part of Jesus’ answer.

5.3.2: Summary

This analysis has been necessarily extensive, both due to the complex arguments of this interpretative option, and for the sake of clarifying my own position in due time. The subsequent analyses of the remaining interpretative options are comparatively shorter, as many of the main interpretative issues in Mark 13 have now been exposed. I turn now to option (3), which argues that Mark 13 pertains to tribulation generally conceived and the *parousia*.

5.4: Tribulation and Parousia

This view contains a variety of proponents who interpret the discourse to pertain partially to the tribulations surrounding the temple and its destruction, and partially to a general “end-time” type tribulation, both of which precede Jesus’ *parousia*.¹⁰⁵ Interpretations range from that of Robert Gundry, who maintains that Jesus ignores the disciples’ question completely, and consequently warns them only of tribulations and signs that will precede his *parousia*,¹⁰⁶ to that of Elizabeth Shively, who argues that Jesus discusses the tribulations pertaining to the temple and Jerusalem through 13:17, but that from 13:19–23, the tribulation described is ongoing indefinitely and not necessarily related to the temple’s destruction.¹⁰⁷ I here discuss the view most closely espoused by Shively and others, both as it is more common than Gundry’s, and as the exegetical decisions of this view function in themselves as answers to Gundry’s position, which I take to be the least likely interpretation of Mark 13. Throughout this summary, I refer to the works of Adams, Marcus, and Shively.

I begin, as all interpretations must, with the disciples’ question in 13:4. According to Shively, the disciples’ question pertains only to the timing of the destruction of the temple and the signs of its fulfilment, but Jesus includes in his answer events pertaining to the temple and to “the end of the age.”¹⁰⁸ Thus in her view, Jesus answers their question, but his answer is not confined by the subject of

¹⁰⁵ See n 6 in Section 1.1.

¹⁰⁶ See Gundry 1993, 733–50, especially 738, 742.

¹⁰⁷ See Shively 2012, 200, 211.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 197.

their question.¹⁰⁹ According to Adams and Marcus, the disciples' question already implicitly refers to the "end of the age,"¹¹⁰ and thus Jesus' answer understandably refers to future events beyond the temple's destruction, including a world-wide tribulation.

Mark 13:5–8 refers to tribulations generally related to "the last days,"¹¹¹ including international wars, natural disasters, and warnings about false claimants that might lead astray the community.¹¹² The tribulations of 13:9–13, however, pertain particularly to the disciples and what they should expect to endure for following Jesus.¹¹³ Shively rightly notes that the prescribed international evangelism of 13:10 is placed within this pericope to relate *how* the evangelism will take place, namely through the disciples' willingness to suffer and stand as witnesses before worldly rulers.¹¹⁴

With Mark 13:14, the interpretations slightly diverge from one another. Each takes "the abomination of desolation" to refer to an event that *precedes* the temple's destruction,¹¹⁵ and initiates a time of tribulation. Adams and Marcus suggest that the occupation of the temple by the Zealots is the best candidate, though they admit it is only one of many plausible historical candidates.¹¹⁶ Shively argues that the abomination is Jesus' rejection and death,¹¹⁷ noting two points of comparison that relate Jesus' death to the temple's doom: 1) in Mark 12:8–10, Jesus' rejection is likened to the rejection of the temple's cornerstone;¹¹⁸ 2) in Daniel, the "abomination" is associated with the destruction of the temple, and in Mark, Jesus' death is associated with the destruction of the temple.¹¹⁹ She expands point (2) with two examples: a) Jesus' action in the temple is concurrent with the religious leaders' rejection of Jesus' authority and their plot to kill him;¹²⁰ and b) the veil of the temple is torn at Jesus' death, conveying the "partial and symbolic destruction of the temple."¹²¹ She suggests that if Jesus' death is the

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 199.

¹¹⁰ Adams 2007, 140–41; Marcus 2009, 874. Gundry (1993, 736) claims that the question only relates to the temple, but that by 13:5–8, "Already Jesus is ignoring the four disciples' question . . ." (738).

¹¹¹ So Shively 2012, 201.

¹¹² Adams (2007, 143) refers to such afflictions as "preliminary" to the "final eschatological denouement." Marcus (2009, 878) claims the disciples ask about an eschatological timetable, and 13:5–8 is "the first part of that schedule."

¹¹³ Adams 2007, 143; Marcus 2009, 882–86; Shively 2012, 201–3.

¹¹⁴ Shively 2012, 202 n 68.

¹¹⁵ See Adams 2007, 144; Marcus 2009, 890; Shively 2012, 197.

¹¹⁶ Adams 2007, 144–45; Marcus 2009, 890–91.

¹¹⁷ Shively 2012, 197.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid., 197–98.

“abomination,” then it is the event that both precedes the destruction of the temple and initiates the disciples’ evangelism and consequent suffering.¹²²

Mark 13:15–22 includes the tribulations related to the destruction of the temple, but ultimately the tribulation goes beyond that event. Adams regards 13:19 as the transition into future tribulation. He argues that 13:14–18 relates hardships of the Jewish war, probably reflecting events from the late 60s CE, but says that 13:19–20 “describe a period of unprecedented and unparalleled tribulation.”¹²³ Accordingly, he suggests those verses “should probably be read . . . as referring to the end-time tribulation in general.”¹²⁴ Shively does not use the nomenclature of “end-time tribulation,” but she does suggest that the tribulation begun by Jesus’ death continues, and even escalates, until the coming of the Son of Man.¹²⁵

As one might expect with 13:24–27, each author construes the cosmic catastrophe language differently, or at least emphasizes one aspect over another, but each nonetheless argues that the verses depict Jesus’ *parousia*. Adams argues that the language of 13:24–25 is not strictly “literal,” in that he does not take Mark to expect actual falling stars. Adams interprets 13:24–27, however, in conjunction with 13:31 and consequently concludes that Mark 13 anticipates some sort of cosmic dissolution, after which “eternal life” will be experienced with resurrection bodies in a material existence.¹²⁶ Marcus describes Jesus’ coming as that which displaces heavenly powers, a theme he argues is connected to Jesus’ earthly battles (= exorcisms) with Satan.¹²⁷ Marcus describes the gathering of the elect as a type of rapture, after which the elect are “forever ‘with the Lord’ in the air.”¹²⁸ Shively rightly highlights the latent notion of judgment sometimes downplayed in interpretations of 13:24–27,¹²⁹ arguing that the coming of the Son of Man brings both judgment and salvation.¹³⁰ She also notes that two of the passages from which Mark’s imagery is culled (Isa 13 and Joel 2) depict the theophany with a “heavenly

¹²² Ibid., 198.

¹²³ Adams 2007, 145.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 145–46.

¹²⁵ Shively 2012, 200. See also Marcus 2009, 892–97. He calls the tribulation of 13:19–20 “the great tribulation” and “the eschatological tribulation.”

¹²⁶ Adams 2007, 161–66.

¹²⁷ Marcus 2009, 908–9.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 905.

¹²⁹ E.g. A.Y. Collins (2007, 617) who says, “The description of the gathering of the elect in v. 27 makes clear that this intervention is conceived by the evangelist as oriented to the salvation of the faithful rather than the judgment of sinners.” See also Marcus (2009, 907) who claims that the “punishment of the nations” theme, typical of “apocalyptic tradition,” is absent from Mark 13.

¹³⁰ Shively 2012, 210.

army,”¹³¹ which may explain both the judgment motif in Mark, and the fact that the Son of Man comes with “angels.”

Mark 13:28–37 contains parables and warnings about the approaching “time.” According to Adams, “these things” in 13:29 refers to the things the disciples will see and hear, and thus refers to the events described in 13:5–23, excluding the whole duration of the tribulation, which lasts indefinitely. Accordingly, “all these things” of 13:30 refers back to “these things” in 13:29, and thus only constrains the events of 13:5–23 to the contemporary generation. Consequently, the Markan Jesus does not include his *parousia* in the events that will occur before the generation dies out.¹³² Marcus takes “all these things” in 13:30 to include the events of 13:5–27, including Jesus’ *parousia*, and thereby concludes that the Markan Jesus errs in this respect.¹³³ The parable of the fig tree, according to Marcus, teaches that “these things” (the events of 13:5–23) indicate the nearness of the Son of Man.¹³⁴ Shively, like Adams, takes “these things” of 13:29 to refer to the events of 13:5–23. Accordingly, when the disciples see such things, they will know that the Son of Man is near. She excludes the events of 13:24–27 from the reference of “all these things” in 13:30, and like Adams, confines only the events of 13:5–23 to Jesus’ contemporary generation.¹³⁵

Mark 13:32–37 is the final section of the discourse. Adams takes the parable as an exhortation to the Gospel’s readers to “remain in constant readiness for the day of Jesus’ return.”¹³⁶ Marcus interprets the parable similarly, arguing that it exhorts faithfulness to Jesus.¹³⁷ Shively’s interpretation is more robust in that she supplies a specific *content* to this exhorted “vigilance.” According to Shively, the “house” of this parable recalls the “house” of Satan from Mark 3:27. Shively describes Jesus’ mission in Mark as rescuing “those captive in Satan’s household.”¹³⁸ After being freed from Satan’s house, one joins Jesus’ house and family, which consists of those who do God’s will.¹³⁹ Shively argues that Jesus is the “Lord” of the house in 13:34–37, and that as the master of the house, he gives a specific task to “the slaves.” Essentially this task is to do the work of 13:9–13, which is to endure “persecution and suffering

¹³¹ Ibid., 204–7.

¹³² Adams 2007, 164–65.

¹³³ Marcus 2009, 910–13.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 917.

¹³⁵ Shively 2012, 211–13, and n 92.

¹³⁶ Adams 2007, 165.

¹³⁷ Marcus 2009, 920–22.

¹³⁸ Shively 2012, 215.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

as they testify for the sake of Jesus and preach the gospel to the ends of the earth . . .”¹⁴⁰ The parable accordingly exhorts faithfulness to Jesus’ own model of life until he returns.

5.4.1: Analysis

This interpretation is compelling, and I agree with its basic shape. I agree especially with Shively’s integration of the discourse with the broader themes of Mark’s Gospel, particularly with her description of the disciples’ task of faithfully enduring suffering for Jesus and the Gospel. I diverge only from 1) Shively’s suggestion concerning the reference of “the abomination of desolation;” 2) the tenet explicitly argued by Adams and Marcus that 13:19–22 refers to tribulation unrelated to the events depicted in 13:14–17; and 3) Marcus’ inclusion of the *parousia* within the events and timeframe of 13:30.

Regarding Mark 13:14, I do not argue for a specific referent of “the abomination of desolation,” but in Sections 5.11 and 5.11.1, I argue in detail that it most plausibly pertains to a militaristic attack on Judea/Jerusalem. I argue the latter due to 1) the context of the discourse, which pertains to the destruction of the temple; and 2) Jesus’ injunctions to flee from Judea in light of external dangers. Such elements suggest that “the abomination of desolation” refers to some object or event that precedes the destruction of the temple, and poses an immediate threat, not just to Christians, but to “those in Judea.” The fear that it might happen in winter, or in a stormy season, works against the notion that Jesus was referring to his own impending death. Additionally, the verb “standing” in 13:14 does not lend itself to reference to Jesus’ crucifixion or death. Accordingly, a militaristic threat fits that context better. Shively’s points of comparison between the doom of the temple and Jesus’ death are strong, though I do not take them to mean that Jesus’ death is the abomination. I think, however, like Shively, that such comparisons point to Jesus and his community functioning as “the new temple,” with Jesus’ rejected, raised, and ascended body forming the cornerstone.¹⁴¹

Second, I think Adams’ claim that 13:19 shifts from the events related to the temple in 13:14–17 to a still-future “end-time” tribulation, is unwarranted by the data. Mark 13:17 says, “Woe to those who are pregnant and nursing *in those days*” (ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις). The next verse exhorts them to pray that the abomination of desolation, that is, the subject of 13:14, not occur in winter. The next verse, 13:19, begins, “*For those days* will be [days] of tribulation” (ἔσονται γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι θλίψεις). The

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 216.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 195.

“days” of tribulation in 13:19 are linked inextricably to “the days” of tribulation in 13:17, indicating that the same timeframe and the same tribulation are under discussion. Accordingly, I take 13:14–23 to describe the tribulation related to the destruction of the temple. It may be, as Shively suggests, that the tribulation continues indefinitely, but the text does not lend itself to Adams’ interpretation, namely that 13:19 suddenly changes to the “end-time tribulation.”

Finally, I disagree with Marcus’ claim that “all these things” in 13:30 includes the *parousia*. The argument is long, and so I reserve detailed discussion for Section 5.13. Presently, I only note that “these things” and “all these things” in 13:29–30 recall the language of the disciples’ question, namely about “these things” and the sign of “all these things” in 13:4. The language of “these things” and “all these things” is similarly used throughout the discourse in 13:5–23 to refer only to things that occur with respect to the destruction of the temple. Thus, as I take the disciples’ question and the resultant discourse through 13:23 to pertain primarily to the destruction of the temple, I take the referent of “these things” and “all these things” in 13:29–30 to refer to the disciples’ question and the discourse’s use of the same language, and maintain that Jesus only refers to *those* events within 13:30.

I turn now to the final position, which maintains that the discourse pertains to the destruction of the temple and the *parousia* (without reference to a still-future “end-time tribulation”).

5.5: The Temple and the Parousia

This interpretation is similar to the preceding position, and in fact only differs in accord with my interpretation of Mark 13:19 as described above. Thus this summary will be mercifully brief. I provide only the following outline (Figure 5.2), as it succinctly describes the interpretation:

Figure 5.2

- a. 13:1–4: Jesus’ prophecy and disciples’ question about temple’s destruction
- b. 13:5–23: events leading up to the temple’s destruction
- c. 13:24–27: Jesus’ *parousia*
- d. 13:28–31: resumes discussion of Jerusalem and temple
- e. 13:32–27: resumes discussion of Jesus’ *parousia*

This view interprets the disciples’ question with sole reference to the destruction of the temple. Jesus’ prophecy prompts a question by his disciples, who ask 1) when the temple would be destroyed, and 2) what the sign would be that signaled its destruction. As argued in Section 5.2.1, Jesus does not repudiate sign-seeking *per se*, and thus no obvious reason suggests that Jesus does not answer their

question. This position takes 13:14's "abomination of desolation" as the sign the disciples request. As 13:19 continues the discussion of "those days of tribulation" from 13:14–18, 13:19–22 are taken still to refer to the tribulation surrounding the temple's destruction. Additionally, 13:23 forms an inclusio with 13:4–5, attesting to the relatedness of the disciples' question in 13:4 to Jesus' answer through 13:23.

Finally, as the previous position argues, 13:24–27 describes the *parousia*. Mark 13:28–31 provides a parable that signals the nearness of an event, but this position takes that event to be the destruction of the temple rather than the *parousia* due to 1) the relation in Mark's Gospel between the fig tree and the fate of the temple;¹⁴² and 2) the relation of "these things" and "all the these things" to the disciples' question in 13:4 and the use of those phrases throughout 13:5–23. Lastly, 13:32–37 pertains to the unknown time of Jesus' *parousia* and the consequent vigilance (= faithfulness) required by the community. This view is articulated by Lane, Hurtado, Witherington, Stein, and the present study.¹⁴³

5.6: Summary

These positions do not represent an exhaustive summary of the available interpretative options of Mark 13. These simply represent the four most commonly attested positions among historical and contemporary scholarship. This survey highlights seven recurrent features of Mark 13 that require the interpreter's attention. The decision a given interpreter makes on *any one of these features* shapes the trajectory of his or her whole interpretation. These features are: 1) intertextuality; 2) intratextuality; 3) the interpretation of "signs" in Mark; 4) the disciples' question and the extent to which Jesus answers it; 5) the interpretation of Mark 13:10 in relation to 13:27; 6) the interpretation of 13:27; 7) the acknowledgement that 13:5–23 is a unit. Undoubtedly, Mark 13 requires more than seven interpretative decisions, but these seven invariably serve as lynchpins in any given interpretation. I expand these in the order listed.

First, scholars universally recognize Mark's use of prophetic literature throughout the discourse. Thus every interpretation must attend to the presence and function of Mark's intertextual references. The TO position, for example, arguably exists solely due to its distinct interpretation of Mark's allusions to Dan 7 and Isa 13. Similarly, those who interpret Mark 13:24–27 with reference to the *parousia* must

¹⁴² Mark 11:13–25.

¹⁴³ Lane 1974, 466–482; Hurtado 1989, 211–27; Witherington 2001, 336–50; Stein 2008, 582–626; idem 2014.

argue why *their* interpretation of Mark's use of Dan 7 and Isa 13 is more satisfying than the TO interpretation.

Second, Mark 13 occurs within a "universe of discourse."¹⁴⁴ That is, Mark 13 is one feature of an entire work, and consequently should be interpreted not just in light of relevant features of Mark 13, but within the Gospel as a whole. The "coming of the Son of Man" provides a pertinent example in that 13:26 is not Mark's first reference to this event. As discussed, Mark 8:38 depicts the coming of the Son of Man with language overlapping that of 13:26. This overlapping language encourages a comparison between the passages, and the comparison consequently encourages interpreting 13:26 in light of 8:38. It is noteworthy, for example, that TO interpreters largely *do not* interpret 8:38.¹⁴⁵

Third, one's interpretation of "signs" affects one's decision as to whether Jesus supplies one or not. Geddert's work demonstrates this fact. He thinks that the Markan Jesus repudiates "sign-seeking" *per se*, and consequently concludes that Jesus does not answer the disciples' question in 13:4. Such a decision self-evidently affects how one interprets the rest of the discourse.

Fourth, the interpretation of the disciples' question in 13:4, and the decision as to whether Jesus answers it or not, decides the ultimate trajectory of one's whole interpretation. Gundry, for example, thinks Jesus ignores the disciples' question entirely, while TO interpreters take the question to pertain only to the destruction of the temple, and claim Jesus responds straightforwardly to it. Such decisions result in drastically different interpretations.

Fifth and sixth, any interpretation that seeks to explain all the data of Mark 13 must interpret both 13:10 and 13:27, and explain their relation to one another. Once more, it is noteworthy that the TO interpretations of Wright and Hatina do not interpret 13:10, and the interpretation of France does not adequately explain the relation between 13:10 and 13:27.¹⁴⁶

Finally, seventh, the acknowledgment that 13:5–23 is an *inclusio* that contains an answer to the disciples question contains two significant implications. First, if 13:23's claim, "I have told you everything" (προεἶρηκα ὑμῖν πάντα) is understood with reference to the disciples' request in 13:4 that

¹⁴⁴ See Alkier 2009a, 8–9, and my Section 1.3.

¹⁴⁵ See also Crispin Fletcher-Louis 2002, 117–41, who argues for a plausible interpretation of the cosmic catastrophe language on the basis of *intertextual* data, but largely neglects *intratextual* data. He does not interpret the language in 13:24–25, for example, with reference to the "coming of the Son of Man" in either Mark 8:38 or 13:26.

¹⁴⁶ For references and analysis, see Section 5.3.1.2.

Jesus tell them “when all these things will be accomplished,” then one can conclude that Jesus answers their question, and consequently conclude that there is no “lack of concord” between 13:1–4 and 13:5–37.

“Lack of concord” is Geddert’s phrase,¹⁴⁷ but he is not alone in thinking the discourse deviates from the disciples’ question drastically. Indeed, Beasley-Murray’s survey of scholarship on Mark 13 demonstrates that one of the primary (perceived) scandals of Mark 13 is the fact that the disciples ask about the temple but Jesus tells them about the end of the world.¹⁴⁸ From Timothy Colani to the present, with exceptions, the refrain is the same: the answer does not correlate with the question. Colani insists, “We have here a great interpolation which extends from v. 5 to v. 31.”¹⁴⁹ Similarly Dyer writes: “the whole discourse transcends and renders inadequate the double question of the disciples.”¹⁵⁰ The perceived problem between the question and its answer creates different types of unnecessary solutions, including: 1) dividing the discourse into disparate fragments in order to discern which is dominical, which comes from another oral or written source, and which comes from Mark’s hand;¹⁵¹ or 2) regarding the question as misguided, and interpreting the discourse at face value, but at the expense of continuity with 13:1–4 and correct interpretation of constitutive parts (such as 13:14).

Conversely – and herein lies the significance – TO interpreters regard the above options disdainfully, and consequently swing the pendulum in the opposite direction. It is not the disciples’ question or Mark’s arrangement of the material that are inadequate, they argue, but the common interpretation of it all. Thus they see the question as this study argues, that is, as pertaining to the temple’s destruction, and they maintain that Jesus does in fact answer it. Their conclusion, however, is that Mark 13:24–27 cannot be about the *parousia*, because the disciples did not ask about that.¹⁵²

This conclusion leads TO interpreters (such as Wright, Hatina, Dyer, France, and Gray)¹⁵³ to think that 13:24–27 depicts, however graphically or metaphorically, the destruction of the temple. But the disciples never ask about that. That is, nothing in their question necessitates a *graphic restatement* of

¹⁴⁷ Geddert 1989, 23.

¹⁴⁸ See Beasley-Murray 1993, *passim*. See e.g. pp 16, 44.

¹⁴⁹ Quotation from Colani 1864, 202–3, cited in Beasley-Murray 1993, 16.

¹⁵⁰ Dyer 1998, 179.

¹⁵¹ See Colani 1864, 200–7. Colani is credited with the “little apocalypse” theory that claims the discourse is the end-product of Mark’s integration of some authentic sayings of Jesus with a pre-synoptic “apocalypse.” Much of subsequent scholarship on Mark 13, per Beasley-Murray’s review, centered upon defending or refuting Colani’s claim. The position is still held in contemporary scholarship (e.g. C.S. Mann 1986, 506–9). Much of Dyer’s study on Mark 13 (1998) also argues for the disparate sources that comprise Mark 13.

¹⁵² See the quotation by Michael Bird (2008) in Section 1.1.

¹⁵³ For references, see notes throughout Section 5.3.1.3.

the prophecy already prosaically uttered in Mark 13:2. Thus, the second inference: regarding 13:5–23 as a unit that completely answers the question attaches a function to the unit and consequently frees subsequent units to function differently.

Consequently, if 13:5–23 is taken as a unit and as the answer to their question, the Markan Jesus is free, in principle, to take up another subject that is distinct but *related* to the topic of the temple from 13:24 to the end.¹⁵⁴ I suggest that he does so in Mark 13:24, *and that Zech 14 justifies the link*. As mentioned, the seeming disparity between a question about the temple and an answer that includes both that topic and a theophany has been a persistent topic of discussion for over 150 years, but the proposed influence of Zech 14 on Mark 13 solves that very tension. Zechariah 13–14 presents the scenario that many scholars regard as a scandal in the final form of Mark 13: an attack on Jerusalem followed by the coming of God with his angels. If Zech 13–14 does in fact influence the Olivet Discourse, then there is nothing incongruous about an answer that includes both an attack upon Jerusalem and a theophany. On the contrary, a theophany after an attack on Jerusalem is what the reader should *expect* if Zech 13–14 is acknowledged as influential in the way proposed. With these data in mind, I turn finally to this study’s interpretation of Mark 13.

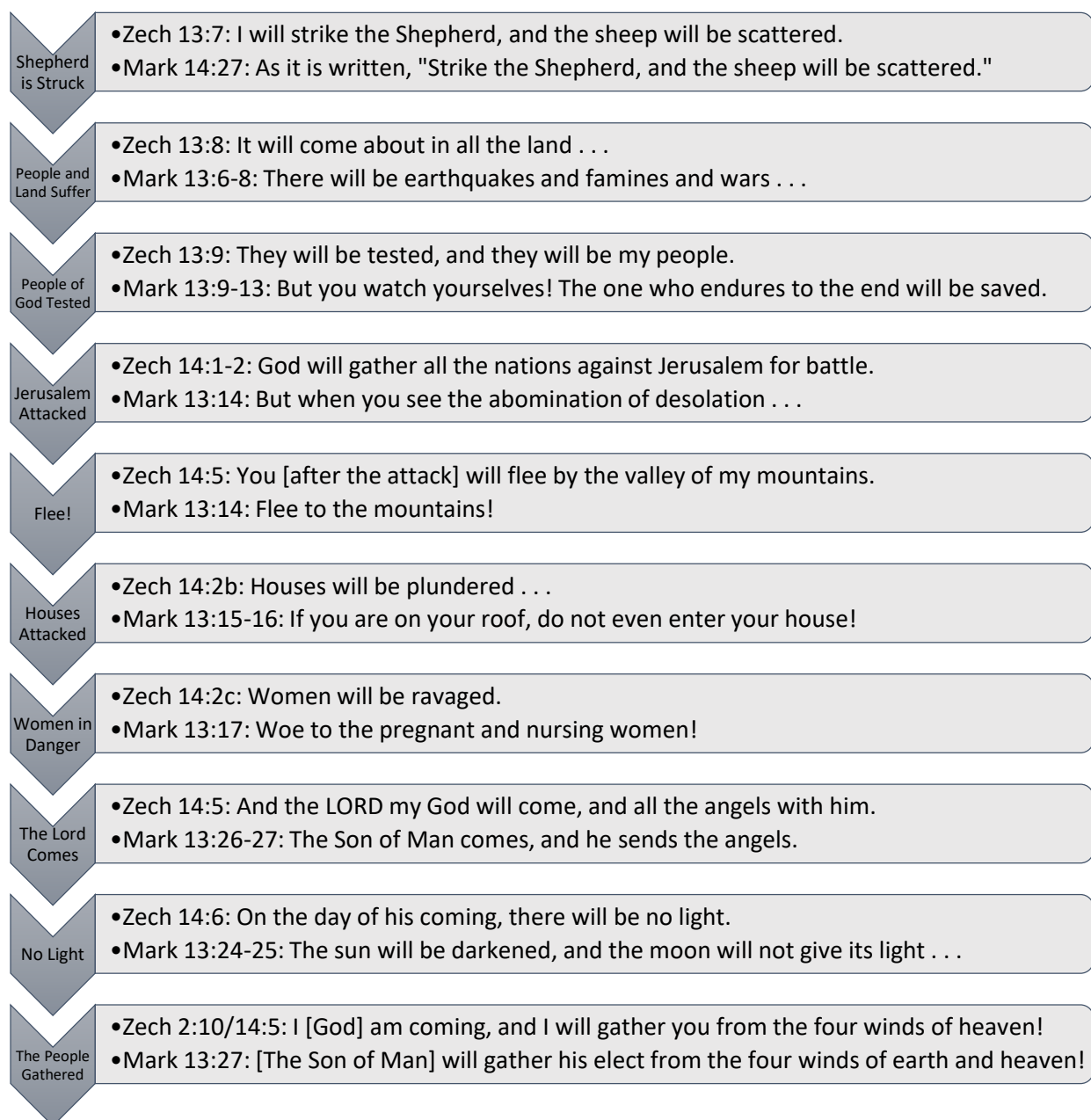
5.7: Introduction to Mark 13

The Shepherd has been struck. The people of the shepherd are scattered and tested. Jerusalem is attacked, and the women and children are especially in danger. And then the savior comes with his angels. That day that he comes, there will be no light, the earth will respond to the presence of God, and the kingdom of God will be recognized among all the nations. That day is known only to the Lord.

What material is being described above? Someone who knew Jewish scriptures but not Mark 13 might say Zech 13:7–14:6. One who knew early Christian literature but not Zechariah, would say Mark 13 or its parallel. What, then, would one say who knew both? This section argues for the breadth and depth of influence of Zech 13–14 in the Olivet Discourse. The following diagram illustrates the proposed sequential correspondence. The arrows on the left summarize the basic content present in Mark and Zechariah, and the boxes on the right show how each text represents it.

¹⁵⁴ It is telling, once more, that some who take Mark 13:24–27 as a description of the temple’s demise do not discuss 13:23. In each of these scholars’ work, the verse is mentioned but not interpreted. See Wright 1996, 359; Hatina 2002, 344; McKnight 1999, 141; Gray 2010, 133–35.

Figure 5.3



The following layout (in Figure 5.4) serves as an orientation to the exegesis of Mark 13, irrespective of its use of Zechariah.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ For bibliography of adherents to this position, see n 5 in Section 1.1, and Section 5.5. The tripartite division in 13:28–31, 32–37 of Parable, Warning, and “I say to you . . .” is not noted by Lane 1974, Hurtado 1989, Witherington 2001, or Stein 2008; idem 2014.

Figure 5.4

- 13:1–4:** Jesus’ prophecy and the disciples’ question regarding the timing of its fulfilment
- 13:5–23:** Jesus’ answer to the question regarding the timing of his prophecy (marked by inclusio)
- 13:5–6: Leitmotif which pervades the discourse: beware of false prophets; beginning of inclusio
- 13:7–8: General catastrophes affecting land and people
- 13:9–13: Specific catastrophes particularly affecting Jesus’ disciples
- 13:14: The answer to the disciples’ question, i.e. the abomination of desolation
- 13:15–23: Concomitant afflictions and warning of false prophets/messiahs; end of inclusio
- 13:24–27:** Prophecy regarding the subsequent coming of the Son of Man
- 13:28–31:** Warning about timing of the temple’s destruction
- 13:28: Parable
- 13:29: Warning
- 13:30–31: I say to you . . .
- 13:32–37:** Warning about timing of the coming of the Son of Man
- 13:32–33: Topic shifted to coming Son of Man
- 13:34: Parable
- 13:35–36: Warning
- 13:37: I say to you . . .

I proceed by alternating between textual comments that argue for the presence of certain allusions, the function of the allusion in the passage at hand, and its overall contribution to Mark 13.

5.8: Mark 13:1–4**5.8.1: Narrative Context**

Mark 13:1 begins with Jesus’ departure from the temple. This shift in scene links the preceding material of Jesus’ conflicts in the temple (11:11–12:44) with Jesus’ subsequent prophecy of the temple’s destruction (13:2).¹⁵⁶ Mark 11:11–25 depicts Jesus’ act of judgment against the temple, condemning the exclusion of the nations and the transformation of God’s house into a “den of robbers.” Mark 11:27–33 showcases the “chief priests, scribes, and elders” questioning Jesus’ authority to judge the temple’s practices. In Mark 12:1–12, Jesus delivers a parable that condemns the religious authorities, which results in their desire to destroy him. Finally, Mark 12:13–44 includes various interrogations and teachings of Jesus, including his view on the tax to Caesar, Jesus’ condemnation of the scribes, and his

¹⁵⁶ So Evans 2001, 297.

praise of the widow “opposite the treasury.” These accounts in Mark 11–12 indicate that Mark 13 is not an anomaly in the Gospel, taking a sudden detour that interrupts the flow of Mark 11–16.¹⁵⁷ Rather, Mark 13 is an organic conclusion to the conflict that has been brewing since Mark 3:6. The rejection by the religious leaders of Jesus’ authority leads ultimately to his rejection of their authority, which entails the destruction of the temple.¹⁵⁸ Thus upon exiting the temple in 13:1, one of Jesus’ disciples comments on the majesty of the temple’s structures,¹⁵⁹ and Jesus responds in 13:2 by prophesying its destruction, saying, “Not one stone will be left on another.”

5.8.2: *The Structure of Mark 13:1–5*

The respective structures of Mark 13:1–2 and 13:3–5 exhibit the following pattern: 1) a genitive absolute denoting an action of Jesus, followed by 2) the location of Jesus and the audience, 3) a verb of speaking, 4) the subject of the speaking verb, 5) the content of the speakers’ statements/questions, each of which begins with an imperative, and 6) Jesus’ answer, each of which begin with a form of the verb βλέπω. The structure may be observed by comparing Mark 13:1–2 and 13:3–5, reading the following table left to right.

Figure 5.5

13:1 καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ	13:3 καὶ καθημένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν κατέναντι τοῦ ἱεροῦ
13:1 λέγει αὐτῷ εἰς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ	13:3 ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν κατ’ ἰδίαν Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἀνδρέας
13:1 διδάσκαλε, ἴδε ποταποὶ λίθοι καὶ ποταπαὶ οἰκοδομαί	13:4 εἶπόν ἡμῖν, πότε ταῦτα ἔσται καὶ τί τὸ σημεῖον ὅταν μέλλῃ ταῦτα συντελεῖσθαι πάντα
13:2 καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· βλέπεις...	13:5 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἤρξατο λέγειν αὐτοῖς· βλέπετε...

This pattern highlights the strong links between the disciple’s statement, Jesus’ consequent prophecy, the disciples’ question, and the beginning of Jesus’ answer. These grammatical links suggest that Mark presents the discourse as Jesus’ answer to the disciples’ question. Additionally, the pattern highlights the shift in setting from the temple courts to the Mount of Olives. One could argue that it

¹⁵⁷ Pesch (1968, 48–50) concluded that Mark was originally written without chapter 13.

¹⁵⁸ See Geddert 1989, 211, 248–51; Eve-Marie Becker 2006, 102–4, 123; Gray 2010, *passim*, especially p 144; Shively 2012, 192, 197–201, especially 198. They demonstrate the congruity of Mark 13 within Mark as a whole, and especially within Mark 11–16, by virtue of the escalation of Jesus’ conflict with the temple and religious authorities.

¹⁵⁹ See Josephus, *War* 5.5.2 and 5.5.6 for descriptions of the temple’s impressive features.

would seem more natural for the disciples to press him on his prophecy immediately while still in the temple; the narrator, however, conspicuously relocates Jesus and some disciples to “the Mount of Olives opposite the temple.” This relocation is not arbitrary. I suggest that the latter phrase and its reference to the Mount of Olives alludes to Zech 14:4.¹⁶⁰ As such, it serves as a signpost to the unique prophecy therein, alerting the reader to its context. Accordingly, the prophecies of Zech 14 illuminate the arrangement and significance of comparable material in Mark 13.

5.8.3: *Mark 13:3 and Zechariah 14:4*

I provide the texts below before making comparisons:

Mark 13:3: As Jesus was sitting εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν κατέναντι τοῦ ἱεροῦ . . .

Greek Zech 14:4: his [YHWH’s] feet will stand ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν τὸ κατέναντι Ἱερουσαλήμ . . .

Hebrew Zech 14:4: ועמדו רגליו ביום־ההוא על־הר הזתים אשר על־פני ירושלם

Six reasons suggest that Mark 13:3 alludes to Zech 14:4. First, the replication of several lexemes from Zech 14:4 suggests the latter influences Mark 13:3. The phrase “on the Mount of Olives opposite the temple/Jerusalem” is *unique* to Zech 14:4. The “Mount of Olives” itself is mentioned explicitly only twice in Jewish scriptures,¹⁶¹ both times in Zech 14:4.¹⁶² Given this fact, Mark’s identification of Jesus’ location as on “the Mount of Olives” could conceivably alert a scripturally literate reader to Zech 14.

Second, an extratextual datum, around 70 CE, Zech 14 seems to have been a popular text freighted with political and temple-related expectation. It arguably fomented, or at least justified, revolutionary actions of the Zealots around the time of the composition of Mark.¹⁶³ Josephus suggests that on scriptural grounds the group occupying the temple expected a divine intervention that would vindicate their enterprise and result in the defeat of the Romans.¹⁶⁴ Josephus does not name the texts, but Hengel argues persuasively that Dan 7 and Zech 14 are the most plausible candidates.¹⁶⁵ That Zech 14 might have provoked such expectation during the revolt is understandable given that it prophesies that the Lord will appear on the Mount of Olives, which is just opposite the temple and Jerusalem, and defeat the nations that do battle against Jerusalem.

¹⁶⁰ See Bas van Iersel 1989, 160, who claims that Mark locates the discourse on the Mount of Olives in order to provide “a distinct colour . . . to the words Jesus speaks here.” He associates Jesus’ words with God’s judgment of Jerusalem in Zech 14:4 and Ezek 11:23.

¹⁶¹ The “ascent of Olives” is mentioned in 2 Sam 15:30. Only Zech 14 refers to “the mount.”

¹⁶² Pitre (2005, 458 n 211) and Marcus (2009, 869) each note this allusion and claim that the contexts of Mark 13 and Zech 14 closely correspond.

¹⁶³ So Hengel 1988, 242.

¹⁶⁴ Josephus, *War* 5.7.3; 5.11.2; 6.2.1.

¹⁶⁵ Hengel 1988, 242.

Third, another extratextual datum, Josephus's description of the actions of "an Egyptian false prophet" during the revolt indicates the importance of the Mount of Olives and attests to the above claim that Zech 14 arguably justified temple- and Jerusalem-related actions. Josephus describes "an Egyptian false prophet" who led his followers first to the desert, and then to the Mount of Olives in an effort to retake Jerusalem and disband the Romans.¹⁶⁶ Other leaders led masses into the desert "under the belief that God would there give them tokens of deliverance."¹⁶⁷ Josephus characterizes such leaders as "deceivers and impostors, under the pretense of *divine inspiration* fostering revolutionary changes."¹⁶⁸ The locations the leaders chose were not arbitrary, but were in line with the "divine inspiration," and were arguably based on interpretations of scriptures. These leaders may have believed that their specific actions would result in the divinely appointed victory attested in those passages.¹⁶⁹ The Egyptian's choice of the Mount of Olives suggests the influence of Zech 14, particularly given the latter's promise of divinely-assisted victory in Jerusalem against Israel's enemies.

Fourth, the final extratextual datum, as mentioned in Section 3.3, coins minted in the first years of the revolt in 66–70 CE also suggest the importance of Zech 14 for the Zealots.¹⁷⁰ On one side is written ירושלים קדש or ירושלים הקדש, meaning "Jerusalem is Holy" or "Jerusalem the Holy" respectively. The other side pictures a cultic vessel. Such propaganda arguably reflects Zech 14:20–21 and its declaration that in "that day" (when the Lord comes with his angels), every cooking pot in the temple and in Jerusalem and Judah will be holy (קדש).¹⁷¹ These coins plausibly attest to the significance of Zech 14 in fueling the Zealots' expectations surrounding both the temple and Jerusalem. The coins only demonstrate the importance of Zech 14 to the Zealots, but the example of the "Egyptian false prophet" suggests that he and the Zealots were drawing upon a larger interpretative tradition. The latter may have been known by Mark. The extratextual data indicates that Zech 14 seems to have engendered specific expectations that pertained to the Mount of Olives, the temple, and the persecution of the city. The latter expectations are self-evidently germane to Mark 13. Mark's placement of this discourse on the Mount of Olives may indicate both his awareness of Zech 14, and the fact that Zech 14 is significant for matters pertaining to Jerusalem and the temple.

¹⁶⁶ Josephus, *War* 2.13.4–5; *Ant.* 20.8.6. C.A. Evans (1999) alerted me to this account in Josephus. Josephus translations by Thackeray.

¹⁶⁷ Josephus, *War* 2.13.4.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.13.4.

¹⁶⁹ So Evans 1999, 377.

¹⁷⁰ This point is made by Marcus 2013, 22–30.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

Fifth, the context of Zech 14 closely relates to the subject of Mark 13 as a whole. At the most basic level, each pertains to a successful attack on the city of Jerusalem by gentiles. In each case, the affliction predicted is that upon women and houses,¹⁷² and the only action done by those attacked is “flight to the mountains.”¹⁷³ Additionally, Zech 14, like Mark, pertains to the coming reign of God.¹⁷⁴ Thus in setting forth Jesus’ prophecy regarding the fate of Jerusalem and the temple, Zech 14 would present itself as a helpful source for expressing the material.

Finally, sixth, Mark’s consistent use of Zech 9–14 throughout Mark makes it plausible that Mark 13:3 alludes to Zech 14:4. The cumulative weight of these arguments suggests that Mark alludes to Zech 14:4 in his description of the setting of the discourse. The presence of an allusion alone, however, may not require the reader of the Gospel to import elements from the rest of Zech 14 into Mark 13. Further factors must be sought, therefore, before establishing that Zech 14:4’s larger context is intended to inform the subsequent discourse. Intratextual data provides one such factor in the importance of setting in Mark’s Gospel. The setting in Mark often reflects a scriptural basis, and recognizing the scriptural precedent often informs the significance of the Markan text.¹⁷⁵ I provide a single example that illustrates this Markan practice.

5.8.3.1: *Setting in Mark*

The account of the Transfiguration in Mark 9:2–9 provides an example of this phenomenon. Without citations or numerous lexical replications, the physical setting (“a high mountain”) and the chronological marker (“after six days”) in Mark 9:2 allude to Ex 24. The allusions to Exodus are not merely ornamental, but serve to vindicate Jesus as “the prophet like Moses” whom the people await,¹⁷⁶ the “chosen leader of Israel.”¹⁷⁷ The scene in Mark 9:2–9 may be summarized accordingly: after six days (μετὰ ἡμέρας ἕξι) Jesus takes three companions – Peter, James, and John – to the top of a high mountain (ὄρος ὑψηλόν). Jesus’ appearance is transfigured, Elijah and Moses appear with him, a cloud forms over them, and from the cloud God speaks to them. The above features correspond to the events in Ex 24,

¹⁷² Zech 14:2; Mark 13:15–17.

¹⁷³ Zech 14:5; Mark 13:14.

¹⁷⁴ The kingdom is in view in Mark 13:26–27 by comparison to 8:38–9:1, where the kingdom of God is associated with the coming of the Son of Man.

¹⁷⁵ See e.g. Mark 1:4, 9, 12; 11:1–10; 14:16–25.

¹⁷⁶ So Marcus (2009, 1114) who says that God’s command, “Listen to him,” is a “virtual citation” of Deut 18:15, where the people shall listen to the prophet whom God “raises up.”

¹⁷⁷ Evans 2001, 35. Of the Sinai theophany in Exodus, and its consequent importance for Mark 9, Evans says, “No other event in Jewish salvation history was remembered with greater reverence. At Sinai, God met his people, or, more precisely, met Moses the spokesman for and lawgiver to his people. Likewise, on the Mount of Transfiguration, another epochal epiphany has taken place” (35).

where Moses and three companions – Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu (and 70 unnamed elders) – approach the Lord.¹⁷⁸ Then a cloud covers the mountain for six days, and on the seventh day, a voice calls to Moses, he ascends the mountain, beholds the glory of God,¹⁷⁹ and God speaks to him.¹⁸⁰

Notably, Mark 9 does not cite Exodus, and it reproduces few exact lexemes from Ex 24.¹⁸¹ Nonetheless, Mark 9 alludes to the ascent of Sinai, and recognizing the allusions to Ex 24 affects the meaning of the Markan passage. Importantly, rather than numerous lexemes, it is the sequence of events of Ex 24 that Mark replicates, and the repetition of those events serves to illuminate the Markan context, showing Jesus to be the leader of the people of God who is endowed with God’s blessing. Nonetheless, numerous parallels obtain without lexical correspondence. For example, Moses characteristically “ascended” (ἀνέβη) the mountain,¹⁸² whereas Jesus “brings them [James, Peter, John] up” (ἀναφέρει) to the high mountain,¹⁸³ and their “ascent” is implicit. The rest of the parallels (the covering of the cloud, the voice from the cloud, the radiance of Jesus’ clothes,¹⁸⁴ and the resultant fear) work the same way: the *events* are replicated, typically in the order in which they occur in Exodus, but the lexemes are not replicated. Significantly, several scholars argue for the presence and function of an allusion to Ex 24,¹⁸⁵ and all do so on the basis of the comparable setting and the likeness and order of events. Thus whatever the precise meaning of the account, it is sufficient for our purposes to show that minor details describing the setting are scripturally allusive and function to alert the reader to the scriptural context for illumination of the Markan passage.

One could say the same for numerous passages in Mark: John’s appearance in the wilderness;¹⁸⁶ Jesus’ testing in the wilderness;¹⁸⁷ his entry into Jerusalem on a donkey,¹⁸⁸ the meal at Passover.¹⁸⁹ None of these geographical or calendrical settings is a mere physical or temporal backdrop devoid of

¹⁷⁸ Ex 24:1, 9; the parallels here cited are noted by Marcus 2009, 1114–15.

¹⁷⁹ Ex 24:15–18.

¹⁸⁰ Ex 24:16; 25:1–31:17.

¹⁸¹ Mark reproduces the words, “six days,” “mountain” and “cloud.”

¹⁸² Ex 24:1, 9, 12, 13, 15, 18.

¹⁸³ Mark 9:2.

¹⁸⁴ This feature is reminiscent of, but not exactly parallel to, Ex 34:29–35.

¹⁸⁵ See Mark commentaries, *ad loc.* of, e.g. Cranfield, Lane, Hooker, France, Collins, and Stein.

¹⁸⁶ Mk 1:4, in conjunction with Mark 1:3’s quotation of Isa 40:3.

¹⁸⁷ Mark 1:12–13; see the testing of Israel by God in the wilderness in Deut 8:2; Num 14:34. Hooker (1991, 49–51) sees reflections of Adam from Gen 2–3. Marcus (2000, 169–70) identifies numerous influential backgrounds: 1 Kgs 19:5–8, Apoc. Moses 17:4; Adam and Eve 6, 12–15; Isa 11:1–9.

¹⁸⁸ Mark 11:1–10; see Zech 9:9.

¹⁸⁹ Mark 14:12–26. See possibly Ex 12:11–14; 24:8; Isa 53:12; Zech 9:11.

meaning.¹⁹⁰ Rather, each of these passages in Mark contains scriptural allusions, often marked by the setting in Mark, where the respective contexts of the antecedent texts have an instructive function in the Markan passage at hand. This phenomenon, an intratextual datum, lends some support to the suggestion that Jesus' being seated on the Mount of Olives opposite the temple is not simply a physical backdrop to Jesus' speech.¹⁹¹ Rather, the setting of Mark 13 alludes to Zech 14:4, and as in other Markan texts, functions to alert the reader to look to Zechariah's context for insight into the rest of Mark's discourse. I do not, however, infer the influence of Zech 14 in the rest of Mark 13 from the setting alone. Additional evidence is found in both the likeness and ordering of the subsequent events and Mark's use of several lexemes distinct to Zech 14 itself.

I return now to Mark 13:4. Seated on the Mount of Olives¹⁹² opposite the temple, four disciples ask Jesus a two-part question related to his prophecy of the temple's destruction: εἰπὼν ἡμῖν, πότε ταῦτα ἔσται καὶ τί τὸ σημεῖον ὅταν μέλλῃ ταῦτα συντελεῖσθαι πάντα.¹⁹³ Nearly every single term in this statement is relevant to the subsequent discourse, and as Pesch notes, "Die Frage selbst, dieser wichtige Schlüssel zum Verständnis der eschatologischen Rede, ist sehr unterschiedlich beurteilt worden."¹⁹⁴

5.8.4: The Disciples' Question

An essential interpretative issue is whether the question asks about two different events, namely the occurrences leading to the destruction of the temple and those leading to the *parousia*, or whether the question in both its parts refers exclusively to the destruction of the temple. Five intratextual arguments favor the latter view, that is, that the question is an example of synonymous parallelism and asks about the timing and sign of the destruction of the temple.

First, the structure of Mark 13:1–4, as noted, leads one to assume that the disciples' question is prompted by Jesus' utterance regarding the destruction of the temple, and therefore inquires specifically about that topic. Second, Mark 13:4–5 and 13:22–23 form an inclusio,¹⁹⁵ marked by warnings to watch for deceivers and the declaration by Jesus that he has told them everything they asked about.

¹⁹⁰ See similar comments in Malbon 2000, 12–15, regarding the positive interpretative value of "temporal" and "spatial" settings for the meaning of Mark's narrative.

¹⁹¹ See Section 1.3 regarding "intratextuality."

¹⁹² Events that occur around the Mount of Olives in Mark are the entry into Jerusalem and Jesus' arrest. The entry is patterned off Zech 9:9, and his arrest takes place "because it is written" in Zech 13:7. This intratextual evidence strengthens the notion that reference to the Mount of Olives may have alerted the reader/hearer to Zechariah, as Mark consistently associates that location with both important events in Jesus' life and Zechariah's prophecies.

¹⁹³ Mark 13:4.

¹⁹⁴ Pesch 1968, 101. Stein (2014, 61) similarly regards the question as "the key" for understanding the discourse.

¹⁹⁵ See discussion on 13:5. Noted by several commentators, e.g. Lane 1974, 447–48; Moloney 2002, 249; Marcus 2009, 867; Stein 2014, 72.

The latter indicates that 13:5–23 constitutes the answer to the question. This is suggested by the observation that 13:5–23 discusses material relevant to the events surrounding the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple.¹⁹⁶ It follows that the question refers to these very things. Third, Stein notes four examples in Mark in which Jesus asks multiple questions at once, where each successive question is a semi-repetition of the first.¹⁹⁷ This intratextual phenomenon supports the notion that in 13:4 the second question is also “a semi-repetition of the first.” Fourth, Mark contains two uses of “all these things” outside Mark 13,¹⁹⁸ and each has its reference before the phrase. Thus “all these things” in 13:4 plausibly refers to the events and sign that would precede the temple’s destruction. Finally, each question has to do with the chronology of the prophecy. The question of “when” (πότε) the prophecy will occur is clarified by asking what the sign will be “when” (ὅταν) the prophecy is about to occur.¹⁹⁹ As argued in Section 5.2.1, the present request for a sign does not fall under the category of that which Jesus condemns in 8:12.

Thus the disciples ask about the *timing* of the event prophesied. Accordingly, Jesus’ answer too is about the timing of the event. Jesus predicts its destruction prosaically in 13:2, and as the disciples ask about the timing and sign of its destruction, Jesus’ answer need not include a further statement describing the destruction itself.²⁰⁰ Thus once Jesus provides the answer to this question, as I argue he does in 13:14, the Markan Jesus, in principle, may discuss a different *but related* subject.

The last three words in the disciples’ question (ταῦτα συντελεῖσθαι πάντα) resemble the answer of the angelic interpreter in Dan 12:7.²⁰¹ In Dan 12:6, Daniel asks, “How long will it be until the end of these wonders?”²⁰² In the angel’s answer, he concludes, συντελεσθήσεται πάντα ταῦτα.²⁰³ In the beginning of his answer, he says that the “completion” of all these things will come “as soon as they finish shattering the power of the holy people.” The latter phrase is the NASB translation of the Hebrew: נפץ ידעם־קדש . Septuagint Daniel renders its *Vorlage*: ἡ συντέλεια χειρῶν ἀφέσεως

¹⁹⁶ This statement will be more ably defended once all the evidence is weighed.

¹⁹⁷ Stein 2014, 68. See Mark 7:18; 8:17–18; 9:19; 14:37. E.g. 7:18: “Do you also fail to understand? Do you not see?”

¹⁹⁸ Mark 7:23, 10:20.

¹⁹⁹ Bratcher and Nida (1961, 397) note, “The second question, then, represents an expansion of the first one, in normal Semitic style.” So also Matthew Black 1967, 105, 117.

²⁰⁰ So Adams 2005, 56; Stein 2008, 590, 596 n 4.

²⁰¹ Noted by several commentators; see e.g. Hartman 1966, 145, 220–21; Adams 2007, 140.

²⁰² For “how long?” cf. MT: ידע־מתי; LXX: πότε οὖν; Theodotion: ἕως πότε.

²⁰³ Dan 12:7 (LXX).

λαοῦ ἁγίου. Theodotion Daniel²⁰⁴ translates its *Vorlage*: ἐν τῷ συντελεσθῆναι διασκορπισμὸν χειρὸς λαοῦ ἡγιασμένου γνώσονται πάντα ταῦτα.

Notably Theodotion Daniel reads “scattering” (διασκορπισμὸν) as opposed to “shattering” (from רָגַג) or “remission” (ἀφέσεως). Accordingly, the terrible tribulation (θλίψις) discussed throughout Daniel, and in Dan 12 in particular, is conceived of as a “scattering” of God’s people in Theodotion Daniel. In other words, the terrible tribulation that will precede “the end,” that is, the tribulation that will be unlike any has ever been in history, is called the διασκορπισμὸν of the holy people. Theodotion Daniel 12, or in Mark’s case, proto-Theodotion (proto-Θ) Dan 12, is evidently the source for many phrases in Mark 13. Importantly then, if proto-Θ Dan 12 conceives of the tribulation as a “scattering,” and Mark 13 uses proto-Θ Dan 12 to describe the sufferings predicted, what does this mean about Mark’s use of “scattering” from Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27, where after Jesus’ death, the disciples will be “scattered” (διασκορπισθήσονται)? I suggest that the term “scattering” serves as an exegetical link between Zech 13:7 and proto-Θ Dan 12, and that Mark’s use of proto-Θ Dan 12 throughout Mark 13 supports this study’s claim that the “scattering” predicted via Zech 13:7 is partially fulfilled in the “scattering,” that is, the tribulation, of Mark 13. That Daniel and Zechariah were combined is not new, as Mark 8:38’s fusion of Dan 7:13 and Zech 14:5 shows, but the above suggestions are defensible only if Mark is using proto-Θ Daniel. Fortunately Mark’s use of something like proto-Θ Daniel is widely accepted,²⁰⁵ thus I present only four cases of correspondence between the texts.

5.8.4.1: *Proto-Theodotion Daniel in Mark 13*

Proto-Θ Daniel pre-dates the composition of Mark.²⁰⁶ Below I compare four elements from Mark 13 to versions in Daniel and argue that their wording is found in, and at times distinct to, proto-Θ Daniel. First, Dan 12:1 and Mark 13:19:

Dan 12:1 (LXX): ἐκείνη ἡ ἡμέρα θλίψεως οἷα οὐκ ἐγενήθη ἀφ’ οὗ ἐγενήθησαν ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης

²⁰⁴ “Ur-Theodotion” or “Proto-Theodotion” (distinct from one another) are more accurate names for that which Mark utilized, as the historical Theodotion post-dates Mark. For discussion on this matter, see Timothy McLay 2003, 127–29.

²⁰⁵ See discussion and notes in Section 1.3.2.

²⁰⁶ The earliest reference to the figure “Theodotion” is by Irenaeus (*Against Heresies*, 3:24), potentially placing that figure in the 2nd century CE. The New Testament, however, contains many readings distinct to Theodotion, especially Theodotion Daniel, and thus the version attributed to Theodotion, or one very similar to it, pre-dates the composition of the NT. See Pierre Grelot 1966, 381–402, for discussion of New Testament attestations to Septuagint and Theodotion Daniel. He notes, for example, that Mark 14:62 contains “la leçon théodotionique” of Dan 7:13. These conclusions regarding Mark’s potential awareness of Theodotion Daniel are a relative consensus. See e.g. J.J. Collins 1993, 11; Dyer 1998, 101–22; McLay 2003, 127–29.

Dan 12:1 (proto-Θ): καὶ ἔσται καιρὸς θλίψεως θλίψις οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἀφ' οὗ γεγένηται ἔθνος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ καιροῦ ἐκείνου

Mark 13:19: ἔσονται γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι θλίψις οἷα οὐ γέγονεν τοιαύτη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἣν ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς

Two of Mark's dissimilarities with LXX agree precisely with proto-Θ. First, both Mark and proto-Θ begin with a future form of εἰμί, and LXX does not, and second, both share the phrase θλίψις οἷα οὐ γέγονεν, which is rendered differently in LXX.

Second, I compare Dan 12:1 with Mark 13:13:

Dan 12:1 (LXX): καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὑψωθήσεται πᾶς ὁ λαός . . .²⁰⁷

Dan 12:1 (proto-Θ): καὶ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ σωθήσεται ὁ λαός σου . . .

Mark 13:13: ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται

Mark 13:13 and proto-Θ contain the verb σωθήσεται, while LXX (88-Syh) reads ὑψωθήσεται.

This similarity alone is not overwhelming, but when Mark 13:13 and Dan 12:1 are also considered alongside Dan 12:12 (our third comparison), the correspondence increases. Daniel 12:12 declares a blessing on the one who perseveres through to the end of the tribulation mentioned in 12:1:

Daniel 12:12 (LXX): μακάριος ὁ ἐμμένων . . . εἰς ἡμέρας

Daniel 12:12 (proto-Θ): μακάριος ὁ ὑπομένων . . . εἰς ἡμέρας

Mark 13:13: ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος . . .

Both Mark 13:13 and Dan 12:12 (proto-Θ) use the participle from ὑπομένω while LXX uses that of ἐμμένω. Additionally, when proto-Θ Dan 12:12 is read in conjunction with 12:1, the meaning is, "Blessed is the one who perseveres (ὁ ὑπομένων) until the end of the tribulation, because that one will be saved (σωθήσεται)." This is comparable to Mark 13:13, which reads: ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται.²⁰⁸ Fourth, I compare Daniel 12:10 to Mark 13:20. Each passage speaks about characteristics of the tribulation.

Daniel 12:10 (proto-MT): יתבררו ויתלבנו ויצפו רבים

Daniel 12:10 (LXX)²⁰⁹: πειρασθῶσι καὶ ἀγιασθῶσι πολλοί

Daniel 12:10 (proto-Θ): ἐκλεγῶσιν καὶ ἐκλευκανθῶσιν καὶ πυρωθῶσιν πολλοί

Mark 13:20: ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς οὓς ἐξελέξατο ἐκολόβωσεν τὰς ἡμέρας

²⁰⁷ LXX 88-Syh contains ὑψωθήσεται. LXX σ', as represented in the 2nd edition of Göttingen Daniel (Munnich 1999), reads: σωθήσεται.

²⁰⁸ Gaston 1970, 21, calls Dan 12:12 "a close parallel if not the actual source" of Mark 13:13.

²⁰⁹ That which I label Dan 12:10 is 12:10 in MT, *Rahlfs*, and Ziegler's 1954 Göttingen edition of LXX Dan (Θ). It is the last four words of 12:9 in Munnich's 1999 Göttingen edition of LXX Dan (σ') and (Θ).

I note three correspondences. First, neither proto-MT nor LXX mentions “choosing;” only proto-Θ refers to election in conjunction with the suffering involved. Second, Mark 13:20 and 13:27 are the only references in Mark’s Gospel to any group known as “the elect,” and in Mark 13 it is precisely the elect who suffer. Mark’s somewhat sudden use of “the elect” in relation to the terrible suffering at hand may be explained by proto-Θ’s claim that those who “choose” (ἐκλέγω) are those who will be whitened and refined. Lastly, the third verb in proto-Θ Dan 12:10 is πυρωθῶσις, probably translating צר, and this is precisely the Greek verb used in Zech 13:9, also translating צר. This latter detail provides another point of contact between Zech 13:7–9 and the suffering of Dan 12.²¹⁰

In light of these examples, it is probable that Mark knew and utilized proto-Θ Dan 12, or at least something remarkably like it, in his composition of Mark 13. The relevance of these findings lies in the thematic and lexical overlaps of the utilized proto-Θ Dan 12 with Zech 13:7–9 and related texts. These overlaps offer textual grounds for the present argument that the tribulations in Mark 13 constitute the tribulations of Zech 13:7–9.

Two pertinent overlapping themes serve as points of contact between the tribulations described in Mark 13, Dan 12, and Zech 13. First, as already noted, Dan 12:7, echoed in Mark 13:4, conceives of the tribulation that will be the worst in history (Dan 12:1, alluded to in Mark 13:19) as the “scattering” (διασκορπισμόν) of the people of God. Relatedly, Mark calls that which will happen to the disciples after Jesus’ death their “scattering” (διασκορπισθήσονται). Significantly this “scattering” is predicted on the basis of Zech 13:7, quoted before Jesus’ arrest.²¹¹ In the context of Zechariah the scattering initiates a period of suffering for the “sheep” after the shepherd is struck. Thus, hypothetically, on the basis of a catchword association Mark associates the “scattering of the sheep” in Zech 13:7 with the “scattering,” that is, suffering, of the holy people in Dan 12. Mark’s use of Dan 12 throughout Mark 13 to describe the suffering of Jerusalem and Jesus’ disciples after Jesus’ death, and his quotation of Zech 13:7 to refer to that which will happen to the disciples after Jesus’ death, provide an example of the reading I propose: the tribulations of Mark 13 constitute the “scattering” and refining predicted in Zech 13:7–9.

Second, Mark 13:20 mentions the suffering of “the elect,” a title hitherto unused by Mark. Notably in Mark 13 and much of early Christian literature the “elect” are known and especially characterized by the fact that they suffer.²¹² This notion is shared by proto-Θ Dan 12:10, where the “wise” are those who “choose” and are “whitened” and “purified.” Notably Zechariah elsewhere refers

²¹⁰ Additionally, the suffering sheep in Zech 11:16–17 are called “the elect” in 11:16.

²¹¹ Mark 14:27.

²¹² See esp. 1 Thess. 1:4–6; Phil 1:29–30; 1 Pet. 1:6–7; 2:20–21; 4:12–19.

to “the scattered” sheep (τὸ διεσκορπισμένον) who suffer from a lack of “shepherding” as the “elect.”²¹³ Thus a further triangulation obtains between 1) Dan 12’s suffering, scattered elect, 2) Zechariah’s scattered, suffering sheep who are called “the elect,” and 3) Mark 13’s suffering elect who are subsequently described as “scattered sheep.” These textual connections between Dan 12 and Zech 13:7–9 provide a plausible explanation for their common appearance in Mark 13–14, and consequently support the proposal that the “scattering” of Mark 14:27 is partially fulfilled by the tribulation of Mark 13.

5.8.5: *Summary*

Jesus prophesies the destruction of the temple, and the disciples ask about its timing. Intratextual data indicates that the setting in Mark often contains a scriptural basis, which I suggest in Mark 13:3 is Zech 14:4. Extratextual data indicates that around the time of the Gospel’s composition, some Jews closely associated the Mount of Olives with Zech 14:1–5 and its eschatological prophecies concerning Jerusalem and the temple. Consequently, I concluded that Mark locates the setting of the discourse on the Mount of Olives in order to evoke the prophetic material of Zech 13–14. The language of the disciples’ question, in conjunction with several statements throughout Mark 13, betrays the influence of Dan 12. The latter text describes the tribulation of the last days as the “scattering” of the holy people, which connects the tribulation of Mark 13 with the “falling away” that Jesus warns about in Mark 14, as the latter is a prediction whose fulfilment begins with the “scattering” of the disciples. The scattering is predicted on the basis of Zech 13:7, which supports this study’s proposal that the “scattering” of Mark 14:27 is not exhausted by their flight, but includes reference to the suffering described in Mark 13. With these conclusions in mind, I turn to Mark 13:5–6, 7–8.

5.9: *Mark 13:5–8*

The present section demonstrates the influence of Zech 13 upon Mark 13:5–8.²¹⁴ Mark 13:5 starts Jesus’ answer to the disciples’ question in 13:4. He begins with the warning, βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ. Some scholars note that verse 5 marks the beginning of the *inclusio* formed with verse 23,²¹⁵ marked off by “He began to tell them . . .” and “Watch out for deceivers!” in 13:5 and “Watch out for deceivers!” and “I have told you everything” in 13:23. It seems more appropriate, however, to extend

²¹³ Zech 11:16. See CD^B 19:7–9, where the community self-identifies as “the little ones” of Zech 13:7, and interprets the latter phrase in conjunction with “the afflicted sheep” of Zech 11:7. Zech 11:7 belongs to the same unit as Zech 11:16.

²¹⁴ This section discusses material from Deut 13, Zech 13, and Mark 13, requiring a somewhat cumbersome repetition of the book names in order to avoid confusion.

²¹⁵ See Jan Lambrecht 1967, 168–69, 173; Gray 2010, 110.

the beginning of the inclusio to include verse 4. The inclusio would then be formed completely between 13:4–5 and 13:22–23. It is easily seen when laid out in full.

13:4: Tell us . . . the sign of the near-completion of all these things (εἰπόν ἡμῖν . . . πάντα)

13:5 Watch out! (βλέπετε)

13:5b . . . lest you are deceived (πλάνησι)

13:22 False christs/prophets will arise . . . to deceive (πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν)

13:23 Watch out! (ὁμεῖς δὲ βλέπετε)

13:23b I have told you all things (προεἶρηκα ὑμῖν πάντα)

Including verse 4 in the inclusio takes into account the πάντα in the disciples' question and in Jesus' answer, the complementary indirect objects ἡμῖν and ὑμῖν in 13:4 and 13:23, and maintains the connection between the verb form λέγω.²¹⁶ Moreover, while maintaining the unity of each respective section (13:1–4 and 13:5–23) because of the qualitative distinction between the former being the question, and the latter being the answer, including verse 4 in the inclusio further substantiates the connection of the answer (vv. 5–23) to the question (v. 4) by explicitly saying that all which the disciples have asked about, Jesus has answered.

Mark 13:5–6 introduces a vital aspect of the discourse: the danger of false teachers and prophets. The verses function as a frame for the discourse, supplying the front end of the inclusio in order to delimit 13:5–23 as a section. This is not to say that the verses should be disregarded as simply structural, rather: “The first sentence of this discourse sounds its *Leitmotif*.”²¹⁷ The placement of this motif at the beginning and end of the answer signifies the importance it holds for Mark. Whether or not Mark is warning of two distinct events in which the disciples will be threatened is unclear,²¹⁸ but what is clear is that deception is a constant threat in the time described. Mark's Jesus may have as his focal point the false teachers, prophets, and messiahs that mark the time between his death and the Jewish war,²¹⁹ or, as the discourse also has in view the *parousia*, and as the Son of Man's coming (descent) is juxtaposed to the coming (rising) of false prophets and messiahs in 13:22–26,²²⁰ Mark's Jesus may be

²¹⁶ εἰπόν is the 2nd person singular imperative of λέγω, and προεἶρηκα the 1st person singular perfect of the same verb.

²¹⁷ Marcus 2009, 879.

²¹⁸ A.Y. Collins (2007, 613) argues that these are indeed distinct events. For Collins, the warning in 13:5–6 refers to false teachers in the early stages of the tribulation, and 13:21–22 refers specifically to the false messiahs and prophets who would accompany the “affliction” preceding 70 CE. She translates the τότε of 13:21 as “at that time,” putting their arrival as an occurrence “within” the affliction as opposed to something “after” the affliction.

²¹⁹ See Josephus, *War* 2.13.5; *Ant.* 17.10.5–9; 20.5.1.

²²⁰ Pitre 2005, 329.

referring to the threat that marks the time between his death and return.²²¹ Thus whether or not 13:5–6 and 13:21–22 refer to distinct people and events, they share the quality of false teachers and messianic claimants attempting to “deceive” Jesus’ disciples.²²²

The arrival of deceivers is a common threat in Jewish literature,²²³ and Deut 13 likely functions as the source for such warnings in Mark 13.²²⁴ Deuteronomy 13:2–5 warns of prophets attempting to deceive (πλανῆσαι) the people into worship of other gods, giving signs and wonders (σημεῖον ἢ τέρας) to vindicate their messages. The commonality of these terms (deceive, signs, and wonders) with Mark 13:5–6, 21–22, increases the likelihood these warnings allude to Deut 13. Why do such figures, however, feature so prominently in warnings about “the end,” and more particularly, why do they feature in Mark 13 in a discourse supposedly about the destruction of the temple? The proposed influence of Zech 13 provides an answer. I suggest that Mark combines the “deceiving prophets” of Deut 13:3–4 with the “false prophets” of Zech 13:2 to depict the “false prophets who deceive” in Mark 13:5–6, 21–22.

5.9.1: *The False Prophets and Zechariah 13, Deuteronomy 13, and Mark 13*

Zechariah 13:8–9 depicts a period of testing by God of the remnant. After this period, God will say of this tested people, “This is my people,” and they will say, “the Lord is my God.”²²⁵ Relatedly, the precise reason in Deut 13 for the advent of false prophets is God’s *test* of the covenantal community. Deuteronomy 13:3–4 warns the people that even if the deceiving prophet’s sign comes true, they are not to follow after him, *because* “the Lord God is testing you to know if you love the Lord your God.”²²⁶ Zechariah 13 and Deut 13 contain four notable correspondences: 1) each relates a test;²²⁷ 2) the one testing is God; 3) the people tested are specifically the *covenantal* people of God; 4) each passage refers to (false) prophets. These correspondences both relate the two proposed reference texts (Deut 13 and Zech 13), and they appear in Mark 13.

²²¹ So Beasley-Murray 1990, 49.

²²² Contra Eugene Boring (2006, 362) who says, “. . . it is difficult to see Jesus as warning his own followers not to be taken in by the claims of militant Jewish nationalists asserting their messianic role. This would mean giving up their faith that Jesus is the Christ, and nothing in the speech indicates this is a threat.” Mark 13:5–6, 21–22 render this judgment difficult to accept.

²²³ Marcus (2009, 874–75) lists: CD 5:20; 1QH 4[12]:7, 16, 20; T. Moses 7:4; Acts 20:29–30; 2 Thess 2:9–12; 1 John 2:18, 22; 4:1–4; 2 Pet 2:1; 2 John 7; Rev 13:14; 19:20; Did 16:4; 2 Apoc Bar 70:2; 1 En 56:4.

²²⁴ This is a relative consensus. See e.g. A.Y. Collins 2007, 613; Marcus 2009, 875.

²²⁵ Zech 13:9.

²²⁶ Deut 13:4, my translation.

²²⁷ The verb for “test” differs in each passage. Deut 13:4 uses πειράζω and נסו; Zech 13:9, πυρώω/יָצַר and δοκιμάζω/יָחַב. Their semantic contents are similar, however, and the Psalms demonstrate synonymous use. Ps 25:2 (LXX) says, δοκιμάσον με κύριε καὶ πείρασόν με πύρωσον τοὺς νεφρούς μου καὶ τὴν καρδίαν μου. Ex 17:7 recalls the testing (πειράζειν) of God by the people at Meribah, and in the recounting of this occurrence in Ps 94:9 (LXX), the psalmist says, “Your fathers tested me, they tried me” (ἐπείρασαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν, ἐδοκίμασαν).

In Deut 13:4, God is testing the people to see if they “love the Lord your God” (κύριον τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν); similarly, Zech 13:9 promises that on the other side of the testing, the people will say, “The Lord is my God” (κύριος ὁ θεός μου). Correspondingly, in Mark 13, it is the people of God who are being tested, and it is the ones who persevere through such tests who will be saved.²²⁸ Additionally, Deut 13:2 refers to the deceiving agent as a “prophet” (προφήτης), while Zech 13:2 prophesies that “on that day,” the Lord will remove “the false prophets” (τοὺς ψευδοπροφήτας). The same word appears in Mark 13:22, where Jesus declares that “false prophets” (ψευδοπροφήται) will arise to deceive God’s elect. The latter lexical correspondence is important, as the term ψευδοπροφήται is relatively rare.

Only Greek versions of Jeremiah and Zechariah attest the term prior to Mark. Jeremiah uses it nine times (6:13; 33:7, 8, 11, 16; 34:9; 35:1; 36:1, 8) and Zechariah uses it only once (13:2). The instances in Jeremiah are relevant insofar as they occur in a context in which Jeremiah is predicting hardship for Israel, while the false prophets are predicting ease. Zechariah 13, on the other hand, promises the destruction of the false prophets “on that day.” The passage reads in part: καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ λέγει κύριος . . . τοὺς ψευδοπροφήτας καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον ἐξαρῶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. This prophecy’s use of “that day” may link it to the prophecies of Zech 14 via the association of events that will occur “on that day.”²²⁹ As already discussed, Mark uses Zech 14:5 to describe the coming of the Son of Man with his angels, and as will be discussed more fully below, Zech 14 and Mark 13 each refer to the day of the coming of the Lord with his angels as “that day.”²³⁰ Thus, within Zechariah, the combination of Zech 13:2 and 14:5 on the basis of the catchphrase “on that day” yields the image of the coming Lord destroying “the false prophets” “on that day.” Such an image coheres well with the sequence of events in Mark 13, where “the false prophets” are trying to deceive “the elect,” but the coming Son of Man and his angels rescue “the elect” “on that day.” The rarity of the term ψευδοπροφήται in conjunction with the correlation between the events and their sequences in Mark 13 and Zech 13–14 again provide evidence for the proposed influence of Zech 13 upon the Olivet Discourse.

In summary, the accumulation of these elements, namely, reference to a test, to God’s covenantal people, and to (false) prophets, within each respective context of Deut 13 and Zech 13,

²²⁸ Mark 13:9–13.

²²⁹ Regarding the use of the phrase “that day,” see Meyers and Meyers 1993, 316–17: “Nowhere else in Hebrew prophecy is there such an oft-repeated invocation of stereotyped terminology heralding God’s final judgment of all the world.”

²³⁰ Mark 13:32 refers to the day of the Son of Man’s coming as “that day,” a term that is hitherto unused in Mark 13. Zech 14 uses this term eight times to refer primarily to the day of the Lord’s coming with angels, and consequently, to the events that will occur on that day. See Zech 14:4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 20, 21.

supports the proposal of their combined use in Mark 13.²³¹ Indeed, the combination of Deut 13 and Zech 13 in Mark 13 provides an internal rationale to Jesus' teaching. First, fear of false teachers, and particularly the prediction of deceivers coming in the name of the group's founder, as Mark 13:5–6 describes, are reasonable within a scenario of a community suddenly finding itself bereft of its leader.²³² Zechariah 13:7–9 depicts this scenario well, where the sheep are scattered due to the sudden loss of their shepherd. Second, in the absence of their leader, the people will be tested. Once more, Zech 13:7–9 provides this sequence, as the time of the scattering after the striking of the shepherd is described unambiguously as a test of the people. These interlocking pieces yield the following picture: the group, separated from its leader (Zech 13:7) will be tested (Zech 13:9). This test, ultimately from God (Zech 13:7, 9/Deut 13:4), will come in the form of false prophets and teachers (Deut 13:2–5/Zech 13:2) claiming to speak in the name of its leader (Mark 13:5–6, 21–22). These false prophets, however, will not endure, but will be destroyed on the day of the Lord's coming with his angels. The combination of Zech 13 and Deut 13 makes good sense exegetically as each relates a test by God of the covenantal people with reference to (false) prophets, and it makes good sense within Mark's narrative as the combination yields a picture, or sequence of events, replicated in the experience of the disciples in Mark 13. Thus the combined use of Zech 13 and Deut 13 in Mark 13 is plausible due to Mark's allusions to the respective passages and by their ability to provide a satisfactory explanation of Mark's intratextual data, namely, the sequence of events as Mark presents it.²³³

5.9.2: Mark 13:7–8 and Zechariah 13:8

I turn now to the correspondence of Zech 13:8 with Mark 13:7–8. The latter predicts international wars, earthquakes, and famines. Though the latter does not reproduce the language of Zech 13:8, I *suggest* the influence of Zech 13:8 on five grounds: 1) thematic correspondence; 2) a catchword association; 3) the corresponding structures between Zech 13:8–9 and Mark 13:7–13; 4) the evidence of Sib Or 3:538–544; 5) the precedent set by Mark 9:2–9. I proceed in the order listed.

First, Zech 13:8 describes suffering in "all the land" in non-specific terms, plausibly referring to the afflictions of war.²³⁴ Zechariah 13:8 declares that two-thirds of the people will be "cut off and

²³¹ Shively (2012, 201) rightly cites Jer 14:13–14 as an important text for Mark 13. There, Jeremiah warns that false prophets deceive the people by saying that there will only be peace when in fact there will be destruction. It is worth reminding that the noted influence of Zech 13 does not preclude other operating allusions. Presently, I pursue the influence of Zech 13 due to its ability to explain *why* false prophets are appearing, namely, because their presence relates a test of the covenantal people.

²³² See Acts 20:29–31, Paul's farewell speech to the Ephesians.

²³³ See Section 1.3.1 for discussion of Hays' "satisfaction" criterion.

²³⁴ Meyers and Meyers (1993, 391) relate the verse to the Babylonian conquest.

perish.” The word “cut off” (from כרת; ἐξολεθρεύω) is often used in passages that describe the death and exile of a group by military means.²³⁵ Thus Zech 13:8 and Mark 13:7–8 correspond thematically via their shared prediction of war and general tribulation. Second, Zech 13:8 and the prophecy of Zech 14:2 may be linked by the catchword “cut off,” as each uses a form of that term in their respective descriptions of attacks upon Israel. The use of Zech 14:1–5 later in Mark 13:14–22 to describe the tribulation may indicate that the passage related by a catchword (Zech 13:8) is influential in Mark 13:7–8. Furthermore, Zech 14:5 mentions “the earthquake” (הרעש; τοῦ σεισμοῦ), which corresponds to the same word in Mark 13:7 (σεισμοί).

Third, Zech 13:8–9 and Mark 13:7–13 correspond structurally.²³⁶ As Zech 13:8–9 proceeds from Zech 13:8’s general suffering “in all the land” to Zech 13:9’s refinement of the God’s covenantal people, so Mark 13:7–13 proceeds from Mark 13:7–8’s international wars and earthquakes “in various places” (κατὰ τόπους) to 13:9–13’s suffering of God’s covenantal people.²³⁷ Fourth, Sib Or 3:538–544 alludes to Zech 13:8, and it cashes out the tribulation in terms of war, pestilence, drought, and famine.²³⁸ The latter afflictions are the same events that Mark 13:7–8 mentions, namely war, earthquakes, and famine. The proposal that Mark 13:7–8 uses Zech 13:8 as a framework from which to make predictions gains plausibility by Sibylline Oracles’ use of the same material in Zechariah to refer to the same types of afflictions.

Fifth and finally, Mark 9:2–9, examined in Section 5.8.3.1, exhibits the Markan practice of alluding to a reference text by the arrangement of similar events rather than lexical replication. In Mark 9:2–9, Mark arguably alludes to Ex 24 by replicating its sequence of events. Mark 9 undoubtedly contains lexical replication as well, but the majority of the parallels obtain via correspondence of events. Thus if the latter intratextual data represents a characteristic Markan practice, then a lack of lexical correspondence between Mark 13:7–8 and Zech 13:8 is not sufficient in itself to claim that no allusion obtains. Accordingly, the precedent of Mark 9:2–9 in conjunction with the above four correspondences indicates that the influence of Zech 13:8 upon Mark 13:7–8 is at least possible. I suggest it only in light of the other connections to Zech 13–14. Before turning to Mark 13:9–13, 13:7–8 itself requires examination with respect to its function in the discourse as a whole.

²³⁵ See e.g. Deut 1:27; 2:24; Josh 9:24.

²³⁶ This argument presupposes the correspondence of Zech 13:9 with Mark 13:9–13, which I argue in detail in the next section.

²³⁷ For the disciples being the “covenantal” people, see Mark 14:24.

²³⁸ For full discussion of this text, see Section 2.4.

The passage begins with the first of three uses of ὅταν with a conjunction.²³⁹ The temporal particle ὅταν picks up the πότε and ὅταν from the question of the disciples, but the subsequent warnings not to be afraid, and the declaration that it is not yet the end, indicate that the international disasters Jesus predicts are not the sign the disciples seek.²⁴⁰ The phrase δεῖ γενέσθαι uses terminology from Dan 2:28–29 and provides assurance that even amidst terrible disasters, Israel’s God is in control. This attitude, implicit in Mark 13, is reflected in the Daniel passage utilized. There the prophet says, “Let the name of God be blessed forever and ever, for wisdom and power belong to him. It is he who changes the times and the epochs.”²⁴¹

“The end” in 13:7 refers not to the end of the age or world, but to the destruction of the temple.²⁴² The statement occurs in the answer to the question about the destruction of the temple, and as no reference has yet been made to any other event, the focus evidently remains on the temple. The phrase ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων ταῦτα has a rich history of interpretation. Its resonance with the rabbinic phrase, “the birth pang(s) of the Messiah” (הבּלוּ שֶׁל מְשִׁיחַ),²⁴³ has led scholars to postulate a pre-technical use of the concept here.²⁴⁴ In Mark, it likely reflects the usage from the Jewish scriptures in which “birth pangs” describe the period of suffering that precedes or accompanies God’s judgment on a particular city or nation.²⁴⁵ In this case, the wars and natural disasters comprise a part of the sufferings that precede the destruction of Jerusalem. The designation “beginning” indicates that more will follow. Though I have argued for the structural influence of Zechariah here, the particular vocabulary of wars and earthquakes reflects the influence of numerous prophetic passages. Wars and earthquakes commonly feature in contexts that discuss approaching disasters.²⁴⁶ Earthquakes, however, may not simply be stock imagery from apocalyptic texts. Rather, the presence and function of earthquakes in Mark 13 may be directly related to the topic at hand, namely, the imminent destruction of a city. In several scriptural contexts

²³⁹ See also Mark 13:11, 14.

²⁴⁰ Contra Maloney (2002, 254–256) and Marcus (2009, 876) who claim that the wars of vv. 7–8 refer to the conflicts of 66–70 CE. The apparent international stage of fighting suggests conflicts from abroad. Their reading also mistakes “the end” for “the *parousia*/the consummation of the age” rather than the “end” of the temple.

²⁴¹ Dan 2:20–21.

²⁴² So Wright 1996, 345–48; Gray 2010, 115; Stein 2014, 79.

²⁴³ The earliest attestation of the phrase in the Mishnah is Soṭa 9:15. For discussion of the rabbinic contexts, see Mark Dubis 2002, 6–13.

²⁴⁴ See e.g. Lane 1974, 458–59; Gundry 1993, 763; France 2002, 512.

²⁴⁵ See Isa 13:8; 21:3; 26:17; Jer 4:31; 6:24; 22:23; 30:6; 50:43; Mic 4:9–10; Hos 13:13.

²⁴⁶ For references to war see: Dan 11:40–42; Rev 9:7, 9; 11:7; 2 Apoc. Bar. 27:5; 48:37. For earthquakes as eschatological signs, see Rev 6:12; 8:5; 1 En 1:7; 4 Ezra 9:3.

the earth shakes because God is angry with a particular city or nation,²⁴⁷ and judgment upon that city or nation draws near. Such an origin for the notion of various earthquakes fits Mark 13 for obvious reasons.

5.9.3: Summary

In Mark 13:1–8, the disciples respond to Jesus’ prophecy about the temple’s destruction by asking about the timing of the event. Jesus’ answer discusses the threat of false prophets and teachers that will characterize the time between his departure and the temple’s end, and the rise of international disasters. His answer, rather than being a departure from the somewhat straightforward question, makes sense when viewed within the context of Zech 13–14. That is, the proposed framework of Zech 13–14 provides a satisfactory explanation as to why the answer to a question about the temple’s destruction relocates to “the Mount of Olives” and begins with a description of false prophets who test the community, and international disasters. I turn now to Mark 13:9–13, focusing on the interpretation of the Markan pericope both as it relates to Zech 13:9 and as it stands within the discourse as a whole.

5.10: Mark 13:9–13

Mark 13:9–13 separates itself as a new unit by the noted shift in subject matter and the opening δέ of 13:9. The basic thrust of the passage is clear: the disciples will suffer due both to their claim that Jesus is Messiah and because of the consequent change in social and religious praxis.²⁴⁸ These verses focus on suffering that is distinct to the disciples.²⁴⁹ The section begins, βλέπετε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἑαυτοὺς.²⁵⁰ The disciples are then warned of the afflictions they will endure ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ and διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου.²⁵¹ Jesus’ three-fold prediction of his own betrayal²⁵² is matched in 13:9–13 with a three-fold prediction of betrayal for the disciples.²⁵³ Additionally, the sequence of afflictions predicted for the disciples matches the sequence of Jesus’ afflictions as narrated in his arrest, trial, and death.²⁵⁴ The disciples will be handed over (παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς) to the councils (συνέδρια), beaten (δαρήσεσθε) in the synagogues, stand on trial before governors and kings, and be put to death (θανατώσουσιν αὐτοὺς).²⁵⁵ Their being handed over is also referred to as their being “led away” (ἄγωσιν ὑμᾶς παραδιδόντες).²⁵⁶ Similarly, in

²⁴⁷ See 2 Sam 22:8; Ps 17:8 (LXX); Isa 13:13; Jer 10:10.

²⁴⁸ See e.g. Mark 3:34–35, where obedience to God’s will, expressed through following Jesus, displaces the typical recognition of family members. See extended discussion on the latter point in Shively 2015, 392–93.

²⁴⁹ Pesch (1977, 2:288) claims that Mark could apply this text to his community’s persecution in Rome under Claudius and Nero.

²⁵⁰ Mark 13:9.

²⁵¹ Mark 13:9 and 13.

²⁵² Mark 9:31; 10:33 (x2).

²⁵³ Mark 13:9, 11, 12. Noted also by Shively 2012, 202.

²⁵⁴ Noted by Geddert 1989, 167–73; Shively 2012, 202.

²⁵⁵ Mark 13:9, 12.

²⁵⁶ Mark 13:11.

14:42–15:20, Jesus, too, is handed over (παραδίδοται)²⁵⁷ to the council (ὄλον τὸ συνέδριον),²⁵⁸ beaten (κολαφίζειν),²⁵⁹ stands trial before Pilate,²⁶⁰ scourged (φραγελλώσας),²⁶¹ led away (ἀπήγαγον),²⁶² and put to death (σταυρώσωσιν αὐτόν).²⁶³ Thus the disciples suffer for following Jesus, and their suffering is like his own.

I argue that Mark 13:9–13 corresponds to Zech 13:9 both due to its position post-Mark 13:7–8,²⁶⁴ and due to its thematic and lexical correspondence with Zech 13:7–9. The correspondence to Zech 13:7–9 obtains in light of (1) the logical relationship throughout Mark between the suffering of Jesus and that of his disciples and the relation of these points to Zech 13:7–9; (2) the influence of Zech 13:9 upon Mark 9:49, and the relation of the latter to Mark 13:9–13; (3) the relation between Mark 13:9–13 and the use of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27–31; and (4) a lexical correspondence between Zech 13:9 and Mark 13:13. The first three points have been discussed in detail in the previous chapter,²⁶⁵ and so I simply repeat the pertinent conclusions here.

First, Mark 8:34–38 and 13:9–13 exhibit the following pattern: the Messiah suffers, and so those who follow him suffer. The same pattern of “corporate solidarity” is exhibited in Zech 13:7–9, where the striking of the shepherd leads inexorably to the refinement of the people of God. As Mark uses Zech 13:7 to refer to the striking of the shepherd (= the suffering of the Messiah), it follows that the suffering of the disciples correlates to the refinement of the people in Zech 13:9. The latter correlation is not confined, however, to an implicit logical relationship, but is in fact exhibited in an allusion to Zech 13:9 in Mark 9:49. Thus, second, in Mark 9:42–49, Jesus calls the disciples “little ones” and tells them they will all be “salted with fire.” Reference to “little ones” and “fire” alludes to Zech 13:7–9, where the people of God are “the little ones” who subsequently go “through the fire” after the shepherd is struck. I conclude, as have most Mark scholars, that Mark 9:49’s “fire” refers to future tribulations. Mark 13:9–13, I argue, constitutes such tribulations. Accordingly, Jesus is the “shepherd” who is struck, and the disciples are the “little ones” who go through the “fire.” The suffering of Jesus and the disciples, then, is expressed not only in ways that are thematically similar to Zech 13:7–9, but also by lexemes distinct to

²⁵⁷ Mark 14:41–42.

²⁵⁸ Mark 14:55.

²⁵⁹ Mark 14:65.

²⁶⁰ Mark 15:1.

²⁶¹ Mark 15:15.

²⁶² Mark 15:16.

²⁶³ Mark 15:20.

²⁶⁴ See my third argument in Section 5.9.2.

²⁶⁵ For point (1), see Sections 4.3 and 4.4; for point (2) see Section 4.2.2; for point (3) see Section 4.2.2.1, Figures 4.1, 4.2, and Section 4.2.3.

that material. Third, I argued in Sections 4.2.2.1 for several correspondences between the Markan passage that quotes Zech 13:7 (Mark 14:27–31), and Mark 13. The numerous correspondences include: 1) the shared setting upon the Mount of Olives; 2) the fact that each passage predicts circumstances for the disciples that obtain as a result of Jesus’ death; 3) reference to the rooster crow; 4) the command to stay alert; 5) the use of the verb “to die”; 6) reference to the “hour” of suffering; and 7) the word δεῖ as it applied to suffering and dying for Jesus. Each of the preceding elements is shared by, and confined to, Mark 13, Mark 14:27–31, and the narration of Mark 14’s predictions. Ultimately, Mark 14:27–31 predicts a future “falling away” as a result of Jesus’ death. That “falling away” or “scattering,” possibly beginning with the disciples’ flight, continues through the tribulations of Mark 13, until the people of God are finally “gathered” by the Son of Man and the angels.

The fourth and final correspondence obtains between the phrase “my name,” used in both Zech 13:9 and Mark 13:13. In Zech 13:9, the tested remnant, the people who go through the fire, call upon “my name” (בשמי; τὸ ὄνομά μου), and the Lord responds. In Mark 13:13, the disciples endure the enumerated tribulations “on account of my name” (διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου), and those who persevere will be saved by God. Thus each passage refers to the suffering community and its relationship to the one for whom they suffer. In light of the preceding correspondences, this relatively common phrase (“my name”) may further indicate the influence of Zech 13:9.

Thus I detect the affinity between Mark 13:9–13 and Zech 13:9 due to thematic correspondences and lexical parity. Simply put, the afflictions that the disciples endure are the fulfilment of the prophetic utterance that the people of God will be tested after the shepherd is struck. Once more, the order of events in Zech 13:7–9 is matched in Mark 13. Just as Zech 13:7–9 progresses from 1) the striking of the shepherd to 2) the affliction of “all the land” to 3) the testing of the covenantal people, so Mark 13 (in light of intratextual data, namely, Mark 8:34–38, 9:42–49, and 14:27–31), progresses from 1) Jesus’ death to 2) international conflicts, including earthquakes, wars, and famines, to 3) the persecution of Jesus’ disciples. That the events predicted in Zech 13 and Mark 13 parallel one another is reason enough to suggest the influence of Zech 13, but when the lexically and thematically related passages (Mark 9:49, 14:27–31) allude to and quote Zech 13:7–9 in order to substantiate that which will happen to the disciples after Jesus’ death, the plausibility of the influence of Zechariah upon Mark 13 becomes all the greater. Before leaving Mark 13:9–13, however, I pursue two more points that betray the influence of Zechariah: (1) the phrase πάντα τὰ ἔθνη in Mark 13:10, and (2) the “spirit” in 13:11.

5.10.1: Mark 13:10 and Zechariah 14

Mark 13:10 is often regarded as an editorial addition into 13:9–13,²⁶⁶ “interrupting the flow of these verses.”²⁶⁷ Such conclusions concern the discernment of Mark’s hand over against his sources. While this study is not concerned with such matters, this section argues that recognizing an allusion to Zech 14 in Mark 13:10 may smooth over the apparent awkwardness of that verse in this section. Mark 13:10 reads: καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτον δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Mark uses the temporal adverb πρῶτον to indicate that the evangelism of the nations must take place “first,” that is, before some event occurs. Scholars debate whether that event is the *parousia* or the temple’s destruction.²⁶⁸ Because the discourse ultimately has in view both events, it is not of utmost importance to settle on a referent for the unstated event. The adverb πρῶτον, however, should probably be read in continuity with 13:7’s τὸ τέλος, in which case the event would be the destruction of the temple. Furthermore, as the statement takes place within the section concerning the temple’s destruction (13:5–23), and as the discourse has yet to mention any other focal event, the destruction of the temple is likely in view.

The εἰς in conjunction with the accusative πάντα τὰ ἔθνη functions as a locative preposition, and thus the sentence describes the necessity of a mission “in” or “among” the nations before “the end.” Because gentile inclusion in the new age is a relatively common feature of several prophetic texts,²⁶⁹ and some Second Temple literature,²⁷⁰ and because the phrase πάντα τὰ ἔθνη is used broadly across Greek scriptures,²⁷¹ scholars have resisted pinpointing an exact allusion. Dyer, for example, says, “There would appear to be no clear OT background to this verse,”²⁷² before arguing that Zech 2:11 is the source due to the latter’s declaration that “on that day many nations will be converted to Yahweh.”²⁷³ Pitre²⁷⁴ and Gray²⁷⁵ argue that Isa 66 is the primary influence behind Mark 13:10 due to that passage’s reference of

²⁶⁶ See Pesch 1977, 2:284; Gaston 1970, 20; Mann 1986, 519; Marcus (2009, 883), claims that “Mark himself created this verse and inserted it here, out of chronological sequence . . .”

²⁶⁷ Adams 2007, 143.

²⁶⁸ For the view that the event is the temple’s destruction, see discussion in Stein 2014, 82–83. For the majority view that the event is the *parousia*, see e.g. Evans 2001, 306–310; Moloney 2002, 257; Marcus 2009, 886.

²⁶⁹ See Isa 2:1–4; 42:6; 49:6, 12; 52:10; 56:3–8; 60:3–4; 66:18–23; Mic 4:1–3; Jer 3:17; Zech 2:15; 8:20–23; 14:16.

²⁷⁰ E.g. Pss. Sol. 8:17, 43; 11:1.

²⁷¹ Dyer (1998, 105) says the phrase πάντα τὰ ἔθνη is used “some 95 times in the LXX,” but his count excludes the phrase when used in other grammatical cases, e.g. πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν.

²⁷² Ibid., 105. Mann 1986, 519, is even bolder, claiming that “no material in the Old Testament remotely parallels this verse in Mark.”

²⁷³ Dyer 1998, 105. Dyer’s translation of Zech 2:11.

²⁷⁴ Pitre 2005, 323.

²⁷⁵ Gray 2010, 123.

“hatred by brothers for the Lord’s sake,”²⁷⁶ the use of phrases “birth pangs”²⁷⁷ and “all the nations,”²⁷⁸ and a mention of “the coming of God.”²⁷⁹ While I do not deny the merit in these arguments, another text – Zech 14 – contains more contextual congruence, potentially more explanatory power for the placement of the sentence in Mark 13, and maintains vital lexical data. In Zech 14:16, “all the nations” stream to Jerusalem to worship Israel’s God. Notably, this coming of gentiles to worship occurs precisely after an attack on Jerusalem and after God’s arrival with angels. This sequence is entirely consistent with Mark 13, and indeed clarifies why Mark would mention a necessary mission to “all the nations” in a discourse about both the destruction of the temple and Jerusalem, and the coming of the Son of Man with angels.²⁸⁰ In Zech 14, the coming of “all the nations” *after* an attack on Jerusalem and *after* the theophany with angels corresponds with Mark’s declaration that “all the nations” must be evangelized “first” (that is, *before* the attack and *before* the Son of Man’s coming with angels).

Zechariah 14 uses the phrase “all the nations” (from כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם; πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) four times: Zech 14:2, 16, 18, 19.²⁸¹ Zechariah 14:3 could serve as a fifth reference as it mentions “those nations” whose antecedent is “all the nations” of 14:2. In Zech 14:2 they are the nations that attack Jerusalem; in the rest of these references, they are the ones who either flock to worship Israel’s God, or refuse and are therefore punished with plagues. The eschatological inclusion of gentiles is not uncommon in Jewish scriptures, but Zech 14 is nonetheless a distinct source for the idea, because rather than simply declaring *that* it will happen, it actually *describes* its occurrence. Furthermore, intratextual evidence, namely, Mark 13:3’s opening allusion to Zech 14:4, indicates both Mark’s knowledge of the text and perhaps his intent to alert the reader to its context. Finally, the contextual correspondence between Zech 14 and Mark 13 suggests the former as the influence, as it supplies an internal logic as to why Mark would include that piece of teaching in this particular discourse. Both texts describe an attack on Jerusalem, consequent trouble for homes and women, a theophany accompanied by angels, and the inclusion of *all willing* nations into the people of God. Additionally, the fact that Mark 13:10 seems out of place without the acknowledgement of Zech 14, but fits well when read in light of it, recommends acknowledging the influence of the latter. In other words, recognizing the influence of Zech 14 provides

²⁷⁶ Isa 66:5 (paraphrase).

²⁷⁷ Isa 66:7–8.

²⁷⁸ Isa 66:18.

²⁷⁹ Isa 66:18.

²⁸⁰ Dyer (1998, 105) says that Zech 14:16 “does not fit the context of the destruction of Jerusalem in Mk 13.” I do not follow his conclusion given that the prophecy of Zech 14 is specifically about an attack upon Jerusalem.

²⁸¹ This count includes forms in the nominative, genitive, and accusative cases.

a much-sought *satisfaction* with respect to the placement of Mark 13:10 in this discourse.²⁸² Within Mark 13:9–13, the disciples’ suffering itself provides the opportunity for this evangelism.²⁸³

5.10.2: *Mark 13:11 and Zechariah 4:6*

In the midst of the disciples’ persecution, Jesus tells them that they are not to be anxious ahead of time about what to say, but instead are to rely on what the Spirit gives them, for it is actually the Holy Spirit who is speaking. Several commentators associate this promise of inspired speech with the assurances given to Moses and Jeremiah that though they are ineloquent, the Lord will instruct them in what to say.²⁸⁴ That parallel rests on the verb “to speak” (from דבר; λαλέω)²⁸⁵ and the comparable notion of God supplying words to the speaker. It may indeed lie behind Jesus’ declaration. An additional reference, however, contains a meaningful lexical and syntactical parallel that may also influence Mark 13:11 – Zech 4:6. I compare the two texts below:

The last sentence in **Mark 13:11** reads: οὐ γάρ ἐστε ὑμεῖς οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον

The “word of the Lord” in **Zech 4:6** (LXX) reads: οὐκ ἐν δυνάμει μεγάλη οὐδὲ ἐν ἰσχύι ἀλλ’ ἢ ἐν πνεύματί μου λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ

Each verse uses a form of οὐκ, an adversative ἀλλά, and refers to God’s πνεῦμα.²⁸⁶ Reference to the spirit of God is of course widespread in the scriptures, but Zech 4:6 in Greek versions of Jewish scriptures *uniquely* refers to God’s spirit in conjunction with an adversative ἀλλά. Furthermore, each verse names “the spirit” as that which actually aids the respective endeavor after listing thing(s) that will *not* be of help. Finally, importantly, each verse occurs in a context about the temple. Several scholars note that Mark subtly teaches that the community of believers becomes the new temple founded upon the rejected cornerstone, Jesus.²⁸⁷ As Jesus suffers and thereby becomes the cornerstone of the new temple, so the disciples suffer through their evangelism, and thereby *expand* the temple, that is, the community of believers. Intriguingly, Zech 4 declares that the work of building the new temple rests not on power or armies, but on the spirit of God; likewise, Mark 13:11 declares that expanding the new temple (the Christian community), depends not on the speech of the disciples, but on the spirit of God.

²⁸² See Hays’ “satisfaction” criterion in Section 1.3.1.

²⁸³ See Shively 2012, 202; she takes the καί of 13:10 as a link between verses 9 and 11, indicating that their suffering is the means of evangelism.

²⁸⁴ See Ex 4:10–17; Jer 1:6–10. See discussions in Lane 1974, 463; Beasley-Murray 1993, 404; Marcus 2009, 883. Marcus also cites Num 24:2–3; 2 Sam 23:2; and 1 Kgs 22:24 as examples of inspired speech.

²⁸⁵ E.g. Ex 4:12.

²⁸⁶ The same syntactic parallels obtain via comparison to MT Zech 4:6.

²⁸⁷ See Wright 1996, 426; Marcus 2009, 814; Shively 2012, 190–96.

In both cases, the cornerstone is already laid,²⁸⁸ and the completion of the project depends upon God's spirit.

Thus the proposed influence of Zech 4:6 contains more lexical overlaps than any other proposed allusion, a unique syntactical parallel, and (a subversive) contextual correspondence that incorporates Markan intratextual data. Furthermore, recognizing the use of Zech 4:6 in Mark 13:11 both contributes to the subtle, underlying notion that Jesus and his community function as the new temple, and adds to the accumulating evidence that Zechariah greatly influences the teaching of Mark 13. Before moving on to 13:14–21, some final remarks about 13:9–13 are in order.

5.10.3: Summary

Several features distinguish this unit from the surrounding material. The $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ of 13:9, along with the emphatic address of the disciples and the shift in topic, separate 13:9 from 13:5–8. The similar use of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ in 13:14, and the consequent shift in subject, indicate that 13:13 is the concluding verse in this pericope. This section of Mark 13 describes the future suffering of the disciples that results from their allegiance to Jesus. The $\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\nu$ of 13:11 is the second of three uses of that particle within 13:5–23, and like its use in 13:7, it responds to the $\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$ and $\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\nu$ of the disciples' question in 13:4. Like the construction of 13:7, 13:11's imperative not to be anxious, and the lack of information regarding the timing of the temple's destruction, indicate that the disciples' suffering is not the sign the disciples seek.²⁸⁹ Though the disciples will suffer terribly, their afflictions are not that which indicate the nearness of the temple's destruction. In the concluding sentence of the unit, Jesus promises that "the one who perseveres unto the end will be saved." The "end" of 13:13 is not the end of the temple or the end of the world, but the end of one's life, and thus refers to death or martyrdom.²⁹⁰ In other words, the one who loses his or her life for Jesus' sake will save it (Mark 8:35).

²⁸⁸ See Wolters 2014, 111–27. Wolters argues that the "top stone" of Zech 4:7 is the foundational stone-work of the old temple upon which the rest of the temple will be built. In Mark, the cornerstone is the rejected Messiah (see 12:1–10).

²⁸⁹ Stein 2014, 80.

²⁹⁰ In this sentence, the "perseverance" could mean "persistence" in the sense of "survival" or "faithful endurance"; the "end" could refer to the end of one's life, the end of the temple, or the end of the age, i.e. the moment of Jesus' *parousia*; finally, "saved" could refer to physical survival or eternal salvation. Thus, one could translate this verse in any of the following permutations: The one who [survives/faithfully perseveres] unto the end [of the temple/of one's life/of the age] will [be eternally saved/physically survive]. Eschatological salvation must be the sense of "be saved" because otherwise Jesus would be promising that physical survival would result either from "physical survival" or from "faithfulness," neither of which is the case as the former would be redundant and the latter would indicate the opposite from that which he just predicted, namely, that faithfulness may result in death. Thus "faithful perseverance" must be the meaning of "the one enduring" because otherwise Jesus would be teaching that eschatological salvation depended on one's physically surviving the tribulations, which is negated by Mark 8:34–38 and 13:12. Thus one is left with choosing between the end of the temple/one's

Thus, in response to the disciples' question about the timing of the temple's destruction, Jesus warns them about events that are sure to come (international disasters and persecutions), but nonetheless do not constitute the signs they seek. The continuity between his answer and their question is maintained by the use of ὅταν in their question and the repeated use of that term throughout his answer. In verses 5–13, “when” they hear of wars or earthquakes or experience persecution they are not to be alarmed, and their only reaction is to endure.²⁹¹ I argue in the next section, however, that verse 14 provides the answer they seek, and that 13:14–22 depicts some of the consequent terrors surrounding the impending destruction of the temple. This section concludes that Mark 13:6–13 corresponds to Zech 13:8–9 in that each predicts war and eschatological testing of the people of God. The correspondence with Zech 13–14 continues in Mark 13:14–22 as that which proceeds in both Zech 14 and Mark 13 is the attack on Jerusalem and the consequent afflictions.

5.11: Mark 13:14–23

Mark distinguishes 13:14 from the preceding material by the conjunction δέ and the change in subject matter. Jesus is no longer discussing international wars, natural disasters, or disciple-oriented suffering; instead he shifts to the localized horrors pertinent to the destruction of the temple. He is not discussing the end of the world as his injunction to flee would be pointless;²⁹² nor is he discussing a universal tribulation as the focus is evidently upon Judea. His claim in 13:19 that no tribulation since the beginning of creation would be as terrible is prophetic hyperbole; the phrase “those days” followed by an inferential conjunction, γάρ, in 13:19, links the tribulation of that verse with the tribulation of 13:15–18. His advice is straightforward, even if the precise referent of “the abomination of desolation” is not. An interpretative paraphrase of the material will help orient the discussion before turning to exegesis.

¹⁴ But when you see the abomination of desolation standing where he shouldn't be, it is time for everyone in Judea to flee to the mountains. ¹⁵ Those on their housetops and ¹⁶ in the fields have no time to lose. ¹⁷ Pregnant women and nursing women will be especially vulnerable. ¹⁸ Pray that flight not occur in winter because travel would be especially difficult then. ¹⁹ That period of tribulation will be the worst God's creation has ever endured, ²⁰ but thankfully God will shorten its duration; otherwise, if he didn't, everyone would perish. But God will shorten those days of

life/the age. If one chooses the temple, the sentence means, “The one who faithfully perseveres until the destruction of the temple will be [eschatologically] saved.” But surely one must be faithful after the temple's destruction. As Mark 13 does not conflate the temple's destruction with the *parousia*, there is time between those events, and faithfulness in the midst of suffering is a requirement in that time. Taking the “end” as “the end of the age,” is possible, but I think the decision is unwarranted, as thus far Jesus has evidently not veered from the disciples' question about the temple, and in any case, has not mentioned his *parousia* yet. Thus one is left with “The one who endures the persecution unto death will be saved.”

²⁹¹ Hooker 1991, 313.

²⁹² So Lane 1974, 467.

tribulation for the sake of his chosen people. ²¹ And when you're fleeing, or any time thereafter, if anyone says the Messiah has come or is here or there, don't believe it! ²² For false messiahs and false prophets will arise and present signs and wonders meant to deceive, if possible, God's chosen people. ²³ But you all watch out! I have forewarned you about everything you've asked.

I have taken some interpretative liberties with the text, but hopefully my sense of the material has thereby been clarified. I take the “abomination of desolation” of 13:14 to constitute the answer to the disciples’ request for a sign. At the onset of previous events, the disciples were not to fear, and not to be anxious or surprised; the tenor of this warning, however, is completely different. At the sight of the abomination, the disciples are to flee. Indicating the precise referent of τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως is unnecessary for the present interpretation.²⁹³ What is important for this study is that in Mark’s narrative, the abomination of desolation is something that precedes the destruction of the temple, and is not equated with the destruction itself. The internal evidence of Mark 13 – the prophecy against the temple, the question about the prophecy, the setting on the Mount of Olives opposite the temple, and the discourse about the timing of the temple’s destruction – suggest that the “abomination of desolation” is 1) related to the temple; 2) negatively affects the temple, likely referring to a person or event that either corrupts the temple praxis or profanes the grounds,²⁹⁴ and 3) if 13:14 is in fact the answer to their question, the “abomination” signals the temple’s impending destruction. The intertextual evidence, that is, the Danielic contexts from which the phrase is taken,²⁹⁵ confirm this reading as Daniel uses the phrase to refer to an object that profanes the temple²⁹⁶ and eventuates in its destruction.

The subsequent warnings and laments in Mark 13:14–20 suggest, at the least, that the abomination is associated with a militaristic conflict between the Jews and Romans, as external dangers

²⁹³ Scholars suggest a range of plausible referents, some more convincing than others. Gaston 1970, 27–28, interprets it in light of 2 Thess 2:4 as “a personal Anti-Christ.” Given Mark’s open reference to “false christs” in 13:22, I do not think a cryptic reference to an antichrist in 13:14 is likely. Gaston concedes the latter point, but rather than modify his belief that 13:13 refers to the antichrist, he claims that 13:22 is an interpolation. Stein lists seven possibilities before landing on the crimes committed by John of Gischala and Eleazar ben Simon in 67–8 CE (2008, 603–4). A.Y. Collins (2007, 610–11) argues that the abomination is a statue of a deity. She argues that an image of a foreign deity would constitute sacrilege, and the fact that the abomination is both the statue itself and the deity whom it represents accounts for the shift from the neuter noun (βδέλυγμα) to the masculine participle (ἐστηκώς).

²⁹⁴ So e.g. Lane 1974, 467; Gundry 1993, 741; Evans 2001, 318–19; A.Y. Collins 2007, 607–10; Stein 2008, 603–4; Marcus 2009, 889–891. See Section 5.4.1 for my reasoning as to why the abomination does not refer to Jesus’ death.

²⁹⁵ Dan 11:31; 12:11.

²⁹⁶ See 1 Macc 1:54, in conjunction with Josephus, *Ant.* 12.5.4, which indicate that the “desolating sacrilege” of Daniel was a pagan altar built upon the temple altar.

apparently threaten safety. The command to flee and the particular jeopardy of women and children indicate the circumstances of war. Such circumstances are suggested due to several texts that describe judgments upon Israel or Jerusalem carried out by foreign militaries, which particularly lament the fate of women and children.²⁹⁷ Furthermore, the contexts of Daniel from which the phrase τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως originates describe war-like circumstances.²⁹⁸ Taken together, the above points indicate that τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, with probable militaristic connotations, refers to a person or event that profanes the temple and precedes its destruction.

Whatever the referent, the abomination of desolation is the sign the disciples seek.²⁹⁹ Five factors within the discourse lead to this conclusion. First, the wording of Jesus' declaration, ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃτε . . . τότε . . ., picks up the language from the question, "When (πότε) will these things be, and what will be the sign when (ὅταν) all these things are about to be fulfilled?" Unlike the ὅταν of 13:7 and 11, where the disciples are told "don't be troubled" and "don't be anxious," the use in 13:14 is followed by τότε, recalling the πότε of the question,³⁰⁰ and a positive imperative (φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη), indicating this is the information they request. Second, the single sign fits the request for a single sign.³⁰¹ The abomination refers to a particular event as opposed to the complex of events of 13:5–13.³⁰² Third, Stein argues that the nature of a sign is that it is typically something one sees. In 13:5–13, the disciples "hear" about wars and will "endure" persecution; in contrast, 13:14 presents a sign that they will "see."³⁰³ Fourth, the phrase "standing where it ought not," likely refers to a location in the temple, thus relating this event with the temple and thereby with the prophecy and consequent question of 13:2 and 13:4. Fifth and finally, as already discussed, the intertextual and extratextual data³⁰⁴ suggest the phrase "abomination of desolation" would have been understood as a person or event that profanes the temple and eventuates in its destruction, which is precisely what the disciples ask about.³⁰⁵

²⁹⁷ Evans (2001, 321) cites Deut 32:25; 2 Kgs 8:12; 15:16; Jer 44:7 (MT; 51:7 LXX); Lam 2:11; 4:4; Hos 13:16 (14:1 in MT/LXX); Amos 1:13. See also: 2 Chr 21:14–17; 29:9; Jer 6:11–12; 18:21; Isa 13:16; Zech 14:2.

²⁹⁸ See Luke 21:20. The verse maintains the construction ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃτε . . . τότε, but lacks the expression "the abomination of desolation" and evidently supplies its interpretation: Jerusalem surrounded by armies.

²⁹⁹ Several scholars take this position. See e.g. Hooker 1991, 313–14; Adams 2007, 144; Stein 2008, 593–604.

³⁰⁰ Stein 2008, 602.

³⁰¹ So Stein 2014, 85.

³⁰² Stein 2008, 602.

³⁰³ Stein 2014, 85–6.

³⁰⁴ Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11; 1 Macc 1:54; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.5.4

³⁰⁵ There is an additional point, but some may regard it as somewhat dubious because of the impossibility of proving its intentionality. But if one regards 13:5–23 as a unit as I do, a notable feature emerges. If one takes Jesus' actual words as the beginning of the discourse, verses 5–23 contains 302 words. It contains 308 words if the narrator's words ("And Jesus began to say to them . . .") are included. By either count, "the abomination of desolation" constitutes the exact middle of the unit by word count. In the shorter word count, the article "the" of

The question, it must be emphasized, is about the *timing* of the temple's destruction; the disciples do not ask to hear about the destruction itself. The disciples request a sign that will signal its imminent destruction, and the "abomination of desolation" is precisely that. The abomination does not refer to the destruction itself, but refers rather to an event that precedes, and thereby in Mark 13 signals, the temple's near destruction.³⁰⁶ Thus having answered their question, Jesus then proceeds with applicable advice. The command to flee *Judea* indicates that the coming affliction is historically conditioned, implying it is geographically confined to Judea itself. The prophecy of the temple's destruction, and the question regarding its timing, indicate that what is in view in 13:14–20 is the time between the presence of the abomination and the actual destruction. The commands to flee Judea and to do so quickly, and the laments for the pregnant and nursing women, suggest that danger is imminent, but not yet fully present. As often noted, the hope that the flight not occur in winter reflects the fear that the surrounding rivers would be overflowing then, making effective flight difficult or impossible.³⁰⁷ Nothing in the context suggests that Mark has suddenly switched topics to Jesus' *parousia* or to a universally-endured tribulation. Some argue that the declarations of 13:19–20, that is, that the tribulation will be the worst in history, and that "no life" would have been saved unless God had shortened the days, imply that the topic has shifted to "the final tribulation."³⁰⁸ Against such an interpretation, however, is 13:19's opening coordinating conjunction (γάρ) that temporally links 13:19 with the preceding statements. Thus the days of the unparalleled tribulation in 13:19 are the days Jesus is already discussing in 13:14–18. As France notes, 13:19's claim that there will never be another tribulation like the one predicted suggests that time and history continue after the tribulation, indicating this particular tribulation is not the last of history.³⁰⁹ The notion that it will be unparalleled is

"the abomination . . ." is word 151 of 302. If the larger word count is taken (308), the point is maintained as the first word of 13:14, "when," is the exact middle (word 154 of 308). By either count, "when you see the abomination of desolation" is the exact center of the answer. Of course, that it stands at the center of the inclusio does not necessitate that it is the sign they seek unless one regards the discourse within the inclusio as an answer to their question.

³⁰⁶ Gundry (1993, 741–42) argues that "abomination of desolation" in Daniel and 1 Macc refers not to the destruction of the temple, but to its desecration. He presents this datum as a potential refutation of the claim that the "abomination of desolation" supplied the sought sign of the disciples, but it in fact *supports* the claim, as this is precisely what the disciples seek: an event that *precedes* the destruction.

³⁰⁷ So e.g. Pesch 1977, 2:293–94. Josephus, *War* 4.7.5 says that Jews fleeing in 68 CE were driven "up to the river, where they were blocked by the stream, which being swollen by the rain was unfordable . . ."

³⁰⁸ E.g. Evans 2001, 317; Adams 2007, 145–46; Marcus 2009, 896–97.

³⁰⁹ France 2002, 527.

hyperbolic,³¹⁰ and the declaration that “all flesh” would be destroyed is conditioned by the address of the oracle to the Judeans.

Not enough information is given to define precisely “the elect” of 13:20. The discourse is initially addressed to the four disciples mentioned in 13:3, but the warning in 13:14 encompasses “those in Judea.” Thus, though he is still addressing the disciples, the subject matter has shifted to the threat that affects the whole Judean population. Therefore, “the elect” are probably Jewish people in Judea at the time, or Jewish and non-Jewish believers in Judea. Given the Markan perspective that redefines typical Jewish boundary markers around fidelity to God’s will, inclusive of believing in, and suffering because of, Jesus,³¹¹ and in light of references to the believing community in 13:22 and 13:27 as “the elect,” I take “the elect” in 13:20 to refer to the believing community, Jew or Gentile, in Judea.

Mark 13:21–22 warns of false prophets and messiahs giving “signs and wonders” in efforts to deceive the community. The opening καὶ τότε of 13:21 is best taken “at that time,” denoting an event contemporaneous with the flight and afflictions of 13:14–18, rather than “and then,” which would denote a chronologically subsequent event.³¹² Collins notes that 13:24–27 explicitly describes the coming of the Son of Man as “after that tribulation,” indicating that the deceivers are included within tribulation of 13:14–20. Furthermore, the statement in 13:23, “I have told you everything,” suggests that only then is Jesus’ answer complete, and therefore that Mark intends that what is spoken in 13:21–22 be understood as part of the answer to the question about the timing of the temple’s destruction. The event of 13:21–22 may be different from that of 13:5–6, but the threat is the same: the deception of the believing community. Whether someone comes claiming to be the messiah (13:5–6), or claims to have seen the messiah (13:21–22), the command is the same: “Watch out! Don’t be deceived!” Similarly, the distinctiveness of the events does not preclude the formation of an *inclusio*, for 13:22–23 forms the back end of an *inclusio* with 13:4–5.

As already discussed, in Mark 13:4 the disciples say, “Tell us (εἰπὸν ἡμῖν) the sign for the near-fulfillment of all these things (ταῦτα . . . πάντα). In Jesus’ response in 13:5–6, his first command is to watch out (βλέπετε) for deceivers (καὶ πολλοὺς πλανήσουσιν). Correlatively, in 13:22–23, his last warning is that of the advent of deceivers (ἐγερθήσονται . . . πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν), and consequently that his disciples should watch out (ὁμεῖς δὲ βλέπετε). In conjunction with his disciples’ request to be

³¹⁰ Stein (2008, 606) cites parallel examples in Ex 9:18; 11:6; Deut 4:32; Dan 12:1; Joel 2:2; 1 Macc 9:27; T. Mos. 8:1; 1QM 1:11–12; Rev. 16:18. Ex 9:18, 24; 10:6, 14 use hyperbolic language in reference to catastrophes that God brings upon a particular people or nation.

³¹¹ Mark 3:33–35; 8:34–38; 10:17–21, 29–30.

³¹² A.Y. Collins 2007, 613.

told about the fulfillment of “all these things,” he concludes by saying, “I have told you everything,” (προεἶρηκα ὑμῖν πάντα). Thus Mark 13:5–23 is a unit and functions as the complete answer to their question. That 13:5–23 is in fact a unit is evident by 1) the inclusio;³¹³ 2) the fact that everything they ask about is answered in those verses; 3) the concluding nature of the sentence, “I have told you everything”; and 4) the fact that the next section (13:24–27) begins with an adversative ἀλλά and an explicit, if vague, chronological lapse between the events (μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην). That Jesus answers their question in 13:5–23 frees Jesus to discuss the distinct, but *related*, events of 13:24–27. I turn now to the use of Zech 13–14 in this section.

5.11.1: Zechariah 14:1–5 and Mark 13:14–23

The oracles in Zech 13 and 14 may be read together as Zech 14:1 is contiguous with Zech 13:9; additionally, the two passages are linked by catchword associations. For example, “that day” is used three times in Zech 13³¹⁴ and eight times in Zech 14.³¹⁵ Moreover, the specific oracles in question (Zech 13:7–9 and 14:1–5) are linked by כָּרַב, ἐξολεθρεύω, used in both Zech 13:8 and 14:2. I argue that the sequence of events in Zech 14 is replicated in Jesus’ warnings and imperatives in Mark 13:14–23, often with lexical manifestations. I examine the following elements from Mark, arguing that they depend on the logic and lexical data from Zech 14: 1) the Markan subtext of an attack on Jerusalem; 2) the flight to the mountains; 3) the danger to houses and women; and 4) the pseudoprophets. I begin with the attack on Jerusalem.

As already argued, the controlling subtext of Mark 13:14–23 is a military attack upon Jerusalem and the consequent afflictions. This point is widely accepted among Mark scholars.³¹⁶ In favor of that view are the following: 1) the nature of Jesus’ injunctions suggests the approach of an external danger that threatens physical safety, and a flight *from* Judea/Jerusalem indicates the danger is localized there; 2) the wording of the prophecy, specifically, the prediction of the stone walls being “destroyed” (καταλυθῆ) suggests a violent attack; 3) the context of the utilized Daniel texts suggests militaristic conflict, as the “abomination” in Daniel unambiguously leads to war; 4) the topic of the temple’s destruction also suggests that Jerusalem is in danger, as it is the location of the temple.

³¹³ So Lambrecht 1967, 172; Pesch 1968, 156; Stein 2008, 607. Marcus (2009, 903) calls it a “partial inclusion . . . with the disciples’ question in 13:4.” Presumably Marcus calls it “partial” because he believes the “fulfillment of all these things” in the question entails the *parousia*.

³¹⁴ Zech 13:1, 2, 4.

³¹⁵ Zech 14:4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 20, 21.

³¹⁶ See e.g. A.Y. Collins 2007, 11–14; Marcus 2009, 864–66, 889–92.

This subtext of war from Mark 13:14–23 corresponds to the context of Zech 14, which declares that “all the nations” will be gathered against Jerusalem for battle (למלחמה; εἰς πόλεμον).³¹⁷ Thus both contexts depict a successful attack on Jerusalem by gentiles. Each passage also insists that this attack is a part of the divine plan. Mark 13 undoubtedly indicates that it is one of the things that “must happen” (δεῖ γενέσθαι), while Zech 14 declares that it is God himself who gathers the nations to battle Jerusalem.³¹⁸ Additionally, both passages indicate that the losses will be great, but that “the Lord” is ultimately in control. While Zech 14:3 says that “the Lord” (יהוה; κύριος) will fight for Jerusalem when it is attacked, Mark 13:20 teaches that “the Lord” (κύριος) will shorten “those days” of tribulation so as to save some. Furthermore, “the days” (τὰς ἡμέρας) of tribulation that the Lord will shorten in Mark 13 may correspond to Zech 14:1’s announcement that the coming “days” (ἡμέραι) of tribulation are “of the Lord” (ליהוה; κυρίου), similarly indicating the Lord’s direction of the events.³¹⁹ The term κύριος is too common to argue for Mark’s dependence upon Zech 14 for it, but it is nonetheless noteworthy that both passages mention the saving action of “the Lord” in conjunction with an attack on Jerusalem. Furthermore, at this point it is crucial to remember that the discourse’s setting upon the Mount of Olives alludes to Zech 14:4, indicating Mark’s use of the passage when constructing this scene. The latter point suggests the correspondences are not coincidental.³²⁰

I move now to the specific imperatives and threats in light of the attack. In Mark 13:14–17, Jesus declares that at the presence of the abomination of desolation, those in Judea should flee to the mountains; those on the housetops should not enter their houses to gather materials; those in the fields

³¹⁷ Zech 14:2.

³¹⁸ See Mark 13:7 and Zech 14:2.

³¹⁹ Mark 13:20 and Zech 14:1.

³²⁰ The Lukan version of this material also contains correspondences with Zech 14. Where Luke seems to “clarify” Mark, the resultant language appears to derive from Zech 14. For example, instead of the phrase “abomination of desolation,” Luke says, “Jerusalem surrounded by armies” (κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στραταπέδων Ἰερουσαλήμ). Similarly, Zech 14:12, which recounts the attack on Jerusalem by “all the nations” from Zech 14:1–3, declares that the Lord will strike “all the peoples who have gone to war against Jerusalem” (ὅσοι ἐπεστρατεύσαν ἐπὶ Ἰερουσαλήμ). Outside Zech 14, no other text in Greek scriptures uses that verb (ἐπιστρατεύω) in conjunction with “Jerusalem.” Additionally, Luke 21:24, discussing the concomitant afflictions, says that Jerusalemites “will be led captive into all the nations” (αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα) and that Jerusalem will be trampled by “the nations” (ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν). Similarly, Zech 14:2 declares that in the attack by “all the nations” (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη), half of the city will be led away “in exile” (ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ). In light of these arguments, it seems that if Luke were dependent on Mark, he either knew that Mark used Zech 14 as an influence and so used the latter explicitly, or in his interpretation of the tradition, he was reminded of Zech 14. In either case, it seems the author of Luke 21 saw some resemblances between the attacks on Jerusalem described in his material and Zech 14.

should not turn back (into the city) to get their cloaks; and that there will be troubles for pregnant and nursing women. These threats recall those of Zech 14:1–5. I begin with the flight to the mountains.

5.11.1.1: *Zechariah 14:5 and the Flight to the Hills*

Regarding Jesus' injunction to "flee to the hills," scholars invariably suggest one or all of the following as potential backgrounds: Gen 19:17;³²¹ Jer 6:1–12,³²² Ezek 7:16;³²³ 1 Macc 2:28.³²⁴ Each of the above is a viable background; in view of some weaknesses with the above suggestions, however, and in light of several thematic and lexical correspondences with Zech 14:5, I propose that the latter be added to the list of possible backgrounds, and be considered a prominent influence. I first examine the weakness of the typical proposals.

Like Mark 13:14, Gen 19:17 commands a flight to the hills in view of a coming catastrophe. Against this view, however, are Mark's verb choice and the actual final command of the angel in Gen 19. Mark uses the verb φευγέτωσαν, while Gen 19:17 uses σώζου. The semantic overlap is comparable. The Hebrew verb that σώζου translates, however, is מלט. The latter is used some 96 times in MT, and it is never translated in LXX with φεύγω.³²⁵ Furthermore, Lot objects to this command and pleads to be allowed to flee to a small town instead, which the angel permits.³²⁶

Ezekiel 7 predicts the destruction of Jerusalem and contains a reference to safety in the mountains. Ezek 7:16 declares that those who *escape* "will be on the mountains." The Hebrew verb for "escape," which LXX translates with ἀνασωθήσονται, is פלל. It is used some twenty-nine times in MT and is never translated in LXX with φεύγω. Furthermore, MT Ezek 7:16 declares that the survivors on the mountains will be mourning their own iniquities, while LXX Ezek 7:16 declares that *God will kill those who make it to the mountains*. This passage, then, contains no command to flee to the mountains, very little verbal correspondence, and an outcome (death in the mountains) that makes questionable the notion that this verse influences Mark 13.

Jeremiah 6:1–12 contains no command to flee to the mountains. Its main correspondence is the contextual similarity of an attack on Jerusalem, but there is little textual correspondence. Finally, 1 Macc

³²¹ Hartman 1966, 154; Marcus 2009, 895.

³²² Gray 2010, 133–34; he suggests each of the references listed.

³²³ Lane 1974, 470; France 2002, 524.

³²⁴ Dyer 1998, 108.

³²⁵ מלט is often translated with (δια)σώζω or ρύομαι, but never with φεύγω. When forms of (δια)σώζω or ρύομαι are used as semantic parallels of φεύγω, as in Jer 46:6, the latter is probably translating חגו, which is the verb used in Zech 14:5 for the "flight" from Jerusalem.

³²⁶ Gen 19:18–22.

2:28 relates the flight of Mattathias and his sons in response to Antiochus' decree that they sacrifice and burn incense in abandonment of God's laws. It declares, "They fled to the mountains." Unless Mark is using this text ironically, it would seem an odd choice as the basis for Jesus' command to flee and thus not to fight, while Mattathias and his sons retreat *so that they can fight*. The main deficiency of this suggestion, however, is one of comparison; that is, while it provides a possible link, I argue that Zech 14 provides a better one.

Like the above options, Zech 14:5 too contains a reference to a flight from the city in view of its destruction. Unlike all of the typically suggested alternatives, however, Zech 14:5 contains more lexical and contextual parallels, and thereby commends itself as a plausible influence. Zechariah 14:1–5 predicts that "all the nations" will come to do battle with Jerusalem, and that the means of salvation in that scenario is a flight through the mountains. Zech 14:5 reads, "You will flee by the valley of my mountains" (ונסתם גיא־הררי). The verb for "flee" is a form of נוס. Outside of its use in Zech 14, it is used some 158 times in MT, and 140 times it is translated with a form of φεύγω in LXX. Thus both Zech 14:5 and Mark 13:14 claim that "flight to/through the mountains" is the means of safety in light of the coming attack in Jerusalem.

Due to thematic and lexical correspondence, Zech 14:5 plausibly influences Mark 13:14. In addition to the above correspondence, the intratextual datum of Mark 13's opening allusion to Zech 14:4 strengthens the case for Zech 14:5 in Mark 13:14. Additional elements of the Markan text further suggest that Zech 14 is a prominent influence. I turn now to Jesus' subsequent imperatives and statements about "houses" and "women."

5.11.1.2: Zechariah 14:2 and Mark 13:14–17

In Mark 13:14–17 Jesus teaches that when the siege begins, Judeans should neither enter their houses (οἰκίας) nor return from the field to the city, and he proclaims woes upon women who are pregnant and nursing, presumably because of their particular vulnerability in a time of war. Each of these elements is found in Zech 14, and the injunctions in Mark may be linked with the precise afflictions predicted in Zech 14:2. The latter declares that gentiles will capture the city. The result of the capture of the city is plundered houses (ונשטו הבתים; διαρπαγήσονται αἱ οἰκίαι), ravaged women (והנשים תשגלנה; αἱ γυναῖκες μολυνθήσονται), and half of the city being exiled.

Four points are noteworthy. First, the contexts of Mark 13:14–17 and Zech 14:1–5 are comparable. Each relates a successful capture of Jerusalem and its consequences. Second, the content of the concomitant afflictions in Zech 14:2 and Mark 13:14–17 are comparable. Each assumes the threat

to houses and women. Jesus mentions precisely these two things in his comment about the flight from Judea, and they are the precise afflictions mentioned in Zech 14:2. Third, the sequence of events is the same in each text. Each progresses from 1) the capture of the city, to 2) the mention of houses, to 3) the mention of women. Fourth, importantly, the *logic* of Zech 14:1–5 is maintained in Mark 13, for both texts describe “flight” as the means of physical safety in the midst of the attack. The logic of Zech 14 is as follows: an attack is coming and there will be danger for houses, women, and those in the city, but those who flee to the mountains will be safe. The logic of Mark 13:14–17 is comparable: an attack is coming, so those in Judea should flee to the mountains, *because* there will danger to houses, those in the city, and for women trying to escape. Zech 14:2’s declaration that those *in the city* will be exiled is consistent with Mark’s imperative that those in the fields should not *reenter [the city]* in light of its capture.

To be sure, plundered houses and ravaged women are common features of depicted sieges in Jewish scriptures.³²⁷ But when a single passage contains all of those elements in a certain sequence with a distinct imperative within a matter of four verses, and those same threats, in the same order, with the same distinct imperative appear in Mark 13 within the same number of verses, and when the setting of Mark 13 opens with an allusion to the passage under discussion, the conclusion that the author intended the proposed allusions is highly plausible.³²⁸ In light of these correspondences, I suggest that Mark 13:14–17 alludes to Zech 14:2–5.

Mark’s allusion to Zech 14 may be somewhat ironic, particularly if the latter did in fact foment revolutionary actions by the Zealots and other pre-revolt figures.³²⁹ Rather than using the text to encourage military action in Jerusalem and the temple, Mark’s Jesus uses the text to describe the *destruction* of Jerusalem and the temple. The Lord will indeed come, as Zech 14:5 declares, but his coming will vindicate neither the violence of the Zealots nor that of the Romans; he comes rather to vindicate the suffering of his elect.

Before turning to 13:24–27, I refer the reader to Section 5.9.1 and simply remind that there I argue that Mark 13:22 alludes to Zech 13:2’s “false prophets.” If the latter allusion is plausible, then Mark 13 depicts a scenario influenced by Zech 13–14 in which the false prophets attempt to lead the elect astray.

³²⁷ See n 297 in Section 5.11.

³²⁸ These additional elements of Zech 14 in Mark 13 satisfy Hays’ criterion of “recurrence,” and Tooman’s of “multiplicity” (see Section 1.3.1).

³²⁹ See Section 5.8.3.

I turn finally to Mark 13:24–27. This section constitutes the juncture at which major interpretations diverge. Through 13:23, under the influence of Zech 13–14 and in response to the disciples' question in Mark 13:4, the discourse describes universal disturbances, the afflictions of the disciples, and the afflictions consequent to Jerusalem's capture. The Markan Jesus, having answered the disciples' question fully by 13:23, turns to something which the disciples did not ask about, and yet is in keeping with the sequence of Zech 14: his return with the angels.

5.12: *Mark 13:24–27*

In terms of style and content the supposed difference between Mark 13:24–27 and 13:1–23 has been a major *crux interpretum* in scholarship on Mark 13 in the last 150 years. Regarding scholarship from the 19th century to the late 20th, Beasley-Murray writes that one of the most frequently posed questions regarding Mark 13 is “How can the discourse be related to 13:1–4, seeing that it deals with a different subject?”³³⁰ As a result of this apparent disparity, scholars have posited various “solutions” to explain why a description of the *parousia* was tacked on to a discourse about the sign that would precede the destruction of the temple. I note here three common solutions.

First, Stein is a contemporary representative of one school, which basically argues that the destruction of the temple and the *parousia* are united because they are both “eschatological events.”³³¹ In addition to his version of the “mountain-peak theory,”³³² Stein writes, “Like engagement and marriage, they are necessarily connected, even though a time period separates them. So for Mark the events of 70 CE and the *parousia* are united and yet separated in time.”³³³ Second, Beasley-Murray attempts to explain the disparity by arguing that Mark 13:24–27 is a fragment. Originally, he argues, the description of the preceding sign and the *parousia* were separate but were eventually conjoined by a compiler.³³⁴ Third, France, contrary to both of the above, is able to argue that there is no discontinuity between 13:1–23 and 13:24–27 because he takes the latter to refer to the destruction of the temple. France thinks it unnecessary to posit a different source for this material, and he exploits this weakness in Beasley-Murray's interpretation. He concludes that those who interpret these verses with reference to

³³⁰ Beasley-Murray 1993, 44.

³³¹ Stein 2008, 599 n 8. See also Witherington 2001, 336–42; Evans 2001, 292.

³³² The theory claims that Jesus/Mark saw the events two-dimensionally, like a painting of mountain peaks, and thus did not know the space (= time) between the “mountain peaks” (=events). See Beasley-Murray (1993, 3) for the reception history of this theory. See Stein 2008, 612, for his version of the theory.

³³³ Stein 2008, 599 n 8.

³³⁴ Beasley-Murray 1993, 422–23.

the *parousia* must posit extraneous theories of disparate sources to do so.³³⁵ It is at this juncture that the present study offers a unique solution.

If Mark 13:24–27 is taken as a description of the *parousia*, the cost is an apparent inappropriateness of its placement in this discourse. The explanation of a fragmentary source is actually no explanation at all, as one still has to account for why Mark placed the fragment *here* rather than somewhere else. The explanation that the events are joined because they are “eschatological” is not necessarily wrong, but it certainly lacks precision. The explanation that Mark 13:24–27 refers to the temple’s destruction would undoubtedly resolve the “continuity” question in that it supplies a more specific relationship between the pericopae than the general descriptor of “eschatological,” and it does not require positing a fragment, but that interpretation suffers from several interpretative flaws.³³⁶ France would argue that the reader of Mark 13:24–27 must choose between “discontinuity” or “destruction of the temple,” but neither option is necessary. I argue that Mark 13:24–27 *does* refer to the *parousia*, which is admittedly a marked subject change from Mark 13:5–23, but that the material is in complete continuity with all that precedes it, and that Zech 14 justifies the link.

Mark 13:24–27 is a unit. The verses are marked off by the opening ἀλλά in 13:24 and the δέ of 13:28, composed of several conflated allusions to Septuagintal passages, and distinctly related to Jesus’ “second coming.” Neither their distinction nor their concentrated pastiche of material from Septuagintal scriptures necessitates that they derive from a fragment,³³⁷ and their being a unit does not signify discontinuity with the preceding material. The whole of the discourse – not just 13:24–27 – is replete with allusions to Septuagintal scriptures. Thus, the use of LXX in 13:24–27 is consistent with the style of the preceding material and necessitates, at the most, admission of Mark’s editorial hand. But no one is denying Mark’s editorial work throughout the discourse.

The opening ἀλλά of 13:24 is a strong adversative and indicates a change in subject from the preceding material.³³⁸ France is correct that it does not necessitate a contrast in time,³³⁹ but in arguing against the *parousia* interpretation at this juncture he overstates his point. He describes those who take 13:24–27 to refer to the *parousia* as saying that the ἀλλά “alerts the reader that the spotlight is at this point moving away from the time of the Jewish War to a more ultimate perspective of the *parousia* and

³³⁵ France 2002, 532. Of Beasley-Murray’s proposal, he states: “Such an unnatural expedient ought surely to lead us to question the exegetical assumptions which necessitate it” (532 n 4).

³³⁶ See Section 5.3.1.1.

³³⁷ Contra Mann 1986, 527, who says that “the wealth of Old Testament allusions” in 13:24–27 underlines his conclusion that Mark 13 is an “apocalypse” that pre-dates the composition of Mark.

³³⁸ So Lane 1974, 473; Witherington 2001, 347; Stein 2008, 611.

³³⁹ France 2002, 532.

the end of the world . . . That is a lot to derive from an ἀλλά!”³⁴⁰ Indeed it would be, but his description is a straw man as I show below. Those who interpret 13:24–27 as a description of the *parousia* do not derive it all from ἀλλά.³⁴¹ The ἀλλά merely signifies a change in subject, and the *subsequent material* supplies the content of the new subject. Furthermore, while France is correct that ἀλλά does not necessitate a change in time, the phrase μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην does.

The opening clause of 13:24 reads, “But in those days after that affliction . . .” Do “those days” refer to the days of the tribulation of 13:19, and thus imply an event or moment within them?³⁴² Or do they refer to the days that follow that tribulation, implying a new set of days from “those days” of 13:19?³⁴³ I argue for the latter.

I take “those days” of 13:14–23, also simply referred to as θλίψις in 13:19, to refer to the duration of afflictions between the abomination of desolation and the destruction of the temple. Thus I interpret τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην of 13:24 to refer to that period of days, and accordingly take “those days” of 13:24 to be a new set of days that follow “those days” of 13:14–23. Therefore, I take 13:14–23 to refer to the suffering of Judea/Jerusalem, and I take μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην as the temporally governing phrase and conclude that the subsequently described *parousia* occurs after the tribulation of Judea and the assumed destruction of the temple. The time lapse between that tribulation and the *parousia* is unstated.

The cosmic phenomena refer poetically to the occurrences that accompany the theophany of the Son of Man with the angels. The wording of Mark 13:24–25 most likely comes from Isa 13 and 34, though aspects of the sequential arrangement of the phenomena may reflect the influence of Joel 2 as well.³⁴⁴ I examine the texts below.

5.12.1: *The Cosmic Phenomena*

The similarities of Mark 13:24–25 with Isaiah 13 and 34 are well-known and thus I compare them briefly.

Mark 13:24–25:

ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθήσεται καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ἔσονται ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πίπτοντες, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς σαλευθήσονται.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 531–32.

³⁴¹ E.g. Beasley-Murray (1993, 424–25) bases his case on many factors, including the use of the verb σαλεύω.

³⁴² France 2002, 532; Gray 2010, 138–39.

³⁴³ Stein 2008, 611–12.

³⁴⁴ So Shively 2012, 204–6. She rightly wonders (206, n 80) on the basis of Wolff’s suggestion in his Joel commentary, whether Joel 2 is itself using Isa 13, in which case Mark’s use of such imagery may not be so easily tied to only Isa 13. For Wolff’s comments, see 1977, 44, 47, 80–85.

Isaiah 13:10:

οἱ γὰρ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ... τὸ φῶς οὐ δώσουσιν
καὶ σκοτισθήσεται τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος
καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φῶς αὐτῆς

Isaiah 34:4:³⁴⁵

καὶ τακῆσονται πάσαι αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν
καὶ ἐλιγῆσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον
καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄστρα πεσεῖται ὡς φύλλα ἐξ ἀμπέλου

First, the phrase ὁ ἡλιος σκοτισθήσεται in Mark 13:24–25 recalls the phrase καὶ σκοτισθήσεται τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος from Isa 13:10. Second, the Markan phrase ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς recalls the comparable phrase in Isa 13:10, καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φῶς αὐτῆς. Third, the Markan phrase καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ἔσονται ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πίπτοντες recalls Isa 34:4’s καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄστρα πεσεῖται. Finally, Mark’s αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς σαλευθήσονται recalls Isa 34:4’s καὶ τακῆσονται πάσαι αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν.

These Isaiah passages are nearly universally accepted as the sources for Mark’s vocabulary. In conjunction with Isaiah, however, Verheyden argues for the influence of Joel 2, calling the Markan material a “free conflation” of Joel 2:10, Isa 13:10 and 34:4.³⁴⁶ Joel 2:10 reads: πρὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν [the coming army of God] συγχυθήσεται ἡ γῆ καὶ σεισθήσεται ὁ οὐρανός ὁ ἡλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη συσκοτάσουσιν καὶ τὰ ἄστρα δύσουσιν τὸ φέγγος αὐτῶν.

Verheyden notes the following similarities between Joel 2:10 and Mark 13:24–25: 1) the shaking of heaven (and earth); 2) the sequence of the triad, *sun, moon, and stars*, as in Mark but unlike Isa 13, in which the sequence is the stars, sun, and moon; 3) the nominative case of each luminary, as in Mark but unlike Isa 13; 4) a verb denoting “darkening” (συσκοτάσουσιν) following the mention of “the sun”; and 5) the use of φέγγος rather than φῶς, as in Mark but unlike Isa 13.³⁴⁷ In light of these correspondences, the cosmic imagery may be indebted to Isa 13, Isa 34, and Joel 2. In addition to the above lexical parities, the failing luminaries of Mark 13:24–25 also thematically correspond to Zech 14:6, which says that on the day the Lord comes with his angels, *there will be no light* (ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἔσται φῶς).

Identifying the allusions in Mark 13:24–25 is a relatively simple task in comparison to describing their function. After the extensive discussion in Section 5.3.1.1, I concluded that such language does not

³⁴⁵ LXX B (Vaticanus).

³⁴⁶ Verheyden 1997, 540. See also Gaston 1970, 32; Shively 2012, 204–6.

³⁴⁷ Each of these points is made by Verheyden 1997, 543–45.

narrowly denote the destruction of cities or nations, but rather describes poetically the reaction of creation at the presence of its creator who appears to effect judgment and salvation. That such language does not refer exclusively to the destruction of Jerusalem or the temple does not mean the language collapses into “crass literalism,” thereby predicting literal cosmic darkness and falling stars. Rather, the imagery intends to communicate the *gravitas* of the subsequent event, namely the coming of the Son of Man to judge and to gather his people.³⁴⁸

5.12.2: *The Coming of the Son of Man*

After describing the cosmic occurrences with language from Isa 13 and 34, and possibly Joel 2, Mark 13:26–27 proceeds to depict the coming of the Son of Man with angels to judge and to gather the elect. That the coming entails judgment *and* salvation, and that the judgment is not related to the destruction of the temple, is inferred from the intratextual comparison to the same event in Mark 8:38. There the Son of Man comes and judges individuals on the basis of their having followed or rejected Jesus as Messiah. His coming explicitly entails judgment, and the judgment is unrelated to the destruction of the temple. The correspondent imagery between 8:38 and 13:26–27 indicates that the passages refer to the same event, and therefore that the latter does not refer to the destruction of the temple. Mark 13:26–27 reads: καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλαις μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ δόξης. καὶ τότε ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους [αὐτοῦ] καὶ ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς [αὐτοῦ] ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ’ ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ.

The first καὶ τότε of 13:26 should probably be rendered “And at that time,” as the phenomena are likely *reactions* to his coming rather than portents of it. The καὶ τότε of 13:27 could either be translated “And at that time,” or as “And then,” as it depicts an event that occurs as a consequence of the Son of Man’s coming. The shift from address in the second-person plural throughout the discourse to the third-person plural, ὄψονται, in Mark 13:26 is not strange in the least, nor is it sufficient grounds to claim, as Dyer does, that the “coming of the son of man” is primarily oriented toward a judgment of Jesus’ contemporaries (and thus manifest in the destruction of the temple).³⁴⁹ In fact, Mark uses the third-person plural throughout the discourse as regularly as the second.³⁵⁰

The phrase “the Son of Man coming on clouds” alludes to Dan 7:13. That conclusion is not at stake presently, nor is it questioned by the vast majority of scholarship. The phrase “with great power and glory” does not appear in Dan 7 itself, but the idea may be present in the figure’s receiving

³⁴⁸ So Beasley-Murray 1993, 425.

³⁴⁹ See Dyer 1998, 195, where he claims such a conclusion is “manifestly obvious.”

³⁵⁰ Third-person plural verbs occur in 13:6 (x2), 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 19, 22 (x2), 25 (x2), 26, 31 (x2).

“authority” (ἐξουσία) in Dan 7:14. Daniel 7 is not, however, the only operative allusion; rather, as I argued in Section 4.3, Zech 14:5 plays an important role in the description of the theophany. That text reads: “And the Lord my God will come, and all his holy ones with him.” As already discussed, Mark 8:38, not 13:26–27, is the first mention of the coming of the Son of Man. In that passage, Jesus is the Son of Man who will come “with holy angels” to judge. I argued that the phrase “with holy angels” alludes to Zech 14:5 due to: 1) the uniqueness of Zechariah’s description of a theophany with “holy” angels; 2) the parity between Mark’s phrase “with holy angels” and Zechariah’s “holy ones [= angels] with him;” and 3) the rare use of the adjective “holy” to modify “angel(s).”

Thus, as 8:38 and 13:26–27 refer to the same event, as indicated by their numerous lexical and thematic parallels, Zech 14:5 is likely operative in Mark 13:26–27 as well. Indeed, even though the exact phrase “with [holy] angels” is not present in the latter, the *event* is still precisely that of the Son of Man *coming with angels*.³⁵¹

With these data in mind, I suggest once more that Mark combines the texts of Dan 7:13 and Zech 14:5 on the basis of 1) the shared idea “to come,” represented in Daniel by the verb ἔρχομαι and in Zechariah, ἔκω, and 2) the shared theme of the final establishment of the reign of Israel’s God. The composite, Markan image depicts Jesus as the Son of Man accomplishing the theophany of “the Lord” with his angels, bringing judgment, salvation, and the full manifestation of the Kingdom of God. In addition to the above text combination, however, no fewer than six elements of the Markan text further attest to the proposed use of Zechariah. They are: 1) the meaning of the idea that the Son of Man comes “with great power;” 2) the cosmic phenomena as they relate to judgment and theophany; 3) a parallel tradition regarding the Son of Man’s “coming with power;” 4) Mark 13:27’s declaration of that which the Son of Man comes *to do*; 5) Mark 13:32’s use of “that day” to refer to his advent; and 6) Jesus’ ignorance of the day of his coming. I proceed in the order listed.

5.12.3: *Coming “With Great Power and Glory”*

Mark 13:26 declares that the Son of Man will come on the clouds “with great power and glory” (μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ δόξης). Joel Marcus suggests that 13:26 uses the terms “power” and “glory” on the basis of Dan 7, which declares that the one like a Son of Man is given authority (ἐξουσία) and glory (δόξα).³⁵² Evans points out that 13:26’s two terms (δύναμις and δόξα) are collocated in Ps 62:3 (LXX), 1 Chron 29:11, and Dan 2:37 and 4:30.³⁵³ In the first two references, power and glory belong to

³⁵¹ So also Gaston 1970, 34.

³⁵² Daniel 7:14. The same verse in proto-Theodotion says the figure was given ἀρχή, τιμή, and a βασιλεία. See Marcus 2009, 904. For a similar interpretation, see also France 2002, 535.

³⁵³ Evans 2001, 329.

the divine king, YHWH; in the latter two, power and glory are bestowed upon a human king by YHWH. In any case, scholars consistently interpret the phrase in Mark 13 with reference to passages that use the terms or their synonyms in apposition. Andrew Angel, however, has put forth a novel suggestion. Rather than the options above, he argues that the phrase “with great power” (μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς) should be interpreted in light of that phrase’s use throughout Greek scriptures (including Maccabean literature), and so be rendered “with a great army.”³⁵⁴

Very often the word δύναμις alone denotes an army,³⁵⁵ and when the phrase μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς is used as it appears in 13:26, it refers to “a large/great army.” Isaiah 36:2 is exemplary: “And the king of Assyria sent Rabshakeh from Lachish to Jerusalem to King Hezekiah with a large army” (μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς).³⁵⁶ Or Ezekiel 38:15: “You will come from your place out of the remote parts of the north, you and many peoples with you, all of them riding on horses, a great assembly and a mighty army” (δύναμις πολλή).³⁵⁷ To these may be added 1 Macc 7:10, 11; 9:60; 11:63; 12:24, 42; 13:12, where the phrase μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς means “with a large army.”³⁵⁸ Thus, as Dan 7 (LXX and Theodotion) does not mention “power” (δύναμις), the use of such language in 13:26 may not be dependent on Dan 7. Furthermore, on the basis of the widely attested precedent regarding the use and meaning of μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς elsewhere, I tentatively translate Mark 13:26: “And at that time they shall see the Son of Man coming on clouds with a great army and glory.”³⁵⁹

Importantly, this “great army” of Mark 13:26 should be understood as a reference to an angelic army. Two features of 13:25–27 confirm this suggestion. First, Mark 13:27 assumes that “angels” have accompanied the advent of 13:26. Accordingly, either the “great army” is composed of beings other than those angels, or the angels of 13:27 are the army. The latter seems more probable as no other beings are mentioned. Second, 13:25 speaks of “the powers” (αἱ δυνάμεις) in the heavens being shaken at the Son of Man’s coming. Nearly all instances of the plural αἱ δυνάμεις throughout Greek scriptures refer to armies. In fact, in forty-seven attestations across several bodies of Greek Jewish literature, only two *do not* refer unambiguously to armies;³⁶⁰ the remaining forty-five attestations do.³⁶¹ Furthermore,

³⁵⁴ Angel 2006, 125–27. So also J.W. Doeve 1953, 149–152.

³⁵⁵ E.g. Gen 21:22; Judg 6:12; 1 Sam 10:26; 2 Sam 17:10; 1 Kgs 21:1; 21:15; 2 Kgs 2:16; 24:16; 2 Chr 17:14, 16, 17; 20:21; 24:23–24; 25:7, 13; 26:13; 33:14; Neh 2:9; 1 Macc 3:13; 4:18; Isa 42:3; Jer 41:11; 48:13, 16; 52:14.

³⁵⁶ Probably translating חיל כבד.

³⁵⁷ Probably translating חיל רב.

³⁵⁸ Angel 2006, 127, provides 1 Macc references.

³⁵⁹ So also Angel 2006, 125.

³⁶⁰ Ecc 10:10; Wis 7:20.

³⁶¹ 2 Chron 26:11; 1 Esd 4:10; over 30 uses in 1 Macc, e.g. 3:27; 12:45; 2 Macc 10:24; 3 Macc 1:4; 5:29, 44; 6:21; Odes 8:61; Ezek 27:27; Dan (LXX) 3:61; 6:24; (Θ) 11:26.

the only two references in Septuagintal scriptures to *heavenly* powers are Pss 102:21 and 148:2, where the beings addressed are explicitly “in heaven” (ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ),³⁶² and αἱ δυνάμεις is used in apposition to οἱ ἄγγελοι. In both cases ἄγγελοι is translating צבא. Additionally, the frequent identification of God as precisely “Lord of Hosts,” that is, κυρίος τῶν δυνάμεων,³⁶³ where the referent of “hosts” is the angelic host or army,³⁶⁴ permits the identification of Mark 13:25’s “powers” with the angelic army of the heavens. It is likely, then, that the heavenly powers mentioned in 13:25 at least refer to angelic armies, even if the latter do not exhaust the terminology. Thus the sudden mention of “angels” in 13:27 makes more sense if they are understood to have been intended by the phrase “heavenly powers” and the Son of Man’s coming “with great power” in 13:25–26.³⁶⁵ Moreover, if angelic powers are intended, the image of 13:26 would be the Son of Man coming with an angelic host, and consequently the parallel with Zech 14:5 would be implicit. In other words, for the Son of Man to come with great power means that he will come with angels,³⁶⁶ and such a depiction corresponds with the imagery of Zech 14:5. Accordingly, the influence of Zech 14:5 on Mark 13:26–27 is no longer based solely on the parallel imagery of Mark 8:38, but is present in the imagery of 13:26 itself.

5.12.4: *The Cosmic Imagery and the Angels*

Next is the significance of the cosmic imagery as it relates to the angelic accompaniment of the Son of Man. As argued, the imagery of Mark 13:24–25 is largely dependent on Isa 13 and 34, with possible influence from Joel 2. A rarely noted element of these reference texts and their relation to Mark 13 is their mention of the angelic host.³⁶⁷ In Isa 13, for example, the judgment is not executed by God alone, but also by his angelic army. Isaiah 13:4–5 depicts God gathering his army for battle, and the army comes from all corners, even “from the foundation of heaven.” Similarly, Joel 2:10–11 portrays the darkening of the sun, moon, and stars *as a result* of the arrival of God’s army before whom all of heaven and earth tremble. The swarming powers are regarded as “the Lord’s army” (יהוה; δύναμις αὐτοῦ) whose camp is “exceedingly powerful.”³⁶⁸ Similarly, Isa 34, though it does not say that the angelic hosts

³⁶² See Ps 102:19 (LXX); Ps 148:1–4 (LXX).

³⁶³ 2 Sam 6:2, 18; 1 Kgs 18:15; 2 Kgs 3:14; 19:31; Ps 23:10 (LXX); 45:8, 12; 47:9; 58:6; 68:7; 79:5, 20; 83:2, 9; 83:13; 88:9; Jer 40:12 (LXX; 33:12 in MT); Zeph 2:9.

³⁶⁴ That the title is understood as an acknowledgment of God’s *military* might is suggested by its frequent use in militaristic contexts; e.g. (LXX) Ps 23:8–10; 45:7–8; Zech 9:15; 10:3.

³⁶⁵ So Doeve 1953, 152. See also Shively 2012, 209. Following a different line of thought, she too describes 13:26–27 as including reference to the Son of Man’s angelic army.

³⁶⁶ See also 2 Thess 1:7, which mentions the revelation of *the Lord Jesus* with his mighty angels (ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ μετ’ ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ).

³⁶⁷ Shively (2012, 204–6) is an exception.

³⁶⁸ Joel 2:11.

perform God’s judgment, does mention that the angelic host will “melt away” in that day. Thus in Isa 34 the angelic host is one of the objects of God’s judgment rather than its mediator. Nonetheless, the angelic host is mentioned in all three texts that influence Mark 13:24–25, and in two of them, the angels accompany God in his judgment. Naturally, it is difficult to say which texts attracted which, but if Zech 14:5 were in mind when describing the coming of the Son of Man, the fact that Zech 14 describes the Lord’s coming *with angels* coincides with the imagery from texts that also describe the Lord’s judgment *with his angels*.

5.12.5: “Coming with Great Power” and Zechariah 14:4

Third, I return to the phrase “coming with great power” and its relation to Zech 14:4. I have argued that the phrase refers to the Son of Man’s coming with angels, particularly an angelic army. A significant question remains. Why does Mark depict the coming *in that way*? He might have described the Son of Man’s coming in a number of ways, but given that he describes it with reference to *power*, and that that power is interpreted with reference to an angelic cohort, an interpreter may wonder what tradition, if any, parallels such imagery. Targum Zechariah 14:4 presents a plausible candidate. In its parallel description of the same theophany of Zech 14:5, Tg. Zech 14:4 says, “The Lord will reveal himself in his power” (בידיה).

By suggesting Tg. Zech, I do not imply a written, literary dependence between it and Mark. Given the current understanding, however, that the targumim developed in the synagogues and represent exegetical/interpretative traditions whose continuing development plausibly preceded and coincided with the composition of Mark and the Gospels, Tg. Zech may be indicative of a near-contemporary interpretative tradition of a text that Mark demonstrably used, and so be of import.³⁶⁹ Bruce Chilton and Craig Evans have argued convincingly that the Gospels exhibit a familiarity with phrases and interpretative traditions that are unique to targumic exegeses of scriptures.³⁷⁰ Regarding Mark specifically, they demonstrate his probable awareness and use of targumic interpretations of Isaiah and Zechariah.³⁷¹

I now turn to the theophany of Zech 14, which presents the same theophanic event in both Zech 14:4 and 14:5. In Zech 14:4, the Lord’s feet are on the mountain and the mountain splits, and in 14:5, his arrival is completed. Interestingly, however, Targum Zechariah does not translate the

³⁶⁹ See Flesher and Chilton 2011, 1–7, 385–86.

³⁷⁰ See Chilton 1984; Chilton and Evans 1994, 281–335. See also Flesher and Chilton 2011, 385–88.

³⁷¹ Cp. Tg. Isa 6:9–10 and Mark 4:12; Tg. Zech 14:9 and the phrase “the kingdom of God” in Mark; Tg. Zech 14:21 and Mark’s temple incident. See Chilton and Evans 1994, 300–4.

anthropomorphism of God “planting his feet” in 14:4, but instead says: “And at that time he shall reveal himself *in his power*” (בידיה).³⁷² The ב may be rendered “in” or “with,” and the use of “hand” or “arm” to convey force, power, or military might, is typical.³⁷³ Thus Tg. Zech 14:4–5 declares that the Lord will come *with power*, and subsequently that the Lord will come *with his angels*. This is precisely the language used to convey the coming of the Son of Man in Mark 13, namely that he will come with power, by which is meant his coming with angels. How might one explain this similar tradition? Mark does not depend on a written targum, and the targum probably does not depend on Mark 13. The more plausible explanation is that this interpretative tradition of Zech 14:4–5 predates both Mark and Tg. Zech. The collocation of these distinct elements of Tg. Zech 14 (a theophany with angels, coming with power) suggests that Mark employs this interpretative tradition in his depiction of Jesus’ theophany in Mark 13:26–27.

5.12.6: *Gathering the Elect and Zechariah 2:10*

Fourth, I examine Mark 13:27’s declaration of that which the Son of Man comes to do, namely, to gather the elect from the four winds. Mark 13:27 reads: καὶ τότε ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς [αὐτοῦ] ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ’ ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ. Scholars commonly attribute the “gathering from the four winds and from the corners of the earth/heaven” either to Zech 2:10,³⁷⁴ or a combination of it with Deut 30:4.³⁷⁵ As others have argued, Zech 2:10³⁷⁶ should be considered a prominent allusion in Mark 13:27, for it contains all the ideas conveyed in Mark, yet with more lexical and thematic parallels than other potential sources.³⁷⁷ A comparison of the pertinent material will serve well.

³⁷² With the exception of the word “power,” which translators rendered “might,” translation is by Cathcart and Gordon 1989, 223. The Aramaic is produced on the basis of Sperber’s (1962) critical text.

³⁷³ The following exemplify Hebrew usage of “hand/arm” for power: Ex 3:19; 6:1; Deut 5:15; 6:21; 32:36; Josh 8:20; 2 Kgs 13:5; Prov 18:21.

³⁷⁴ See Beasley-Murray (1993, 432–34) who notes that it is the *primary* allusion in a combination with Deut 30:4.

³⁷⁵ Lane (1974, 476) nods generally to the prophetic literature, citing Deut 30 and Zech 2, in addition to Isa 11:12, 27:13; 56:8; Jer 23:3; 29:12; 31:8; Ezek 11:17; 20:34, 41; 28:25; 34:13. See also Marcus 2009, 909.

³⁷⁶ Subsequent discussion pertains to LXX/MT Zech 2:10–15 (ET 2:6–11).

³⁷⁷ Contra Gaston (1970, 33) who says that the correspondence with LXX Zech 2:10 is “only accidental.” He deduces the latter on the basis of (1) the opposite rendering of MT Zech 2:10, (2) the commonness of the phrase “four winds” to express universality, and (3) the fact that no other NT text refers to Zech 2:10. His first objection, however, presumes to know what versions of the scriptures Mark had before him, which is an unfounded assumption. His second objection is questionable as this “commonplace” phrase is only used five times outside of Zechariah, and the collocation of “gathering” and “the four winds” is confined to Zech 2. His last objection simply does not bear on whether or not Mark is using Zech 2:10. By his logic, any scriptural text that is only alluded to once in the NT would be disregarded, or regarded as “accidental.”

Mark 13:27:

ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς **ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων** ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου **οὐρανοῦ**

Zechariah 2:10:

διότι **ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ συνάξω** ὑμᾶς λέγει κύριος

Deuteronomy 30:4

ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ **ἕως ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ** ἐκεῖθεν **συνάξει σε**

Each passage contains lexical parity, set in boldface above. Deut 30:4 contains ἕως ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, like Mark 13:27, and all three texts contain a future form of (ἐπι)συνάγω. But Mark 13:27's ἐπισυνάξει . . . ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων . . . ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ recalls most closely Zech 2:10's ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ συνάξω. Five features distinct to Zech 2 suggest its prominence in Mark 13:27. First, Zech 2:10 and Mark 13:27 each use the phrase “from the four winds of heaven.” Second, the first clause of Zech 2:10 contains the command to “Flee!” (φεύγετε) before declaring that God will gather the people, which corresponds to Mark 13:14's warning to “flee” (φευγέτωσαν) before depicting the “gathering” in 13:27. Third, Zech 2:14, but unlike Deut 30, claims that this “gathering from the four winds” will happen precisely at God's *coming*. Zech 2:14b reads: διότι ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἔρχομαι καὶ κατασκηνώσω ἐν μέσῳ σου λέγει κύριος. Thus the people will be gathered *because* God is coming to do so. Fourth, Zech 2:15 indicates that a consequence of God's coming will be the joining of “many nations to the Lord.” This theme is consonant with the total picture in Mark that depicts “all the nations” being evangelized and so converting to the Lord. Fifth, Zech 2:15 declares that all of the above from Zech 2:10–15 – the theophany, the gathering from the four winds, and the inclusion of the nations – occurs on “that day” (τῆ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ). The latter phrase, “that day” (τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης), is the term Mark 13:32 applies to the day the Son of Man comes with the angels and gathers the elect from the four winds. I address this latter point in detail in Section 5.12.7. Presently I note that this concentration of a number of themes and lexemes from Zech 2:10–15 in Mark 13 suggests that Mark 13:26–27 alludes to Zech 2:10–15.

An important inference can be drawn from the use of Zech 2. As argued, Mark combines Dan 7:13 and Zech 14:5 on the basis of the shared notion of “coming” to create the image of Jesus as the Son of Man (Dan 7:13) accomplishing the theophany of the Lord with his angels (Zech 14:5). Mark arguably additionally combines those texts with Zech 2:14 on the basis of the shared use of “come” (ἔρχομαι), from which the imagery of gathering the people of God from the four winds is taken. This combination creates the Markan mosaic of the Son of Man (Dan 7:13) coming with the angels (Zech 14:5) to gather the people from the four winds of heaven and earth (Zech 2:10, 14). On this account, Zech 2 does more

than merely add the phrase “from the four winds.” Instead it supplies the content of that which the Son of Man comes *to do*. In other words, imagery from Zech 14 and Zech 2 accounts for the meaning of the majority of the content in Mark 13:26–27.

5.12.7: “That Day”

Next, fifth, I examine more closely the phrase “that day.” The reference to “that day” in Mark 13:32 in contradistinction to “those days” of the tribulation in 13:14–19 is so notable that even France argues that it must refer to an event theretofore undisclosed. On the basis of the content of 13:32–37, he concludes that “that day” refers to Jesus’ *parousia*.³⁷⁸ I agree with his conclusion, but contend that to distinguish the “coming” of 13:32–37 from the “coming” of 13:26 is a mistake. Conflating the “coming” of 13:32–37 with that of 13:26 does not in itself necessitate that the latter refer to the *parousia*, but it probably should require that the referent of 13:26’s “coming” be equivalent to that of 13:32–37. Thus I take “that day” of 13:32 to refer to the day of the Son of Man’s coming with angels.

I have already suggested the possibility that the phrase “that day” served as an exegetical commonality between all the Zechariah prophecies utilized throughout Mark.³⁷⁹ Now I draw attention both to the specific reference Zech 14 intends when it employs that phrase, and to its potential function in Mark’s discourse. While “that day” is a common phrase in scripture,³⁸⁰ in Zech 14, that phrase is used eight times in twenty-one verses,³⁸¹ and in each case it refers exclusively to the day of the coming of the Lord with angels, and to events or conditions that will obtain “in that day.” As Mark uses Zech 14 and Zech 2 in his depiction of the coming of the Son of Man with angels, I propose he consonantly uses Zech 14’s designator to refer to that event. Additionally, the distinction in Zech 14 between “the days” or “a day”³⁸² of tribulation and “that day” of the theophany is maintained in Mark 13, where “those days” refer unambiguously and exclusively to the attack upon Judea/Jerusalem in 13:14–19, and “that day” is used exclusively as a designation for the coming of the Son of Man with angels.

³⁷⁸ France 2002, 501, 541–46.

³⁷⁹ See Section 3.10.

³⁸⁰ See e.g. Gen 15:18; Ex 8:22; Lev 22:30; Num 9:6; Deut 21:23; Josh 10:28; 1 Sam 9:24; Neh 12:43; Ps 145:4 (LXX; 146:4 in MT); Isa 27:1.

³⁸¹ Zech 14:4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 20, 21.

³⁸² MT Zech 14:1 says, “A day is coming . . .” (יום בא), which LXX Zech 14:1 translates, “Days are coming . . .” (ἡμέραι ἔρχονται). Both of these uses are distinct from MT’s and LXX’s reference to “that day” (ביום ההוא; ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκεῖνη), which is reserved for the day of the Lord’s theophany.

5.12.8: Concerning That Day, No One Knows

Sixth, I turn to “the son’s” ignorance concerning “that day.” Jesus’ ignorance concerning the day of his *parousia* is perhaps intended to exact “constant readiness” from his disciples.³⁸³ The inferential imperatives of Mark 13:33–37 justify this conclusion. Jesus says: Therefore, stay alert! (γρηγορεῖτε οὖν). For (γάρ) you do not know the time when the lord of the house is coming.

Regarding the tradition behind the saying, many scholars relate it generally to an apocalyptic motif about the “hiddenness of the future,”³⁸⁴ typically referring to texts like Pss Sol 17:21, 4 Ezra 4:51–52, and 2 Apoc Bar 21:8.³⁸⁵ A more specific text, however, may lie behind this saying – Zech 14:7.³⁸⁶ I compare Greek and Hebrew versions below.

LXX Zech 14:7: ἔσται μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη γνωστὴ τῷ κυρίῳ.

Proto-MT Zech 14:7: והיה יום־אחד הוא יודע ליהוה

The referent of “that day” (ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη) in LXX Zech 14:7, or the “single day” or “unique day” (יום־אחד) in Hebrew, is the day of the theophany with angels. Thus Zech 14:7 refers to the day of the coming with angels as “that day,” and says it is known to the Lord. Such a declaration corresponds well with, and indeed makes good sense of, Jesus’ opening his statement with reference to “that day,” and declaring that only the Father knows it (περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης . . . οὐδεὶς οἶδεν . . . εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ). Thus Mark 13 uses lexemes from Zech 14 to depict the theophany of the Son of Man with angels, and subsequently, like Zech 14, refers to the theophany as “that day” and declares that its precise timing is known only to God (the Father). The correspondence seems too great to be a coincidence. The rarity of this saying in Jewish scriptures, and its presence in Mark in conjunction with other themes and lexemes from the same passage, indicate once more that Zech 14 meaningfully influences the content of the discourse. The above correspondences comprise the final allusions to Zech 14. I turn now to some interpretative issues in the final sections of Mark 13.

5.13: Mark 13:28–37

Mark 13:28–37 contains numerous, complex interpretative issues. For example, what events are intended by reference to the fig tree in 13:28? And what event is discussed in 13:32–33? And what is the chronological relationship among the events of 13:28 and 13:32–33? Are the same events intended in

³⁸³ So Geddert 1989, 223–24; France 2002, 544.

³⁸⁴ So A.Y. Collins (2007, 617) who cites no texts but refers generally to “apocalyptic revelation.”

³⁸⁵ E.g. Marcus 2009, 918.

³⁸⁶ So Pesch 1968, 191; Beasley-Murray (1993, 455 n 240) notes that Zech 14:7 foreshadows the development of the motif in later apocalyptic that God alone knows the specifics about the eschaton. See also Evans 2006b, 75.

each of these passages? If so, is Mark consistent to say on the one hand that it will happen soon and within a generation, and on the other that no one knows “that day” except the Father? For an orientation to the preceding interpretation, I refer the reader to the outline of Mark 13 in Figure 5.4 of Section 5.7.

In essence, the content of Mark 13 proceeds from the prophecy in 13:2 and the disciples’ consequent question in 13:4. The rest of the material then alternates between answering their specific question in 13:5–23, and addressing the related concern (that is, related once Zechariah’s influence is recognized) of the coming of the Son of Man in 13:24–27. Mark 13:28–31 then reverts *back* to material related the temple, and 13:32–37 alternates back from the temple material to the theophany material. It follows an ABA’B’ structure. This pattern of intercalation is consonant with Mark’s style.³⁸⁷ Thus, Jesus prophesies the temple’s destruction, and his prophecy governs the disciples’ question. Mark 13:5–37 constitutes the succeeding answer, and can be ordered as follows:

A – 13:5–23: the answer regarding *the timing* of the temple’s destruction.

B – 13:24–27: a change in subject to the theophany.

A’ – 13:28–31: a change in subject *back* to temple material.

B’ – 13:32–37: a change in subject *back* to the theophany.

Mark 13:5–23 is marked off by an *inclusio* and an explicit statement in 13:23 that Jesus has answered their question in full. The various sections within the unit (13:5–6, 7–8, 9–13, 14–23) are linked sequentially by temporal particles and by repetition of distinct lexemes that recall the disciples’ question by virtue of the events being (or not being) the sign that the disciples seek.

Mark 13:24–27’s distinctiveness is signified in 13:24 by an adversative ἀλλά, an explicit temporal gap (μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην), and markedly different (though not unrelated) content. This section pertains to the theophany of the Son of Man and is demarcated from 13:28 by the latter’s initial δέ.

Mark 13:28–31 is marked off by an initial δέ. Its pertinence to the temple material (13:5–23) is evident by intratextual data, namely, the use of fig tree imagery previously identified by Mark as related to the temple and its judgment (11:11–33) and the repetition of lexemes distinct to the disciples’ question and Jesus’ answer. It contains a parable, an inferential exhortation, and a concluding statement that begins with “I tell you . . .”

³⁸⁷ For examinations of this phenomenon, see James Edwards 1989, 193–216; Tom Shepherd 1995, 522–40.

Mark 13:32–37 is marked off by an initial *περὶ δέ*,³⁸⁸ and reference to a single day whose most likely antecedent is the theophany. The passage too contains a parable, an inferential exhortation that recalls the language of 13:24–27, and also concludes with a statement that begins with “I tell you . . .”

Regarding the pertinence of Mark 13:28–31 with the temple, 13:29 declares, “And when you see. . .” (ὅταν ἴδητε), repeating the phrasing of 13:14, which similarly says, “But when you see . . .” (ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε).³⁸⁹ In 13:14 the visible event is the “abomination of desolation,” the sign that precedes the temple’s destruction. Additionally, 13:29–30 declares that when the disciples see “these things” (ταῦτα) happening, “it” is near, and that “all these things” (ταῦτα πάντα) will happen before the generation passes away. If “(all) these things” were to include reference to the phenomena of 13:24–27, and “it” were to refer to the theophany, that would mean the phenomena precede the theophany. But the cosmic phenomena of 13:24–25 accompany the theophany; they do not precede it. Therefore, they cannot be signs that indicate its nearness, for they are contemporaneous with it.³⁹⁰ The only events that have been discussed that *precede* another event are those of 13:5–23.

Rather, the language of “(all) these things” in 13:28–29 recalls both the precise wording of the disciples’ question and various phrases used throughout the answer in 13:5–23, suggesting that Mark intends those phrases to be understood with regard to events pertaining to the destruction of the temple. For example, below I note the contexts and temporal constraints within which that phrasing (reference to “all these things” and temporal particles) is employed:

- 13:4: [Regarding the **destruction of the temple**]: Tell us, when will these things be (**πότε ταῦτα** ἔσται) and what will be the sign when (**ὅταν**) all these things are about to occur (**ταῦτα** συντελεῖσθαι **πάντα**)?
- 13:7: But when you hear of wars . . . (**ὅταν δὲ** ἀκούσητε . . .)
- 13:8: These things are the beginning of the birth pangs (**ἀρχὴ** ὠδίνων **ταῦτα**)
- 13:11: And whenever they arrest you . . . (**καὶ ὅταν** ἄγωσιν ὑμᾶς . . .)
- 13:14: But when you see the abomination . . . (**ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε** τὸ βδέλυγμα . . .)
- 13:23: I have told you everything in advance (προεἶρηκα ὑμῖν **πάντα**)
- 13:28: Now from the **fig tree**, learn the parable (cf. 11:11–33, where the withering **fig tree** and Jesus’ **temple action** are mutually interpretative).

³⁸⁸ Mark 12:26 is the only other use of *περὶ δέ* in the Gospel. There it refers back to a premise in an interlocutor’s question; needless to say, it can govern a “change in subject.” For examples of *περὶ δέ* governing a shift in topic see: Acts 21:25; 1 Cor 7:1, 25; 8:1; 12:1; 16:1; 1 Thess 4:9; 5:1.

³⁸⁹ So Lane 1974, 479; Beasley-Murray 1993, 437; Stein 2008, 617.

³⁹⁰ Beasley-Murray (1993, 436) says, “. . . on the one hand the ‘signs’ of a theophany are typically consequences of the appearing of God, not its precedents, and on the other hands they are so completely one with the event that they cannot be viewed as premonitory signs.”

13:29: But when you see these things happening . . . (ὅταν ἴδητε ταῦτα γινόμενα . . .)

13:30: This generation won't pass away until all these things happen (ταῦτα πάντα γένηται)

The *only* context in which the temporal phrases (πότε, ὅταν, ἀρχή), the verbs of perception or experience (i.e. “when you hear,” “when they lead you,” “when you see”), and the phrase “(all) these things” are employed pre-13:28 is in the disciples’ question and Jesus’ answer regarding the *timing* of the destruction of the temple in 13:4–23. Correspondingly, the *only* passage in which they are repeated is 13:28–31. Thus the disciples’ question strategically employs the phrase “these things” and “all these things” so that subsequent uses of them (in that order), in conjunction with other significant data regarding temporality, signal that the subject is the timing of the temple’s destruction.³⁹¹ Significantly, the phrases “(all) these things” is absent from 13:32–37; indeed, nearly all of the distinct language discussed above is absent from precisely 13:24–27 and 13:32–37.³⁹² Furthermore, the latter sections (13:24–27 and 13:32–37) are separated from the surrounding material (13:5–23 and 13:28–31) by 1) contrastive conjunctions, 2) content that is distinct from 13:5–23 and 13:28–31, but related to one another, and 3) distinct parables.

The parable in Mark 13:28 is set off from 13:24–27 by the conjunction δέ, and it uses the imagery of the fig tree in order to draw upon the reader’s intratextual association of the withered fig tree of 11:12–14 with the subsequent action in the temple in 11:15–18.³⁹³ The “summer” that the shedding leaves portend may be allusive to the “harvest” metaphor in the prophets in which the judgment of a particular city or people is intended;³⁹⁴ such an allusion, however, is not necessary in order to conclude that the event in mind is the destruction of the temple.³⁹⁵ The main comparison in the parable is one of time: *when* (ὅταν) the branch sheds its leaves, you know the summer is near; so you

³⁹¹ So Hurtado 1989, 223; Gray 2010, 146; Stein 2014, 120–124.

³⁹² The sole exception is the use of πότε in 13:33, 35, where the subject is “that day” of the Lord’s returning.

³⁹³ Several scholars note this, e.g. Telford 1980, 216–17; Hooker 1991, 320; Wright 1996, 511; France 2002, 537; Stein 2008, 618; Gray 2010, 146; Shively 2012, 212. Among these, Telford, Hooker, and Shively argue in their respective ways that the parable recalls the action of Mark 11, yet does not refer primarily to events that precede the temple’s destruction. Rather, they argue, Mark 13:28–31 portends “summer,” and “summer” signifies “harvest,” and thus does not refer to judgment upon the temple, but to gathering of the people of God at the *parousia*.

³⁹⁴ See Isa 18:1–6; Jer 51:33 (ET/MT; 28:33 LXX); Hos 6:11–7:15; Joel 3:13–20. Interestingly, Shively uses these texts, with the exception of Isa 18, to argue that “the summer” refers to restoration of God’s people at the time of judgment (2012, 212). The restoration, however, as she implies, typically occurs as a consequence of God’s *judgment* on a particular people. Thus the question becomes whether the restoration, or the judgment, or both, are implied. Mark 13:28–31’s evocation of the question and events of 13:4–23 suggest that only the judgment of the temple is at hand.

³⁹⁵ So Stein 2008, 618, who does not think any harvest/judgment metaphor is intended, presumably because if Mark had intended “harvest,” he would have said θερισμός rather than θέρος.

also (οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς), *when* (ὅταν) you see these things happening, know that “it” is near. Thus what “summer” refers to is not the point; the point is the temporal comparison and the referent of “it.”³⁹⁶ Therefore the interpretation of the parable is that when “these things,” i.e. the events of 13:5–23, occur, “it” – the judgment of the temple – is near.

Regarding the pertinence of 13:32–37 with the theophany, 13:32 changes the subject of 13:28–31, evident by *περὶ δέ* and the markedly different content. Specifically, the subject changes from a complex of events that will allow the disciples to know that an event is near in 13:28–31, to a singular day that is unknowable in 13:32–27.³⁹⁷ While the parable of Mark 13:28–31 uses imagery reminiscent of the temple’s imminent destruction, 13:32–37 uses imagery reminiscent of Jesus’ description of the theophany. After telling them of the coming (ἐρχόμενον) Son of Man in 13:24–27, he gives them a parable about a master leaving and coming (ἔρχεται; ἐλθών) again. Importantly, the master comes “suddenly,” that is, without warning or premonitory sign. The latter indicates that reference to the theophany is *not* included in either the disciples’ question, Jesus’ answer in 13:5–23, or the parable in 13:28–31, as each of the latter passages refers to an event that *is* preceded by a sign. Those passages insist that “(all) these things” precede the destruction of the temple, therefore the disciples should watch (βλέπω) for them. The coming of the Lord, however, is sudden and without warning, therefore the disciples should constantly be alert (γρηγορέω; ἀγρυπνέω). Significantly, neither of the latter verbs is used in 13:5–23, even though Jesus several times commands his disciples to “watch out” (βλέπετε). Presumably, in effort to distinguish the otherwise potentially overlapping terms, he tells them to “be careful” (βλέπετε) in 13:5–23, 32, and tells them to “be alert” (ἀγρυπνεῖτε, γρηγορεῖτε) for the returning Lord in 13:32–37.³⁹⁸

The parable itself is relatively straightforward. Jesus describes a master who leaves his house, gives his slaves authority over the house, and gives a task to each one. This master tells the doorkeeper to “be on the alert” for the master’s return, for he and the slaves do not know when it will be. Almost certainly the “coming” of the “Lord” in 13:32–27 corresponds to the “coming” of the Son of Man; therefore, the interpretation of the parable depends on one’s interpretation of 13:24–27. Accordingly, I take the leaving and returning master of this parable to refer to the absent but returning Son of Man.

The parable exhorts disciples to be alert, lest the Lord come suddenly and find them sleeping. This “alertness” refers to faithful discipleship in the interim between Jesus’ departure and return,

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 618–19.

³⁹⁷ Lane 1974, 481–82; Stein 2014, 128–29.

³⁹⁸ Geddert 1989, 90.

tending to the tasks entrusted by the master. “Sleeping” consequently refers to unpreparedness, manifest in an unwillingness to persevere as Jesus’ disciple.³⁹⁹ The parable also opens with a command to watch and stay awake (βλέπετε, ἀγρυπνεῖτε). This use of βλέπω recalls his warnings to his disciples in 13:5, 9–13, and 23, where he cautions them not to be deceived by false teachers and prophets, and to persevere in the midst of persecution that will come as a result of following him. Additionally, this language is reemployed in Mark 14:32–41 in Gethsemane, where the disciples are commanded to keep watch (γρηγορεῖτε) and pray, but instead of being found obedient to their master’s commands, are found sleeping (καθεύδοντας), and eventually end up fleeing. In Gethsemane, the disciples exemplify the behavior that this parable warns against.⁴⁰⁰

Finally, the structure of the parables and their consequential exhortations are especially telling of the proposed ABA’B’ structure. The first parable in 13:28 occurs *after* both subjects – the timing of the temple’s destruction and the theophany – are depicted. Following the parable he gives an inferential warning on the basis of the parable’s teaching. After his exhortation, he concludes with a statement regarding the truthfulness of what he has said, beginning with, “Truly I say to you . . .”

Like Mark 13:28–31, 13:32–37 proceeds from a parable to an inferential imperative, and concludes with a statement beginning with “I say to you . . .”

The pattern may be demonstrated visually:

13:28: Parable (fig tree, alerting reader to temple)

13:29: Exhortation (οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς . . . γινώσκετε)

13:30–31: I say to you . . . (Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι . . .)

13:32–33: Topic shifted to coming Son of Man (evident by περὶ δέ, and reference to singular time)

13:34: Parable (about a leaving and returning master)

13:35–36: Exhortation (γρηγορεῖτε οὖν)

³⁹⁹ So Evans 2001, 340–42; Shively 2012, 213–17. An intertextual comparison to several related texts supports this interpretation. See e.g. Mark 13:32–27’s command to the disciples to “stay awake” (γρηγορεῖτε) rather than be found “sleeping” (καθεύδοντας) to 1 Thess 5:1–10, where Paul exhorts the Thessalonians, in light of the coming day of the Lord (which he refers to with reference to Zech 14:5 in 1 Thess 3:13!), not to be found asleep (μὴ καθεύδωμεν), but instead to be alert (ἀλλὰ γρηγορῶμεν). This “alertness” is further delineated as “soberness,” which is manifest in faithful obedience (1 Thess 5:11–22). The material in 1 Thess 5:1–10 is based on Paul’s knowledge of Jesus tradition, also present in Mark 13:32–27 and Luke 21:34–36. For a comparison of 1 Thess 5 and the Olivet discourse see Kim 2002, 225–42. Note also the use of γρηγορεῖτε in the closing comments of several texts to command vigilance and preparedness in light of the *parousia* and/or judgment by the Lord Jesus: 1 Cor 16:13; Col 4:2; 1 Pet 5:8; Rev 3:2–3; 16:15; Acts 20:31. Gaston (1970, 59) refers to the texts above to argue that the language of the church’s paraclesis has affected the wording of the parables. The evidence of 1 Thess 5:1–10, however, where Paul mixes the metaphors of “sleeping” suggests the opposite direction of dependence, namely, that the parables influence the exhortation.

⁴⁰⁰ So Shively 2012, 216–17.

13:37: I say to you . . . (ὁ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω πᾶσιν λέγω)

While the structure of the two units, 13:28–31 and 13:32–37, is the same, the consequential exhortations are different. The latter supports the notion that the parables relate different events. In 13:28 Jesus gives them a parable that is already associated with the destruction of the temple, and then his warning commands them “to know,” or “to recognize” that the judgment of the temple is near. In Mark 13:32–37 the effect is just the opposite.⁴⁰¹ He gives the disciples a parable that demonstrably pertains to a coming figure, and his warning is, *because you do not know*, and indeed *cannot* know, be alert. The incongruous exhortations imply the events are distinct from one another;⁴⁰² in other words, one event is the destruction of the temple, and the other is the theophany, and the latter is not a metaphor for the former.

Thus Mark 13:5–23 relates the events that will precede the destruction of the temple; 13:24–27 describes the theophany of the Son of Man with his angels to gather his people and to judge those who have been ashamed of him; 13:28–31 provides a parable regarding the events of 13:5–23 and their relation to Jesus’ prediction of the temple’s destruction; and 13:32–37 provides a parable about the events of 13:24–27. The meaning of the former parable is: when these things, that is, the international wars and famines, the persecution, and the attack upon Judea, begin to happen, know that the destruction of the temple is near. The meaning of the latter parable is: no one knows when the Son of Man is coming, therefore be ready at all times.

5.14: Conclusion

This chapter highlights the extent to which Zechariah shapes and provides expressions for material in Mark 13. I demonstrate that Mark 13:3 alludes to Zech 14:4, thereby conjuring the connotation of that prophetic text for the illumination of what follows in Mark 13. I demonstrate that Mark utilizes settings in this way by examination of intratextual data.⁴⁰³ I then argue that several features from Zechariah, mostly Zech 13–14, influence several aspects of the Olivet Discourse.

I conclude 1) that proto-Theodotion Dan 12, in conjunction with Zech 13:7–9, plausibly informs this study’s proposal that the disciples’ “scattering” entails the tribulations depicted in Mark 13, as proto-Theodotion Dan 12 describes its “tribulation” as “the scattering” of God’s people; 2) that Zech 13:2’s “false prophets” influences Mark’s depiction of such figures in Mark 13:5–6, 21–22; 3) that Zech

⁴⁰¹ Lane 1974, 481; he argues that the adversative sense should be brought about by rendering 13:32: “As for that day and that hour, *on the contrary*, no one knows . . .” (italics original).

⁴⁰² Ibid., 482.

⁴⁰³ See Figure 6.2 in the next chapter for cross-references to the section numbers in which I argue each of the subsequent points.

13:7–8 plausibly informs Mark 13:7–8’s depiction of widespread suffering;⁴⁰⁴ 4) that Zech 13:9 influences Mark 13:9–13 in light of an intratextual examination of Mark 8:34–38, 9:49, and 14:27–31; 5) that Zech 14:16 informs Mark’s statement that “all the nations” must be evangelized; 6) that Zech 4:6 influences Mark 13:11’s statement that God’s Spirit will assist the disciples’ testimonies; 7) that Mark 13:14–17 alludes to Zech 14:1–2’s attack upon Jerusalem and its consequent afflictions; 8) that Mark 13:14’s injunction to “flee to the hills,” is comparable to the similar phrase in Zech 14:5; 9) that Zech 14:4–5 influences several features of Mark 13:24–27, including Jesus’ coming with angels, his coming “with power,” and the cosmic phenomena; 10) that “the gathering of the elect” in Mark 13:27 alludes to Zech 2:10–15; 11) that Zech 14:6–7 influences Mark 13:32’s reference to the *parousia* as “that day,” and the subsequent claim that Jesus is ignorant of its timing.

These conclusions demonstrate the extent to which Mark’s language is steeped in the book of Zechariah. Acknowledging these allusions, moreover, impacts a *crux interpretum* of scholarship on Mark 13. The *strangeness* of the disciples asking about the temple’s destruction but being told about their own persecution and the coming of the Son of Man dissolves when read in light of the allusions to Zechariah. That is, *without* acknowledgement of the Zechariah framework, scholars typically posit either that the Son of Man’s coming refers to the temple’s destruction, which requires a considerably labored reading of the data, or they must posit a *guess* as to why Mark would have included a description of the *parousia* there rather than anywhere else. But once the influence of Zechariah is recognized, the present arrangement of the text becomes clear. Discussing in a single discourse the persecution of the disciples, the attack on Jerusalem, and the *parousia*, is not at all incongruous when read within the framework provided by Zech 13–14. Furthermore, the use of the latter text, this study has shown, is not random, but is in complete conformity with Mark’s consistent reference to Zechariah throughout the Gospel. I elaborate on this point in the final chapter.

⁴⁰⁴ This conclusion is only plausible in light of the surrounding evidence. It is by no means obvious or clear that Mark 13:7–8 alludes to Zech 13:8.

Chapter 6:

Conclusion

6.1: Mark's Allusions to Zechariah

In this study, I explored Mark's use of Zechariah throughout the Gospel, and I provided a detailed interpretation of Mark 13 in light of its allusions to Zechariah. Many previous studies confined their scope to Zech 9–14 and its employment in Mark 11–16. This study, however, examined the whole of Mark in light of its allusions to Zechariah, including Zech 1–8 and Zech 9–14. Employing “semiotic exegesis,”¹ I incorporated intratextual, intertextual, and extratextual data in my detection and interpretation of Mark's use of Zechariah. I demonstrated that outside the Olivet Discourse, Mark consistently employs Zechariah to depict the teaching and actions of Jesus, including his removal of “the unclean spirit,” his confrontation with Satan, his healings, his reference to his future coming with the angels, his teaching about salvation, his entry into Jerusalem, his action in the temple, his teaching at Passover, and his arrest and death. The table below (Figure 6.1) displays my conclusions regarding the influences of Zechariah outside Mark 13. The fourth column of Figure 6.1 displays the section in which I argued for, and interpreted, the particular influence.

Figure 6.1

Zechariah	Event	Mark	Section
9:9–10	Entry into Jerusalem	11:1–10	3.2
14:21	Jesus' Temple Action	11:15–19	3.3
9:11	Blood of the Covenant	14:24	3.4.1
14:9	Kingdom of God, That Day	14:25	3.4.2
13:2	The Unclean Spirit	1:23, etc.	3.6.1
3:2	Rebuking Satan	8:33–9:9	3.6.2
8:23	Tassel of His Cloak	6:56	3.7
8:6–8	God's Power to Save	10:27	3.8
13:7–9	Disciples' Refinement	9:49, 14:27–31	4.2
14:5	Jesus' <i>Parousia</i>	8:38	4.3

¹ See Alkier 2009a, 3–21; idem 2009b, 223–48, and 251 n 17, in the same volume. See also my Section 1.3.

Each of these allusions contributes to a vital part of the story Mark tells. Importantly, once Mark embeds a given allusion in his narrative, a new figuration of Zechariah's prophetic language emerges. In other words, recognizing an allusion to Zechariah in Mark affects both the interpretation of that given motif from Zechariah and of the Markan text in which it is employed.² In that regard, Zechariah contributes to Mark's depiction of Jesus as the *awaited*, but *unexpected*, Davidic king. That is, Jesus is indeed the awaited king of Zech 9:9, the Davidic descendant who will "rule from sea to sea,"³ but Jesus' kingship does not correspond to what his disciples *expected*,⁴ and Mark's reorientation of such expectations draws heavily upon Zechariah. Jesus defeats the enemies of God's people, for example, but he identifies the enemies as Satan and the unclean spirit (Zech 3:2; 13:2). He teaches the nearness of God's kingdom (Zech 14:9), but his welcome includes all the nations (Zech 14:16, 21). He claims to be Israel's king, but his kingship entails pouring out his own blood of the covenant (Zech 9:11), and being stricken by God (Zech 13:7). The latter is not a repudiation of kingship, but it is a redrawing, or a new figuration, of what being king entails.⁵ Each of these motifs provides fundamental shape to the story Mark tells, and Mark expresses each aspect with the language of Zechariah.

Having demonstrated most of the above conclusions in Chapter 3, I turned in Chapter 4 to a reevaluation of the quotation of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27. I demonstrated that Mark's quotation alludes to Zech 13:7–9, and consequently depicts Jesus as the stricken shepherd and the disciples as the scattered sheep. Through intratextual examination of Mark 8:34–38, 9:42–49, and several features of Mark 13, I demonstrated that the disciples' "falling away" in Mark 14:27 entails their refinement "by fire" via the tribulations of Mark 13. I additionally argued that Mark alludes to Zech 14:5 in his description of Jesus' *parousia*, depicting Jesus as Zechariah's coming "Lord." In Chapter 5, I interpreted Mark 13 in light of Mark's allusions to several features of Zech 13–14. Accordingly, I showed that the eschatological scenario depicted in Zech 13–14, namely, the striking of the shepherd, the scattering of the sheep, the "fiery" testing of God's people, Jerusalem's attack, and God's theophany with angels, is fulfilled in the similar events that the disciples endure. After the striking of the shepherd in Mark 14:27, the disciples are scattered, they endure the fiery testing of Mark 9:49 and 13:9–13, and Jerusalem is attacked. Ultimately God's people are regathered after their scattering by the returning Son of Man and

² The language of "figuration," comes from Hollander 1981, ix. The same notion is discussed in Hays 1989, 19; Hübenthal 2006, 45; Alkier 2009a, 3–21; Shively 2015, 390. See also my Section 1.3.1.

³ Zech 9:10; Mark 11:1–10

⁴ See Mark 8:31–33.

⁵ See similar conclusion in Shively 2015, 397, particularly with reference to Peter's misunderstanding of what being "Messiah" entailed in Mark 8:32–33.

his angels. The table below (Figure 6.2) displays my conclusions regarding Mark 13's allusions to Zechariah.

Figure 6.2

Zechariah	Event	Mark	Section
14:4	Setting of Discourse	13:3	5.8.3
Zech 13:7–9 + Θ Dan 12	Scattering = Tribulation	13:19	5.8.4.1
13:2	False Prophets	13:5–6, 21–22	5.9.1
13:8	Earthquakes, War, Famine	13:7–8	5.9.2
13:9	Refinement	9:49, 13:9–13	4.2, 5.10
14:16	Universal Evangelism	13:10	5.10.1
4:6	God's Spirit	13:11	5.10.2
14:1–5	Attack on Jerusalem	13:14–23	5.11.1
14:5	Flight to the Hills	13:14	5.11.1.1
14:2	Consequent Afflictions	13:14–17	5.11.1.2
14:5	Coming of Son of Man with Angels	8:38, 13:26–37	5.12.2
Isa 13, 34; Joel 2; Zech 14:5–6	Cosmic Imagery and Judgment	13:26–27	5.12.4
Tg. Zech 14:4	Coming "with Power"	13:26–27	5.12.5
2:10–15	Gathering the Elect	13:27	5.12.6
14:6, 7, 8, 9	"That day"	13:32	5.12.7
14:7	Jesus' ignorance about "that day"	13:32	5.12.8

Once more, these allusions to Zechariah contribute to major elements of the Olivet Discourse, including the disciples' tribulations, the threat of false prophets, the gift of God's Spirit in "expanding the temple" (= evangelizing), the afflictions consequent to Jerusalem's attack, the prescribed flight to safety, the gathering of God's people by the angels and the Son of Man, and Jesus' ignorance regarding "that day" of his coming. I argued for these allusions on the basis of intratextual, intertextual, and extratextual data, which include, respectively, wider features of Mark's narrative, replication of themes and lexemes

from Zechariah, and “historical” media such as coins, art, and accounts from Josephus. One final argument remains, however, that supports the conclusions advanced in this study.

Richard Hays’ final criterion for identifying and interpreting an allusion is its history of interpretation,⁶ showing that other readers, arguing from similar sets of data, have deduced similar interpretations. Noting similar receptions of the discourse does not prove my case, but it proves that the proposed connections are conceivable. To this end, I describe two ancient receptions of the Olivet Discourse. The first is *Didache* 16, potentially composed in the late 1st century CE,⁷ and the second is Cyril of Alexandria’s commentary on Zechariah, probably composed in the early 5th century.⁸

6:2: *Didache* 16

Didache 16, the so-called “eschatological ending,” depends on material from the Olivet Discourse. The witness of *Did* 16 is important as its iteration of material from the Olivet Discourse employs Zech 13:9 and 14:5. *Didache* 16:1 begins: “Watch over (γρηγορεῖτε) your lives . . . for you do not know the hour in which our Lord is coming.” The subsequent material is accordingly understood within the context of vigilance for the coming of “the Lord.” *Didache* 16:3–4 describes the inevitable rise of “false prophets” and “lawlessness,” reflecting the warnings present in Mark 13:5–6, 21–22, and Matt 24:12. *Didache* 16:4 foretells the arrival of “the world-deceiver.” After the world-deceiver commits many abominations, all humankind will enter *Did* 16:5’s “fiery test.”

Didache 16:5 says: “Then all humankind will come to the fiery test,” (εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας), “and many will fall away and perish” (καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται). “But those who endure in their faith will be saved by the curse itself.”⁹ Because *Did* 16:5 emphasizes “perseverance in the faith,” the “fiery testing” probably refers to persecution for following Jesus.¹⁰

⁶ Hays 1989, 31.

⁷ The majority of scholars argue that *Didache* 16, (1) is familiar with the Gospels, especially Matthew, or (2) knows sources similar to what the Gospel authors had. Accordingly, common hypotheses for the date range from 50 to 100 CE. See Michael Holmes 2007, 337–38. For Option 1, see W.D. Köhler 1987, 19–56; C. Tuckett 1996, 92–128. For Option 2, see H. Köster 1957, 159–241; J.P. Audet 1958, 166–86; K. Niederwimmer 1993, 247–70; Jens Schröter 2008, 239–54.

⁸ Scholars date Cyril’s commentary on the basis of its relative dearth of polemic against “heretics,” which dominated later writings. It is broadly dated to somewhere between 400–428 CE. See Robert Hill 2007, 4. Alexander Kerrigan states that Cyril’s Septuagintal text of Zechariah “agrees with the Alexandrian group A–Q and kindred minisculae.” See Kerrigan 1952, 250–51.

⁹ My translation.

¹⁰ So Niederwimmer 1993, 221.

The language of “the fiery test” likely derives from Zech 13:9. There God says that he will “lead” his people through the fire (διὰ πυρός) and “test” them as gold is tested (καὶ δοκιμῶ αὐτούς ὡς δοκιμάζεται τὸ χρυσίον). Three reasons suggest that Zech 13:9 is the influence behind Did 16:5. First, the author clearly knows Zechariah, as Zech 14:5 is quoted a few sentences later (Did 16:7). Second, each passage describes the “fire” as that which the people “enter” or “pass through.” Third, the verses correspond lexically and thematically. Didache 16:7 says that humankind enters εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας. Zechariah 13:9 says that the remnant will pass διὰ πυρός, and that God will test them (δοκιμῶ αὐτούς). Zechariah 13:9 is one of the few verses in Jewish scriptures to collocate the terms “fire” and “test.” The other instances are: Ps 26:2 (LXX 25:2), Prov 27:21, and Jer 9:6. Psalm 26:2 relates a plea by David that God would test his heart and judge him according to the integrity of his walk. The context is unrelated, and the only use of the πυρ root is in the imperative (πύρωσον), best translated “purify me!” Proverbs 27:21 actually eschews the language of “fiery testing,” saying that gold and silver belong in a crucible, but that a man is tested or approved by other means. Finally, Jer 9:6 declares that God will “set fire” and “refine” Jerusalem, referring to the destruction by Babylon in 586 BCE. There is no noun form of “fire,” and the context is unrelated. Zechariah 13:9, on the other hand, depicts this fiery test as that which will happen to the people of God, and will prove their positive covenantal status. The latter context fits Did 16 well, where the fiery test is that which Christians must endure before “salvation.”¹¹

Accordingly, Did 16 uses Zech 13:9 to depict the tribulations of the faithful as the “fiery test,” it embeds this “fiery test” *in the material related to the Olivet Discourse*, and it describes this threat as “falling away” (from σκανδαλίζω). In light of this coming fiery test, however, the assurance of Did 16:5 is: οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται.¹² This use of Zech 13:7–9 corresponds exactly to its proposed use in Mark. There Jesus teaches that the disciples must be salted “with fire” and endure tribulations, and he predicts the same threat, namely, “falling away” (from σκανδαλίζω), explicitly on the basis of Zech 13:7. In light of coming tribulation, however, Jesus promises: ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται.

The correspondence only increases with Did 16:7, where the author *cites* Zech 14:5 in the description of Jesus’ *parousia*. Didache 16:7–8 says: οὐ πάντων δέ, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐρρέθη ἤξει κύριος καὶ

¹¹ The influence of Zech 13:9 is accepted by many; see e.g. Aaron Milavec 1995, 146; Marcello del Verme 2004, 232–33.

¹² Did 16:5; Mark 13:13.

πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ’ αὐτοῦ.¹³ τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. These verses, as I argued occurs in Mark 8:38,¹⁴ combine elements of Dan 7:13 and Zech 14:5 to depict Jesus as the returning Lord of Zech 14:5.¹⁵ In summary, then, Did 16, in its own iteration of material clearly dependent upon the Olivet Discourse, describes the tribulations as “the fiery test,” characterizes the threat as “falling away,” as in Mark 14:27, and assures the community of vindication when Jesus returns, citing Zech 14:5. These correspondences strongly suggest that the author of Didache, or its sources, saw in the Olivet Discourse the very allusions to Zech 13–14 proposed in this study, and consequently made them explicit.

6.3: Cyril of Alexandria

The second example is of a slightly different nature. It is not a reception of the Olivet Discourse, but a commentary on the very material from Zechariah that I argue influences Mark 13. Cyril of Alexandria is commenting upon a Greek version of Zech 13–14, and his interpretation of each verse from Zech 13:7–14:5 is nearly identical to what this study argues obtains in Mark. Cyril proceeds by providing a lemma and a comment. I reproduce the pertinent material here. He interprets Zech 13:7 with reference to the Passion, and writes that “when the shepherd was struck, [the disciples] were scattered and took to flight . . . ‘they all left him and fled,’ in the phrasing of the Gospel.”¹⁶ He then interprets Zech 13:8 with reference to “the Jewish populace,” saying, “They were consumed by *war*, in fact, and the cities and towns were destroyed along with their inhabitants, burned to the ground . . .”¹⁷ He then describes Zech 13:9 as “the remnant,” and he interprets this remnant with reference to the early Jewish disciples. Of them he writes, “They were called, in fact, to experience many tribulations and persecutions, and, as it were, *fired, tested* by trials.”¹⁸

Importantly, he proceeds to Zech 14:1–5, *and interprets the verses as a partial explanation of Zech 13:7–9, and in sole reference to the events of 66–70 CE.* Of Zech 14:1–2’s reference to the

¹³ Zech 14:5.

¹⁴ See Section 4.3.

¹⁵ Scholars nearly universally accept that Did 16:7–8, or its source, combines Dan 7:13 and Zech 14:5. See e.g. Niederwimmer 1993, 225. Zech 14:5 is cited, and the allusion to Dan 7:13 is evident by the phrase, “coming on clouds.” That the allusion to Dan 7:13 may be mediated through a Gospel or its source is suggested by Did 16:8’s phrase “then the world will see” (τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος), which is comparable to the phrase in the Olivet Discourse, “then they will see” (τότε ὄψονται).

¹⁶ Hill 2007a, 254.

¹⁷ Ibid., 256.

¹⁸ Ibid. (translator’s italics). See also commentary by Didymus the Blind, an acquaintance of Jerome, in 386 CE. He interprets Zech 13:9 with reference to Mark 9:49. He regards Jesus’ teaching in Mark 9:49 as “what the savior says about this fire” [of Zech 13:9]. See Hill 2006, 4, 315.

afflictions upon “houses” and “women,” he writes, “They say, remember, that Romans took the city, and paying no heed to the fighters’ best efforts, they burned the Temple itself and the city’s houses . . .”¹⁹ He proceeds by explaining how houses were ransacked and women ravaged in the Jewish war in 66–70 CE. Interestingly, he interprets Zech 14:3’s reference to the Lord’s “coming to do battle” as a prediction of God’s fighting *against* Jerusalem, rather than to its aid. He then interprets Zech 14:5 with reference to Jesus’ *parousia*. Cyril says, “Having made cursory mention of . . . the capture of Judea and Jerusalem, [Zechariah] now moves on to the very end of the present age and helpfully narrates the coming of Emmanuel from heaven.”²⁰ He interprets the “holy ones” as “the pure multitude of his angels.”²¹ Finally, Cyril understands Zech 14:6’s claim “that there will be no light” with reference to Jesus’ description of the darkened sun and moon at the coming of the Son of Man,²² and he explains Zech 14:7’s claim that “that day is known to the Lord” with reference to Jesus’ claim of ignorance in Mark 13:32.²³

Thus Cyril interprets Zech 13:7 as Jesus’ arrest and death; 13:8 as the afflictions of war upon “the Jewish populace”; and 13:9 with reference to the suffering of the early disciples. He then explains Zech 14:1–5 with reference to Rome’s attack of Jerusalem in 66–70 CE, and Jesus’ *parousia*. Cyril’s explanations self-evidently correspond to the present study’s interpretation of Mark 13 in light of Mark’s use of Zechariah. These two texts provide interesting examples. Didache 16 clearly depends on material from the Olivet Discourse, and in its iteration of comparable material, it depicts the tribulations and *parousia* with reference to Zech 13:9 and 14:5. Cyril, on the other hand, knows the Gospels well, and consequently sees in Zech 13–14 predictions, or precursors, to the material set forth in the Gospels (as this study has interpreted them). These examples provide plausibility that the interpretation argued for in this study is conceivable, as early interpreters *reading the same texts* forged the same connections.

6.4: Concluding Thoughts

If my conclusions are plausible, what does this study contribute to the scholarly discussion of Mark 13? First, it broadens the consensus view that Mark alludes to Zech 9–14 only in Mark 11–16. This study, by contrast, examines the whole of Mark and finds significant allusions to material from Zech 1–8. Importantly, Mark’s allusions to Zech 13–14 in Mark 13 are not random, but are of a piece with Mark’s consistent use of Zechariah throughout the Gospel. His allusions to Zech 13–14 therefore conform to his

¹⁹ Hill 2007a, 258.

²⁰ Ibid., 261.

²¹ Ibid., 262.

²² Cyril quotes Matt 24:29

²³ Ibid., 263.

larger pattern of utilizing the whole of Zechariah, a text by which he meaningfully expresses significant elements of the life and teaching of Jesus. Second, it mounts a fresh defence of the often overlooked interpretation of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27. Though comparing phrases from Mark 13 to their reappearance in Mark 14 is not new, this study offers a fresh interpretation of those correspondences, consequently arguing that Zech 13:9's "refining fire" is fulfilled in the tribulations of Mark 13. Third, most importantly, my case for Mark 13's allusions to Zech 13–14 resolves apparent tensions that have long held sway over discussions of Mark 13.

Mark 13:10, for example, seems to break the flow of 13:9–13. Once the influence of Zech 14 is recognized, however, the awkwardness of that verse in that location disappears. In line with Zech 14, which teaches that "all the nations" flock to worship God *after* Jerusalem is attacked and *after* God's theophany with angels, Mark 13:10 declares that "all the nations" must be evangelized *before* the attack on Jerusalem and *before* Jesus' theophany with angels. In order to come and worship the God of Israel at that time, "all the nations must first be evangelized."²⁴ Recognizing the influence of Zech 14 provides a satisfactory interpretation of the material, and accounts for distinct lexical correspondences between Mark 13:10 and Zech 14. More significantly, scholarship over the last 180 years has puzzled over the apparent incongruity between a question about the temple and an answer that describes Jesus' *parousia*.²⁵ This perceived tension has led to various solutions. Typical explanations include:²⁶ 1) that the description of Jesus' *parousia* belongs to a distinct source, and that Mark's source, or Mark himself, combined the disparate sources for some unknown reason; 2) that there is no discontinuity, as "the coming of the Son of Man" describes the vindication of Jesus, manifest in the destruction of the temple; or 3) Mark joins the disparate elements, namely, the destruction of the temple and Jesus' *parousia*, because they are both "eschatological."

As argued in Section 5.12, Option 1 boasts little to no evidence; Option 2 suffers from several interpretative flaws; and Option 3, while not necessarily wrong, is vague and not likely to satisfy many interpreters. This study's case for the influence of Zech 13–14, on the other hand, stands on substantial evidence, relying upon intratextual, intertextual, and extratextual data, and well explains Mark's arrangement of the discourse. That is, Zech 14 presents the very scenario that interpreters regard as a scandal in Mark 13: an attack on Jerusalem followed by a theophany with angels. Significantly, the

²⁴ See Section 5.10.1.

²⁵ See Section 1.1 for discussion and references.

²⁶ See discussion and references in Section 5.12.

methodologies of previous studies plausibly precluded them from reaching comparable conclusions. Source-critical works seek to ascertain Mark's pre-composition sources; form-critical works highlight certain features of Mark and posit hypothetical historical origins in order to say something about Mark's community or historical situation; some historical-critical studies often use Mark only as a means of "historical information," that is, as a window into the past itself. Mark has long been studied with such goals in mind, but rarely do such methods interpret the text itself as Mark has arranged it, accounting for its many nuances.

Narrative criticism helpfully strives to fill this void by assuming literary unity and paying close attention to the whole of Mark's story. Even narrative criticism, however, with all its strengths, can lead to reductive studies that emphasize *only* the text, that is, the intratextual data, often to the exclusion, or devaluation, of the historical environment within which the text was produced.²⁷ Neglecting examination of the cultural and historical environment of a given text, however, potentially renders deficient interpretations by setting aside valuable insights into the implicit associations that undergird the act of communication being studied.²⁸ Therefore, this study advocates and attempts to model "semiotic exegesis."²⁹ This method seeks to account for as much data as possible by incorporating intratextual, intertextual, and extratextual data in order to provide an interpretation of the text *within* the world from which the text speaks.

With respect to Mark, this method allows the reader to recognize with the crowd Jesus' claim to be Israel's king, mounted on a donkey. It permits recognizing the implied significance of Jesus delivering his speech from the Mount of Olives. And it pressures the audience to recognize that he who claimed to be Israel's Messiah was not thereby proven wrong by his crucifixion, but instead ushered in God's kingdom as the stricken, but returning, shepherd.

²⁷ Naturally not all narrative critics exclude historical data. This criticism has in mind the work of Malbon 1982 and 2000.

²⁸ Undoubtedly, no study can avoid selectivity, and my study is no exception, but I here discuss the ideal method.

²⁹ This term is Alkier's, and he describes this method in various works. See Alkier 2001, 55–86; idem 2009a, 3–21; idem 2009b, 223–48.

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