13/8/2023

馬可背後的帝國神話 的抗衡

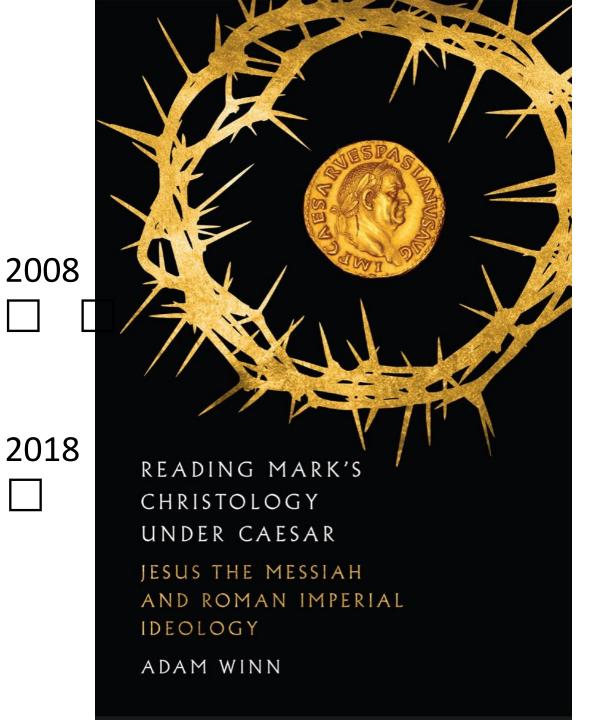


ADAM WINN

The Purpose of Mark's Gospel

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe 245

Mohr Siebeck



馬可為何(這樣地)書寫?

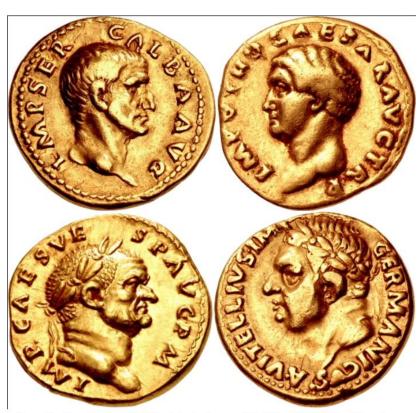
- •馬可針對甚麼問題/處境而寫?
- Winn從馬可福音的可能歷史處境,對照馬可福音的文學特徵,並提出一個具解釋力的猜測。
 - 針對活在羅馬城的外邦基督徒在公元70年猶太戰爭後面對維斯帕仙王 Flavius Vespasianus的政治宣傳壓力,羅馬諸神戰勝猶太人的神,擴刼了 猶太聖殿的寶物。

馬可成書於猶太戰爭後的可能性高

- 讀者主要是外邦人:解釋猶太節期和習慣,解釋撒都該人的信念
- 寫於羅馬城,作者的拉丁語法,用希臘化拉丁用語解釋希臘字, 讀者似乎較熟悉拉丁文,教會傳說等
- 十分關注聖殿的命運:花了兩章篇幅舖排聖殿覆亡的原因(論證 如舊約耶和華藉先知審判聖殿)
 - 初代外邦宣教的教會並不關心耶路撒冷聖殿的命運(保羅的書信及使徒行傳中初代教會的故事為例)
 - 馬可的外邦對象關心猶太聖殿,估計是其處境發生特別轉變
 - 愛任紐時代仍然要回應耶路撒冷聖殿被毀對以色列上帝的尊榮的質疑
- Winn認為成書於聖殿被毀後的可能性較高,對衡維斯帕仙為自己 王位的正當化所作的政治宣傳

維斯帕仙爭逐帝位

- 出身於平民Plebeian class,不是Patrician
- 尼錄死後,眾人爭逐帝位。AD 69年接續更替四位帝王(刺殺,自殺),四度易王,內戰頻繁,經濟衰退
- 第四位上位的就是維斯帕仙,他要為自己統治的正當性作出辯護,抵擋政敵們藉此攻擊他的王位
- 一連串的政治宣傳工程:勝利巡遊,凱旋門 展示功蹟,太平盛世,鑄幣,醫治神蹟, 德政,登基的預言等等



Year of the Four Emperors (AD 69): clockwise from top left: Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian



維斯帕仙的政治宣傳

- 軍事勝利:用「勝利神學」證成獲得神靈認可
 - 維斯帕仙以舖張的<mark>勝利巡遊</mark>大力 宣傳自己為羅馬平定猶太革命
 - 維斯帕仙及兒子提多穿上帝國紫色的袍和桂冠,坐在象牙寶座上,從Isis廟宇出發。展示七百多位猶太戰俘和從耶路撒冷聖殿奪取的聖潔器具。而羅馬諸神的雕像則表示羅馬的偉大和強大力量
 - 十年後才建的提多凱旋門(Arch of Titus),仍然為戰勝猶太人一役作出詳細刻劃,雕刻這勝利巡遊的一幕



維斯帕仙興建和平 廟(Temple of Peace)

- 展示平定猶太後締造的帝國太平。
- The Temple of Peace (Latin: Templum Pacis), also known as the Forum of Vespasian(Latin: Forum Vespasiani), was built in Rome in 71 AD under Emperor Vespasian in honour to Pax, the Roman goddess of peace. It faces the Velian Hill, toward the famous Colosseum, and was on the southeast side of the Argiletum. (From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia)



維斯帕仙鑄造 「征服猶大」錢 幣Judaea Capta coinage, 是舖天蓋地的 「勝利神學」宣 傳。



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Vespasian Æ Sestertius. Lugdunum, AD 71. IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG P M TR P P COS III, laureate head to right; [globe at point of bust] / IVDAEA CAPTA, emperor standing to right, foot on helmet, holding spear and dagger, Judaea seated to right on cuirass in front, palm tree between them; SC in exergue. RIC II.1 1134; Lyon 27; BMCRE 800. 23.41g, 35mm, 6h.

Near Very Fine. Scarce.

Ex Roma Numismatics Ltd., E-Sale 93, 6 January 2022, lot 959.

Estimate: 200 GBP





醫治故事:證成得神靈眷愛

- For these stories see Tacitus, Hist. 4.81.1–3; Suetonius, Vesp. 7.2; Cassius Dio, Roman History 66.8.1.
- "While Vespasian was in Alexandria, prior to taking up his duties as Principate in Rome, two individuals requested healing from him, both claiming that they were told to do so by the god Serapis through a dream. The first individual was blind, and Vespasian applied his own spittle to the man's eyes, which resulted in the man's sight being restored. The second man had a disfigured hand, which was restored after Vespasian touched it with his foot. Such healings demonstrated that Serapis had granted Vespasian the power to heal, a power that further legitimized Vespasian's divine right to rule."
 - Winn (2018). pp. 43-44.

預兆及預言故事

- Suetonius, *Vesp.* 5 lists eleven portents, a number of which are also recorded by Tacitus and Cassius Dio. (Winn (2018), p.44)
 - An ox escaping its yoke, running into Vespasian's dining room, and bowing before the future emperor.
 - Nero had a dream in which he was instructed to move the sacred chariot of Jupiter from his own house to that of Vespasian.
 - It was also claimed that while Vespasian was fighting in the Roman East, a statue of Julius Caesar turned from facing west to facing east, an omen indicating the origin of the next Roman ruler.
- "These portents (*omina imperii*) most of which are either legendary or creatively embellished, function to demonstrate that Vespasian's rise to power was the will of the gods"

其中一個預兆與猶太人有關

• Three different Roman historians claim that Jews rebelled against Rome because of misguided expectations that a world ruler would arise from among them, expectations that find their origin in the prophecies of Jewish Scripture. All three of these historians claim that the true fulfillment of such prophecies was the political rise of Vespasian, who became ruler of the world while in the Roman East.

Josephus, J.W. 6.312–613, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, LCL, vol. 3 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928).

"But what more than all else incited them [the Jews] to the war was an ambiguous oracle, likewise found in their sacred writings, to the effect that about that time some one from their country should become ruler of the world. This they understood to mean some one of their own race, and many of their wise men went astray in their interpretation of it. The oracle, however, in reality signified the sovereignty of Vespasian, who was proclaimed Emperor on Jewish soil."

Tacitus, *Hist*. 5.13.1–2, trans. C. H. Moore and John Jackson, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931).

"Few [Jews] interpreted these omens as fearful; the majority firmly believed that their ancient priestly writings contained the prophecy that this was the very time when the East should grow strong and that men starting from Judea should possess the world. This mysterious prophecy had in reality pointed to Vespasian and Titus, but the common people, as is the way of human ambition, interpreted these great destinies in their own favor, and could not be turned to the truth even by adversity."

Suetonius, *Vesp.* 4.5, trans. J. C. Rolfe, LCL, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914).

"There had spread over all the Orient an old and established belief, that it was fated at that time for men coming from Judaea to rule the world. This prediction, referring to the emperor of Rome, as afterwards appeared from the event, the people of Judaea took to themselves; accordingly they revolted and after killing their governor, they routed the consular ruler of Syria as well."

Winn認為這故事來自Flavian family

- "In my estimation the most likely origin for the tradition, and that which seems to be recognized by most classicists, is the Flavian family itself, as it was the greatest beneficiaries of the tradition. In all likelihood the tradition developed alongside the propagandistic portents, healings, and prophecies noted above and was used to legitimize Vespasian's reign. ... This piece of propaganda was indeed cleverly crafted, as it simultaneously accomplished multiple purposes: (1) it pointed to Vespasian's military victory and the divine legitimization such victory communicated; (2) it tied Vespasian to the prophecies from sacred texts, furthering his case of divine legitimization; and (3) it sent an ominous warning to any Jewish group"
 - Winn (2018), p.46-47

維斯帕仙作為慷慨施恩惠的恩庇主

- 從亞歷山太運糧食到羅馬(是私人財產),解救羅馬缺糧的危機, 部份糧食直接送給平民
- 來到羅馬後,派錢給市民
- 用私人財產維修城市,包括引水道和街道
- 捐錢維修尼錄大火的破壞
- 修葺廟宇,特別是Capitollum (羅馬七山之一,有Jupiter的廟)

維斯帕仙的政治宣傳挑戰羅馬城基督徒

- 誰才是猶太聖經所預言的彌賽亞? (維斯帕仙VS耶穌)
 - 羅馬戰無不勝
 - 摧毀猶太聖殿
 - 神靈預兆,包括猶太預言
 - 施恩惠與百姓(德政)
- Throughout this assessment I will consider the ways in which Markan material in general and Markan Christology in particular fit this proposed historical reconstruction. (Winn, p.49)

Winn關注馬可的一些Christological Titles

- Jesus is identified as God's Son (神的兒子) as many as seven times in Mark (Mk 1:1, 11; 3:11; 5:7; 9:7; 14:61; 15:39). Twice God directly affirms Jesus as his son (Mk 1:11; 9:7). Twice more demons declare Jesus to be God's son.
- 1:11;9:7 (Ps 2:7) Royal coronation psalm. Jesus is God's appointed eschatological ruler.
- Greco-Roman context: rulers as sons of God. Octavian (Augustus) divi filus / God's son. Used by many of Augustus's successors, e.g. Tiberius, Germanicus, Nero.
- Multivalence of language allows both context coexist for reader

Messiah, Son of God, Son of Man

"That Mark can use "Messiah," "Son of God," and "Son of Man" to reference Jesus' messianic identity, with no explanation given to the reader, strongly suggests the reader already understood these titles as virtual synonyms. Thus, contra those who understand "Son of Man" as a veiled form of self-reference for Jesus and contra Moloney, who understands "Son of Man" to be a title that is gradually explained throughout the Markan narrative, I contend that "Son of Man" is a title that Mark's reader would have clearly understood from the outset as a reference to Jesus' messianic identity."

Son of David

- •巴底買:大衛的兒子耶穌,可憐我吧(可10:47)
- 可2:28 耶穌以大衛的隨從吃不許吃的餅作為自辯
- •耶穌進耶路撒冷,民眾以大衛的國(可11:10)

 These titles can all be understood on their own apart from any Roman imperial context. With that said, two of the titles addressed here do fit particularly well with the proposed reconstruction of Mark's audience. Mark's claim that Jesus is Messiah does fit a situation in which Flavian propaganda has claimed that Vespasian was the true fulfillment of the messianic hope that Jews found in their Scriptures. And Mark's identification of Jesus as "Son of God" could certainly be understood within a Roman imperial milieu, one in which Roman emperors were often identified as "son of God."

馬可的敘事

- 可1:1 incipit / title "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Messiah, the son of God(西乃抄本缺)."
- "beginning" (ἀρχή); "gospel" (εὐαγγελίον)
- Isaiah: The "one who proclaims good news" announces God's victory over the enemies of Israel (Is 41:27) and the reestablishment of God's righteous reign over Israel (Is 40:9–10; 52:7).
- the language of the Markan incipit strongly echoes the language of the Roman imperial world. Εὐαγγέλιον was a word regularly associated with Roman emperors. It was often used to describe their birth, political ascension, and military victories.

約瑟夫寫維斯帕仙的福音

Josephus writes that on receiving the news of Vespasian's rise to power, "every city kept festivals for the good news [εὐαγγέλια] and offered sacrifices on his behalf." He also writes, "On reaching Alexandria, Vespasian was greeted by the good news [εὐαγγέλια] from Rome and by embassies of congratulation from every quarter of the world, now his own." (Josephus, J.W. 4.11.5)

Priene Calendar

- "····· and since the birthday of the god [θεοῦ] Augustus was the beginning [ἦρξεν] of the good tidings [εὐαγγελίων] for the world that came by reason of him."
- If one were to remove "Jesus Christ" from the Markan incipit and replace it with "Caesar Augustus," the resulting text would be quite similar to Roman imperial inscriptions found throughout the empire.



both Craig Evans and I have argued for a third possibility—namely, that the Evangelist has intentionally brought together the language of both the Jewish and the Roman world.

 The intentional merging of such language would be perfectly suited to address a crisis created by Flavian propaganda, propaganda in which Vespasian had already merged Jewish messianic hope with Roman imperial realities. Mark's merging of Isaianic language (clearly understood messianically) and the language of the Roman imperial world could easily and naturally have been understood as an intentionally mirroring of and response to Vespasian's merging of these same two realities. Thus, from the outset of Mark's Gospel, he proclaims the "good news" of Jesus contra Vespasian, that Jesus is the true Messiah and fulfillment of Jewish Scriptures contra Vespasian, and that Jesus is true "Son of God" contra Vespasian.

可1:1-8:21

- 洗禮:天啟,是神指定的彌賽亞,是神的兒子
- <mark>耶穌宣講神的國, 伴隨大篇幅的大能奇事</mark>: 醫治, 趕鬼, 指揮自然的權柄, 倍增食物
- 人們的反應有正有反,對耶穌身份產生疑惑
- 讀者容易代入門徒的角色
- Winn認為大能奇事是馬可向讀者傳達「彌賽亞身份和重要性」的主要素材(Christological titles是另一素材)
 - In the Galilean ministry the Markan Jesus is presented as a powerful healer, a powerful exorcist, one who has power over nature, and one who offers supernatural provision of food.

對照維斯帕仙的政治宣傳:醫治

- supernatural healings played a significant role in the propaganda of Vespasian
 - restoring the sight of a blind man and restoring a man's disfigured hand
 - both the Markan Jesus and Vespasian restore a man's sight through the use of spittle
 - I contend that the motif of Jesus as a powerful healer functions to counter the parallel claims of healings that are found in Flavian propaganda
- Jesus not only matches the powerful miracles of Vespasian by healing the blind and restoring a disfigured hand, but he also greatly exceeds them by healing the deaf, the paralyzed, the diseased, and even the dead.

對照維斯帕仙的政治宣傳:趕鬼

- known exorcists of ancient literature had to rely on incantations and magic formulas while Jesus by audible command alone.
- 可5:1-20 鬼入豬群
 - 鬼的名叫Legion(羅馬兵團),用形容軍隊的字(ἀγέλη)去形容豬群, 以軍隊前進的字(ὁρμάω)去形容豬的「闖」,鬼要求耶穌不要叫他們 「離開那地方」(而不是離開那人)。全部影射羅馬軍隊。
 - 猶太戰爭中,剿平「猶大叛亂」的第十軍隊(Legion X)的徽號是一頭野豬,他們摧毀趕鬼故事發生的地方Gerasa,他們由維斯帕仙指揮(尼錄派維斯帕仙去剿亂)
 - 耶穌趕鬼的故事,表示耶穌勝過維斯帕仙,並且驅走維斯帕仙

對照羅馬皇帝的政治宣傳:主宰自然

- 耶穌平靜風和海, 耶穌海上行走
- Calming sea storms and bringing peace to the seas was a common motif in propaganda of ancient rulers.
- Augustus, who himself claimed to bring peace to the seas by ridding them of pirates.
 - Philo's description of this achievement is significant: "This is the Caesar who calmed the torrential storms on every side.... This is he who cleared the sea of pirate ships and filled it with merchant vessels."
- While Augustus might bring metaphorical peace to the seas and calm the storms, Jesus is literally able to do both.

對照維斯帕仙的政治宣傳:提供食物

- 五餅二魚(可6),七個餅幾條魚(可8)
- good emperors acted as generous benefactors to the people
- when Vespasian finally secured the Principate, only a ten-day supply of grain remained in the city, a need that Vespasian met by sending grain from Alexandria (a city that was legally regarded as the personal property of the emperor). And when Vespasian finally entered Rome, he gave out three hundred sesterces apiece to the plebeian population.
- Jesus' actions of providing bread to people in need emulate the generous benefaction of Roman emperors, ... and surpassed them.

可8:22-10:52 (彌賽亞的受難)

- 可1-8章的大能奇事,以耶穌在船上感嘆門徒仍不明白增餅的事 (你們有眼睛,看不見嗎?有耳朵,聽不見嗎?也不記得嗎?)
- •接着8:22-10:52以兩段瞎眼得治好的故事為始末(用口水兩次醫治, 巴底買),回應門徒的「眼瞎耳聾」和不明白。
- 門徒/彼得認信耶穌的彌賽亞身份,耶穌三次向門徒預告彌賽亞的 受難,門徒不能接受(彼得初次的認信,有如第一位得醫治的盲 人,初時只是部份看見,不完整視力)
 - 彼得看不明耶穌的受難至死是耶穌彌賽亞身份的重要部份
- · 彌賽亞的大能與受難不是排斥的。此段不是修正前者(corrective), 而是注入新內容,大能的主題貫徹到結束
 - 登山變像,下山趕鬼,受擁戴入城,咒詛無花果樹,聖殿行動,預言

爾賽亞的受難:對照羅馬的政治理想

- Both a commitment to self-rule and a rejection of monarchial tyranny were deeply engrained in the Romans' memory of their own political history.
- With the Republic, the ideals of self-rule were formalized, and a system was established to protect the people from tyrannical rulers.
- Perhaps learning from his adoptive father's mistake, Octavian cleverly balanced these conflicting realities by employing a strategy of *recusatio*. This strategy involved resisting or protesting all realities that might convey one's possession of absolute political power, but it did not involve the surrender of any true power. (not true humility, yet not mere lip service)

employment of *recusatio* in six areas:

- 1. attitudes and actions related to **public offices and titles**,
- 2. attitudes and actions related to **public honors**,
- 3. attitudes and actions toward the Roman Senate and populus (people),
- 4. attitudes and actions toward lex (law) and libertas (liberty),
- 5. attitudes and actions toward **public appearance** and **private residence**, and
- 6. actions and identity as benefactors.

羅馬人分辨賢君與暴君

- Seneca on Galigula 受祖輩的福佑,對比他的惡與先祖的德政
- It [the divine benefit of ruling] was accorded to his father Germanicus, to his grandfather [Tiberius], and to his greatgrandfather [Augustus] and to others before them, men who were no less glorious, even if they passed their lives as private citizens on a footing equal with others.... God says: "Let these men be kings because their forefathers have not been, because they have regarded justice and unselfishness as their highest authority, because, instead of sacrificing the state to themselves, they have sacrificed themselves to the state. ... They preferred to be conquered than to conquer because in this way [they] could serve the interest of the state"

耶穌對群體中居權位者的吩咐:超越羅馬

- 不要:κατακυριεύω, κατεξουσιάζω. 治理,操權管束。這兩個字分別是少用及罕有的組合字。估計κατα字首表達高壓去盡的意思。迴響羅馬的政治理想對暴君獨裁者的抗拒。(讀者:耶穌也認同羅馬反暴君的理想,Caligula,Nero;甚或是對一切tyrants in sheep's clothing的拒絕,包括Augustus)
- •要:為首的(羅馬王*princeps*,*frist* among equals)要作奴隸。超越羅馬的政治理想,是極端誇長的表達(斬手,斬腳進永生),推向至極

- •根據:人子的使命,不是來受服侍,乃是服侍人(迴響Seneca上引文),耶穌真實活出羅馬的理想賢君,真的放棄了榮耀,權柄和性命。(讀者:羅馬基督徒從耶穌身上看到自己文化中的理想君主。)
- 質疑:耶穌不是王嗎?正正與羅馬理想衝突?
 - 馬可中只有對手才用王來稱呼耶穌
 - 馬太多用「王」這字,對象是猶太讀者
 - 馬可是外邦基督徒
- 馬可 create a counter-résumé to that of Vespasian

如何理解馬可的彌賽亞的祕密

- the motif of secrecy has often been closely associated with Mark's Christology
- link this secrecy motif to understanding Jesus' messianic identity in terms of suffering and death.
- Mark's secrecy motif have played a significant role in understanding Mark's Christology over the past century
- following the recent work of David F. Watson, I propose a radical departure from the status quo. ... I seek to complement Watson's work by adding a political dimension to his insights.

DAVID F. WATSON

- the language of secrecy only occurs four times, three of which come in two verses of Mark 4 (不算多)
- secrecy functioned in three primary ways in the ancient world: to protect from danger, preserve community boundaries, and to defend an individual's or group's reputation. None of these prominent functions of secrecy are prominent in Mark's Gospel.
- Watson proposes that these pericopes must be understood in light of the honor-shame value system.

DAVID F. WATSON

- Jesus' actions of silencing the healed person would not have been understood as an attempt to keep the actions a secret but as resistance to "achieved" honor.
- when demons declare Jesus to be "the Holy One of God" (Mk 1:24) or "Son of God," the value system of honor and shame is again at work. These are honorific titles being given to Jesus, and their proclamation by demons would have led to the spread of Jesus' honor. Watson also suggests that the giving of these titles might be a way of demons drawing Jesus into an obligation to reciprocate. Again, Jesus' actions would not have been understood as attempts to keep his identity secret but as resistance to "ascribed" honor.

DAVID F. WATSON

- Jesus is not rejecting the honor-shame system in toto, ... rather he is offering a new vision of what is honorable and shameful.
- Jesus resists the commonplace markers of honor and shame (e.g., acts of power, benefaction, and honorific titles), he also establishes new markers (e.g., service, self-sacrifice, suffering, and crucifixion).
- For Watson the Markan Jesus ultimately inverts standard conventions by claiming that the least, the suffering, and the servants should be honored, while the great and the powerful should be ashamed.
- Such an explanation of Jesus' resistance to honor runs into trouble, however, when one considers the numerous places in Mark where Jesus embraces rather than resists public honor.

Jesus' rejecting Honor: strategy of recusatio

- Unlike recent Roman rulers such as Caligula and Nero, Jesus embodies what was truly good and virtuous from Roman political ideology—the rejection of tyrannical behavior—rejection that is symbolized by resistance to public honor. If, as has been argued elsewhere, Mark is a response to the propaganda of Vespasian, Jesus' resistance to public honor may be an attempt to counter similar behavior exhibited by the new Flavian emperor.
- Resistance to public honor was a means by which the emperor drew a line between appropriate and excessive honor, a way in which the emperor could outwardly affirm his identity as first citizen and his commitment to Roman political ideology.

可解釋motif of secrecy 的不一致性

- The lack of consistency is a notorious problem for interpretations of Mark's secrecy motif. .., The lack of consistency is a notorious problem for interpretations of Mark's secrecy motif.
- While resisting public honor was an expression of Roman political ideology, absolute resistance to public honor was not. Roman emperors were both allowed and expected to receive public honor to a point.

馬可的反聖殿主題

- addressed Vespasian's destruction of Jerusalem
- In response to Flavian propaganda, propaganda undergirded by the theology of victory, Mark argues that the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple is not the result of Rome's great power but rather the result of Yahweh judging a corrupt temple and its corrupt leadership for turning against his purposes. In the Markan narrative God's appointed Messiah not only identifies this corruption and but falls victim to it, as he himself is rejected and executed by the temple authorities. Long before Rome turned its attention to a rebellious Judea, God's appointed ruler, Jesus, recognized a rebellious temple institution and prophesied its utter destruction.

耶穌受難記載:彌賽亞的勝利巡遊

- 耶穌受難的記載不只描述一位受難的彌賽亞,也同時刻劃這位彌賽亞充滿權能:遍地都黑暗,聖殿的幔子斷裂
- T. E. Schmidt, which draws parallels between Mark's passion narrative and a Roman imperial triumph.
 - Praetorian (衙門院),同指皇帝的護衛,巡遊中會出現
 - Cohort (全營的兵),十分一兵團(數量unlikely歷史準確)
 - 紫袍(馬太改為朱紅色袍),戴冠
 - 耶穌受兵丁讚美,拜(兵丁實為嘲笑)
 - 古利奈人西門背十架: 獻祭的牛由羅馬官伴隨, 拿着行刑的斧子
 - 各各他(枯髏頭之地):*Capitolium* 的Jupiter廟為巡遊終點(*caput* 是頭的意思)

- 耶穌拒絕酒,被之被處列:巡遊結束,君王拒絕,之後牛被被宰。
 - 馬太改為耶穌先嚐後再拒絕,對比斷開了
- 耶穌被釘在兩個罪犯之中: While at times the triumphator was alone, many examples exist in which he was flanked by two men, one on his right and left. The emperor Tiberius was seated between his two consuls. Claudius was seated between his two sons-in-law.²⁰ And Vespasian was seated between his sons, Titus and Domitian.
- Winn加上
 - 百夫長的「這真是神的兒子」
 - On the macro level the confession functions as a narrative fulfillment of the Markan incipit. ... Mark presents a Roman soldier offering allegiance that would normally have been reserved for the Roman emperor alone to Jesus.