Ville Auvinen

Jesus’ Teaching on Prayer
Ville Auvinen
Born 1966
M.Th. 1988 (Åbo Akademi University)
Lic.Th. 1994 (Åbo Akademi University)
Ordained to the ministry in 1988
Youth pastor in the Lutheran Evangelical Association in Finland

Cover: Tove Ahlbäck

Åbo Akademi University Press
Tavastg. 30 C, FIN-20700 ÅBO, Finland
Tel. int. +358-2-215 3292,
Fax int. +358-2-215 4490
E-mail: forlaget@abo.fi
http://www.abo.fi/stiftelsen/forlag/
Distribution: Oy Tibo-Trading Ab
P.O.Box 33, FIN-21601 PARGAS, Finland
Tel. int. +358-2-4549 200,
Fax int. +358-2-4549 220
E-mail: tibo@tibo.net
http://www.tibo.net
JESUS’ TEACHING ON PRAYER
Jesus’ Teaching on Prayer

Ville Auvinen
Acknowledgements

There are several persons, who have made it possible for me to write this book. I will express my gratitude to them.

I will thank professor Karl-Gustav Sandelin for his encouraging guidance. It has surely been hard work to read through different versions of the manuscript, but he has never lost his faith in that the crude papers will one day mature to a real thesis.

I will thank professor Antti Laato for his valuable advice concerning the Old Testament and early Jewish material. Chapter 2 of this book would be quite lamentable without his help.

I am grateful to Pekka Lindqvist, Lic.Th., for his remarks concerning the sections, which deal with early Rabbinic literature. Likewise I will thank Jutta Jokiranta, M.Th., who has led me to understand some problems concerning the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

I want to express my gratitude to my research colleagues, doctors Sven-Olav Back, Tom Holmén and Jari Laaksonen, who have completed their doctoral theses about the Historical Jesus before me and thereby acted as encouraging examples. I have also received many valuable points of view in discussions with them.

I will thank Margot Kottelin-Longley, M.Th., for converting my wannabe-English to a real language.

The Academy of Finland has kindly financed my research.

Especially I will thank my dear wife. Without her loving encouragement and sometimes even gentle pressure I would never have accomplished – maybe not even initiated – this effort.

I dedicate this book to my wife Jaana and to our children Tuomas, Henriikka and Ulriikka.

Turku, September 2003

Ville Auvinen
Contents

1. Introduction............................................................................................ 1
   1.1. The Task: Impetus............................................................................ 1
   1.2. Historical Jesus – Real Jesus?.......................................................... 5
   1.3. Authenticity Criteria ...................................................................... 16
   1.4. The Third Quest for the Historical Jesus ........................................ 21
   1.5. A Glance at Previous Research ...................................................... 28
      1.5.1. Earlier Contributions ............................................................... 28
      1.5.2. Recent Contributions ............................................................... 30
   1.6. The Task: a More Profound Definition........................................... 34
   1.7. Definition of the Concept of Prayer ............................................... 36

2. The Context. Prayer in the Hebrew Bible, in Early Judaism and in Early
   Rabbinic Judaism ..................................................................................... 38
   2.1. Introduction ................................................................................... 38
   2.2. External Conditions ....................................................................... 44
      2.2.1. Places of Prayer ....................................................................... 44
      2.2.2. Times of Prayer ....................................................................... 52
      Excursus: A Morning Service in the Second Temple ................. 58
      2.2.3. Prayer Postures ........................................................................ 61
      2.2.4. Accompanying Elements ......................................................... 64
   2.3. Prayer Texts ................................................................................... 66
      2.3.1. Genres ..................................................................................... 66
      2.3.2. Boundary-making Elements..................................................... 85
      2.3.3. Addresses ................................................................................ 87
   2.4. Intercessory Prayer......................................................................... 93
   2.5. Grounds for God’s Answering ....................................................... 95
      2.5.1. Attributes of God ..................................................................... 96
      2.5.2. Attributes of the Praying Person .............................................. 99
      2.5.3. Attributes of Prayer................................................................ 104
   2.6. Institutionalization of Prayer ........................................................ 108
   2.7. Summary...................................................................................... 113
      2.7.1. External Conditions ............................................................... 113
      2.7.2. Prayer Texts........................................................................... 114
      2.7.3. Intercessory Prayer ................................................................ 115
      2.7.4. Grounds for God’s Answering ............................................... 115
      2.7.5. Institutionalization of Prayer.................................................. 116

............................................................................................................... 117
   3.1. Q-source ...................................................................................... 119
1. Introduction

1.1. The Task: Impetus

The purpose of this study is to find out what Jesus of Nazareth taught about prayer. On the one hand, this study belongs to one of the main branches of New Testament scholarship, i.e. Jesus-of-history research. On the other hand, the present study deals with one of the main topics of biblical research, that is prayer.

Before the methodological discussion and the more precise definition of our task, I will briefly survey the above-mentioned scholarly subjects.

Jesus-of-history research is experiencing a fruitful renaissance today, as it indeed has already for some decades. Nevertheless, the eager desire to get to know the Galilean called Jesus of Nazareth has not shown any signs of abetting, rather, the reverse is the case.

The first period of Jesus-of-history research, the so-called ‘old quest’, was followed by a period, which has often been called ‘no quest’, a designation, which perhaps does not do full justice to the scholarly work of that period. The ‘no quest’ was characterized, on the one hand, by a claim that it is, in fact, impossible to find the historical figure of Jesus behind the sources and, on the other hand, by a disinterest towards the historical Jesus. In the Jesus-research of that period the emphasis was laid on Christology, i.e. the doctrine about Jesus Christ in the early church. One of the leading figures of this period was undoubtedly Rudolf Bultmann. His statement in his book Jesus is illuminative:3

Denn freilich bin ich der Meinung, dass wir vom Leben und von der Persönlichkeit Jesus so gut wie nichts mehr wissen können, da die christlichen Quellen sich dafür nicht interessiert haben, ausserdem sehr fragmentarisch und von der Legende überwuchert sind, und da andere Quellen über Jesus nicht existieren.

It is, nevertheless, important to note that Bultmann writes about the impossibility of knowledge about the life and personality of Jesus, not about Jesus’ proclamation, which he himself does study in his book.

1 See Käsemann 1954, 125.
2 Cf. Hebert Leroy’s estimation of Bultmann’s contribution to Jesus-research; Leroy 1978, 7: “Es bleibt jedenfalls festzustellen, dass R. Bultmann dadurch die Jesusforschung für eine längeren Zeitraum blockierte und aus dem Zentrum der Forschung gerückt hat, wo sie bis dahin ihr Recht behauptet hatte.“ This utterance represents, however, quite a German point of view about the matter.
3 Bultmann 1926, 12.
1. Introduction

However, even regarding the proclamation, he remains somehow skeptical of the possibilities of reaching the authentic teaching of Jesus, and he also seems not to give any big significance to the question of, whether the tradition comes from Jesus or from the early church.

The opening shot for a new interest and for a more positive belief in possibilities of finding the historical Jesus was given by a disciple of Bultmann, Ernst Käsemann, in a conference of former disciples of Bultmann in 20.10.1953. In his lecture Käsemann both emphasized the significance of the historical Jesus, not only his proclamation but also his life, and discussed the difficulty of finding out the authentic tradition and a criterion, which later has been called ‘a criterion of double dissimilarity’. So began a period, which is generally labeled as ‘new quest’.

The ‘new quest’ has gradually changed regarding both its methodological and ideological emphases. This change has indeed been so remarkable that most scholars regard the majority of the contemporary research as an altogether new paradigm, which is called the ‘third quest’, which we will discuss later in ch. 1.4. Although scholars do not use this term uniformly and it is disputed where the boundary between the ‘new quest’ and the ‘third quest’ should be drawn, I still consider the present study as belonging to the ‘third quest’ for Jesus-of-history.

To note the enthusiasm of the contemporary Jesus-of-history research we need only to take a look at the major contributions in this branch of New Testament scholarship during the, say, last fifteen years. During this period several general presentations of the historical Jesus have been published, of which some are monumental multi-volume works. We can mention, for example, John P. Meier’s planned four-volume study A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus, N. T. Wright’s proposed

---

4 Bultmann 1926, 16. “Natürlich hat man erst recht keine Sicherheit, dass die Worte dieser ältesten Schicht wirklich von Jesus gesprochen sind.”
5 Bultmann 1926, 17. “Als der Träger dieser Gedanken wird uns von der Überlieferung Jesus genannt; nach überwiegender Wahrscheinlichkeit war er es wirklich. Sollte er anders gewesen sein, so ändert sich damit das, was in dieser Überlieferung gesagt ist, in keiner Weise.”
6 Käsemann’s lecture Das Problem des historischen Jesus, which he held in the conference, is published in Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche 51 (1954).
7 See also Bultmann 1931, 222, who presents the rationale of the double dissimilarity.
8 See Wright 1996, xiv.
9 To describe the history of the quests with the following time line: ‘old quest’ – ‘no quest’ – ‘new quest’ – ‘third quest’, is surely a simplification, but for our study a more exact description is unnecessary. See, however, Marsh 1997, 410-415, who defines altogether nine different quests within Jesus-of-history research.
10 The first volume with a subtitle “The Roots of the Problem and Person” in 1991, the second volume “Mentor, Message and Miracles” in 1994 and the third volume
five-volume study *Christian Origins and the Question of God*, whose second and so far the latest volume *Jesus and the Victory of God* (1996) focuses on the historical Jesus, and Ben Witherington III’s two-volume work, which consists of *Jesus the Sage: The Pilgrimage of Wisdom* (1994) and *Jesus the Seer: The Progress of Prophecy* (1999). Among the prominent monographs John Dominic Crossan’s *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (1991), and E. P. Sanders’ *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (1993) could be mentioned. In addition to the general presentations several monographs dealing with some special question have been published. To give an example from Scandinavia, where I am writing: Matti Myllykoski has published a two-volume study about the last days of Jesus,11 Sven-Olav Back has made a dissertation about Jesus’ attitude to the Sabbath commandment,12 Jostein Ådna has written a book on Jesus’ attitude towards the Temple,13 Tom Holmén has made a study about Jesus’ stance on the contemporary Jewish covenant thinking,14 Jari LAAKSONEN has investigated Jesus’ proclamation about the Holy Land15 and Thomas Kazen has disputed about Jesus’ attitude towards the purity regulations.16 Moreover, several essay collections have been published, which often stress some particular point of view within the research,17 not to mention countless articles in journals and in essay collections dealing mostly with methodical questions and with the history of research.

Another branch of biblical research, or more generally research of antiquity, which is up-to-date today is the research concerning prayer. The first to be mentioned in this connection is Friedrich Heiler’s basic work “Companions and Competitors” in 2001. The subtitle of the fourth volume will be “The Enigmas Jesus Posed and Was”.

14 *Jesus & Jewish Covenant Thinking* (2001).
16 *Jesus and purity Halakah. Was Jesus indifferent to impurity?* (2002).
17 Just to mention three different collections: *Jesus’ Jewishness: Exploring the Place of Jesus in Early Judaism* (1996), which stresses the third quest emphasis of Jesus’ Jewishness; *Jesus under Fire: Modern Scholarship reinvents the Historical Jesus* (1995), which from the more conservative point of view sets forth critical observations regarding the modern research; *Jesus Through Jewish Eyes: Rabbis and Scholars Engage an Ancient Brother in a New Conversation* (2001), which approaches the question from a specific Jewish point of view.
1. Introduction

about ancient prayer in general.\textsuperscript{18} The standard form-historical study of Rabbinic prayer by JOSEPH HEINEMANN\textsuperscript{19} is already over 20 years old, to say nothing of the standard works of Prayers in the Hebrew Bible, but more recently there has emerged an intense study of early Jewish prayer and particularly the prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls. We could especially mention JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH’S several articles concerning early Jewish prayer,\textsuperscript{20} RODNEY ALAN WERLINE’S study of penitential prayer in early Judaism\textsuperscript{21}, BILHAH NITZAN’S comprehensive study of prayer at Qumran\textsuperscript{22}, JAMES R. DAVILA’S commentary on the liturgical texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls,\textsuperscript{23} and ZWEE ZAHAVY’S studies about Rabbinic prayer.\textsuperscript{24} Moreover, several essay collections dealing with Jewish, Christian and general prayer from the Greco-Roman era have been published during the last two decades.\textsuperscript{25}

There are, of course, also several new books about New Testament and especially Jesus’ prayer.\textsuperscript{26} Here we could mention, for example, WILLIAM DAVID and AÏDA BESANÇON SPENCER’S The Prayer Life of Jesus: Shout of Agony, Revelation of Love, a Commentary (1990), OSCAR CULLMAN’S Prayer in the New Testament, (1995)\textsuperscript{27} BRUCE CHILTON’S Jesus’ Prayer and Jesus’ Eucharist: His Personal Practice of Spirituality (1997), HAL TAUSSIG’S Jesus Before God: The Prayer Life of the Historical Jesus (1999) and ROBERT J. KARRIS’ Prayer and the New Testament: Jesus and his Communities at Worship (2000).

\textsuperscript{19} Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns (1977).
\textsuperscript{22} Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry (1994).
\textsuperscript{23} Liturgical Works (2000).
\textsuperscript{24} The Mishnah Law of Blessings and Prayers (1987); Studies in Jewish Prayer (1990) and several articles.
\textsuperscript{26} Quite many of the books have been written for a larger circle of readers, which inevitably reduces their scientific nature somewhat. More about this on p. 28.
\textsuperscript{27} German original 1994.
1. Introduction

A question as such are the studies about the Lord’s Prayer. It seems that almost every New Testament scholar who wants to maintain his self-respect, is obliged to write at least an essay in some journal or an excursus in a commentary about the Lord’s Prayer, and the poor scholar wanting to write even a somewhat comprehensive history of research about the subject matter, loses his courage when faced with the vast amount of studies. Just the bibliography of works about the Lord’s Prayer until 1988 is a two-volume book.²⁸

I find myself standing at the cross-roads of the history-of-Jesus-research and the research on prayer and I find that there is, in fact, not a single, profound, ‘third quest’ monograph of Jesus’ teaching on prayer. But, if there is not, there will be. This is my challenge and task.

Before going into a more precise determination of the task we will discuss the methodological questions of Jesus-of-history-research in general and in the ‘third quest’ in particular.

1.2. Historical Jesus – Real Jesus?

Historical research tries to reconstruct the historical reality with help of the available sources, whether they are literary documents, archaeological data, oral traditions etc. Nevertheless, the traditional and positivist ‘Wie es eigentlich gewesen ist’-historiography has nowadays given way to a new paradigm, in which pure objectivism is deemed to be unrealistic and the subjective nature of the historical research is both recognized and even accepted. As PETER BURKE puts it:²⁹

However hard we struggle to avoid the prejudices associated with colour, creed, class or gender, we cannot avoid looking at the past from a particular point of view.

Further, due also to the often very fragmentary nature of the historical evidence, the result of the investigation is merely a better or a worse approximation of the original reality. Thus it is important to make a difference between the ‘real’ thing, which once existed but which we can

²⁹ Burke 1993, 6. This change of paradigm has affected even the style of writing history. While in the traditional history writing the author was to hide himself behind an impersonal voice, in the new historiography, represented especially by the French Annales school, the first person singular is used frequently; see Carrard 1995, 108-126.
1. Introduction

no more find out with our methods, and the ‘historical’ thing, a reconstruction, which we try to shape by historical research, and which hopefully is as close to the reality as possible.\(^\text{30}\)

Regarding Jesus-of-history -research JOHN P. MEIER puts the matter as follows:\(^\text{31}\)

We cannot know the “real” Jesus through historical research, whether we mean his total reality or just a reasonably complete biographical portrait. We can, however, know the “historical Jesus”.

Different interpretations of the documents, different grades of reliance on the documents due to source critical questions and even different presuppositions for the historical imagination,\(^\text{32}\) with which the scholars are obliged to fill the gaps between the fragmentary pieces of historical data in order to get a whole picture, inevitably result in different outcomes. This makes the historical research so interesting but problematic.

This problem is actual in all historical research but especially in Jesus-of-history -research. This proves very true when we think about the incredibly different and even contradictory images of Jesus, which the modern research has produced.\(^\text{33}\)

The dilemma of Jesus-of-history -research is mainly due to the nature of the sources.\(^\text{34}\) Practically speaking we do not have any objective evidence of Jesus’ life or teaching; I mean such evidence, which would not have been produced by either his friends or his foes.\(^\text{35}\) The brief mentions in the writings of Josephus, Tacitus and Suetonius do not help us a lot, and all other evidence comes from either the Christian church or its opponents. Neither do we have any authentic writing of Jesus, not even any literal document concerning him from his lifetime, rather, in the very beginning, the tradition was transmitted orally. The nature of the oral tradition as a historical source, for its part, is quite complicated. JAN VANSINA points out that already the first perception of an occurrence by an eyewitness includes

\(^{30}\) Cf. Runesson 2001, 24, who discusses the matter as an introduction to his study about the origins of the synagogue.


\(^{32}\) Wright 1996, 8: “All history involves imaginative reconstruction.” Johnson 1996, 85 talks about “interpretative creativity.”

\(^{33}\) See e.g. Crossan 1991, xxvii-xxviii; Meier 1991, 41.

\(^{34}\) About the problem of the primary sources see e.g. Crossan 1991, xxix-xxxi; Sanders 1993, 57-77; Meier 1996, 356-357, Harrington 1996, 131-133; Johnson 1996, 107-110.

\(^{35}\) About the Talmudic traditions about Jesus see e.g. Johann Maier’s *Jesus von Nazareth in der talmudischen Überlieferung* (1978).
1. Introduction

interpretation. Further, as JOHN DOMINIC CROSSAN remarks, for example the synoptic parables of Jesus are short summaries of the original stories presented by Jesus.

The oldest available documents about Jesus originate only from some decades after his time. Further, the New Testament scholars agree that the documents we have – the New Testament writings and some other material in the so called New Testament apocrypha and an additional few passages in the writings of the Fathers, which might go back to Jesus – are more or less colored by the theology and practices of the transmitters and collectors or redactors of the tradition. It is just this ‘more or less’, which makes the whole matter so difficult and controversial. How could we estimate the transmitters and redactors of the tradition? Were they mainly faithful to the tradition and passed it on quite unchanged or did they try to adapt it to their own situation even if the adaptation demanded significant alterations? Further, a question, which is closely associated with the previous one: Did the transmitters preserve only those kinds of traditions, which they found useful in their own context? That would mean that even if they had passed on the bits of tradition unchanged, the overall picture of Jesus would still have been distorted because of selection.

Furthermore, there is a question, which is maybe even more crucial than the previous ones: Did the early Christians dare to put altogether new sayings into Jesus’ mouth or to create altogether unhistorical events in his biography out of their own interests, or did they mainly base their teaching on the Papias-fragment, which Eusebios has preserved in his Ecclesiastical History III, 39:15: “And the Presbyter used to say this, ‘Mark became Peter’s interpreter and wrote accurately all that he remembered,not,indeed,inorder, of the things said or done by the Lord. For he had not heard the Lord, nor had he followed him, but later on, as I said, followed Peter, who used to give teaching as necessity demanded but not making, as it were, an arrangement of the Lord’s oracles, so that Mark did nothing wrong in thus writing down single points as he remembered them. For to one thing he gave attention, to leave out nothing of what he had heard and to make no false statements in them’” (Italics mine). Already this ancient text points out the fragmentary nature of the tradition.

36 Vansina 1985, 5. So also Byrskog 2000, 175.
37 Crossan 2002, 249-250. Crossan suggests that, for example, the presentation of the Parable of the Good Samaritan could in the original situation have taken maybe an hour, while the reading of the Lukan version takes only about one minute.
39 See Wright 1996, 20-21. 28-29, who categorizes all Jesus-of-history -research into two main streams (labelled Wredestrasse(-bahn) and Schweitzerstrasse(-bahn) according to William Wrede and Albert Schweitzer, who first represented the alternative lines), according to, whether the gospel accounts are thought to give little or much reliable information about Jesus. See also Sanders 1985, 13.
40 Cf. the Papias-fragment, which Eusebios has preserved in his Ecclesiastical History III, 39:15: “And the Presbyter used to say this, ‘Mark became Peter’s interpreter and wrote accurately all that he remembered, not, indeed, in order, of the things said or done by the Lord. For he had not heard the Lord, nor had he followed him, but later on, as I said, followed Peter, who used to give teaching as necessity demanded but not making, as it were, an arrangement of the Lord’s oracles, so that Mark did nothing wrong in thus writing down single points as he remembered them. For to one thing he gave attention, to leave out nothing of what he had heard and to make no false statements in them’” (Italics mine). Already this ancient text points out the fragmentary nature of the tradition.
about Jesus on tradition? Different answers to these questions inevitably lead to different results. As an example we could take a saying in Mt 18:19-20:

Again, I tell you that if two of you on earth agree about anything you ask for, it will be done for you by my Father in heaven. For where two or three come together in my name, there am I with them.

This saying clearly contains Matthean characteristics (“... in heaven”) and a post-Easter doctrine (to come together is Jesus’ name, resurrected Jesus with his disciples). How will we then estimate the authenticity of it? Is it entirely a post-Easter creation, or is there an authentic tradition behind the present form, a tradition, which in the course of transmission has been altered? Both of these alternatives are, of course, possible, but which one is more probable? The answer to this question depends again much on our image of the early Christians as transmitters of the tradition.

Fortunately we have some evidence of the transmission process. Namely, the synoptic comparison – assumed that the two-source hypothesis is right – reveals that at any rate Matthew and Luke did not hesitate to adapt the tradition they got from Mark for their own purposes. The same can be said of their use of the Q. We thus have clear evidence about adapting, and we dare to conclude that, if Matthew and Luke could

---

41 The other extreme in this question is in the recent research represented by Burton Mack and, following him, John Dominic Crossan, who argue that the Gospel of Mark is mainly a fictive story of the evangelist, and Michael D. Goulder 1989, 22-23, who, for his part, stresses Matthew’s and Luke’s own creativity. Further, Crossan has, according to Wright 1996, 63, stated in an oral presentation: “Their (i.e. an early group of ‘exegetical Christianity’) faith in the historical Jesus was so strong that they were constantly inventing more of it all the time.” See also Crossan 1991, xxx-xxxi. Another point of view is represented by, for example, Sanders 1993, 62-63, who suggests that it is “quite likely that the major changes in the material were those involved in altering context and making minor adjustment.” Sanders admits, nevertheless, that some of the material was created by Jesus’ followers, but also in that case the sayings were thought to be sayings of Jesus, namely the up-risen Christ’s answers to prayers. Meier 1991, 46 discusses apostle Paul’s knowledge of the Jesus tradition and notes that he did not feel free to create new teaching and put it into the mouth of Jesus. Meier asks aptly: “Who in the first generation did.” Likewise Dunn 1992b, 371 writes: “In short I see the earliest tradents within the Christian churches as preserves more than innovators, as seeking to transmit, retell, explain, interpret, elaborate, but not to create de nova.” See also Witherington III 1995, 47-48.

It is good to bear in mind the self-evident fact that, as Becker 1996, 5 notes, entire Jesus-of-history research is, in fact, made impossible in that kind of paradigm, where the documents are considered entirely as post-Easter creations of the early Church, as happened during the ‘no quest’ period.

42 See, nevertheless, p. 201.

make alterations to the tradition they used, the same kind of procedure was in operation probably already during the earlier stages of the transmission. Nevertheless, there is no firm evidence about creating a saying or an event without a traditional nucleus. Indeed, how could there be? We have those parts of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, which do not exist in Mark or in Q, and which are labelled as Matthew’s and respectively Luke’s special material. Because we do not have any exact knowledge of their special sources, although scholars have tried to reconstruct some of them, we cannot be sure, whether a certain passage comes from a source or is a creation of the gospel writer. We can, again, generalize this to include the earlier stages as well. Thus, in many cases, we have such passages in the gospel accounts, which possibly have a tradition as their base, but because of the long and complicated transmission process the original form of the tradition is impossible to gain.\(^{44}\) No wonder that the scholarly estimation of the authenticity of a certain passage often runs like this:

\[\text{Inhaltlich könnte es von Jesus stammen.}\] \(^{45}\)

Or like this:

\[\text{Für 7f ist, obwohl die Verse nicht vom ihm stammen, eine aussenordentliche geistige Nähe zu Jesus konstatieren.}\] \(^{46}\)

We could further recall the distinction between *ipsissima verba* and *ipsissima vox Jesu*, the latter concept denoting a passage, which does not give exact words, but rather an original idea, or voice, of Jesus. Maybe there are many instances of *ipsissima vox* but only a few *ipsissima verba* in our gospel accounts.

There are also many cases where it is possible to discover the underlying tradition with the help of redaction and tradition historical methods, and thus possibly dig out an authentic saying or action of Jesus.\(^{47}\) There is, nonetheless, a danger of a vicious circle lurking in this endeavor. To remove all the clearly inauthentic features of a passage and then claim the authenticity of it is very un-scientific. That is why the scholar must be very careful and evaluate case by case the credibility of the results.

Further, the Jesus-tradition we have is Greek and thus, assuming that Jesus spoke mainly Aramaic and possibly in some cases Hebrew, Jesus’ sayings are translations, which always are, even at their best, only good

---

\(^{44}\) Meier 1991, 42-43.

\(^{45}\) Luz 1985, 330 about Mt 6:7-8.

\(^{46}\) Gnilka 1986, 211 about the same passage.

\(^{47}\) See nevertheless Wright 1996, 24, who points out the problems of tradition history.
approximations of the Semitic originals. Thus, in the interpretation of the sayings of Jesus, it is not reasonable to press a meaning of a specific Greek word or expression all too much in cases, where there is a possibility that the semantics of the underlying Semitic word or expression is not altogether the same as its Greek translation. There have been, of course, many attempts to avoid this problem by trying to translate the Greek wordings back to Aramaic or Hebrew and thus gain the real words of Jesus. The outcome of this endeavor is, nevertheless, always very hypothetical, and that is why we will not attempt it here.48

In the attempts to reconstruct the historical Jesus, there is one remaining problem, which is due to the documents, mainly regarding the sayings of Jesus. Namely, even if we could reconstruct an original saying, mostly we no longer know its original context.49 As a result we cannot be certain of the exact meaning of the saying.50 As a fact even completely identical sentences can have quite different connotations in different contexts.51

When discussing the sources, we have purposely referred only to the synoptic gospel accounts and the sources and traditions behind them. There are, nevertheless, also other sources, whose historical reliability has been evaluated differently by different scholars. The significance of particularly the Gospel of John and the Gospel of Thomas has been and still is under discussion. The Gospel of John is surely more theological by nature than the synoptic gospels, but it still may contain some authentic tradition. Some scholars value the Gospel of Thomas as high as the most important source, while others suggest that it is totally dependent on the synoptic tradition.52 Both gospels include sayings on prayer, and thus we must determine our standpoint on this question.

I will not use the Gospel of John as a primary source for two reasons. First, its relationship to the Synoptics is unclear.53 It may be dependent on them and, in that case, it would not provide us with any useful information about the teaching of the historical Jesus. Second, due to its strongly theological nature, although it would include traditions independent of the

---

48 About the problems of semantics and retranslation see e.g. Hurst 1995, 219-236. Further, Hurst points out that we do not know enough of the Aramaic spoken in 1st century C.E. Palestine, in order to make trustworthy retranslations. Becker 1996, 10.
49 Sanders 1993, 60-61.
50 See Johnson 1996, 131.
51 Sanders 1993, 76-77.
1. Introduction

Synoptics, their utilization as historical sources would be very problematic.54 I will discuss some of the most important Johannine sayings on prayer in an excursus in ch. 4.

Concerning the Gospel of Thomas the question is more problematic, and, at the same time, much easier. Namely, the Gospel of Thomas includes three sayings dealing with prayer and in all of these sayings prayer is regarded as something negative, even very harmful. The translation, which is based on the Greek text of the sayings, runs as follows:

His disciples asked him and said to him: How should we fast? (Coptic: Do you want us to fast?) And how shall we pray and give alms? What diet should we observe? Jesus said: Do not lie, and what you abhor, do not do; for all things are manifest in the sight of heaven; for there is nothing hidden which will not be revealed, and there is nothing covered which will remain without being uncovered (GThom. 6).

Jesus said to them: If you fast, you will put a sin to your charge; and if you pray, you will be condemned; and if you give alms, you will do harm to your spirits (GThom. 14a).55

They said to him: Come, let us pray today and fast. Jesus said: What then is the sin that I have done, or in what have I been overcome? But when the bridegroom comes out from the bridal chamber, then let them fast and pray (GThom. 104).

The first of these sayings, especially in its Greek form, could be understood so that it does not totally reject fasting, praying and almsgiving but only a hypocritical fulfilment of these acts. It is, however, more probable that it rejects the very acts as such.56 The second of the sayings explicitly condemns fasting, praying and almsgiving.57 The third saying suggests that only sinners are in need of fasting and prayer.58

When pondering, which sources of Jesus’ teaching on prayer we should use, we must make a decision between the synoptic gospels and the Gospel of Thomas. It is not possible to take both into account. I will choose the Synoptics and reject Thomas because it seems to me very unlikely that Jesus, living within the Jewish community, could have had such a negative attitude towards the basic acts of Jewish piety. This argument is based on the ‘third quest’ emphasis of Jesus’ Jewishness, which we will discuss

54 See e.g. Käsemann 1954, 131.
55 Some scholars suggest that this saying would be the original answer to the disciples’ question in GThom. 6. This suggestion is due to an alleged inconsistency in GThom. 6 between the question and the answer. Nevertheless, as Marjanen demonstrates, the logion makes good sense also in its present form; Marjanen 1998, 167-170.
1. Introduction

later. Further, even generally speaking the independent status of the Gospel of Thomas in relation to the canonical Gospels is quite problematic, and I think it is better not to base the picture of the historical Jesus on that document.\(^{59}\)

The historical problem with Jesus is, nevertheless, not only due to the nature of the documents. Another problem lies in our preconceived ideas about Jesus. N. T. WRIGHT aptly writes:\(^{60}\)

All writers about Jesus have to live with the old jibe that the historian is inclined to see his or her own face at the bottom of a deep well and mistake it for the face of Jesus.

Likewise J. D. CROSSAN estimates the history-of-Jesus -research:\(^{61}\)

It is impossible to avoid the suspicion that historical Jesus research is a very safe place to do theology and call it history, to do autobiography and call it biography.

Although it would be ideal that a scientific paradigm be free from any preconceptions, it is scarcely possible to approach the question of the historical Jesus without any.\(^{62}\) As JOHN P. MEIER writes about objectivity of the quest:\(^{63}\)

It is a goal we have to keep pressing toward, even though we never fully reach it.

The scholar is always more or less tied to his own starting-point, and it is very important to recognize this. Our preconceptions are revealed in, how we answer, for example, the following questions:

Is it credible that the man Jesus walked on a sea?
Is it credible that the man Jesus raised people from the dead?

Questions like these are, in fact, religious in their nature. Consequently, because God must be held outside the boundaries of scientific research, these kinds of questions should be left without an answer.\(^{64}\) Nevertheless,

---


\(^{60}\) Wright 1996, xv.

\(^{61}\) Crossan 1991, xxviii.

\(^{62}\) Vermes 1973, 19 has maybe a more positive attitude, when he writes: “Yet it should not be beyond the capabilities of an educated man to sit down and with a mind empty of prejudice read the accounts of Mark, Matthew and Luke as though for the first time.”

\(^{63}\) Meier 1991, 4.

\(^{64}\) See Meier 1996, 361 and Johnson 1996, 110.
our religious attitude very easily, perhaps unconsciously, affects our scholarly work.

There are also other kinds of questions, not religious at all, which likewise get an answer out of our presuppositions. For example:

- Is it plausible that Jesus could quote passages from the Hebrew Scriptures by heart?
- Is it plausible that Jesus knew Jewish scriptures like Ben Sira or the Psalms of Solomon and could refer to them?
- Is it plausible that Jesus could have given some of his teachings in Greek?

How we answer these questions depends largely on which kind of view we generally have about the 1st century C.E. Palestinian Jews. The recent research in this area produces continually new results, and accordingly our preconceptions of Jesus are, in this respect, under continuous change.65

There still is a third type of question, maybe the most crucial, namely the question concerning Jesus’ self-understanding. We might, for example, ask:

- Is it plausible that Jesus called himself the Messiah or the Son of God?
- Is it plausible that Jesus was concerned about eschatology?

Answers to these questions are, of course, in the first place, not presuppositions but results. Often the results of previous studies are, however, taken for granted and used as a self-evident basis for new research.66 Nevertheless, critical research should always first be critical of its own presuppositions and results.67 A bias cannot altogether be avoided, but the researcher should be aware of it and also inform his readers about the basis, on which he operates.68

The question about the scholar’s preconceptions about Jesus leads to a difficult methodological problem about the relationship between the analysis of single gospel passages and the overall concept of Jesus. Here the poor scholar inescapably finds himself in a hermeneutic circle. Namely, the overall picture the scholar has about the matter inevitably affects his interpretation of a single passage. We need only to recall the significance the context has for the interpretation of any saying or even incident, and the overall picture of Jesus is exactly the context in which the scholar tries to

---

65 See Wright 1996, 27.
66 See, for example, Wright’s criticism of the Jesus Seminar and Crossan; Wright 1996, 32, 50.
understand the gospel accounts of Jesus. The overall picture should, no
doubt, be constructed from the interpretation of single passages. Where else
would it originate? Due to the nature of the sources we have but single
passages, because the gospel accounts, and the eventual sources behind
them, are composed by the early Christians according to their specific
interests. Thus, which should come first? In principle it is possible to begin
research from either half of the circle. We could begin with the overall
picture and use a method of hypothesis and verification, as Wright calls
it.69 He writes:

Serious historical method, as opposed to the pseudo-historical use of home-made
‘criteria’, is making a come-back in the Third Quest. The much-vaunted ‘normal
critical tools’, particularly form-criticism, are being tacitly (and in my view
rightly) bypassed in the search for Jesus; enquiry is proceeding by means of a
proper, and often clearly articulated, method of hypothesis and verification...
Within the Third Quest, which is where I locate this present book, the task
before the serious historian of Jesus is not in the first instance conceived as the
reconstruction of traditions about Jesus, according to their place within the
history of the early church, but the advancement of serious historical hypotheses
– that is, the telling of large-scale narratives – about Jesus himself, and the
examination of the prima facie relevant data to see how they fit.70

This method as such is very sound, but it has one crucial problem: How can
the scholar make his enquiry objectively? The verification should of course
be able to revise the hypothesis if necessary. There is, nevertheless, a great
danger that the hypothesis determines the interpretation and evaluation of
the authenticity to such an extent that the verification becomes merely a
justification for the scholar’s hypothesis.71 The method of hypothesis and
justification, for its part, does not sound very good. Further, we may doubt,
whether the method is effective enough to reveal a possibly totally wrong
hypothesis. A good, or maybe rather bad, example of the devastating
results of uncritical use of this kind of method is HAL TAUSSEIG’S treatment
of the Lord’s Prayer.72 His hypothesis of a Cynic Jesus leads him to deny
the authenticity of the composition of the Lord’s Prayer and to interpret all
the single prayer fragments, as he calls them, non-eschatologically.73

Another mode of procedure is to begin with a detailed analysis of
single passages and with their help try to make a reconstruction. E.P.
Sanders describes this method as follows:

69 Wright 1996, 87.
72 Taussig 1999.
73 A more profound discussion about Taussig’s thesis is found on p. 32.
I am an academic, a professional scholar, and a historian by inclination and education. I shall do what I can to fill in the gaps and to make coherent sense of the bits and pieces that we have. This effort ... is somewhat like reconstructive surgery: breaking comes before rebuilding. Unlike the surgeon, however, I do not start out with a picture of what our subject originally looked like. Nor do I have a fixed view of what he should look like when the operation is over. I start out with the results of plastic surgery that aimed at glorification and that often did not preserve the original place and significance of the individual bits. I aim at recovering the historical Jesus. But the difficulties will always mean that the results are partial at best.  

Even this method has its problems. As stated above, a detailed analysis of a certain passage is almost inevitably affected by preconceptions, either conscious or, what is worse, unconscious. There is a vast amount of alleged ‘objective’ research, which is colored by very subjective motives. Another alternative is to try to interpret a text so little that the preconceptions do not get to affect the interpretation. This procedure has two alternative outcomes: either the overall picture of Jesus shrinks to a mere silhouette – as Wright calls the Old Quest picture of Jesus – or, in case the scholar wants a more complete picture, he must fill in the gaps with his own historical imagination, which, for its part, is quite subjective.

Although both of the approaches involve problems, I think the one whose starting point is an analysis of single passages is still to be preferred. It is easier for the reader in that approach to evaluate the research process, because it occurs in two separate phases, first an analysis and then a synthesis.

So far so good. It is easy to discuss different problems and to evaluate other scholars critically. It is even easy to declare, how one should conduct scientific research. Nevertheless, to really succeed without falling into the same traps, where one has found one’s colleagues is another matter.

As stated above, declaring one’s starting-point is essential. I have already mentioned in passing some of my presuppositions and choices, but it will be proper to summarize them here.

I will use the synoptic gospel accounts as sources. I will work with the so-called two-source hypothesis, according to which Mark is the

---

74 Sanders 1993, 76.
75 See Becker 1996, 4 for a harsh estimation of some of Jesus-of-history -research: “Nach diesem parteilichen Substraktionsverfahren synthetisiert man den Jesu mainstream zu einem Jesuportrait, das genau das leistet, was man insgeheim längst vertrat.”
76 Wright 1996, 3.
77 Although this hypothesis is not accepted by all scholars, it seems to be by far the best model, which explains the relationship between the synoptic gospels. Accordingly, it is accepted by a vast majority of New Testament scholars. A comprehensive presentation
oldest gospel, which both Matthew and Luke have used as a source for their respective gospel accounts. In addition, Matthew and Luke have used a common, so-called Logia- or Q-source. Further, both Matthew’s and Luke’s gospel accounts include their own special material, both redactional and traditional.

My procedure is to first analyze various separate sayings and evaluate their authenticity, and then make a synthesis, which is based on the results of the analysis. It is obvious that the evaluation of the authenticity of singular passages cannot be a simple black-or-white authentic-or-inauthentic matter, but it is a question of degrees of probability. The synthesis must, accordingly, be based on those passages, which are more probably authentic, and the more uncertain passages can be used only to clarify or to support the conclusions, and even then only with care.

After this more general discussion of method we will now turn to the authenticity criteria, i.e. the concrete tools, with which the authenticity of certain passages is evaluated.

1.3. Authenticity Criteria

In order to find the authentic Jesus-tradition in the large amount of material we have in our primary sources, scholars have created, and further developed, some tools, which are called authenticity criteria. Despite the problems involved in the working with these criteria and the critical remarks directed towards each of them, I would not call working with them “pseudo-historical use of home-made ‘criteria’”, as N.T. Wright
1. Introduction

does, but, rather, serious use of frontisterion\textsuperscript{80}-developed methodological tools. Any scientific method must, naturally, be used with sound criticism, as also must the authenticity criteria, but this does not mean that the method as such would be useless. The method is only the tool with which the scholar operates in order to deal with his object, and much of the credibility of the results depends on the judgment of the scholar. Within any scientific research the method should be a servant and the scholar the master, but not so seldom the roles are changed and as a consequence the results are poor.

After this short, and in principle positive, introductory remark we go on to critically discuss the main authenticity criteria, which has been introduced by scholars.

*The criterion of dissimilarity to Christianity.*\textsuperscript{81} The criterion of dissimilarity to Christianity is based on a sound presupposition according to which such material in the Jesus tradition, which cannot be derived from early Christianity, is likely not invented by the Christians but is most likely authentic. Even more probable is the authenticity of such material, which seems to have been problematic for the subsequent Christians. This criterion presupposes that the transmitters and redactors of the tradition were quite faithful to the tradition and thus did not, at least always, adapt the tradition for their own purposes, and further, that they did not choose only the suitable pieces of tradition.\textsuperscript{82}

The main problem with this criterion is that we do not know early Christianity and its many groupings with their peculiar ‘theologies’ sufficiently, so that we could say with certainty, whether some piece of Jesus tradition can be traced from them or not.\textsuperscript{83} Further, we must consider the fact that early Christianity was under intense development and change during its first decades – partly due to its inner dynamics and partly due to drastic changes within early Judaism (e.g. the destruction of the Temple) – and thus it is possible that some detail in the material which was considered

---

\textsuperscript{80} The Greek word φροντιστήριον means ‘a place for hard thinking’.

\textsuperscript{81} For example Meier 1991, 168-174 distinguishes between the criterion of embarrassment, used in search of such passages, which were problematic to subsequent Christians, and the criterion of discontinuity, which, for its part, focuses on such words or deeds, which cannot be derived either from early Judaism or early Christianity. I think that these two criteria can very well be combined into one criterion, but it must be done so that the criterion does not take into consideration dissimilarity to early Judaism because of reasons we shall discuss later.

\textsuperscript{82} Holmén 2001c, 497-514 proves clearly that the dissimilarity to Christianity -criterion and the idea that the tradition was preserved only, when it was found appropriate to a certain Sitz im Leben in the early Christian communities simply contradict each other.

\textsuperscript{83} Meier 1991, 172; Johnson 1996, 129.
embarrassing in the late 70’s could very well have been seen as altogether unproblematic in, say, the early 40’s.

A very important point regarding the criterion of dissimilarity to Christianity is that it cannot be used to claim inauthenticity. To claim inauthenticity of a saying or action of Jesus, because it is, say, too similar to the tendencies of the early Christians, is to claim that Jesus’ sayings and deeds did not have any proper influence on them. I think this would be a ridiculous claim.

The criterion of dissimilarity has often been directed not only to Christianity, but also to early Judaism. Nevertheless, to suggest authenticity especially for such material, which is dissimilar to early Judaism, would make Jesus quite un-Jewish. Particularly within the third Quest research, of which more in the next subchapter, this is not accepted, and with good reasons. Accordingly we will not use the criterion of dissimilarity to early Judaism in our study.

If the criterion of dissimilarity is used incorrectly focusing on the dissimilarity both to early Judaism and to Christianity, and, in addition, as a claim of inauthenticity, then the outcome would be an alien Jesus, who came from nowhere and disappeared to nowhere without leaving any tokens; historically a very incredible result. No wonder that this kind of use of the criterion has caused some scholars to totally reject it. Nevertheless, it is important to note that a wrong usage does not nullify a correct one.

The criterion of multiple attestation. The criterion of multiple attestation suggests authenticity for those sayings or deeds of Jesus, which are attested either in multiple independent sources or in multiple forms, or both. The underlying premise is that a piece of tradition, which is widespread, is hardly a later invention. The more sources or forms a tradition is embedded in, the more likely it is authentic. In fact, this criterion, in my opinion, does not suggest authenticity but merely an early tradition. A tradition is as likely to spread widely, whether it originates from Jesus some weeks before his crucifixion or, say, Peter some weeks after it. Nevertheless, while suggesting an early date, the criterion indirectly also increases the probability of authenticity.

---

85 See Becker 1996, 4-5.
87 Meier 1991, 172-173, Witherington III 1995, 46; Becker 1996, 17. It is worth to note that Käsemann, who introduced the criterion of double dissimilarity, did not mean it to be a tool to claim inauthenticity; Käsemann 1954, 144.
88 Meier 1991, 175.
89 So also e.g. Evans 1995, 15 and Berger 1998, 55.
1. Introduction

The criterion of multiple attestation can be applied even to individual motifs and forms within the Jesus tradition. If a certain motif or a form is attested in different sayings of Jesus, it is likely to be a specific Jesuanic motif or manner of speech.\(^{90}\)

Those items, of which the tradition includes both teaching and practice of Jesus, make a special case from the viewpoint of this criterion. Namely, we then have comparative material both in narratives and in sayings, i.e. two different literary forms. This is the case with our study. Accordingly, though our material proper is Jesus’ teaching on prayer, i.e. sayings, we can compare it with the narrative material about Jesus’ prayer practice as a test of authenticity.

Again, it is important to note that the criterion of multiple attestation cannot be used as a criterion against authenticity. Although some saying or deed of Jesus would be attested only once in the whole source material, still it can be authentic.\(^{91}\)

Criterion of coherence. The criterion of coherence suggests authenticity for such traditional passages, which are coherent with already authenticated tradition.\(^{92}\) The presupposition is, thus, that we already have gained a body of authentic Jesus tradition, to which we then add more material with the help of this criterion. An inaccurate use of the criterion of coherence can, for its part, easily lead to the trick of Baron von Münchausen, who pulled himself up from a swamp by his own hair. Too often the material is compared with the scholars’ preconception of Jesus, not with authenticated tradition.

A further problem with this criterion is, as LUKE TIMOTHY JOHNSON clearly points out, that it is not at all obvious whether a piece of tradition, which is coherent with a likely authentic tradition, would on that basis be authentic as well. Namely, it is altogether possible, logically thinking, that the Christian church has created new material, which coincides with the older one.\(^{93}\)

The criterion of coherence can be used also negatively as a criterion of incoherence. Is is based on a rationale according to which a passage which is incoherent with already authenticated tradition is probably

\(^{90}\) Theissen and Mertz state in an unpublished paper presented at the 57th annual meeting of the SNTS on August 2002: “The so-called criterion of multiple attestation ... refers to the coherence or the correspondence of the same tradition in different sources. But just as important is the coherence of the same motif and topic in different traditions.” In the paper the same idea is applied to forms and genres in different currents of tradition as well.

\(^{91}\) Meier 1991, 175; Berger 1998, 52.

\(^{92}\) Meier 1991, 176.

\(^{93}\) Johnson 1996, 130.
1. Introduction

inauthentic.\textsuperscript{94} There, nevertheless, lurks a danger also here to make too hasty conclusions.\textsuperscript{95} We have already discussed the significance of the context. The one and same saying can have quite different connotations in different contexts and this is true also the other way round. A difference between two sayings can very well be due to a difference in the original contexts. It is only natural to expect that the one and same person speaks somewhat differently to different audiences. While we no longer know the original context of Jesus’ sayings, we must consider the possibility that seemingly contradictory sayings can still both be authentic, but uttered in different situations. Further, to demand absolute coherence of Jesus is to make him quite inhuman.\textsuperscript{96} Besides, although Jesus’ ministry was quite short, either one or three years depending on whether we rely on John or the Synoptics, it is still possible that his proclamation developed and thus altered at least slightly during this time.

\textit{The criterion of rejection and execution.} One of the few facts in the life of Jesus, which all the New Testament scholars admit as truly historical, is his crucifixion by Roman soldiers. Now, those traditional passages, which plausibly explain the reasons for Jesus’ rejection and execution, have good chances to be authentic as well.\textsuperscript{97} This criterion is, of course, disputable as well as the others, or maybe rather the results produced by the criterion. No one denies, I suppose, the rationale behind this criterion, but there remains several ways to explain the fate of Jesus.

\textit{The criterion of Palestinian environment.} Because Jesus lived his whole life in Palestine, also his sayings and deeds must reflect the Palestinian environment, this is self-evident. Palestinian local color does not, however, prove authenticity, because also Jesus’ followers and the first Christian church lived in Palestine. Accordingly, this criterion can be used only negatively, that is, a passage, which has non-Palestinian features, is hardly authentic.\textsuperscript{98} Palestinian local color is thus a \textit{precondition} for authenticity. Nevertheless, here again we must be cautious. It is not at all impossible that the transmitters and the redactors of the tradition, when adapting a tradition, also made it suit a new cultural environment. Thus it is possible that behind a non-Palestinian text there still is an authentic core.

\textit{Burden of proof.} We must still discuss the question of the ‘burden of proof’, which is closely connected to the discussion of the use of the

\begin{itemize}
\setlength\itemsep{0pt}
\item\textsuperscript{94} Holmén 2001, 35.
\item\textsuperscript{95} Meier 1991, 176-177.
\item\textsuperscript{96} Becker 1996, 18-19.
\item\textsuperscript{97} Meier 1991, 177; Holmén 2001, 34-35.
\item\textsuperscript{98} Meier 1991, 180; Holmén 2001, 35.
\end{itemize}
1. Introduction

criteria and of the verification of authentic Jesus tradition. The question involves two main options:

1. a tradition is to be regarded as authentic unless the opposite is proved true – the burden of proof is on those who claim inauthenticity
2. a tradition is to be regarded as inauthentic unless the opposite is proved true – the burden of proof is on those who claim authenticity

Choosing the side depends on one’s general view on the origin and development of the tradition. Those who suggest that the early Christians were totally free to adapt the tradition or even to create new material, accordingly claim the second option, while those, who maintain the view that the early Christians were quite faithful to the tradition, naturally advocate the first option. But, there is also a third option, that is, the burden of proof is on anyone, who claims something, either authenticity or inauthenticity.99 A certain passage is thus not to be regarded a priori either as authentic or inauthentic. This is surely the most objective approach and it will be used in this study. Nevertheless, there is still one problem. What shall we do in a case, where the pros and cons are something like fifty-fifty? We have, for example, a saying, which could very well be an authentic saying, but cannot be verified with help of the criteria. In this kind of case we must select one of the two main options.100 I am inclined to suggest authenticity in such fifty-fifty -cases. Nevertheless, argumentation cannot be based very strongly on that kind of passages.

We will now discuss the ‘third quest’ for the Jesus-of-history and its significance for our study.

1.4. The Third Quest for the Historical Jesus

The main distinctive point in the so-called third quest for the historical Jesus is the emphasis on his Jewishness.101 This branch of Jesus-of-history - research does take seriously the self-evident fact that Jesus was a Palestinian, or even more accurately Galilean, first century C.E. Jew. He was born and lived as a Palestinian Jew among other Palestinian Jews and

100 Meier 1991, 183 suggests that in such cases we should consider the passage as ‘not clear’. Nevertheless, if we disregard a ‘not clear’ passage in our reconstruction of the historical Jesus, then we have, in fact, chosen the second option. This problem is realized for example by Blomberg 1987, 240-243.
101 Wright 1996, 84-85; Harrington 1996, 125; Holmén 2001b, 144. See also n. 4 in Holmén’s article.
was thus accustomed to the Jewish way of life, customs and beliefs. Consequently his Jewish heritage formed the basis and the setting for his own proclamation. Early Judaism is thus not only the *background* against which Jesus is portrayed and from which he arises, but even the *context* of Jesus’ life.102

Accordingly, any portrait of the historical Jesus, in order to be plausible, must fit to the 1st century C.E. Palestinian Jewish context. The third quest view of the Jesus-research is aptly expressed by E. P. SANDERS:103

> The dominant view today seems to be that we know pretty well what Jesus was out to accomplish, that we can know a lot about what he said, and that those two things make sense within the world of first-century Judaism.

The significance of the Jewish context is, or it should be, self-evident. In the previous research, however, in both the so-called *old quest* and in the *new quest*, Jesus was, in fact, more or less detached from this context, even to the point where one of the authenticity criteria used to evaluate the authenticity of the sayings of Jesus was *dissimilarity to Judaism*.104 From the point of view of the third quest that criterion is altogether invalid and should naturally be rejected.105 A still wider gap between Jesus and Judaism was claimed within the German nationalism from the late 19th century till the 2nd World War. Because of apparent ideological reasons it was argued that Jesus was not a Jew at all but probably Aryan.106

So, Jesus certainly was a Jew, but what kind of a Jew? This question has become even more actual and difficult, since recent research has demonstrated the great diversity of 1st century C.E. Judaism.107 The older view, which anachronistically read the Rabbinic ideas attested in the Talmudic literature, back to the 1st century108 and accordingly used such terms as *normative*, denoting the Rabbinic-like Judaism, and *sectarian* Judaism as an opposite to the normative, is no longer valid.109 Nowadays

---

102 See Vermes 1996, 110.
103 Sanders 1985, 2.
104 Wright 1996, 85-86. See also Holmén 2001b, 149.
105 See Harrington 1996, 132-133.
106 About Jesus-of-history -research within the German nationalism see Moxnes 2002, 85-89.
107 Harrington 1996, 127-131; Holmén 2001b, 150-152. Cf. EusEccl IV, 22:7: “The same writer (i.e. Hegesippus) also described the sects which once existed among the Jews as follows: ‘Now there were various opinions among the circumcision, among the children of Israel, against the tribe of Judah and the Messiah, as follows: Essenes, Galileans, Hemerobaptists, Masbothei, Samaritans, Sadducees, and Pharisees.’”
108 See Chilton’s 1984, 30 criticism of Vermes’ approach.
109 Charlesworth 1996, 68.
scholars speak even of different *Judaisms*, which is somewhat clumsy but expresses the matter of fact quite well. Thus, where should Jesus be placed within this diversity? This question has been, and still is, eagerly debated within Jesus-of-history -research, and the suggested answers are at least as much varied as there are different kinds of *Judaisms*: Jesus was a prophet, indeed a miracle-working, eschatological one; he was a non-Cynic Jewish sage; he was a Hillelite pharisaic teacher; he was a Galilean rabbi; he was a Galilean charismatic; he was a magician etc. The definite answer, if there ever will be one, is still waiting.

Along with the scholarship, which stresses Jesus’ Jewishness, there is yet another prominent school of research. In this school Jesus is presented as a non-eschatological Cynic sage. This model is represented most notably by JOHN DOMINIC CROSSAN and shared by several Jesus Seminar scholars. CROSSAN’s study, even if extremely profound, suffers from two major problems, one of which is, I think, crucial. First, although CROSSAN’s three-step method of verification of the authenticity (*inventory*, *stratification* and *attestation*) makes good sense as such, it is problematic mainly due to a quite hypothetical dating of the sources. Especially the Gospel of Thomas, which CROSSAN regards as one of the earliest sources

---

110 See. e.g. Dunn 1995, 230 and Boccaccini 1995, 292-293.
111 Wright 1996. See also Witherington III 1999, 277-278.
114 So Harvey Falk according to Harrington 1996, 126-127.
115 Chilton 1984, 34.
116 Vermes 1996, 118. Vermes has established his thesis in his book “Jesus the Jew” from 1973, which is one of the first studies made in the spirit of the third quest.
117 Smith 1981, 152.
118 See Holmén 2001b, 154.
119 See e.g. Downing 1992b, 25. Downing enumerates (on pp. 6-18) several features, in which he sees a close similarity between that kind of early Christianity, which is attested in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke (i.e. in the Q-material) and in some documents of Cynic philosophers. At least some of these features have, nevertheless, good parallels in early Jewish tradition as well. Witherington III 1994, 117-145, discusses the ‘Cynic Jesus’ -thesis in general and Downing’s parallels in particular and comes up with ‘non-Cynical conclusions’. See also Chilton 1995, 278-279, who considers Crossan’s book as an attempt to understand Jesus without the Jewish context, and also Luke Timothy Johnson’s indeed quite harsh and Witherington III’s more modest evaluation of the Jesus Seminar; Johnson 1996, 1-27; Witherington III 1995, 42-57.
120 Crossan 1991, xxxi.
and even as independent of the synoptic gospels\textsuperscript{122} – a thesis that is not generally accepted\textsuperscript{123} – is very essential for CROSSAN’S overall thesis about Jesus as a Cynic. Second, a matter on which the whole hypothesis of CROSSAN either stands or falls is his reconstruction of the historical context of Jesus, i.e. the pre-70 C.E. Galilee. In order to be plausible the image of a Cynic Jesus presupposes an overwhelming Hellenistic influence in Galilee. CROSSAN himself writes:\textsuperscript{124}

The historical Jesus was, then, a peasant Jewish Cynic. His peasant village was close enough to a Greco-Roman city like Sepphoris that sight and knowledge of Cynicism are neither inexplicable nor unlikely.

The thesis about a strongly hellenized Galilee has long been generally accepted, only very recently has it been seriously questioned. E. P. SANDERS discusses the matter in a recent essay\textsuperscript{125} and concludes:\textsuperscript{126}

In Antipas’ Galilee, we find very minor aspects of Hellenistic culture. Antipas may have called Sepphoris a polis but it was a Jewish city. Tiberias was a predominantly Jewish polis (italics mine), with a small Gentile population.

Likewise MARK A. CHANCEY states in his brand new monograph, whose very title \textit{The Myth of a Gentile Galilee} is illuminating, about the Gentile influence in Galilee:\textsuperscript{127}

Galilee in the first century CE appears to have been anything but a “Galilee of the Gentiles.” It was not known by that name, and understandably so. Gentiles were a small portion of the population, not a sizable group and certainly not the majority. No evidence points to the presence of unusually high numbers of gentile merchants, traders, and other travelers in Galilee.

Thus, a Cynic Jesus is, in my mind, not a plausible reconstruction of the historical reality.\textsuperscript{128}

\textsuperscript{122} Crossan 1991, 427-428. Likewise also e.g. Vielhauer 1975, 624-629; Layton 1987, 377 and Cameron 1992, 536-538 consider the Gospel of Thomas as independent of the canonical gospels.

\textsuperscript{123} See e.g. Blomberg 1987, 209-212; Tuckett 1988, 156-157; Sanders 1993, 64-65; Evans 1995, 29-30; Witherington III 1995, 48-50; Meier 1996, 356-357. See also Dehandshutter 1982, 160, who warns against an overhasty use of the Gospel of Thomas in New Testament exegesis. An intermediate stand, i.e. the Gospel of Thomas contains both dependent and independent material and it must be determined case by case how a certain logion relates to its canonical parallel, is represented e.g. by Johnson 1997, 308-309.

\textsuperscript{124} Crossan 1991, 421.

\textsuperscript{125} Sanders 2002, 3-41.

\textsuperscript{126} Sanders 2002, 36.

\textsuperscript{127} Chancey 2002, 182.
The diversity of the 1st century C.E. Judaism, or more generally of the early Judaism, is documented in the vast amount of early Jewish literature.\textsuperscript{129} Especially the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls and the writings of Josephus and Philo form the treasury of early Jewish ideas, customs, beliefs and, what is most important for our study, prayers. Thus, while trying to understand Jesus as a 1st century C.E. Jew the research is more and more concentrating on these early Jewish texts to the prejudice of the Rabbinic literature.

The third quest paradigm means for our study that we will try to find out, in what way Jesus’ teaching on prayer is embedded in the early Jewish prayer life. We will seek the roots of his teaching in the Hebrew Bible, which, or at least parts of which, was the common basis for all the Judaisms. We will especially compare Jesus’ teaching with the prayers and prayer instructions found in early Jewish literature. Considering the Jewish heritage is of great importance especially for a study, which deals with prayer.\textsuperscript{130} This is so because, as HANS DIETER BETZ states in his commentary to the Sermon on the Mount:\textsuperscript{131}

\begin{quote}
Typical of all prayers, the Lord’s Prayer also consists of much material that was traditional at the time... This way of creating prayers was and still is characteristic of most prayers. In order to make new prayers acceptable to a liturgical community, they must reflect the traditional language and form. Within this limit, one can introduce new elements that the worshiping community will accept.
\end{quote}

When we study Jesus’ teaching on prayer in connection with his Jewish heritage we must observe following points:

First, Jesus surely adopted Jewish ideas and practises, but this does not mean that he could not interpret them, or at least some of them, in a new way. Further, the stressing of Jesus’ Jewishness must not mean that Jesus could not have come even with altogether new ideas and contradict

\textsuperscript{128} Cf. Chilton 1996, 104-105. See also Wright’s estimation of Crossan’s book, after he has praised his magnificent way of making research: “It is all the more frustrating, therefore, to have to conclude that the book is almost entirely wrong”; Wright 1996, 44. A good discussion about the problems of the ‘Cynic Jesus’-thesis is to be read in Aune 1997, 176-192. Aune points out especially the difficulty to define the ‘cynicism’ and to determine, which documents and which ancient philosophers would represent a Cynic way of thinking and living.
\textsuperscript{129} Dunn 1995, 242-244. Berger 2001, 15 points out that just this vast amount of different Jewish writings makes it problematic to say that some saying of Jesus would be more or less Jewish.
\textsuperscript{130} Charlesworth 1986, 421.
\textsuperscript{131} Betz 1995, 372.
some traditional ones.\textsuperscript{132} It is just the diversity of the early Judaism, which indicates that within it there were ongoing debates on different subject matters, and this kind of debate necessarily involves both rejecting ideas of another and presenting new interpretations on traditional ideas or introducing altogether new ones. Let us look at the same thing from another point of view with the words of BRUCE CHILTON:\textsuperscript{133}

The early Judaism of Jesus’ time seems to have been so heterogeneous that to claim his continuity or discontinuity with the religion of his day in general terms is problematic in the extreme: in almost anything he did or said, he would have been accepted by some Jews and rejected by others.

Thus, claiming that Jesus would have contradicted some contemporary Jewish practises or ideas and taught in a somewhat unique way is not to say that he was not a Jew,\textsuperscript{134} as far as the alleged teaching of Jesus is plausible in terms of the early Judaism.

Second, Jesus’ encounter with the early Jewish prayer life did not necessarily result in merely adopting, adapting or contradicting. It is also possible that Jesus was altogether unconcerned about some important aspects of prayer, which were important to some other Jews.

Third, it is possible that not only early Jewish prayer but also other aspects of the early Jewish thinking influenced Jesus’ teaching on prayer.

The following table will clarify the options of how Jesus’ teaching in principle could have been related to contemporary Judaism:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ |c|c| }
\hline
\textbf{Option} & \textbf{Description} \\
\hline
1. &  \\
\hline
2. &  \\
\hline
3. &  \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{132} Meier 1991, 173.
\textsuperscript{133} Chilton 1984, 31.
\textsuperscript{134} Holmén 2001b, 153.
1. Introduction

**AA’** Early Jewish aspects of prayer, which Jesus adopted and maybe adapted

**B’** Early Jewish aspects of prayer, which Jesus contradicted

**C** Aspects, which were important in the early Jewish thinking but which Jesus seems to have been unconcerned to

**DD’** Aspects in Jesus’ teaching on prayer, which have their roots in the early Jewish thinking generally

**F’** Altogether unique ideas of Jesus

Now we will go on to survey such previous research, which has dealt with our topic. Then we will be able to make a more precise definition of our task.
1.5. A Glance at Previous Research

I will now give a short review of previous research and make an evaluation of it. I will include such scholarly contributions, which have dealt expressly with Jesus’ teaching on prayer, not only with his own prayer life. I will present both some of the most important earlier studies and the most recent ones in more detail.

There are only few monographs about the subject matter, and some of them are more theologically, or even devotionally, than exegetically oriented. Nevertheless, there are some noteworthy articles and subchapters in more general presentations, which I will include in this review.

A special question, which has to do with Jesus’ teaching on prayer and which has been discussed quite a lot, is the Abba-address. Nevertheless, because, in our study, this question touches upon only one single passage, namely the Lord’s Prayer, I will account for that discussion in connection with the treatment of that passage. Likewise the huge amount of studies about the Lord’s Prayer will be discussed there.

1.5.1. Earlier Contributions

I will bring up three of the earlier contributions, which give us, I think, an adequate view of the matter. We begin with RUDOLF BULTMANN and his book Jesus. In this general presentation BULTMANN writes nine pages about Gebetsglaube in the teaching of Jesus.

BULTMANN begins with the assumption that Jesus, like his contemporary Jews, probably prayed the Amidah three times a day. Against this background he finds the simplicity of prayer as the peculiarity in Jesus’ teaching. The Lord’s Prayer, whether it originates from Jesus or not, differs from the contemporary Jewish prayer tradition by its brevity.

---

135 James G. S. S. Thomson states in the preface of his book The Praying Christ: A Study of Jesus’ Doctrine and Practice of Prayer (1959) that the book has been written not for the scholars but for the Christian minister and layman, and accordingly the approach is not historical critical. Similar evaluation can be given about The Prayer Life of Jesus: Shout of Agony, Revelation of Love, a Commentary (1990), written by William David Spencer and Aída Besançon Spencer.

136 Some of the studies, whose titles promise a more general treatment of Jesus’ teaching on prayer, nevertheless deal only with the Lord’s Prayer, and will thus not be discussed here. Such studies are BRUCE CHILTON’S Jesus’ Prayer and Jesus’ Eucharist: His Personal Practice of Spirituality (1997) and ROBERT J. KARRIS’ Prayer and the New Testament: Jesus and his Communities at Worship (2000).

137 Bultmann 1926, 165-174.
Further, BULTMANN states that in Jesus’ teaching prayer is not an achievement which would obligate God to hear the praying person. Neither is it a good deed, but it is simply speaking with God.

Finally, BULTMANN notes that Jesus’ teaching concerns almost entirely just petitionary prayer. He states that to pray is not to content oneself with God’s unchangeable will but that prayer has a real effect on God and his activity.

Thirty years after BULTMANN’S Jesus GÜNTHER BORNKAMM presented quite similar ideas in his book Jesus von Nazareth. He, together with BULTMANN, sees the particularity of the Lord’s Prayer in its brevity and simplicity. These characteristics are also evident in Jesus’ teaching on prayer in general.

Another fact stressed by BORNKAMM is the connection between prayer, on the one hand, and confidence and obedience, on the other hand. He states that, despite the seeming discrepancy, both the admonition not to pray with many words (Mt 6:7) and the parables about the Friend at Midnight (Lk 11:5-8) and the Unjust Judge (Lk 18:1-8) with their encouragement to persistent prayer, teach about confident prayer to the Heavenly Father, who is near the petitioner.

Third ‘earlier father’, whose contributions with good reason will be presented here, is JOACHIM JEREMIAS. In his Neutestamentliche Theologie he discusses the question about Das neue Beten under the title of Das neue Gottesvolk. JEREMIAS suggests that Jesus learned in his childhood home to recite the Shema with accompanying blessings twice and the Amidah thrice a day. Further, Jesus was acquainted with the blessings before and after meals as well as with the synagogue service with the recitation of i.a. Amidah and Qaddish. Against this, according to JEREMIAS, very formal prayer life of early Judaism, Jesus’ prayer emerged as something different and new. JEREMIAS enumerates three points, in which Jesus’ prayer differed from the contemporary prayer practice. First, the three regular prayer times were not enough for Jesus, but he spent even whole nights in prayer. Second, Jesus’ prayer language was Aramaic instead of the customary Hebrew. Thus Jesus, according to JEREMIAS, took prayer out of a liturgical use and put it

---

139 Jeremias’ remarkable contributions to the study of the Abba-address will be discussed in connection with the Lord’s Prayer.
140 Jeremias 1971, 180-196. This subchapter is based on an article, which was published in the book Abba (1966). This article, for its part, is an edited version of a lection, which Jeremias had held in Paris in 1961.
in the middle of everyday life. Third, the Abba-address in Jesus’ prayers was a novelty within the contemporary Judaism.

Jeremias brings up four points about Jesus’ proper teaching on prayer. First, the certainty that God hears prayers. Jeremias understands the unconditional promise that whatever one asks for will be given, as referring to eschatological gifts. Second, prayer must take place in secret. Jeremias suggests that this admonition in Mt 6:6 reflects the eschatological exhortation in Isa 26:20, and thus he considers the prayer of Jesus’ followers as a prayer of an eschatological emergency. Third, prayer should be short, because God’s children need not to try to persuade God. Fourth, the only precondition for God’s answering prayers is that the praying persons must forgive each other.

We note two common features in these three studies. First, they specify as the religion-historical background for Jesus’ teaching that kind of Jewish prayer life which emerges in the Rabbinic literature. Nevertheless, as we will see later, this approach is highly problematic, even anachronistic. Second, in the good ‘old quest’ and ‘new quest’ spirit they concentrate on finding the new in Jesus’ teaching and thus distinguish Jesus from his Jewish context.

1.5.2. Recent Contributions

I will first bring up two recent articles, which, although very brief, give an overall picture of Jesus’ teaching on prayer.

An Indian scholar George M. Soares-Prabhu stresses in his article Speaking to ‘Abba’: Prayer as Petition and Thanksgiving in the Teaching of Jesus (1990) that Jesus was not interested in prayer techniques but in a right attitude, that is a child’s relationship with Abba.

Soares-Prabhu divides the synoptic prayer instructions into four categories: 1. three Lukan parables, which urge insistent prayer, with humility and in confidence. 2. a pair of sayings in Mark, which teach the need of faith and forgiveness as preconditions for prayers to be heard. 3. a saying in Mt 18:19-20, which stresses the significance of gathering in the name of Jesus. 4. two sayings in Q, one of which is an apocalyptic exhortation to pray for helpers for the eschatological mission (Q 10:2), and the other is a wisdom admonition recommending petitionary prayer (Q11:9-13). Soares-Prabhu suggests that the last one of these instructions

---

141 See p. 83.
speaks most clearly of what Jesus wanted to teach about prayer. The sayings in Mk and Mt are, according to him, probably inauthentic and the parables in Lk might be authentic but include later additions concerning the prerequisites for effective prayer.

The Q-instruction about petitioning emphasizes the unconditional hearing of prayers, which is based solely on God’s fatherhood. This causes, nevertheless, a problem, which SOARES-PRABHU forms like this:

Is not the teaching of Jesus unrealistic here – the expression of a primitive, childish naiveté, rather than of a mature if childlike faith, appropriate to a world come of age?

His resolution to the problem is that Jesus’ teaching must be understood in an eschatological context, in terms of the Kingdom of God, like the whole Lord’s Prayer. Thus the request, which God surely will grant, is not whatever but exactly the Kingdom.

JAMES D. G. DUNN agrees in his article “Prayer” in the Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels (1992) in many points with JEREMIAS: Jesus was brought up to recite the Shema and the Amidah daily but his need for prayer went beyond the formal use of these prayers. Further, Abba was Jesus’ regular and characteristic address to God, which expressed his intimate relationship to God. Against JEREMIAS, DUNN claims that the Abba-address was not altogether unique within the early Jewish piety, but still it was not a typical way to approach God.

One merit in DUNN’S article, compared with JEREMIAS and the other earlier scholars, is that he mentions the prayer material in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha as a background for Jesus’ practice and teaching. Nevertheless, what is indeed very understandable because of the limits of a short article, he does not make any deeper comparison between Jesus’ teaching and early Jewish material.

Finally, DUNN summarizes Jesus’ teaching on prayer with four key words: trust, forgiveness, persistence and communal.

These two articles certainly give a good overall picture about Jesus’ teaching on prayer, but, because of their brevity, they cannot include any deeper analysis of the single passages. Accordingly their results must remain quite superficial and questionable in some details.

---

143 Soares-Prabhu 1990, 38.
144 In this point Soares-Prabhu follows the line of thought of Jeremias.
145 Dunn 1992a, 617-625.
I will finally present two studies, which represent the ultimate extremes in the methodological approach, and consequently end up in totally different results. OSCAR CULLMAN states in his very last book *Prayer in the New Testament* (1995)\(^{146}\):

The question of what is ‘authentic’ and what is not is of less importance here, as most of the sayings about prayer are among those the ‘authenticity’ of which is least challenged. Of course we need to take account of the deviations between the Gospels. If they cannot be explained on the basis of form criticism in terms of different traditions, then on the basis of redaction criticism we must attribute them to the different kinds of explanations offered by the evangelist, and come as close as possible to Jesus’ view by comparing them.\(^{147}\)

In spite of mentioning of the necessity of redaction criticism in some cases, CULLMAN still seems to read all the synoptic passages dealing with prayer, at their face value as authentic sayings of Jesus.

Consequently CULLMANN suggests that prayer is primarily a private matter for Jesus – conversation with God who is in secret (the saying against hypocritical prayer in Mt 6:5-6) – even amidst a crowd in the Temple (the tax collector in the Lukan parable in Lk 18:10-14a). Nevertheless, even common prayer has its significance (the promise about hearing of prayers when two bring their petition to God in accord in Mt 18:19). Further, God does not need our prayers, because he already knows our needs, but still he wants us to pray (the saying against heathen-like prayer in Mt 6:7), and be even persistent in our prayer (the exhortation to ask, seek, and knock in Mt 7:7 and the parables of the friend in need in Lk 11:5-8 and of the importunate widow and the unjust judge in Lk 18:1-8). This persistence will not influence God, but is still an attitude, which is required of the petitioners, in order to be heard. Other presuppositions for effective prayer are unshakable faith (the admonition to believe that the asked thing has already been received in Mk 11:24) and readiness to submit to the will of God (Jesus’ own prayer in Gethsemane in Mk 14:36).

HAL TAUSSIG, a Jesus Seminar scholar, for his part writes in his book *Jesus before God* (1999):

> We have sorted through a massive amount of material in the gospels of the first century. This survey has been able to identify a good deal of material about Jesus and prayer, which is the product of the particular gospel writers. We have seen how particular – and in some cases peculiar – styles and viewpoints of the gospel writers about prayer have shaped each gospel’s portrait of Jesus at prayer.

\(^{146}\) The German original was published in 1994. Pp 15-37 of the English edition deal with Jesus’ teaching on prayer in general and pp. 37-69 with the Lord’s Prayer.

\(^{147}\) Cullmann 1995, 16.
1. Introduction

The consistency with which the writers have pursued their own vision of Jesus at prayer has made it rather easy to conclude that much of what they have written was neither historically accurate nor even intended to be.\(^{148}\)

Furthermore, it is highly doubtful that Jesus ever taught anyone how to pray, much less to memorize and repeat the Lord’s Prayer! When the core sayings of the historical Jesus are examined as a whole – as they can be in this book – the Jesus who emerges does not seem interested in teaching others to pray. Likely he would have even opposed the idea of teaching others particular words to recite as a prayer. Of the ninety sayings that the Jesus Seminar attributed to the historical Jesus, no others – beside five of eight phrases in what eventually came to be the Lord’s Prayer – even mention prayer. There is no teaching of Jesus in these ninety sayings that recommends prayer or even alludes to it.\(^{149}\)

Accordingly only the separate prayer fragments, as he calls them, preserved in the Q-form of the Lord’s Prayer are estimated as authentic by TAUSSIG.\(^{150}\)

TAUSSIG further suggests that the Q people are responsible for the composition of the Lord’s Prayer, and thus he attains an open playground to interpret the separate prayer fragments in such contexts, which fit to his portrait of Jesus. Jesus is for TAUSSIG a Palestinian, aphoristic, Cynic sage, who wanders around with his friends searching for and delivering wisdom with short, startling, even humorous, phrases.\(^{151}\) Because of this preconception of Jesus, the short prayer fragments of the Lord’s Prayer seem to fit well into Jesus’ mouth, especially when they are interpreted non-eschatologically.

This look at the previous research shows that there is not a single study about Jesus’ teaching on prayer, which would be based on the one hand on the consideration of the early Jewish prayer material and on the other hand on profound analyses and estimation of authenticity of the relevant gospel passages. In short this could be expressed thus: There is a lack of a ‘third quest’ monograph about the subject matter.

Now we can define our task more profoundly.

\(^{148}\) Taussig 1999, 47.
\(^{149}\) Taussig 1999, 67-68.
\(^{150}\) Taussig’s article in *Forum* from year 1988 is informative. He writes on p. 29: “On the textual data alone, then, we would assign the Q text of the prayer to the very earliest layer of the tradition. It would be as close to Jesus as anything we have seen, or perhaps even closer, since it includes evidence of Jesus’ native tongue, Aramaic.

But the portrait of Jesus as someone not interested in and perhaps antagonist to institutionalization, especially religious, calls such a conclusion into question.”

\(^{151}\) See Taussig 1998. Taussig elaborates his portrait of the historical Jesus in this article and describes him as “an aphoristic/Cynic Jesus”.

33
1. Introduction

1.6. The Task: a More Profound Definition

Because there are no previous studies, which would thoroughly enough consider the subject matter as a whole, we will not merely concentrate on some specific question about Jesus’ teaching on prayer. Our task is to bring about a wide and general understanding of, what Jesus’ taught about prayer. In this respect our task is to do basic research about the subject matter. Our task is especially to understand Jesus’ teaching on prayer in terms of early Judaism.\footnote{Charlesworth 1993b, 784 points out the problem, that even in the study of early Jewish and early Christian prayer Jesus has often been seen “not as a devout Jew but as one who transcended an evil people.”}

I will consider the subject matter from five different aspects, which emerge, on the one hand, from the primary text – either from the Hebrew Bible, from early Jewish literature or from the gospel texts – and, on the other hand, from previous research with biblical, early Jewish or New Testament prayer. Thus I will study prayer in the Hebrew Bible, early Jewish prayer, Rabbinic prayer and Jesus’ teaching on prayer from the following five points of view:

External conditions. At least in the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish prayer life external conditions of prayer, such as postures, places, hours, and accompanying elements, seem to be significant. I will, thus, examine how (referring to prayer posture and accompanying elements), where and when the people prayed according to the Hebrew Bible and in early Judaism, and how these matters are reflected in Jesus’ teaching.

Prayer texts. Of essential importance are, of course, the prayer texts themselves. Prayers in different situations are naturally very different, and thus there are different genres of prayer. Especially research on prayer in the Hebrew Bible has focused very strongly on form historical study. Although the form historical approach is not the main interest of this study, it is still relevant, because in Jesus’ teaching on prayer we have one prayer text, namely the Lord’s Prayer. We will try to place that Prayer within the biblical prayer genres.

One quite prominent feature in the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish prayers is the boundary-making element. We will deal with this element, because it has some sociological consequences even as a comparative material for the Jesus tradition.
Still one very important element in the prayer texts is their addresses to God. As SHELDON H. BLANK points out, invoking God, addressing him, is already prayer,\(^{153}\) (though our definition of prayer would presuppose something more; see ch. 1.7.) For our study this is an especially central matter, because one of the most discussed subjects in the research of Jesus’ teaching on prayer is the *Abba*-address. We will find out, how God is addressed in the Hebrew Bible and in early Judaism, and make comparisons with the *Abba*-address in Jesus’ teaching.

*Intercessory prayer.* In the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish prayer tradition *intercession* seems to play a major role. It is proper to discuss this matter separately, because even the Jesus tradition explicitly urges one to intercede.

*Grounds for God’s answering.* Closely adherent to the prayer proper is the anticipated answer of God. Because of its nature, it is relevant only regarding petitionary prayer. Already a superficial glance at Jesus’ teaching on prayer makes it clear that it is a central topic in the Jesus tradition. We will examine, what kind of *attributes of God*, of *the praying person* and of *prayer* serve as grounds for God’s answering prayers. It is of importance also to find out, in which cases it is stated that God will not answer.

*Institutionalization of prayer.* Finally we will deal with a phenomenon, which has been discussed in the modern study of early Jewish prayer, namely the *institutionalization of prayer*. We will try to place Jesus’ teaching on the subject matter into the ongoing development of this Jewish phenomenon.

The following conceptual and terminological apparatus summarizes the above discussion of handling the texts:

1. External conditions of prayer
   a. places of prayer
   b. times of prayer
   c. prayer postures
   d. accompanying elements

2. Prayer texts
   a. genre
   b. boundary-making elements
   c. addresses

\(^{153}\) Blank 1961, 79. See also Aejmelaeus 1986, 56.
1. Introduction

3. Intercessory prayer

4. Grounds for God’s answering
   a. attributes of God
   b. attributes of the praying person
   c. attributes of prayer

5. Institutionalization of prayer

Yet, before we begin our survey of the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish texts, we will define the concept of prayer used in this study.

1.7. Definition of the Concept of Prayer

Our study concerns prayer. As such the concept of prayer may seem unproblematic until we observe the different forms of prayer, other prayer-like dealings between God and man (like asking God’s will through a mediator), and the great amount of poetical texts, which have been used in liturgical contexts. It becomes evident that we definitely need a definition of prayer. This need is urgent, because it influences our choice of text material.

We take as starting point the definition suggested by Henning Graf Reventlow. It runs as follows:154

... dass es Rede ist, in der ein Mensch oder eine Gemeinschaft von Menschen seine (ihre) grundsätzliche oder aktuelle Situation vor Gott bringt, ...

Reventlow’s definition is, in my opinion, quite appropriate for our purposes. Yet it needs some adjustment. First, it is necessary to point out that in the biblical prayer tradition there are a great amount of prayers not strictly speaking to God but about God. Namely, most of the praises do not address God in 2. person but use 3. person forms of him. Still they are surely to be considered as biblical prayers.155 Second, Reventlow’s definition excludes one important form of prayer, that is intercessory prayer, in which the praying person prays for somebody else. Thus we define prayer as follows:

154 Reventlow 1986, 89.
155 See Boecker 1962, 519; Reventlow 1986, 130. 161 and Fenske 1997, 44.
1. Introduction

Prayer is that kind of speaking, in which an individual or a group addresses God either directly in 2. person or indirectly in 3. person and brings his, their or somebody else’s general or actual situation before God.

I will still stress the element of addressing God as constitutive for the definition. Accordingly, those texts, which merely describe God and his deeds without addressing him – for example many biblical psalms – are not to be regarded as prayer in this study. Nevertheless, the boundary between a non-prayer description of God and a prayer, in which God is addressed in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} person, is not always altogether clear. Further, as a consequence of my definition of prayer I will not consider those texts, in which blessings or curses are directed to humans, although their contents resemble very closely intercessory prayers and prayers for the vengeance of God. Likewise incantations and exorcisms fall outside the scope of our study.

Now we will proceed to survey the Hebrew Bible and a number of early Jewish and Rabbinic texts, in order to outline the context, in which Jesus taught about prayer.
2. Context

2. The Context. Prayer in the Hebrew Bible, in Early Judaism and in Early Rabbinic Judaism

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter our task is to outline the context, in which Jesus’ teaching on prayer is embedded. Our focus is accordingly on those aspects, which will be actualized in the treatment of the Jesus-tradition in chapters 3 and 4. Due to the great amount of relevant material it is impossible and, I think, also unnecessary to make any deeper analyses of individual texts. Here I am not after a comprehensive but merely a representative presentation of the subject matter. Some more relevant passages of the Hebrew Bible, as well as some early Jewish and early Rabbinic texts will be analyzed more accurately in connection with respective gospel passages in chapters 3 and 4.

The material will be presented according to the schema established in the previous chapter. Moreover, in connection with the separate topics we will discuss the subject matter within four clusters of texts in the following sequence: 1. the Hebrew Bible; 2. early Jewish literature (except the Dead Sea Scrolls); 3. the Dead Sea Scrolls; 4. early Rabbinic literature. Some of the topics are actualized only in some of the clusters.

Each cluster has even a somewhat different nature and significance as a context for Jesus’ teaching. Moreover, they have their idiosyncracies concerning prayer. Finally, to use them as witness of the prayer life in Jesus’ time and environment contains some methodological problems. Thus it is to the purpose to briefly introduce these text clusters and our way of using them.

The Hebrew Bible. When we consider the Hebrew Bible as a background for Jesus’ teaching on prayer, we will bear in mind that Jesus knew the books of the Bible as entities. He did not ponder over different layers from different time periods and from ideologically different groups, but he and his contemporaries accepted the text as such, and any historical critical analyses would have been altogether irrelevant for them. Thus it is unnecessary and even anachronistic for us to try to describe the historical development of prayer within the Hebrew Bible or to split the texts in the name of literature or redaction critique. We are exclusively interested in the kinds of ideas on prayer Jesus could find in his Bible. Thus our approach is synchronic. Some diachronic remarks are made in the footnotes.
The research on prayer in the Hebrew Bible has emphasized the study of Psalms, especially their form and setting.\textsuperscript{156} This is, of course, only natural, since the Book of Psalms is \textit{the} Prayer Book of the Hebrew Bible, and, further, it served as a collection of exemplary prayers.\textsuperscript{157} In order to get a larger view of the subject matter on hand, we will, nevertheless, consider all the material we have in the Hebrew Bible.\textsuperscript{158}

\textit{Early Jewish literature (except the Dead Sea Scrolls)\textsuperscript{159}.} Early Jewish literature provides the most important context for Jesus’ teaching. These writings witness of the actual practice of Jesus’ contemporaries and of their interpretation of the Hebrew Bible. Nevertheless, these texts come from different Jewish groupings, from different geographical regions and even from different time periods. Accordingly, all these texts are not equal in importance for our purpose. Those texts, which originate from Palestine from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} – 1\textsuperscript{st} centuries B.C.E. to 1\textsuperscript{st} century C.E., but date before the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, are, of course, the most important ones. The provenance of many texts is, unfortunately, quite uncertain.\textsuperscript{160}

We regard as early Jewish literature the so-called Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, as well as the works of Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus. Even some passages of the New Testament give us important information about early Jewish piety.

The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha bear witness to the fact that the importance of prayer increased during the time period around the beginning of the Common Era.\textsuperscript{161} Perhaps the destruction of the first Temple and the Babylonian Exile already gave a strong impetus for the significance of prayer as a means to worship God and to enact repentance.\textsuperscript{162}

The texts that originate from this period are replete with prayers.\textsuperscript{163} For example, most of the apocryphic additions to the canonical books are prayers, which supplement the biblical accounts, i.e. the prayers of

\textsuperscript{156} Balentine 1993a, 13.
\textsuperscript{157} Aejmelaeus 1986, 10.
\textsuperscript{158} Cf. Balentine 1993b, 25. 28.
\textsuperscript{159} The Dead Sea Scrolls, which witness of prayer at Qumran, shall be dealt with separately. This is appropriate because at Qumran prayer got a very specific status.
\textsuperscript{160} Dunn 1995, 242.
\textsuperscript{161}Johnson 1948, 60. See also Reif 1993, 46 and VanderKam 2001, 210. About the frequency of prayer texts or references to prayer in Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha see Graf-Stuhlhofer 2000, 149-152.
\textsuperscript{162} Berkovits 1972, 138-139. That the Synagogue would originate from the Exile, as Berkovits seems to think, is, however, highly questionable, see pp. 47-49. About penitential prayer as means for repentance during the Exile see Werline 1998, 18-19.
\textsuperscript{163}Charlesworth 1992, 449.
2. Context

Mordecai and Esther to the book of Esther, and the prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men to the book of Daniel.\(^{164}\) The same emphasis on prayer can be seen in the Pseudepigrapha as well.\(^{165}\) For example, the Prayer of Manasseh supplements the biblical account about the repentance of King Manasseh, which does refer to the prayer of the king but does not reproduce the prayer text.\(^{166}\) Furthermore, a couple of prayer, or psalm, collections originate from this time period. Of these the Psalms of Solomon is the most important for us, because it originates from the 1\(^{st}\) century B.C.E. Palestine.\(^{167}\)

The emphasis on the importance of prayer can be seen even in the historiographical books. For example, in the Book of Judith and in the First, Second, Third and Fourth Maccabees, the people or an individual perpetually cry to the Lord in times of anxiety,\(^{168}\) and after God’s response they praise God.\(^{169}\)

Due to the nature of the texts they include very little teaching about prayer. The Book of Ben Sira makes, in this regard, an exception. It offers us comparison material for the teaching of Jesus, and for that reason it is especially important for our study. Besides, even regarding the provenance of the Book of Ben Sira, it is highly relevant for us.\(^{170}\)

\(^{164}\) See Mayer 1973, 16-25 about the narrative function of prayers in the Apocrypha.

\(^{165}\) It is highly improbable, of course, that the texts would include real historical prayers. The prayers are rather fictive literary creations of the authors. Nevertheless, we must not let this disturb us, because as such they bear witness to the author’s and at same time to the contemporary Jewish ideas of prayer; Flusser 1984, 551. So also Greenberg 1983, 8-9 concerning the Hebrew Bible prose prayers.

\(^{166}\) Flusser 1984, 555.

\(^{167}\) About the provenance of PsSol see e.g. Winninge 1995, 12-16. 180. I will not deal with the Odes of Solomon, because it is probably a Christian book and thus includes Christian influence. Likewise I will exclude the so-called Hellenistic Synagogal Prayer book, a reconstructed collection of prayers, which has been transmitted to us as a part of a Christian text Constitutiones Apostolorum. The problem with this text is that due to the Christian redaction it is impossible to reconstruct the original, probably Jewish, form of the prayers; Fiensy 1985, 165.


\(^{170}\) The Book of Ben Sira originates probably from 2\(^{nd}\) century B.C.E. Jerusalem, and it was widely known, which is evidenced by the fact that manuscripts of it have been found even in Qumran and in Masada.
2. Context

*The Dead Sea Scrolls*. When we deal with the prayer texts, which have been found in the Qumran caves, we are faced with a problem of the origin of the texts. It is not at all self-evident that all those texts, which we know only from Qumran, would represent specific Qumranic ideas. It is possible, and in some cases even probable, that some of those texts originate from outside of the Qumran Community and thus witness more generally about early Jewish prayer life. Nevertheless, whether the texts are composed within the Community or adopted from outside, they in any case give us information about prayer life at least at Qumran.

The most important prayer texts found at Qumran, which will be consulted in this chapter, are the Festival Prayers *(4QPrFêtes)* [4Q507-508], *4QpapPrFêtes* [4Q509], the Words of the Luminaries *(4QDibHama)* [4Q504, 506], the Daily Prayers *(4QpapPrQuot)* [4Q503], the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice *(4QShirShabb)* [4Q400-4Q407], *11QShirShabb* [11Q17], Hodayot *(1QHa)*, *4Q Ha-f* [4Q427-432] and some non-biblical psalms. In addition, especially the *Damascus Document* and the Rule of the Community give us important information about the Community’s prayer life and doctrine.

A significant factor in the formation of the prayer life of the Community was their strained relations to the sacrificial cult in the Temple of Jerusalem. Scholars often refer to calendrical differences as a reason for that circumstance. The Community maybe lived according to a solar, or solar-lunar, calendar, while the sacrificial cult in the Temple of Jerusalem was arranged according to the lunar calendar. Thus the appointed times for offering would have fallen differently in the Community and in the Temple. Accordingly the Community people could not participate in the

---

171 Chazon makes an excellent summary of the research history and the ongoing study with its present questions, and gives short introductions to the Dead Sea Scroll prayer texts; Chazon 1998, 244-270.

172 So Falk 1998.

173 Even 1Q34 might be included here, see DJD XXXIX, 71.

174 About the Qumran Community’s withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple see Schiffman 1999, 267-272.

175 About the different calendars see Talmon 1978, 273; Stegemann 1994, 231-241; Olson 1997, 236; Davila 2000, 8-10. Nevertheless, see Stern 2000, 179-186, who suggests that it is altogether possible that the Community still lived according to the customary lunar calendar, and the references to solar calendar found in the scrolls would have been only theoretical reflections, not practical rules.
official offering cult in Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{176} Nevertheless, they could not sacrifice elsewhere, because principally they still agreed that Jerusalem was the only place for the sacrificial cult.\textsuperscript{177}

Moreover, it was probably not only the different calendars, which made the participation in the Temple cult problematic for the Community, but even the purity regulations. A section of the \textit{Damascus Document}\textsuperscript{178} instructs:\textsuperscript{179}

\begin{quote}
No-one should send to the altar a sacrifice, or an offering, or incense, or wood, by the hand of a man impure from any of the impurities, so allowing him to defile the altar, for it is written: “the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination, but the prayer of the just is like an agreeable offering” (CD xi:18-21).
\end{quote}

Moreover, several disagreements about the offering regulations made the participating in the contemporary Temple cult problematic.\textsuperscript{180} Thus the sacrificial cult had to be temporarily replaced somehow, and in this endeavour common prayer, among some other things, played an important role.\textsuperscript{181}

\textit{Early Rabbinic literature}. The Rabbinic ideas about prayer are strongly colored by the destruction of the Temple 70 C.E.\textsuperscript{182} The sacrificial cult was made impossible, which, for its part, made it necessary to find new ways to live as a Jew.\textsuperscript{183} Statutory prayer gained in this re-thinking a special significance as a spiritual offering, which, for its turn, led to the strict regulation and institutionalization of prayer.\textsuperscript{184} This phenomenon is somewhat analogous to the one that happened at Qumran.\textsuperscript{185}

\textsuperscript{176} Talmon 1978, 273-274; Nitzan 1994, 48.
\textsuperscript{177} Stegemann 1994, 267. It is unlikely, that the Qumranite priests did sacrifice; Kugler 1999, 111.
\textsuperscript{178} The provenance and redaction history of the Damascus Document is unclear, but certainly it functioned as a rule for the community and can thus be consulted here. The same holds true with the Rule of the Community as well. See Metso 1998, especially page 188.
\textsuperscript{179} See Talmon 1978, 279.
\textsuperscript{180} Schiffman 1999, 269-271.
\textsuperscript{181} VanderKam 2001, 211.
\textsuperscript{183} Zahavy 1987b, 1. See also Ferguson 1980, 1160-1162, who suggests that reading and study of the law, repentance, prayer, works of charity, fasting, suffering and certain attitudes of the heart replaced the Temple sacrifice. About reading the Torah as replacement of the sacrifices see Runesson 2001, 201.
\textsuperscript{184} Zahavy 1987b, 1.
\textsuperscript{185} See e.g. Talmon 1978, 274; Shiffman 1999, 274; Sarason 2001, 169 and Reif 2002, 338.
When we deal with the Rabbinic halakah about prayer, we must be very cautious not to cast the ideas we find in the texts uncritically back to Jesus’ time. This cautiousness is due to three factors: First, generally speaking the Rabbinic literature originates so much after Jesus’ time that it is very difficult to reconstruct the Judaism contemporary to Jesus with its help. Although the writings do include old traditions, they nevertheless describe basically the Rabbinic Judaism some hundred years after Jesus. We will here focus on the oldest Rabbinic documents, i.e. the Mishnah and the Tosefta, and their teaching about prayer, but even they were not compiled until the beginning of the 3rd century C.E. Nevertheless, TZVEE ZAHAVY suggests that it is possible, with some reservations, to discern three layers from the Mishnaic material, which originate from different eras. The first layer, which originates from pre-70 C.E., would include regulations of the Houses of Hillel and Shammai. The second layer would come from the Yavnean masters (70-135 C.E.) and the third layer from the Ushan era (135-200 C.E.). We will consider this thesis, but this does not mean that every saying, which is attributed to the houses of Hillel or Shammai, would without question reflect the ideas of Jesus’ contemporaries. Second, particularly the Rabbinic discussion about prayer, as we pointed out above, has certainly been strongly influenced by the destruction of the Temple. Third, the Rabbinic literature does not give us, in any case, an unbiased picture of the pre-70 C.E. Judaism in general but at its best only of the pharisaic movement, the predecessor of the Rabbinic Judaism. True, pharisaism was a very prominent factor in the Jewish life in Jesus’ time, and especially in the spiritual life the manners and teachings of the Pharisees were valued highly, as Josephus’ description of the Pharisees illuminates:

and whatsoever they do about Divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, they perform them according to their direction; insomuch that the cities give great attestations to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives and their discourses also (JosAnt 18:15).

Now we will go on to discuss the different, and for our study relevant, aspects of prayer.

---

186 Zahavy 1990, 7-8. Cf. Neusner 1999, 3 (first impression in 1971) and also Sanders 1977, 63 who, referring to Neusner, suggests that in the earliest Rabbinic documents the attributions to the rabbies are quite reliable. More recently Sanders expresses this idea in his book Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 BCE-66 CE. (third impression 1998, 10). Neusner, nevertheless, has later on taken a more critical stance on the question; see e.g. Neusner 1993, 295-314.

187 Cf. Zahavy 1990, 2. Zahavy points out that rabbinism was a new Jewish system and in many ways discontinuous with the pre-70 C.E. Judaism.
2. Context

2.2. External Conditions

2.2.1. Places of Prayer

*The Hebrew Bible*. The place of prayer *par excellence* in the Hebrew Bible is the Temple.\(^{188}\) Maybe the most illuminating passage concerning this is King Solomon’s prayer in the dedication feast of the Temple in 1Kgs 8:

Then Solomon stood before the altar of the Lord in front of the whole assembly of Israel, spread out his hands toward heaven and said ... (v. 22).

May your eyes be open toward this temple night and day, this place of which you said, ‘My Name shall be there,’ so that you will hear the prayer your servant prays toward this place. Hear the supplication of your servant and of your people Israel when they pray toward this place. Hear from heaven, your dwelling place, and when you hear, forgive (vv. 29-30).

The Temple is thus the place of God’s presence, i.e. his Name, and that is why the prayers are directed toward it. Nevertheless, God dwells in heaven as well, and accordingly Solomon lifts his hands. The discrepancy between God’s two different dwelling places is uttered briefly in Ps 11:4:

The Lord is in his holy temple; the Lord is on his heavenly throne (verbatim translation: ... his throne is in heaven).

Thus prayers are directed both to the Temple and to heaven.\(^{189}\)

The Temple as a place of prayer is mentioned often in the Psalms (e.g. Pss 24:3; 28:2). Further, when King Hezekiah has received an ultimatum from Sennacherib, he goes to the Temple and prays to the Lord (2Kgs 19:14-19), and in a similar situation King Jehoshaphat prays in the Temple referring to Solomon’s prayer (2Chr 20:5-13). Moreover, in a future vision the third Isaiah calls the Temple a house of prayer for all

\(^{188}\) Balentine 1993a, 43-44 remarks, referring to Haran, that during the pre-exilic period prayer was a secondary form of worship compared to sacrificing, maybe a substitute for sacrifice for the poor people, who could not afford a proper offering. Accordingly the Temple, and especially its inner parts, was not a place for prayer but for sacrifice. The passages, which most prominently describe the Temple as a house of prayer, i.e. Solomon’s prayer in 1Kgs 8 and the future vision in Isa 56:7, originate, according to Balentine 1993a, 86, from the exilic period.

\(^{189}\) About the discrepancy see Kraus 1978, 230-231 and Hoffner 1973, 634. See also Balentine 1993a, 80-88.
nations (Isa 56:7). Also in cases when the praying man is not able to come to the Temple in order to pray, the prayers are still directed towards it. It is said about Daniel that he used to pray before a window, which opened towards Jerusalem (Dan 6:11), i.e. the city of the Temple, even though – on the narrative level – the Temple was destroyed by the Babylonians. Jonah, for his part, although he was inside a big fish, thanked God that his prayers rose to his holy Temple (Jonah 2:8). In this case it is, of course, possible that the Temple is to be understood as God’s heavenly dwelling place. Anyhow we note the great significance, which the Temple has in the Hebrew Bible as a place where one stands before God.

The Temple is not the only specific place of prayer in the Hebrew Bible. It is only natural that in those parts of the Bible, which describe the history before Solomon, there are other places of prayer. Jacob sets up an altar in Bethel and sacrifices and utters a vow to God there (Gen 28:10-22; 35:14-15). Hannah is praying to God in the temple of Shiloh (1Sam 1:9-18). The Mount of Olives is mentioned as a customary place of prayer in a passage, which describes David and his men’s prayer (2Sam 15:30-32). If we look more generally for places, where one would meet God, we note the significance of Mount Sinai / Horeb, where God revealed himself to Moses (Ex 19) and Elijah discussed with God (1Kgs 19).

Thus, the Temple together with some other holy places are specific places of prayer in the Hebrew Bible. Nevertheless, one can pray wherever. Spontaneous prayers are uttered in different situations and different places, without questioning the legitimacy or God’s hearing the prayer.¹⁹²

Early Jewish literature. The great significance of the Temple as the center for the cult and as the house of prayer par excellence continued throughout the Second Temple era¹⁹³ and even long after that, as we will see later.¹⁹⁴ It was the place for the official cult performed by the priests and other Temple personnel, and besides sacrificing the cult involved prayer as well.¹⁹⁵ An indicative passage, in which Temple sacrifice and prayer are combined with each other is JosApion 2:196. The text runs:

---
¹⁹⁰ See also Zech 8:22-23, where the Temple is not mentioned explicitly, but the nations are foretold to come to Jerusalem to offer and to pray, which obviously refers to a Temple activity.
¹⁹³ Reif 1993, 45-46.
¹⁹⁴ See p. 51.
¹⁹⁵ Sanders 1998, 80.
And for our duty at the sacrifices themselves, we ought, in the first place, to pray for the common welfare of all, and after that for our own.

The texts, moreover, describe several times priests praying in the Temple during national emergencies. For example:

Thereupon the priests went in and stood facing the altar and the temple. They wept and said: “Thou didst choose this house to bear thy name, to be the house of prayer and supplication for thy people; ...” (1Mac 7:36-37).

Not only the priests but also the common people could pray together – often together with the priests – in the Temple or towards the Temple, as in the following examples:

And in your love for the house of Israel you promised that, if ever we should turn away or distress overtake us, and we came to this holy place to pray, you would hear our prayer (3Mac 2:10).

Then the priests and the women and children made supplication to God in the Temple to defend his holy place, which was being desecrated (4Mac 4:9).

- and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, men, women, and children, prostrated themselves in front of the sanctuary, and, with ashes on their heads, spread out their sackcloth before the Lord (Jdt 4:11).

Likewise Ben Sira describes an ordinary sacrificial service, and informs us that during the ceremony the whole congregation of Israel was gathered in the Temple. When the sons of Aron blew their trumpets, the people fell on their faces to worship God and to make their petitions, while the choir was singing praises (Sir 50:1-21).196

Furthermore, Judas Maccabaeus and his men prostrate themselves on the altar-step and pray to God to help them against Timotheus and his army (2Mac 10:24-26), and Zerubbaabel turns his face towards Jerusalem, looks up to heaven and praises God (1Esdr 4:58). The mention that Zerubbaabel looked up to heaven is significant. It is, likewise, mentioned several times in different contexts that the praying man or woman outstretches his hands or turns his face towards heaven (e.g. 2Mac 3:19-20; Jub 13:29; 25:11-12, JosAsen 11:15,19). Praying turned towards the Temple and/or heaven fits well with the idea of God living in heaven and manifesting himself in the Temple, an idea and corresponding practice, which we have already met in the Hebrew Bible. 197

---

196 See the excursus on pp. 58-60.
197 See p. 44.
Apart from the Temple there seems to have been even other places, both in Jerusalem and elsewhere, where people gathered to pray together. In *Against Apion* Josephus lets Agartharehides give the following testimony concerning the Jews:

There are a people called Jews, who dwell in a city the strongest of all other cities, which the inhabitants call Jerusalem, and are accustomed to rest on every seventh day on which times they make no use of their arms, nor meddle with husbandry, nor take care of any affairs of life, but spread out their hands in their holy places (ἱεροῖς), and pray till the evening (JosApion 1:208-209).

It is worth noting, that the text really talks about multiple places of prayer, although one would expect that for the Jerusalem people the Temple would be the only place for prayer. Perhaps there were other places for prayer as well. Namely, Philo writes about how the Alexandrian mob overthrew the Jewish houses of prayer (προσευχαί) by installing statues of the Roman emperor in them. Philo utters his fear that this kind of hostile activity may spread to other cities and their houses of prayer as well, including the Holy City. This seems to indicate, that a house of prayer did exist also in Jerusalem, and maybe several of the kind, as in Alexandria.

In *The Life of Flavius Josephus* Josephus mentions several times a house of prayer, προσευχή, in Tiberias. He writes, that “it was a large edifice, and capable of receiving a great number of people.” Obviously the building served as an assembly house for different purposes, but surely also for that activity, which the name of the building already refers to. Josephus tells about his and the assembled multitude’s actions in the προσευχή as follows:

And while we were engaged in the duties of the day, and had betaken ourselves to our prayers, Jesus got up, and inquired of me ... (JosLife 295).

If we understand this passage so, that prayers were included in the duties of the day, it seems to refer to regular, public, even statutory prayer. Nevertheless, prayer may here be included into the public fast, which one of the leading citizens had suggested because of the emergency.

---

198 Sanders 1998, 203. About the origins of this practice and the corresponding place or building see Levine 2000, 19-41 and Runesson 2001.
199 About the interpretation of JosApion 1:208-209 see Runesson 2001, 346-347. See also Sanders 1998, 203.
200 Flacc. 40-55.
201 McKay 1994, 67-70.
202 Cf. the dining room as a house of prayer at Qumran, see p. 50.
203 McKay 1994, 84-85.
Furthermore, in *Antiquities of the Jews*, Josephus informs us that in the reign of Caius Julius Caesar the Jewish settlements were in some cities of Asia Minor granted permission either to build a \( \pi \rho \sigma \sigma \epsilon \nu \chi \acute{\iota} \) or in some other way to gather together to celebrate Sabbaths and to offer prayers (JosAnt 14:256-264).

Moreover, Philo knows of houses of prayer in several cities around the Mediterranean, even Rome included. When describing the activities in these houses, Philo mentions education and the study of philosophy, and refers to acts for paying homage to the Roman Emperor. Surprisingly enough, Philo does not write about any worshipping activities in the houses of prayer as Josephus does. This may be caused by his tendency to give a philosophical picture of the Jewish religion. In one passage Philo, nevertheless, implicitly refers to worship in the house of prayer. Namely, after Flaccus, the Alexandrian official who had supported the anti-Jewish hostile actions of the residents of Alexandria, had been arrested, the grateful Jews continued to sing hymns and praises all night long on the beach nearby. This was caused by the fact that their houses of prayer had been taken away from them, i.e. it was impossible for them to enter the houses of prayer because of the statues that had been placed in them. We can only imagine what would have happened, if the plans of the wicked people had failed and the houses of prayer would have been kept inviolate. Then the Jews would surely have assembled in the houses of prayer to sing praises. This passage indicates that the primary places for gathering to worship were the houses of prayer.

We can summarize from the writings of Josephus and Philo, that at least in the 1st century C.E. Jews had special houses of prayer in several cities, both in Diaspora and in Palestine (Tiberias), probably even in Jerusalem. In fact, archaeological finds and inscriptions give evidence of \( \pi \rho \sigma \sigma \epsilon \nu \chi \acute{\iota} \) already in the 3rd century B.C.E. in Egypt. These houses served as assembly rooms for many purposes, not only especially religious ones.

---

205 Hengel 1971, 162. It is illuminating see, how Philo describes a Sabbath meeting of Essenes. He does not mention prayer, but writes only about reading and teaching of “such things as are naturally good, or bad, or indifferent.” Quod Omn.Prob. 81-83. Still it is obvious, that at least in Qumran Sabbath meetings included prayers, see p. 75.
206 Flacc. 120-123.
207 When stressing the non-worshipping nature of the activities in the house of prayer McKay dismisses this indirect evidence; McKay 1994, 77. See Hengel 1971, 163-164, who gives more evidence of prayer in the Diaspora synagogues/houses of prayer.
208 For more evidence about houses of prayer in Diaspora see Hengel 1971, 171-179.
209 Hengel 1971, 158; McKay 1994, 236.
What is the relationship between these houses of prayer and the Synagogue-institution? The word συναγωγή occurs a few times in the Jewish writings from the Second Temple period, but in most cases in its general meaning ‘assembly’. Only infrequently it is used in a specific sense referring to the Synagogue-institution or building. Philo uses the word once when describing the meeting-places of the Essenes. Josephus uses the word in four contexts. He informs us of Synagogues in Antioch, Caesarea and Dora, and gives an account of a letter of the Emperor Augustus, in which he defends the Jews, their customs and their synagogues.

The descriptions of the synagogues resemble closely those of the houses of prayer, and thus we do not have any reason to consider them two different institutions for different purposes, but probably the words προσευχή and συναγωγή are only two different terms – one a mostly Diaspora term, the other its Palestinian counterpart – for the same concept.

Let us take up still one more text, which evidences the importance of a specific place of prayer. It is told about Judas and his men, in 1Mac 3:46, that they wanted to pray together, but they could not go to Jerusalem because of the enemy. So they went to Mizpah in order to pray there, because Israel had earlier had a place of prayer there.

The Dead Sea Scrolls. CD xi:21-22 describes a gathering of the worshipping congregation. The place of gathering is called ‘the house of

---

211 We cannot, however, always be sure, if the word is used in a general or specific meaning. For example, in PssSol 10:7; 17:16,43-44 the word may refer to a synagogue service. See the table in Runesson 2001, 171-173.
212 Twice Philo uses the word συναγώγια, and is probably referring to a gathering, not a building; Som. 2:123-128; Leg. 311-313. McKay 1994, 65. See also Hengel 1971, 169.
214 JosWar 7:43-45.
216 JosAnt 19:300-301.
217 JosAnt 16:162.
218 McKay 1994, 83.
219 Hengel 1971, 177,179. Hengel suggests, that the word ‘house of prayer’ (בית תפילה) was not used of buildings used for gatherings in Palestine, because that term was solely used of the Temple (cf. Isa 56:7).
220 McKay 1994, 88. See also Runesson 2001, 429.
prostration/worship\textsuperscript{221}, and it is said to be ‘a holy house’ (בית הקדש).\textsuperscript{222} Further, it is recalled, that when the trumpets call for assembly, no man is allowed to enter the house of prayer unclean (CD xi:22 - xii:1).

Let us note, how the assembly resembles the official Temple cult: the worship, trumpets calling to assembly, the regulations concerning ritual purity, and the attribute ‘holy’ concerning the house of prayer. There is an ongoing dispute about the identification of the house of prayer mentioned in the text above. Some scholars suggest that the text may refer to the Jerusalem Temple,\textsuperscript{223} but it seems, I think, more probable, that it describes a specific Qumranic house of prayer,\textsuperscript{224} which, for the community, would have replaced the Temple in Jerusalem, which they could not visit.\textsuperscript{225}

ANNETTE STEUDEL suggests that at Qumran the largest building, locus 77, which was used as a dining room, would have served as the house of prayer of the Community as well.\textsuperscript{226} This building has been constructed in the direction east-west. Accordingly, the prayers have been recited either towards the rising sun (east), as was the custom of the Essenes according to Josephus,\textsuperscript{227} or towards the Temple in Jerusalem (west). STEUDEL prefers the latter alternative, and, in my opinion, gives convincing arguments for it.\textsuperscript{228} The house of prayer as a substitute for the Temple and prayers directed towards Jerusalem would fit well with the fact, that the Community principally accepted the Temple and the sacrificial cult, but could not participate in the contemporary cult.\textsuperscript{229}

\textsuperscript{221} Already in the Hebrew Bible the word for prostrating has in some cases a more general meaning ‘worship’; see p. 63. About the term see Talmon 1978, 282.
\textsuperscript{222} Steudel 1993, 50-52. Steudel reconstructs the destroyed end of the line 23 as follows: יְרוּם בִּית קָדוֹשׁ.
\textsuperscript{223} Thus e.g. Runesson 2001, 334-345 and with some reservations Sanders 1998, 351.
\textsuperscript{224} So e.g. Hengel 1971, 169; Steudel 1993, 52-55; Levine 2000, 61-62.
\textsuperscript{225} Steudel 1993, 65.
\textsuperscript{227} JosWar 2:128-132. It is worth quoting, how Josephus describes the dining room of the Essenes: “…they every one meet together in an apartment of their own, into which it is not permitted to any of another sect to enter; while they go, after a pure manner, into the dining-room as into a certain holy temple…” (Italics mine).
\textsuperscript{228} Steudel 1993, 59-61. As arguments Steudel gives: “1. There seems to be no reference to directing prayers to the east/the rising sun in the Qumran texts. 2. A circle of stones at the south-west end of loc.77 – interpreted by R. de Vaux as marking the site of a pulpit or lectern – suggests that the community directed its prayers in this room to Jerusalem. 3. It is confirmed by the fact that the direction of loc.77 is not absolutely west-east, but west/west/north – east/east/south, which is in the direction of Jerusalem.” See also Stegemann 1984, 264.
\textsuperscript{229} Frennesson 1999, 27. Likewise, in later Judaism, when the Temple did not exist any more and the sacrificial Temple cult was therefore made impossible, prayers were said towards Jerusalem and the destroyed Temple. See p. 51.
It is also probable that the Community regarded itself as a new Temple, in which right offerings, i.e. prayers among other things, will be offered. In the *Rule of the Community* the Community is described as follows:

When these things exist in Israel the Community council shall be founded on truth, *Blank* like an everlasting plantation, a holy house (בֵית קָדוֹשׁ) for Israel and the foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron, true witnesses for the judgment and chosen by the will (of God) to atone for the earth and to render the wicked their retribution. *Blank* It (the Community) will be the tested rampart, the precious cornerstone that does not *Blank* whose foundations do not shake or tremble in their place. *Blank* It will be the most holy dwelling for Aaron with total knowledge of the covenant of justice and in order to offer a pleasant /aroma/; and it will be a house of perfection and truth in Israel {...} in order to establish a covenant in compliance with the everlasting decrees (1QS viii:4-10).

Further, in 4Q*Shir* (*4Q511*) frag. 35 3-4 the Community, or at least a part of it, is compared with a sanctuary.

Among the holy ones, God makes (some) holy for himself like an everlasting sanctuary (לֶמֶקְדֵּשׁ שְׁלֹאְלֵם), and there will be purity amongst those purified. And they shall be priests, his holy people, his army and his servants, the angels of his glory.

Furthermore, 4Q*Flor* (*4Q174*) describes the Temple of the last days, in which no one who is unholy will enter. 4Q*Flor* frags.1-3 i:6-7 run:

And he commanded to build for himself a temple of man (מַלְאָךְ אָדָם), to offer him in it, before him, the works of thanksgiving (מַעֲשֵׂי תֵּרָדוֹן).

This passage is, it is true, obscure. Nonetheless, the expression ‘temple of man’ could mean ‘a temple made of men’, and thus refer to the Community, and the ‘works of thanksgiving’ would, then, maybe refer to the praise of the Community.

*Early Rabbinic literature*. The Temple maintained its significance as a place of prayer, or maybe rather as a direction of prayer, long after its destruction. MBer 4:5-6 instructs the praying person to turn his face towards Jerusalem, and in case he cannot turn, he should direct his thoughts to the chamber of the Holy of Holies in the Temple. The corresponding

---

231 Frennesson 1999, 74-75.
233 It can be mentioned as an interesting detail that even an early Jewish-Christian group called ‘Ebionites’ used to pray towards Jerusalem; Häkkinen 1999, 89-90.
passage in Tosefta (tBer 3:14-16) gives more detailed regulations. Those who stand outside the Land of Israel will turn toward Israel, those in Israel will turn to Jerusalem and those in Jerusalem will, for their part, turn to the Temple. So all of Israel prays towards one place. TBer 3:14 gives an interesting exception: an individual, who cannot discern the right direction, will instead of the Temple turn his thoughts towards the Father in Heaven. The Temple is, thus, the primary direction for prayer and to pray towards heaven is only secondary. All of these rules are anonymous and cannot thus be attributed to any certain period.

The concrete place in which the praying person utters his prayer seems not to be very significant. One can pray wherever: in houses, streets, marketplaces, as well as in synagogues and halls of study.234 TZVEE ZAHAVY suggests that this is due to the fact that the rabbis believed that proper prayer with right disposition sanctified almost any place as suitable for prayer.235

2.2.2. Times of Prayer

The Hebrew Bible. In the Hebrew Bible prayer is most often a very spontaneous act236 and it is thus not combined with specific times of prayer. This holds true especially regarding the short prayers, which are attested in the prose texts.237 The texts include a great amount of short petitions (e.g. Hab 1:2; Job 19:7; Judg 13:8; 15:18; 16:28; 21:2-3), vows (e.g. Judg 11:29-40; 1Sam 1:11; 2Sam 15:7-9), oracle-prayers (1Sam 14:23-46; 23:11), hymnic pieces (e.g. Ex 15:1-18,21), benedictions (e.g. Gen 24:27; Ex 18:10; 1Sam 25:32,39; 2Sam 18:28; 1Kgs 5:21; Ruth 4:14) and praises (e.g. 2Sam 7:18-19), which are caused by a specific situation in the life of a praying man, woman or a larger group.238

There is, nevertheless, evidence for more established times of prayer as well. The psalmist, for example, prays that his prayer would be like the evening sacrifice (Ps 141:2), which implies that he is saying his prayer at the same time as the lamb was sacrificed and the incense was burned in the

---

234 Zahavy 1987b, 3. Zahavy 1990, 37. Cf. mBer 4:5-6; tBer 3:18-20; Mt 6:5. Some places were, nevertheless, regarded as unsuitable for prayer, for example filthy alleys (tBer 2:17) and bathhouses where people stand naked (tBer 2:20).
237 See Reventlow 1986, 87-118. These prayers probably represent the oldest stage of the Hebrew Bible prayers; Balentine 1993a, 115-116.
238 See Greenberg 1983, 7.
2. Context

Temple in the evening (see Ex 29:39; 30:7-8). Elijah, on his contest against the prophets of Baal, begins his prayer at the time of evening sacrifice (1Kgs 18:36). Ezra sits in his misery until the evening sacrifice, and then he rises up and prays (Ezra 9:4-5). Daniel, for his part, is said to have prayed according to his custom three times a day (Dan 6:11), which probably refers to the times of morning and evening sacrifices and, in addition, to a third time at noon. Daniel’s prayer especially during the evening sacrifice is mentioned in Dan 9:21. Likewise the psalmist describes his crying out to God in the evening, morning and noon (Ps 55:17). This expression can, of course, mean continuous prayer and not three separate times of prayer. Further, references to being in bed and lying down and sleeping in Ps 4:5,7 suggest an evening hour for that prayer, and similarly in Ps 5:4 there is a reference to a morning hour for prayer. Furthermore, the title of Ps 92 defines that psalm as a Sabbath prayer.

Early Jewish literature. The practice of reciting the Shema twice a day is probably referred to, for example, by Josephus in a paraphrase of Moses’ speech and in the Letter of Aristeas:

Let every one commemorate (μνημονεύειν) before God the benefits which he bestowed upon them at their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, and this twice every day, both when the day begins and when the hour of sleep comes on, ...(JosAnt 4:212)

He also commands that “on going to bed and rising” men should meditate on the ordinances of God, observing not only in word but in understanding the movement and impression which they have when they go to sleep, and waking too, what a divine change there is between them – quite beyond understanding (LetAris 160).

Reciting the Shema is not, though, prayer in the proper sense of the word, it is more like a creed. According to the Mishnah it was, nevertheless, accompanied with blessings, but it is uncertain, how old this practice is.

---

239 Kraus 1978, 1109; Allen 1983, 270.
240 Hartman & Di Lella 1978, 199. See also Goldingay 1989, 128.
241 Kraus 1978, 563. See also Tate 1990, 58.
242 About discussion of times of prayer see Bradshaw 1981, 1-10.
243 See also Spec.Leg. 4:141. This passage is, nevertheless, somewhat obscure.
244 Consider JosAnt 4:212 quoted above.
245 See p. 57.
246 Bradshaw 1981, 1-2. Reif 1993, 83 states that during the Temple period there is no evidence of the manner of reciting blessings in connection to Shema. Weinfeld 1992,
There are some mentions of prayers in the morning in the texts. Judith asked Holofernes for permission to go out and pray. The context makes it clear that she went out and prayed early in the morning (Jdt 12:6-8; 13:3). Further, in the Psalms of Solomon there is a short reference to morning prayer (PsSol 6:4).

As in the Hebrew Bible, even in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha there are some hints, which point out that the times of prayer and times for sacrifice do have something to do with each other. For example, Judith says her prayer when the evening (afternoon) incense is offered in the Temple (Jdt 9:1). Even some New Testament texts, which reflect the 1st century Jewish life, give evidence of afternoon prayer. Peter and John go to the Temple at the time of prayer – at three in the afternoon (Acts 3:1), and Cornelius observes the afternoon hour of prayer on the 9th hour (Acts 10:30). Nevertheless, as regards the morning and evening prayers we do not have any clear evidence to combine them with the times of sacrifices.

There have been attempts to explain the emergence of the times of prayer with help of the ma'amadoth -institution, which is described in mTa’an 4. Ma’amadoth was a lay group, a part of which accompanied the priests and Levites in duty to Jerusalem and was representing the people at the daily sacrifices, while another part stayed in their hometown and read the book of Genesis and prayed together at the times of the sacrifices. Unfortunately our knowledge of this institution is quite limited and it is based entirely on the account of Mishna, i.e. a late text. Thus, we cannot draw very detailed conclusions from it.

There is a hint about a common Sabbath prayer service in Pseudo-Philo’s Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum. In a paraphrase of the events concerning the giving of the Ten Commandments Pseudo-Philo adds an illuminative phrase to the Sabbath commandment. LAB 11:8 runs:

Take care to sanctify the Sabbath day. Work for six days, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord. You shall not do any work on it, you and all your help, except to praise the Lord in the assembly of the elders and to glorify the Mighty One in the council of the older men...

If Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum originates from the 1st century C.E. Palestina before the destruction of the Temple, and has originally been written in Hebrew, as D. J. HARRINGTON suggests, then this passage

242-243 and Falk 2002, 115-119 suggest, nevertheless, that 1QS x would refer to that practice. See p. 73.

247 See Brashaw 1981, 2-4 for a discussion about this.

248 Harrington 1985, 298-300. A pre-70 C.E. dating is, nevertheless, not accepted without critique. E.g. Jacobson 1996, 199-210, after a comprehensive discussion about the question, suggests, that LAB is written after the destruction of the Temple and possibly in the first half of the second century. On the question about the original language
2. Context

would be an extraordinarily important witness about the context of Jesus and his teaching on prayer.

As a summary of the discussion about the fixed times of prayer in early Jewish literature we may say that we only have evidence of morning and evening reciting of *Shema*, of Sabbath prayer gatherings and of an hour of prayer in the afternoon and maybe in the morning. On the basis of these writings we may dare to conclude that, at the time of Jesus, the Jews observed some fixed hours of prayer, but we do not know exactly, if there where one, two or three hours, or maybe even more. Neither do we know how these hours came into being. Fortunately the writings of Qumran will shed a little more light on this matter.

In addition to fixed times of prayer, prayer was an essential part of everyday life even more generally. Most of the prayers in the historiographic texts are caused by special occurrences, but for Ben Sira prayer seems to be a natural part of everyday life, both in times of special need and under more ordinary conditions. A sick man will pray for recovery, but the doctors will pray as well, when they do their work trying to heal the sick (38:1-15). Furthermore, prayer is one of the duties of a wisdom teacher (39:5-6). Moreover, while seeking for good counseling, the most important thing is to pray to God for guidance (37:15).

*The Dead Sea Scrolls*. Correct, fixed, times for prayer were of high importance at Qumran. They were thought to be eternal ordinances given by God. In the *War Scroll* this is stated as follows:

We, your holy people, will praise your name for the deeds of your truth, for your mighty deeds we will extol Blank [your spl]endour, at [every] moment and at the times indicated by your eternal edicts (ח国土资源 והלומ), at the onset of day and at night (IQM xiv:12-14).

Accordingly, the daily hours of prayer and prayers at the feasts were strictly established in the Qumran Community. The Rule of the Community gives evidence for this:

[ ] he shall bless his Creator and in all that transpires [...and with the offering] of his lips he shall bless him during. Blank the periods which (?) he decreed (?). At the

Jacobson agrees with Harrington, and concerning the provenance he suggests not only Palestine but more precisely Galilee; Jacobson 1996, 210-211.

240 Cf. Reif 2002, 337.
250 See VanderKam 2001, 211.
251 An obscure verse 38:34 may refer to a prayer of a craftsman.
253 See Falk 2000, 115-121.
commencement of the dominion of light, during its rotation and when retired to its appointed abode. At the commencement of the vigils of darkness when he opens his store and stretches them upwards and in his rotation and when it retires before the light. When the lights of the holy vault shine out when they retire to the abode of glory. At the entry of the constellation in the days of the new moon together with their rotations during their stations renewing each other. It is a great day for the holy of holies, and an omen Blank of the opening of his everlasting mercies for the beginnings of the constellations in every future age. Blank At the commencement of the months in their constellations, and of the holy days in their sequence, as a reminder in their constellations. With the offering of lips I shall bless him, in accordance with the decree recorded for ever (1QS ix: 26-x:6).

A similar text is to be found in 1QH\textsuperscript{a} xx:4-11. The text runs:

[For the Instructor, praises and prayers, to bow down and entreat always, from period to period when the light comes from his residence; in the positions of the day, according to the regulation, in accordance with the laws of the great luminary; at the return of the evening, at the departure of light, when the realm of the shades begins; at the appointed moment of the night, in their stations; at the return of dawn, at the moment when it withdraws to its quarters before the light; at the departure of night when day enters; continually, in all the births of time in the foundation of the period, in the positions of the stations in the commands of their signs through the whole realm, in accordance with the decree established through God's mouth, and through the witness of what is. And this will be, and nothing more; besides him there is no other, nor will there ever be another. For the God of knowledge has established it and no-one else with him.

Likewise several fragments found in the caves 1 and 4 include instructions for when the daily blessings should be recited. According to them, the times for daily blessings fell upon the changing of the luminaries, i.e. on the sunrise and sunset.\textsuperscript{254} It is interesting to note that at Qumran the times for prayer were not established according to the sacrificial timetable, as it

\textsuperscript{254} Nitzan 1994, 49-52; Falk 1998, 106. All scholars do not agree with the thesis of two hours of prayer during a day. Bradshaw 1981, 4-8 discusses the question and presents different opinions supported by the scholars. Depending on how one interprets the passages 1QS x:1-3 and 1QH\textsuperscript{a} xx:4-7, the scholars suggest two, three or even six hours of daily prayer. However, the scroll 4Q\textit{papPrQuot}, which contains daily prayers for a whole month, although it is very fragmentary, indicates clearly, that at least these prayers, or blessings, were recited only twice a day. Falk refers further to 4Q\textit{apocrMoses} (4Q408) frag. 1 6-11 and 4Q\textit{Ordo} (4Q334); Falk 1998 96-98. 1QS vi:7-8 notes: And the Many shall be on watch together for a third of each night of the year in order to read the book, explain the regulation, and bless together. This nightly prayer need not, however, contradict the two daily prayer hours, but it may be equivalent to the morning prayer, which was recited after the time of reading just before dawn; Falk 1998, 121.
seems to have been the case in the Hebrew Bible, in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and surely in early Rabbinic literature.\textsuperscript{255}

In addition to the daily hours of prayer, even blessings of food seem to have been a regular practice at Qumran. The fragmentary scroll 4QBarkhi Nafshi\textsuperscript{29} (4Q434), which includes a grace after a meal – although intended for a very special occasion –, and two manuscripts, which contain Deut 8:5-10, bear witness to that.\textsuperscript{256}

\textit{Early Rabbinic literature.} The question about right time of prayer plays an important role in early Rabbinic literature. The first chapter of mBer includes a discussion about when the \textit{Shema}, with accompanying blessings, should be recited. It is clear that it should be recited twice a day, in the morning and in the evening, but the question of what do the qualifications ‘in the morning’ and ‘in the evening’ actually mean is under dispute.\textsuperscript{257} The first point of view is anonymous, and it is followed by different opinions of the Yavnean rabbis. TBer 1:1-2 supplements the discussion with comments of some Ushan rabbis. Nevertheless, the manner of reciting the \textit{Shema} twice a day is probably pre-70 C.E.,\textsuperscript{258} because the discussion between the houses of Hillel and Shammai about the right posture (mBer 1:3) presupposes reciting both in the morning and in the evening.

Chapter 4 of mBer, for its part, discusses the right time for the three – or during Sabbaths, holidays or new moon four – daily recitations of the \textit{Amidah}.\textsuperscript{259} It is recited in the morning, in the afternoon and in the evening, and the fourth extra prayer during any time of the day. Again, the exact definition of the ordained times is in question.\textsuperscript{260} The opening point of view is again anonymous, and the Ushan rabbi Judah gives a differing opinion. MBer 1:1, tBer 1:1 and 3:1-3 combine the times of prayer with the times for Temple sacrifices.

Still another important regular prayer is the blessing of food. MBer 6 and tBer 4:1- 5:13 deals with the blessing before the meal and MBer 7 and tBer 5:14-24 the blessing after the meal. MBer 8 and tBer 5:25-30 include disputes between the houses of Hillel and Shammai concerning the order of some blessings and other rituals in connection with meal times. This

\textsuperscript{255} Sarason 2001, 179.
\textsuperscript{256} See Davila 2000, 173. 4Q434 is a grace after a family meal in mourning of a recent death.
\textsuperscript{257} See mBer 1:1-2 and tBer 1:1-2.
\textsuperscript{258} Cf. p. 53.
\textsuperscript{259} Sanders 1998, 197 suggests that the three hours of prayer would have been a sign of extraordinary piety, and that praying twice a day would have been the common practice.\textsuperscript{260} See mBer 4:1 and tBer 3:1-3.
suggests that the regulations for table fellowship, blessings included, were considered important already during the pre-70 C.E. period. Nonetheless, the full-scale system of institutionalized blessings both before and after eating was probably not established before the Ushan era.261

The regular, daily recitation of the Shema and the Amidah and the blessings of food formed the backbone of the Rabbinic prayer life.262 In addition to these times of prayer the rabbis give in mBer 9 and tBer 6 rules for blessings during special occasions. One is to recite a special blessing, for example, when he sees a meteor, a thunder storm, a rainbow or a person with a special appearance, when he receives good or bad tidings, when he has built a new house or bought new clothes, when he enters a town or leaves it and when he is walking between graves.

Excursus: A Morning Service in the Second Temple

An institution in which both the significance of Temple and fixed times of worship, including both sacrificing and praying, are elicited, was, of course, the daily Temple service. Thus it is to the purpose to describe that institution in a short excursus.

Ben Sira describes the Temple service of his time in Sir 50:1-21 and thus gives us valuable information about the subject matter. A question, which is discussed by scholars, is, what is the cultic context of Ben Sira’s description. Does the text describe a daily burnt offering service,263 a service on Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement)264 or maybe on Rosh Hashanah (the Day of Remembrance)?265 In my estimation FEARGHAS Ó FEARGHAIL has convincingly proved, that the text is about a daily burnt offering and more precisely a morning service.266

262 See tBer 2:9, which defines the performance of these three as an obligation even for workers.
263 So e.g. Ó Fearghail 1978, 306.311 and Di Lella 1987 550-551. Also Billerbeck 1964b, 16-17; Schürer 1979, 304 and Reicke 1982, 170 seem to support this view.
264 See Ó Fearghail 1978, 301 n. 1, in which he enumerates a long list of scholars, who advocate this view. See also Di Lella 1987, 550.
266 Ó Fearghail 1978, 301-316. Ó Fearghail points out the close similarity between the descriptions in Ben Sira and in Mishnah tractate Tamid in his article. Moreover, he discusses the main arguments for the Yom Kippur -thesis. He shows that the term “house of the veil” in Sir 50:5, which has generally been understood as a designation of the Holy of Holies, may refer to the whole Temple building as well. Further, he states that the use of the Tetragrammaton in the blessing is nowhere restricted to the Yom Kippur -liturgy, as some scholars suggest. In this connection it is to the purpose to refer to mTam 7:2, in which it is explicitly stated that the Tetragrammaton indeed was pronounced in the daily Temple liturgy. That the ceremony described is expressly the morning-offering is evident because of the sequence ‘incense offering – burnt offering’.
2. Context

In this excursus I will try to reconstruct the morning burnt offering service mainly on the basis of Ben Sira’s account with special stress on the significance of prayer in connection to the service. I will also consult some other early Jewish texts, which refer to the daily Temple service during the Second Temple era.

Ben Sira’s account begins with a description of the former deeds and the great splendor of the high priest Simon. The text describes how the high priest comes from the “house of the veil” (Sir 50:5), which in this case probably means the Temple building, where he has just burned incense. He goes up to the bronze altar surrounded by Aronite priests. The priests hold offerings in their hands, and the high priest takes the libation cup and pours the juice of grape, i.e. the drink offering, at the foot of the altar. Then the priests shout and blow the trumpets, and the congregation prostrates itself before God. The Levite choir begins their praise and sings psalms. During the singing the people pray to God (Sir 50:19).

The chronological relation between the Levites’ song, the prostration of the congregation and their prayers is not quite clear. In Ben Sira’s account it looks as though the congregation were lying prostrate and praying all the time during the Levites’ song. Nevertheless, in the end of the description of the liturgy it is said that they prostrated themselves still another time. When did they, thus, stand up between these two prostrations? In mTam 7:3 the turn of events is somewhat different. There the song of the choir is interrupted several times. During the break the priests blow the trumpets and every time when the congregation hears the blast they prostrate themselves. Thus, it seems that,

---

267 Cf. Schürer 1979, 296-304. See also Billerbeck 1964b, 1-17 and Safrai 1976, 887-890, who reconstruct the daily Temple service on the basis of Mishnah Tamid.
268 Philo describes in Spec.Leg. 1:198-211 the burnt offering and gives an allegorical interpretation to its elements.
269 Cf. the description of the high priest Eleazar in LetAris 96-99.
270 It was not necessary that the high priest would partake in the daily ritual, see mTam 6:3.
272 Cf. Lk 1:8-9,21.
273 Di Lella 1987, 552
274 Lit. ”brothers” (v.12) and ”sons of Aron” (v.13).
275 Cf. CD xi:22.
276 Ben Sira writes only about a choir, but for example LAB 21:9, which probably reflects the Second Temple service, and mTam 7:3 write about Levites (and priests) singing praise.
277 MTam 7:4 attaches a specific biblical psalm to each day of the week. In 11QPs (11Q5) xxvii:5-6 it is said that David wrote altogether 364 songs for use in the daily burnt offering service.
278 Cf. Lk 1:10, where the crowd is praying already during the burning of incense, and Jdt 9:1, where Judith is said to have prayed at the same time as incense was offered in the Temple. See also 2Mac 1:23, where both the priests and all the others pray while the sacrifice is consumed.
according to the Mishnah tractate, the congregation stood during the singing proper and prostrated themselves only on the breaks. Because even Ben Sira’s description implicitly refers to at least one period of standing up between the prostrations, it is possible that mTam describes the events on this point more accurately than Ben Sira. Thus, the congregation’s part of the liturgy would have consisted of successive prostrations of the standing worshippers, and prayers during them.279

For our study an important question is, what did the congregation pray during the service. PAUL BILLERBECK suggests that a Targum to the Song of Songs 4:16 would have preserved the congregational prayer recited during the burning of incense.280 I consider this suggestion quite hypothetical because of the late origin of the Targum.281 ELIAS BICKERMAN, for his part, has presented a thesis, which proposes that the core of the Amidah-prayer, which he reconstructs, would have been a civic prayer for Jerusalem, which would have been recited in the Temple service, and Sir 50:19 would accordingly refer to that prayer.282 In my opinion there is not enough evidence for that thesis. Further, ISRAEL KNOHL suggests that during the ritual offering the people would have recited their own personal prayers.283 Again the evidence is quite limited. Nevertheless, although we do not have clear evidence of free prayers in the Temple during the service, we do have some passages in early Jewish literature, in which an individual recites his individual prayer outside the Temple at the same time as the Temple service is going on. This might be indirect evidence for support of KNOHL’s thesis.

In Ben Sira’s account the service ends with the high priest’s coming down from the altar and blessing the congregation with raised hands284 by reciting the Priestly blessing, while the congregation prostrates itself again. In this last point the sequence of the parts of the liturgy differs from the mTam description, where the blessing is located already after the incense offering before the burning of the sacrifice. Ben Sira may have ‘stylized’ the sequence at this point,285 but I think it is also altogether possible that mTam – as a late document – is not reliable here or that it presents a somewhat later mode of procedure.286 It is only natural to suppose that during those about 250 years, which the daily service continued in the Temple after Ben Sira’s time, there occurred some changes in the liturgy.

279 Cf. 2Chr 29:27-28, where the singing, the trumpet playing and the prostrating occur simultaneously.
280 Billerbeck 1964b, 10-11. According to the Targum the congregation exclaimed: “Oh that my beloved God might come to the Temple, and receive with favor the sacrifices of his people.”
281 See Alexander 1999, 118-121 who suggests that the Targum originates from the 7th or 8th century C.E.
282 See p. 81.
283 Knohl 1996, 23. This thesis is supported e.g. by Falk 2000, 122-123.
284 Cf. mTam 7:2.
285 So e.g. Ó Fearghail 1978, 306.
286 The latter alternative is presented by Billerbeck 1964b, 17.
2. Context

2.2.3. Prayer Postures

The Hebrew Bible. As we noted in the passage about Solomon’s prayer cited above on p. 44, a general prayer posture is raised hands, or more strictly the palms, towards heaven, the dwelling place of God. Lifting the hands in prayer is attested often in the Psalms (e.g. Pss 28:2; 63:4; 119:48; 134:2) and also elsewhere (e.g. Ex 9:29,33; Ezra 9:5; Job 11:13; Lam 2:19; 3:41). In Ps 44:20 lifting up one’s hands is used indeed as a terminus technicus for worshipping a deity and in Ps 141:2 prayer and lifting up one’s hands are attested as synonyms in a parallellismus membrorum.

The significance of lifting up the hands is not quite clear. It may describe the praying man’s reception of God’s gifts or maybe more probably a desire to be united with God.²⁸⁷ The latter alternative is more likely, because the lifting up of one’s hands is often combined with lifting up of one’s heart to God, for example in Job 11:13 and Lam 3:41, which run:²⁸⁸

> Yet if you devote your heart to him and stretch out your hands to him …

> Let us lift our hearts and our hands to God in heaven, and say …

We note here how closely the outer posture and the inner attitude are combined with each other.²⁸⁹ We can note the same also through a negation in Isa 1:15. Although the people spread out their hands in prayer, God will not listen to them, because their hands are full of blood.

Further, it is said about Solomon that he stood (תֹּא‎) before the altar of God, when he was praying (1Kgs 8:22), but after the prayer it is said that he rose from before the altar, where he had been kneeling (וּרְכָּב). Both postures as postures for prayer are attested also elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Abraham is standing before God and questioning God’s plans in Gen 18:22. Lev 9:5 describes how the priests and elders of Israel came near and stood before the Lord in order to offer. Likewise Jeremiah states in Jer 7:10, although not in a very positive tone, that the people of Judah come to the Temple and stand there before God, imagining being safe. In 2Chr 20:13 all the people of Judah stand before God, while Jehoshapath is praying to him. 2Kgs 5:11 recounts how Naaman had expected that Elisha would have stood and called the name of the Lord to heal him of his

²⁸⁷ Ringgren 1989, 781 presents both alternatives without taking a stance, which one would be more probable.
²⁸⁸ Directing one’s heart towards God comes up also in Samuel’s admonition to the people of Israel (1Sam 7:3).
2. Context

leprosy. ‘Standing before the Lord’ is also an expression, which denotes the ministry of the priests (e.g. Deut 10:8; 17:12; 18:5; 18:7; cf. Zech. 3:1).

Kneeling (כָּכָּב) as a posture for prayer or more generally for worship is attested a few times in the Hebrew Bible. In some passages (Pss 22:30; 72:9; Isa 45:23) the verb denotes generally humbling oneself before God, but it is also a couple of times explicitly connected with worshipping. Ezra utters his confession while kneeling and at the same time spreading his hands towards God (Ezra 9:5). All the Israelites kneel with their faces to the ground and worship God after Gods glory has filled the new-dedicated Temple (2Chr 7:3). Likewise King Hezekiah and everyone present with him kneel and worship God after the king has purified the Temple (2Chr 29:29). In Ps 95:6 the verb כָּכָּב appears in a parallelismus membrorum as a synonym to a more frequently used word for worshipping, namely כָּכָּב.

Prostrating oneself (כָּכָּב) as an expression denoting worshipping God is attested frequently in the Hebrew Bible, especially in the Book of Psalms (e.g. Pss 5:8; 95:6; 99:5.9; 132:7; 138:2), but also elsewhere, often together with a verb, which signifies ‘to bow down’ (וֹדֵךְ). Some examples: Abraham’s servant bows down and prostrates himself before God (Gen 24:26,48); Moses bows to the ground and prostrates himself (Ex 34:8); Gideon prostrates himself before God after he has heard about an augural dream, which promises him a victory against his enemies (Judg 7:15); When Ezra has read the Book of the Law, the people first stand and raise their hands in response to the praise of Ezra with a double “Amen”, and then they bow down and worship God with their faces to the ground (Neh 8:6); When gathered in order to repent the Israelites first listen to the reading of the Book of the Law standing on their feet for a quarter of a day, and then they prostrate themselves for another quarter to confess their sins, whereafter the priests encourage them to stand up again and praise the Lord (Neh 9:3-5); The people bow down and prostrate themselves before God according to King David’s admonition (1Chr 29:20). As stated already above, in 2Chr 7:3 the people kneel כָּכָּב with their faces to the ground and prostrate themselves before God. In 2Chr 29:28-30 the word ‘prostrate’ appears by itself in v. 28, with ‘to kneel’ in v. 29 and with ‘to bow down’ in v. 30.

As we have seen, the word כָּכָּב, which means as such ‘to prostrate oneself’, appears most often together with other words, which have the connotation of kneeling or of bowing down, and in some other cases it appears with an addition, which explicitly describes, how the worshipper touches the ground with his face. It is, thus, likely that the word

---

290 About the etymology and meaning of כָּכָּב see Preuss 1980, 249-250.
2. Context

The term השתהות has lost its specific meaning at least in most passages and is used more generally denoting worship.

We have taken note that both ‘standing’ and ‘prostrating oneself’ appear frequently as postures for prayer in the Hebrew Bible.\footnote{Ringgren 1989, 199-200.}

**Early Jewish literature.** The same postures for prayer, which are found in the Hebrew Bible, are attested in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha as well.

Kneeling or lying prostrate is a general posture especially in times of misery. For example, Judith lies prostrate before God (Jdt 9:1; 10:1). The priests prostrate themselves before the altar and pray to Heaven when the King of Syria is going to confiscate the Temple treasures (2Mac 3:15). Likewise the priests prostrate themselves and pray to God when Ptolemy wants to enter the Holy of Holies (3Mac 1:16). Further, Moses falls on his face when he prays for the wicked (Jub 1:18-19) and Eve kneels during her repentant prayer (LAE 32:1-4). Nevertheless, prostrating oneself is not only a token of anguish but also a usual prayer posture at least within the Temple service, as the description of the service in Sir 50:17 shows.

The lifting or outstretching of the hands is also mentioned in connection with many prayers. For example, Enoch lifts up his hands (1En 84:1), and Onias (2Mac 15:12) and Simon (3Mac 2:1) stretch out their hands towards God.

**The Dead Sea Scrolls** There is only limited evidence about prayer postures in the Dead Sea Scrolls. A couple of passages in *Hodayot* (1QH\textsuperscript{a} xx:4; 1QH\textsuperscript{b} frag. 7 i:18), 4QSapWork\textsuperscript{a} (4Q418) frag.126 ii:10 and a passage in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (11QShirShabb [11Q17] ii:9) refer to bowing down as a prayer posture. Also the name of the house of prayer, בית התהות, might refer to the act of lying prostrate.

**Early Rabbinic literature.** There is a short dispute about the right posture while reciting the *Shema* in mBer 1:3. According to the House of Shamai, one should recline in the evening in order to recite the *Shema* and in the morning one should stand. The House of Hillel, for its part, suggests that everyone may recite according to his own manner. TBer 1:4 supplements the dispute with a story of the rabbis Eleazar b. Azariah and Ishmael, who act contrary to each other, the one supporting the view of the Shammaites and the other the view of the Hillelites.
2. Context

The Amidah, as the very word indicates (הַמִּדָּה means ‘to stand’), is mainly recited while standing. The standing posture is referred to in passing, for example, in mBer 3:5 and 5:1 and tBer 3:15-17,20-21. Nevertheless, tBer 1:8 gives an instruction to bow at the beginning and at the end of the first and the penultimate benediction. Nonetheless, bowing during every benediction is explicitly prohibited.

There is a short story about prostrating oneself and bowing down during the recitation of the Amidah in tBer 3:5. Rabbi Judah, an Ushan master, tells about the Yavnean rabbi Aqiba’s manner of praying. According to the story, when he prayed with the congregation, he did it only very briefly, but when alone he prayed a long time and was prostrating himself and bowing down so much that during the time of prayer he had traversed the whole room. Although the story is humorous, it still proves that the ancient manner of prostrating oneself before God in prayer was not abandoned.292

2.2.4. Accompanying Elements

*The Hebrew Bible.* Penitential prayer is often accompanied with expressions of deep penitence in the Hebrew Bible. Weeping and fasting are mentioned in connection with Nehemia’s prayer, when he heard about the troubled situation of the returned exiles (Neh 1:4). The Israelites accompany their confession with fasting, wearing sackcloth and having dust on their heads (Neh 9:2), as does Daniel (Dan 9:3). Mordecai and the Jews in every province mourn with fasting, weeping and wailing and lying in sackcloth and ashes, when they hear about King Xerxes’ edict (Esth 4:1-3). Ezra, for his part, does not content himself with just wearing certain clothes or having dust on his head, but he tears up his clothes (as also Mordecai in the passage referred to above) and pulls the hair from his head and beard (Ezra 9:3). The psalmist describes his intercessory prayer for his former friends but present foes by recounting how he put on sackcloth and fasted (Ps 35:13). Likewise weeping, fasting and wearing sackcloth are combined in Ps 69:10-11. Further, God urges his people to return to him with all their heart, with fasting, weeping and mourning (Joel 2:12). The next verse also mentions the tearing of clothes, but this time it happens in a very significant manner. The people are admonished to render their heart, not their garments. We note, as in connection with the lifting of hands/heart, that the outer action is, or ought to be, merely a reflection of

---

292 In mTam 5:6-6:1 the priests are said to be prostrating themselves in the Temple.
2. Context

the inner attitude, and without a correct disposition the outer act is worthless.

Praise is most often combined with music performed with several different instruments and singing (e.g. 1Chr 15:16; 2Chr 5:13; 7:6; 30:21; Neh 12:27; Pss 100:2; 107:22).

In two cases prayer is even accompanied with a magic-like gesture, namely, Elijah stretches himself three times over the dead son of the widow at Zarephath, when he intercedes for him (1Kgs 17:20-21), and Elisha acts likewise when he interceded for the dead son of the Shunnamite woman (2Kgs 4:32-35).

*Early Jewish literature.* Again, post-biblical texts give us a similar picture of the matter as the Hebrew Bible does. As in the Hebrew Bible the petitionary prayers are often accompanied by fasting, rending the clothes, using sack cloth, sprinkling of dust and pulling out hair and beard (see e.g. 1Mac 3:47; 2Mac 10:25; Bar 1:5; Jdt 9:1; LAB 22:7).

The Letter of Aristeas tells us about an interesting mannerism combined with prayer. It is said that the men washed their hands before prayer as a token that they had not done any evil (LetArist 306). This kind of practice is not attested elsewhere and belongs thus probably to Egyptian Judaism.

*Early Rabbinic literature.* Prayer is sometimes accompanied by fasting in early Rabbinic texts as in the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish literature. The tractate mTa‘an begins with a discussion of when it is appropriate to pray for rain. The discussion includes opinions both of Yavnean and Ushan rabbis (mTa‘an 1:1-3). If the prayer is not answered, people shall fast, first thrice in a period of one week, and if this does not have the desired effect, then another three times and so on, and the regulation for fasting becomes stricter all along (mTa‘an 1:4-7). MTa‘an 1:8 declares about the manner of fasting that it includes also throwing ashes on the head, a phenomenon known already in the Hebrew Bible. Further, in the time of drought the normal Amidah with 18 benedictions is complemented with six more blessings (mTa‘an 2:2-3).

---

293 Balentine 1993a, 53.
2. Context

2.3. Prayer Texts

2.3.1. Genres

*The Hebrew Bible*. Hebrew Bible scholarship concerning prayers, or especially the Book of Psalms, has concentrated on form historical research. The fundamental contribution in this field of exegetics was made by HERMANN GUNKEL in his introduction to Psalms, which was published 1928, and his proposition has been followed and elaborated on ever since.

There is, nevertheless, also another system of classifying the Psalms, introduced by HANS-JOACHIM KRAUS in his commentary to the Book of Psalms. This classification is based – unlike GUNKEL’S – on designations, which are found in the texts of the Hebrew Bible themselves. I find this approach more appropriate for a study, which tries to understand the text from the point of view of Jesus and his contemporaries, and accordingly I will follow KRAUS’ classification.

KRAUS divides the Psalms into six main groups, which are:

1. Songs of praise (תהלים)
2. Songs of prayer (תפלה)
3. Royal psalms (מלשין למלך)
4. Songs of Zion (שירי ציון)
5. Didactic poetry
6. Festival psalms and liturgies

Of these groups we are mainly interested in the *Songs of praise* and *Songs of prayer*, because they include such texts, which can be defined as prayer according to our definition.

Further, KRAUS divides the *Songs of praise* thematically into five subcategories:

---

294 Gunkel himself could not complete this book, but it was done by his pupil Joachim Begrich.
295 Especially Klaus Westermann has written a lot about the subject matter. He divides the Hebrew Bible prayers – following the example of Gunkel – into five categories: 1. Individual lament; 2. Collective lament; 3. Individual narrative praise; 4. Collective narrative praise; 5. Descriptive praise; Westermann 1980, 25. See also e.g. Balentine 1993, 23.
296 Kraus 1978, 40.
298 Kraus 1978, 36-68.
2. Context

a) Praise of the Creator (Pss 8; 19A; 33; 104; 136)
b) Hymns of Yahweh as King (Pss 47; 93; 96; 97; 98; 99)
c) Harvest songs (Pss 65, 145)
d) Historical hymns (Pss 105; 106; 114; 135; 136)
e) Entrance hymns (Pss 24; 95; 100)

Typical elements of the Songs of praise are a declaration of praise or a call to praise and a reason for the praise. Let us take Ex 18:10 and Ps 117 as examples.

Declaration of praise: Praise be to the Lord (הארץ יהוה),
Reason: who rescued you from the hand of the Egyptians and of Pharaoh, and who rescued the people from the hand of the Egyptians (Ex 18:10).

Call to praise: Praise the Lord (הלל אלהים), all you nations; extol him, all you peoples,
Reason: For great is his love toward us. And the faithfulness of the Lord endures forever.
Call to praise: Praise the Lord (Ps 117).

The declaration of praise is often a blessing, which is expressed with a short construction + an epithet of God. The call to praise, often expressed with the imperative of or עזר בinite or with the hifil-form of can – as in our second example – extend quite far, even to the foreign nations. Thus this kind of praise includes even an element of proclamation and a testimony to the goodness of God, a testimony, whose aim is to draw others to the circle of those, who worship God.

The reason for praise can be described in two different ways. The text may either narrate God’s good deeds, as in Ex 18:10, or describe God’s attributes, as in the example of Ps 117 above. Thus, in the Hebrew Bible, God is praised for both what he does and what he is.

It still remains to be pointed out, that in the songs of praise God may be addressed either in the 2nd (e.g. Pss 8, 65) or in the 3rd person (Ex 18:10; Ps 117). Further, God can be addressed both in the 2nd and in the 3rd person even in one and the same song, as in Ps 33.

299 Kraus 1978, 46-49.
300 Miller 1985, 10; Balentine 1993a, 200.
301 ‘Collective narrative praise’ and ‘descriptive praise’ in Westermann’s nomenclature.
302 See Balentine 1993a, 204.
303 See e.g. Pss 106:1; 111:1; 113:1; 135:1; 146:1; 147:1; 148:1; 149:1; 150:1. Pss 104:1; 134:1 Cf. ‘the imperative hymn’; Kraus 1978, 45.
304 E.g. Pss 105:1; 136:1
305 Miller 1985, 9; Balentine 1993a, 199.
KRAUS divides the *Songs of prayer* in three subcategories:

1. Prayer songs of the individual
2. Community prayer songs (cf. Ps 80:5)
3. Thanksgiving songs

The *Prayer songs of the individual* contain two main components: the *introduction* and the *body* of the text.\(^{306}\)

In the introduction the petitioner invokes God and addresses him with vocatives. The invocation marks the petitioners deliberate turning to God with his anguish and complaint, even though he might have much to accuse him of.\(^{307}\) Although the sufferer feels that he is being wrongly treated by God, he does not turn his back on God but his face towards him. This is very typical for biblical petitioners and their prayers. He may further tell what significance God has for him and he may also describe his own misery.

In the main body of the text the petitioner most often describes his actual agony (we call this element ‘lament’). A typical component in the lament is a desperate question “Why?” or “How long?”\(^{308}\) We note, further, that the lament can express the petitioner’s inner feelings and complaints in very harsh and strong words.\(^{309}\) In our example below, Jeremiah calls God’s justice into question. In some prayers the praying person does not hesitate even to blame God openly. For example, Jeremiah accuses God of deceiving him in his lament, in Jer 20:7-18.\(^{310}\)

A prayer in the Hebrew Bible does not end with a lament but it includes even a plea. This is because the petitioner, when addressing God, has the confidence that God can bring about a change to the prevailing situation.\(^{311}\) The confidence is brought to light also by motifs of confidence and even by passages of praise, which often end a prayer song,\(^{312}\) as, for example, in our example Ps 13:6 below. Further, often the petitioner invokes certain attributes of God, which would form the basis for God’s

---

\(^{306}\) Kraus 1978, 50-51.

\(^{307}\) Balentine 1993a, 149.

\(^{308}\) Balentine 1993a, 149. 157; Balentine 1999, 144. See e.g. Pss 10:1; 13:2; 22:2; Hab 1:2-3.

\(^{309}\) See the discussion of the lament tradition in Balentine 1993a, 146-198, esp. p. 165. See also Miller 1983, 33. 39-41, who notes that in many laments God is one of the reasons for the petitioners anguish.

\(^{310}\) Cf. Blank 1953, 1-6, who discusses the ‘promethean’ element in biblical, especially intercessory, prayer. With the ‘promethean’ element he means the demanding and even blaming character in the prayer of some heroes of the Hebrew Bible.

\(^{311}\) Balentine 1993a, 149-150.

\(^{312}\) Miller 1985, 6.
answering the plea. He may also promise a thanksgiving offering, if God hears the prayer and helps.

Let us take Jeremiah’s prayer in Jer 12:1-4 and Ps 13 as examples of Prayer songs of the individual:

Introduction: You are always righteous, O Lord, when I bring a case before you. 
Body: (Lament) Yet I would speak with you about your justice: Why does the way of the wicked prosper? Why do all the faithless live at ease? You have planted them, and they have taken root; they grow and bear fruit. You are always on their lips but far from their hearts. Yet you know me, O Lord; you see me and test my thoughts about you. 
(Plea) Drag them off like sheep to be butchered! Set them apart for the day of slaughter! 
(Lament) How long will the land lie parched and the grass in every field be withered? Because those who live in it are wicked, the animals and birds have perished. Moreover, the people are saying, “He will not see what happens to us” (Jer 12:1-4). 

Introduction (with the motive of lament): How long, O Lord? Will you forget me forever? How long will you hide your face from me? How long must I wrestle with my thoughts and every day have sorrow in my heart? How long will my enemy triumph over me? 
Body: (Plea) Look on me and answer, O Lord my God. Give light to my eyes, or I will sleep in death; my enemy will say, “I have overcome him,” and my foes will rejoice when I fall. 
(Motive of confidence) But I trust in your unfailing love; my heart rejoices in your salvation. 
(Praise) I will sing to the Lord, for he has been good to me (Ps 13).

The Community prayer songs are very similar in form to the individual songs. The main difference is in the voice (singular/plural). Nevertheless, not even this difference has a remarkable significance, because – as KRAUS points out – the individual prayers are often to be understood as collective.

The Thanksgiving song forms the counterpart for the Prayer song of the individual. In this song the praying person thanks God for the help he has received. Let us take as an example Ps 30. For our purpose it is enough to quote only verses 1-4:

I will exalt you, O Lord, for you lifted me out of the depths and did not let my enemies gloat over me. O Lord my God, I called to you for help and you healed

---

313 See ch. 2.5.1. 
316 Kraus 1978, 54-55.
me. O Lord, you brought me up from the grave; you spared me from going down into the pit. Sing to the Lord, you saints of his; praise his holy name...

Typically for a Thanksgiving song the praying person refers to the help he has received and invites even others to join in the praise. Often in a Thanksgiving song even the earlier misery may be described, but, unlike in a Prayer song, it is now a past thing.

Kraus categorizes the songs of prayer also thematically. We regard here three of his five different groups: 

a) Prayer songs of the sick (e.g. Pss 38, 41, 88)
b) Prayer songs of the persecuted and the accused (e.g. Pss 3, 4, 5, 7, 12, 25, 54-57)
c) Prayer songs of a sinner (e.g. Pss 51, 130)

I will especially take up the last one of these categories, i.e. the prayer song of a sinner, because in the post-biblical literature and in the Jesus tradition (cf. Q 11:4) the motif of penitence becomes very significant.

Although in the Psalms the motif of penitence is not very prominent, outside of the Psalms it is to be found in many contexts. We may take David’s prayer in 2Sam 24:10 as an example.

David was conscience-stricken after he had counted the fighting men, and he said to the Lord: “I have sinned greatly in what I have done. Now, O Lord, I beg you, take away the guilt of your servant. I have done a very foolish thing.”

Further, the penitential motif dominates the prayers of Ezra (Ezra 9:6-15), Nehemiah (Neh 1:5-11; 9:6-37) and Daniel (Dan 9:4-19). In these prayers the praying man confesses both his own and the whole people’s sins.

Still it is to be remarked that the Hebrew Bible even contains prayers, which mix up the elements of the different genres so that praise serves as an preamble to lament and petition. For example, the prayer of the people in Neh 9 opens with a call to praise and a declaration of praise (v. 5), it then continues with a long description of God’s former deeds (vv. 6-31) and ends with a lament and a plea (vv. 32-37). Likewise Salomon’s prayer in 1. Kings 8 opens with a short description of God’s faithfulness (vv. 23-24) and continues with a petition (vv. 25-26).

---

317 Kraus 1955-60. In addition to these three groups Kraus also has the summons to give thanks and prayer literature.
318 About penitential prayer outside of the Psalms see Greenberg 1983, 27-30.
319 Ballentine 1993b, 27. These prayers represent the latest phase of prayer in the Hebrew Bible.
Early Jewish literature. The main genres of the prayers in the Hebrew Bible are well attested even in early Jewish literature. The majority of the prayers are petitions or intercessory prayers for the people, Jerusalem or the Temple, uttered by the hero of the story in time of national or private emergency. As examples we might mention the prayers of Judith (Jdt 9:1-14), Mordecai (AddEsth 13:8-12), Esther (AddEsth 14:3-19), Baruch (Bar 2:11-3:8), Tobith (Tob 3:2-6), Sarah (Tob 3:11-15), Manasseh (PrMan), the High Priest Simon (3Mac 2:1-20) and Eleazar (3Mac 6:1-15). The historical accounts report likewise ardent petitions. We find an illuminative example in Jdt 4:9-13:

Fervently they sent up a cry to God, every man of Israel, and fervently they humbled themselves before him. They put on sackcloth – they themselves, their wives, their children, their livestock, and every resident foreigner, hired labourer, and slave – and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, men, women, and children, prostrated themselves in front of the sanctuary, and, with ashes on their heads, spread out their sackcloth before the Lord. They draped the altar in sackcloth, and with one voice they earnestly implored the God of Israel not to allow their children to be captured, their wives carried off, their ancestral cities destroyed, and the temple profaned and dishonoured, to the delight of the heathen. The Lord heard their prayer and pitied their distress.

RODNEY A. WERLINE has shown that penitential prayer had an important role in exilic and post-exilic Judaism. Thus, one of the prayer themes found already in the Hebrew Bible (cf. prayer songs of a sinner) became more important in the post-biblical time. Accordingly, most of the petitionary prayers mentioned above include confessions of sin as well. Further, the petitioner confesses often both his own and also the people’s sins, as the following examples show:

But now we have sinned against thee, and thou hast handed us over to our enemies because we honoured their gods; thou art just, O Lord (AddEsth 14:6).

... by our sin, our godlessness, and our injustice we have broken all thy commandments, O Lord our God (Bar 2:12).

Remember me now, Lord, and look upon me. Do not punish me for the sins and errors which I and my fathers have committed. We have sinned against thee and disobeyed thy commandments, ... (Tob 3:3-4).

I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned; and I certainly know my sins (PrMan 12).

---

320 Werline 1998. Werline demonstrates how the deuteronomistic idea of sin-punishment-repentance-salvation is manifested in the penitential prayers. He argues that prayer became a means of repentance, since the sacrificial cult was made impossible during the Exile.
..., so look now, holy king, when we are oppressed and subjected to our enemies on account of our many serious sins and are weak and resourceless (3Mac 2:13).

After God’s response the praying person or people thank God. For example, after Judith has killed Holofernes and the people have thus been saved, the people praise God: 321

The people were all astounded; and bowing down in worship to God, they said with one voice, “Praise be to thee, O Lord our God, who has humiliated the enemies of thy people this day” (Jdt 13:17).

This pattern – prayer for help under pressure, thanksgiving after God’s response – is almost stereotypical in these texts. 322 That corresponds well with the idea of prayer and response in the texts of the Hebrew Bible, especially Psalms.

The mixed genre, in which praise serves as a preface to lament and petition, appears frequently in these texts. For example, the prayer of Enoch begins with a blessing and description of God’s sovereignty (1En 84:2-4) and thereafter moves to a petition (vv. 5-6). Further, the Song of the Three, an apocryphic addition to the Book of Daniel, includes, besides typical praise (vv. 28-68) even a prayer, which begins with praise, and continues as a penitential prayer and lament (vv. 3-22). Likewise, the prayer of Ezra (4Ezra 8:36) and PsSol 18 open with a long description of God’s good deeds, typical for praises, and then utter the actual plea. 323

The Dead Sea Scrolls. Before discussing the genres of the prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls we will first survey the most important prayer texts. Before engaging with the texts themselves it is important to note that even though the prayers in Dead Sea Scroll surely include specific Qumranic ideas, they also contain motifs and formulations, which are common to early Jewish prayer in general. 324

321 Other examples e.g. Jdt 16:1-17. 1Mac 4:24-25,54-55. 2Mac 3:30; 8:27; 10:38; 11:9; 15:29; 15:34. 3Mc 5:13; 5:35; 6:29; 6:35; Flacc. 120-123.
323 Balentine 1993b, 27. See also e.g. JosAsen 12-13.
Daily Prayers. *(4QpapPrQuot [4Q503])* Daniel K. Falk crystallizes the prayer practice attested in the *Daily Prayers* as “the daily communal, liturgical recitation of prayers of specific wording in connection with the course of the sun as an institutionalized procedure.” Falk suggests, in a later article, that the *Daily Prayers* would have been recited in connection to the recital of the *Shema*, a practice probably alluded to in 1QS x:10-14.

The scroll consists of evening and morning prayers for one month, probably the first month of the year. Falk enumerates several observations, which prove that the prayers were public. Further, they were probably recited as a dialogue, so that the congregation first said the main part of the prayer and the priests then responded by proclaiming, “peace be on you, Israel.”

The prayers have a highly fixed structure with fixed formulas. Falk presents the structure as follows:

**Evening Prayers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>בורי לוחו רברע עמר</th>
<th>On the X of the month in the evening they shall bless.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>עון עיתום</td>
<td>They shall recite, saying:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>בורך אל ישראל</td>
<td>Blessed be the God of Israel, who did ... (3rd p. relative clause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or:</td>
<td>אשר עתל ...</td>
<td>who does ... (participle clause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or:</td>
<td>המעל ...</td>
<td>(noun clause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or:</td>
<td>אלויך ...</td>
<td>בורך אל אשר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body</td>
<td>הלילה ...</td>
<td>And this night ... — X lots of light / darkness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>גורלאת אור חשך ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closing</td>
<td>בורך שמשה</td>
<td>Blessed be your name,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>אל ישראל ...</td>
<td>God of Israel ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or:</td>
<td>בורך אתה אל ישראל</td>
<td>Blessed be you, God of Israel,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

325 Falk 1998, 22-29 deals with the question of the provenance thoroughly, and comes to a well argued conclusion, that it is likely, that these prayers originated from Qumran. Davila 2000, 211 remains, however, skeptical.


327 Falk 2000, 115-119.


329 Falk 1998, 46. See also Davila 2000, 211.


2. Context

you did ... (2nd p. relative cl.) or:
Blessed be God ...

Response
Peace be on you, Israel

Morning Prayers

And when the sun rises to shine on the earth

Opening (same as evening)

And this day ...
In the X gate of light

Closing (same as evening)

Response (same as evening)

We note the following fixed formulas in the text:
1. A notion of the date
2. An exhortation to bless God and recite the prayer (verbs בורך, לארץ)
3. A blessing formula (בורך) in the opening and closing of the prayer
4. An addressing God as ‘God of Israel’ (אל ישראל)
5. A response formula (שלום עליכם ישראל)

It is interesting that the prayers vary between the 2nd and the 3rd person for God.

Words of the Luminaries (4QDibHam\textsuperscript{a,c} [4Q504, 506]).\textsuperscript{333} These scrolls contain daily prayers for liturgical use within a weekly cycle.\textsuperscript{334} The title of

\textsuperscript{332} אל ישראל is a common name for God in the Qumran writings, and the epithet occurs several times in the War Scroll; Falk 1998, 27.

\textsuperscript{333} About the provenance see Chazon 1992, 16-17; Olson 1997, 108; Falk 1998, 61-63; Davila 2000, 242. Chazon suggests that the Words of the Luminaries might best be understood as a pre-Qumranic phenomenon. Olson states, that these scrolls do not contain any specifically Qumranic themes or vocabulary. Likewise Falk suggests that there is nothing in the fragments, which would indicate a Qumranic provenance. Further, he links the Words of the Luminaries and the Festival Prayers together and argues that, since the Festival Prayers is to be considered non-Qumranic on the basis of its calendrical sequence, the Words of the Luminaries is non-Qumranic as well.

\textsuperscript{334} Olson 1997, 107; Falk 1998, 59. 88; Davila 2000, 239.
the scroll indicates, that the prayers were probably used as morning and/or evening prayers.\footnote{Falk 1998, 59, 87; Davila 2000, 240-241.}

Words of the Luminaries are petitions concerning both spiritual and physical needs of the congregation,\footnote{Falk 1998, 70-71.} for example:

You, acquire us and forgive, [please,] our iniquity and [our sin] (\textit{4QDibHam\textsuperscript{a}} [\textit{4Q504} frag.4 7]).

O Lord, since you do wonders from eternity to eternity, may your wrath and rage withdraw from us. Look at our [distress,] our grief and our anguish, and free your people Israel from all the countries, both near and far, [to where you have exiled us] (\textit{4QDibHam\textsuperscript{a}} [\textit{4Q504} frags.1-2 vi:10-13]).

As in the quotation above, the prayers remind God of his former great deeds beginning with the creation in the prayer for the first day of the week. Prayers for Monday and Tuesday are too fragmentary, in order to find out the theme of the text. The prayer for the fourth day deals with the Covenant, and the prayer for the sixth day takes up confession of sin and forgiveness. The prayer for the seventh day, the Sabbath, exhorts praise to God.\footnote{Nitzan 1994, 99; Olson 1997, 107; Davila 2000, 241.}

These prayers, like the \textit{Daily Prayers} discussed above, contain several fixed formulas. They open with a remembrance formula “Remember, O Lord" (אֵלֶּיהוֹ אֱלֹהִים).\footnote{\textit{4QDibHama\textsuperscript{a}} (\textit{4Q504}) frag.8 1; frag.3 ii:5.} The same formula is used within the main body of the prayer as well.\footnote{E.g. \textit{4QDibHama\textsuperscript{a}} (\textit{4Q504}) frag.6 6; frag.5 ii:3.} The prayer for the Sabbath makes an exception. It does not include any remembrance, but, as the title for the prayer states, it is giving thanks for the Sabbath day (הָרְדָּךְ בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל). Accordingly the prayer begins with an exhortation “Give thanks...” (הָרְדָּךְ).

These prayers close with a blessing formula “Blessed is the Lord...” (בָּרָךְ אֱלֹהִים).\footnote{\textit{4QDibHama\textsuperscript{a}} (\textit{4Q504}) frags1-2 i:7, vii:2.} With few exceptions, God is called אֱלֹהִים throughout the scroll.\footnote{Falk presents several arguments for the liturgical use of the prayers; Falk 1998, 85-87.}

There is a response formula “Amen, amen” at the very end of the prayers,\footnote{\textit{4QDibHama\textsuperscript{a}} (\textit{4Q504}) frags.1-2 vii:4.} which is a clear evidence for the liturgical use of the prayers.\footnote{\textit{4QDibHama\textsuperscript{a}} (\textit{4Q504}) frag.4 14; frag.3 ii:2; frags 1-2 vii:1-2.}
Festival Prayers (4QPrFêtes\textsuperscript{a-b} [4Q507-508], 4QpapPrFêtes\textsuperscript{c} [4Q509]).\textsuperscript{345} The preserved Festival Prayers are very fragmentary, but it is still possible to get information about their contents and form. The text has presumably included prayers for every festival of the year, but only the headings for the Day of Atonement and the Feast of Weeks have survived.\textsuperscript{346}

These prayers resemble the Words of the Luminaries a lot. We can note that the openings with the remembrance formula,\textsuperscript{347} the closings with the berakha-formula\textsuperscript{348} and the double ‘amen’ as a response formula\textsuperscript{349}, are identical with those in the Words of the Luminaries. We can still add the epithet for God, which is the same in both texts. The Words of the Luminaries and the Festival Prayers are like daily/festival counterparts.

Hodayot (1QH\textsuperscript{a-b}, 4QH\textsuperscript{a-f} [4Q427-432]). The Hodayot includes two types of hymns, which probably have circulated separately according to the latest findings, namely Hymns of the Teacher and Hymns of the Community.\textsuperscript{350} Especially the Hymns of the Teacher, which sometimes are attributed to the Teacher of Righteousness, express the personal experiences of their author, in contrast with the communal prayers discussed above, which deal with more general religious and national ideas, which were of current interest for the whole community.\textsuperscript{351}

Significant for the Hymns in Hodayot is their external similarity to the canonical Psalms,\textsuperscript{352} and the fact that they include several references to the Psalms and to the canonical prophetic books. The authors of the Hymns identify with the feelings of the biblical authors, and yet elaborate the themes to fit their own life situation.\textsuperscript{353}

The major theme in the Hymns is the sinfulness of man,\textsuperscript{354} as well as the election of the author to the lot of those who are saved\textsuperscript{355} and the anxiety of the author. These themes are usual in the biblical literature, but in the

\textsuperscript{345} Falk 1998, 156-157 suggests a non-Qumranic provenance for these prayers. See note 333.

\textsuperscript{346} Falk 1998, 157.

\textsuperscript{347} 1QPrFêtes (1Q34) frags 1-2 6; 4QPrFêtes\textsuperscript{a} (4Q507) frag. 3 2; 4QPrFêtes\textsuperscript{b} (4Q508) frag. 2 2; 4QPrFêtes\textsuperscript{c} (4Q509) frags 131-132 ii:5.

\textsuperscript{348} 1QPrFêtes (1Q34) frags 1-2 4; frag. 3 i:7-8; 4QPrFêtes\textsuperscript{a} (4Q507) frag. 2 2; frag. 3 1-2; 4QPrFêtes\textsuperscript{b} (4Q508) frag. 1 3; 4QPrFêtes\textsuperscript{c} (4Q509) frags 1-4 i:23.\textsuperscript{349}

\textsuperscript{349} 4QPrFêtes\textsuperscript{a} (4Q507) frag. 3 2; 4QPrFêtes\textsuperscript{c} (4Q509) frags 1-4 i:7; frags 131-132 ii:3.

\textsuperscript{350} Chazon 1998, 266-267; Frennesson 1999, 46.

\textsuperscript{351} Nitzan 1994, 324-325.354-355.

\textsuperscript{352} Yadin 1962, 107.

\textsuperscript{353} Nitzan 1994, 325.

\textsuperscript{354} Vermes 1975, 39-40. See e.g. 1QH\textsuperscript{a} ix:21-27; xi:23-26; xii:29-40; xv:16-21; xviii:5-7; xxi:1-16.

\textsuperscript{355} Vermes 1975, 40. See e.g. 1QH\textsuperscript{a} xv:34-36; xix:10-14.

76
Hymns they are treated differently. Namely, while the anxiety in the biblical texts is mainly uttered in laments, the authors of the Hymns use the form of thanksgiving. Moreover, the sinfulness does not get an expression in petitions for repentance and forgiveness, as in the prayers of the Hebrew Bible, in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and in the liturgical prayers of Qumran, but in reflections concerning the very possibility of repentance. The main stress lies not on man’s transgressions but on his position as a sinful and weak creature before his creator. Moreover, compared with the liturgical works dealt with above, Hodayot is much less fixed as concerns the pattern and formulations. This indicates, that the prayers were not used liturgically. Still, there are some fixed formulas in the prayers, which the following table clarifies:

1QH⁸ x:20, 31; xi:19; xii:5; xiii:5; xv:6, (26), (34), xvi:(4)  
1QH⁹ vi:(8)  
1QH¹⁰ xix:15  
1QH⁸ vi:(23)  
1QH⁸ iv:17  
1QH⁹ v:(4)  
1QH⁸ xiii:20; xix:33  
1QH⁸ xviii:14  
1QH⁹ viii:16  
1QH⁹ x:(27)  
1QH⁹ xix:29

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4QShirShabbᵃ-h [4Q400–4Q407], 11QShirShabb [11Q17]). Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice is a collection of thirteen songs for the first thirteen Sabbaths of a calendar year. The songs are strictly speaking not prayers but they mainly describe the angelic

---

358 Vermes 1975, 149; Nitzan 1994, 324.  
359 Line numbers in the brackets indicate that the text is corrupt, and accordingly the reconstruction is uncertain.  
360 Vermes reconstructs here בורך, Vermes 1975, 192.  
361 שִׁיר שַׁבָּבָה  
362 Newsom 1990, 185 suggests a non-Qumranic provenance for the Songs, but states that they still had an important status in the Community.
praise in a heavenly Temple. Nevertheless, as the heading ‘of the Instructor’ (לְמָשְׁחֵר) in the beginning of every song suggests, they were probably recited in the Community. By reciting these angelic songs the Community members probably thought themselves partaking in the heavenly service together with the praising angels.

We will now go on to discuss the question about the genres. The Festival Prayers and the Words of the Luminaries represent the biblical genre of Community prayer songs. First, they open typically with an invocation (‘Remember, of Lord’). Second, they remind God of his former good deeds, which is a common element in the prayer songs of the Hebrew Bible and especially in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Third, they include explicit petitions. Fourth, even the closing blessings fit well into typical prayer songs. Other texts, which include the element of lament, have been found at Qumran as well, for example 4QapocrLamB (4Q501), an apocryphic petition, which resembles the biblical prayer songs very closely.

The Daily Prayers, for their part, are typical biblical Songs of Praise. First, the introductory clauses include a call to praise. Second, the prayer text proper opens with a declaration of praise. Third, the declaration is followed by the reason for the praise. Further, the Daily Prayers are an example of praises, in which the addressing of God varies between the 2nd and the 3rd person. We have already met this phenomenon in the Hebrew Bible.

Many of the hymns in Hodayot are individual praises. Some of them, nevertheless, include elements of prayer songs. A good example of this is a hymn, which opens with a blessing formula and a declaration of the reason for the praise (1QH viii:xiii:20-22) and then continues with a long lament (lines 22-39). Interestingly enough, this hymn does not seem to contain any petition. Eileen Schuller points out that both the prevalence of praise and the minor existence of petition in the original Qumranic prayers is due to the Qumranic doctrine of predestination. If God has already beforehand determined all things, petition is, at least logically thinking, unnecessary.

---

363 In 1QS ix:26-x:5 the Instructor is granted a liturgical task. See Newsom 1990, 180.
364 See Chazon 2000, 99,101. Also Newsom 1990, 181 thinks it likely that the Songs were in liturgical use in Qumran.
365 Flusser 1984, 565; Frennesson 1999, 98.116-117.
366 About lament in Qumran see Schuller 2000, 29-45.
367 Olson 1997, 237.
368 See p. 67.
369 Schuller 2000, 37-41.45.
Early Rabbinic literature. I will first present and discuss two important early Jewish prayers, i.e. the Amidah and the Qaddish, and then I will move to the more general question about the genres.

The Amidah. The Amidah, in its antique form, consists of eighteen benedictions, but it is clear that the prayer we have today in Siddur is a result of a long and complicated process of compilation. There are remarkable differences between the earliest written versions of this prayer, and the oral tradition history prior to the written versions must certainly have been very complex. Nevertheless, one thing is clear: there has never been any original version of the Amidah, which we could try to reconstruct, but the written forms of it have been crystallized out of diversity. Thus it is important to note that the text of the Amidah I will present here, although it is the oldest written form, which we have, was surely not known by pre-70 C.E. Jews in exactly this form. It seems probable that the daily recitation of the Amidah as a set of 18 benedictions was not established until the Yavnean era. Nevertheless, at least some of the motifs and even formulations probably originate from the pre-70 C.E. era, and thus it is proper to display the text. The Amidah, in its Palestinian form, the oldest manuscript of which is found in Cairo Genizah, runs as follows:

O Lord, open thou my lips,  
And my mouth shall show forth thy praise

1. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God,  
The Most High God, Maker of heaven and earth,

370 These two prayers are often regarded as the background for the Lord’s Prayer, and that is why it is justified to take them into special consideration.
371 In Siddur, the Jewish prayer book, this prayer is called Shemone Esre, i.e. Eighteen Benedictions.
373 Kimelman 1997, 115.
375 Kimelman 1997, 115. The discussion between the houses of Hillel and Shammai about the proper number of benedictions on the Sabbath and festivals in tBer 3:13 suggests that probably some kind of set of benedictions was in use already during their time.
376 The translation is taken from Grant 1953, 71-72. The Amidah was recited already at the end of the first century C.E. in this extent and outline, assuming that the Rabbinic mention about Simeon of Paqoli (bMeg 17b) is trustworthy.
2. Context

Our Shield and the Shield of our fathers!
   Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Shield of Abraham!

2. Thou art mighty for ever,
Thou sustainest the living
And givest life to the dead.
   Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest the dead to live!

3. Holy art thou and terrible is thy Name,
And there is no God beside thee.
   Blessed art thou, O Lord, the holy God!

4. Bless us, our Father, with the knowledge of thyself,
And with understanding from thy Law.
   Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest us with knowledge!

5. Turn us again, O Lord, and so we shall return;
Renew our days as in the times that are past.
   Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast pleasure in repentance!

6. Forgive us, our Father, for we have sinned against thee;
Wash away our transgressions from before thine eyes.
   Blessed art thou, O Lord, who doest abundantly forgive!

7. Look upon our distress, and wage our battle,
And deliver us for thy Name’s sake.
   Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel!

8. Heal, O Lord our God, the sorrows of our hearts,
And send forth healing for our wounds.
   Blessed art thou, O Lord, who healest the sickness of thy people Israel!

9. Bless to us, O Lord our God, this year,
And fill the world with the treasures of thy goodness.
   Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest the year!

10. Blow the great trumpet for our deliverance.
And raise up the banner for the gathering of our disperced.
   Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest the disperced of thy people Israel!

11. Restore our judges as in former days,
And our counsellors as at the beginning.
   Blessed art thou, O Lord, who loveth judgment!

12. As for the apostates, let there be no hope,
And in judgment cause the kingdom of violence soon to be destroyed.
   Blessed art thou, O Lord, who humblest the proud!

13. Upon the proselytes of righteousness show thy mercy,
2. Context

And grant us a good reward with those who do thy will.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the confidence of the righteous!

14. Have mercy, O Lord our God, upon the city Jerusalem,
And upon Zion, where thy glory dwelleth.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the God of David, who buildest Jerusalem!

15. Harken, O Lord our God, to the voice of our petition,
For thou art a gracious and merciful God.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer!

16. Be gracious, O Lord our God, and dwell in Zion,
And let thy servants serve thee in Jerusalem.
Blessed art thou, O Lord; for thee will we worship in fear!

17. We give thee thanks, O Lord our God,
For all the blessings of thy goodness.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, to whom it is a good thing to give thanks!

18. Send forth thy peace upon Israel, thy people,
And bless us all, together.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest peace!

There have been tradition historical attempts to discern different blocks out of the written version of the Amidah,377 and to find an original setting for those blocks.378 An interesting contribution to this discussion has been made by ELIAS BICKERMAN.379 He explains the formation of the prayer as follows: The oldest core of the prayer has consisted of benedictions 1,(2; because the second ben. does not address God, it may have originally continued the first ben.), 8, 9, 14 and 15.380 An indication of the fact that these benedictions have originally formed a whole is the similar address to God, ‘O Lord our God’. Further, ben. 3 would, because of its contents, be a later insertion,381 and so also benedictions 10-13. Furthermore, ben. 15 with its petition that God would listen to the prayer forms a traditional closing for a prayer, and thus the last three benedictions have probably been added later as a separate unit.382 And yet, benedictions 4-7 form a unit, which has a distinctive address to God, ‘our Father’ (BICKERMAN thinks, following a reconstruction of FINKELSTEIN, that also ben. 5 has originally had this

377 The first three and the last three benedictions are often regarded as the oldest part of the prayer; see e.g. Billerbeck 1964a, 148; Barta 1974, 77.
378 Billerbeck 1964b, 7 suggests that benedictions 16 and 18, and Barta 1974, 77 that the first three and the last three benedictions would originate from the Temple liturgy.
379 Bickerman 1980, 290-312.
381 Bickerman 1980, 297.
382 Bickerman 1980, 295.
address instead of the present ‘Lord’), and a common theme, i.e. sin and forgiveness. This Abinu-prayer, as BICKERMAN calls it, would derive from the post-Temple era, because there was no need for regular penitential prayer, while the sacrificial cult still continued.383

BICKERMAN suggests that the oldest core of the prayer was used as a civic prayer for Jerusalem in connection with the Temple service already on the 2nd century B.C.E.384 Further, he argues that the Letter of Jonathan, in 1Mac 12:11, and Ben Sira, in his description of the Temple Service in Sir 50:19, would refer to this prayer.385

BICKERMAN’s theory is interesting and indeed quite possible, but it still raises some questions. In my opinion, the existence of different originally independent blocks within the Amidah is quite probable, but the dating and the Sitz im Leben of them remains uncertain. First, there is not enough evidence that the prayers referred to in Ben Sira and 1Mac would have been the oldest form of the Amidah. Second, BICKERMAN himself admits that a petitionary prayer was something extraordinary as a companion to the sacrificial cult. It was probably caused by the idea that the sacrifice alone did not suffice in the present situation because of the unfaithfulness of the people.386 Now, by the same argument it could very well be suggested that the Abinu-prayer would also antedate the destruction of the Temple. Third, as BICKERMAN himself states, the question about how the Amidah became the prayer of the synagogue remains unsolved,387 and it is exactly that question which is important for us, as we try to find out the likely form in which Jesus knew this prayer.

We must unfortunatly resign ourselves to the fact that we do not know, where, when, in what form and to what extent Jesus and his contemporaries used the prayer material now found in the Amidah.388

The Qaddish. The history of the short prayer called Qaddish is quite similar to that of the Amidah. The form of the prayer that we know as Qaddish389 is a composition, which probably originates from late

383 Bickerman 1980, 299-300. Charlesworth 1993a, 45, for his part, claims that forgiveness could not be obtained by obeying the Torah or offering sacrifices, but the people should instead desperately seek for forgiveness.
384 Bickerman 1980, 303. 312.
386 Bickerman 1980, 310.
387 Bickerman 1980, 312.
389 In fact, the Qaddish is not one uniform prayer, but there are several different versions of it used in different occasions. About the different versions and their oldest known recensions see Lehnardt 2002, 16-42.
antiquity.\textsuperscript{390} Nonetheless, at least some of the elements of the prayer were used already earlier. The central verse of the \textit{Qaddish}, “May his great name be blessed for ever” (cf. Ps 113:2), might have been recited regularly already in the second century C.E.\textsuperscript{391}

Again, we must observe that Jesus and his contemporaries did not know the form of the \textit{Qaddish}, which will be displayed here. Nonetheless, some of the formulas and ideas were probably used already in the prayer life at that time.

An early form of \textit{Qaddish} runs as follows:\textsuperscript{392}

\begin{quote}
May his great Name be magnified and hallowed in the world which he has created according to his pleasure.

May he set up his Reign in your days and during your years, and during the years of the whole house of Israel, and in a time near at hand; and let them say, Amen.

May his great Name be blessed for ever, unto the ages of ages!
\end{quote}

As an apt conclusion about the relevance of the old Jewish prayers as comparison material for Jesus’ teaching on prayer, we may quote professor Zahavy:\textsuperscript{393}

\begin{quote}
We cannot figure out with any certainty whether the Jews who worshipped in ancient synagogues recited those texts of classical prayer that interest historians and theologians. We cannot readily ascertain exactly when and if the early rabbis propounded all those conceptions of prayer and society that later Rabbinic tractates preserve for us.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{390} Levine 2000, 558. See also Heinemann 1978, 90.
\textsuperscript{391} Levine 2000, 528.558. Levine refers to bBer 3a, which connects this prayer formula to the second-century rabbi Yosi b. Halafta. The historicity of the Talmudic report is, of course, questionable.
\textsuperscript{392} Translation from Grant 1953, 73.
\textsuperscript{393} Zahavy 1990, 40-41. Many previous scholars reconstructed the Jewish worship of Jesus’ time on the basis of the Rabbinic texts. For example Billerbeck 1964ab, 1-17.143-161 (based on two lectures held in 1932) describes in detail the alleged pre-70 C.E. synagogue and Temple services, and both Bultmann 1926, 165 and Jeremias 1966, 67-80 take it for granted that Jesus prayed the \textit{Amidah} thrice a day. This kind of quite uncritical use of the Rabbinic texts has had its representatives still in recent times. For example Cavaletti 1990, 9 suggests that the \textit{Qaddish} was in use already during the time of Jesus, and Charlesworth 1993a, 40 claims that the \textit{Amidah} certainly represents Jewish prayer during the time of Jesus.
Now about the *genres* of the early Rabbinic prayers. The *Amidah* resembles the later, mixed forms of the prayers in the Hebrew Bible. It begins with a *Song of praise* (bens. 1-3), continues with a *community prayer song* (bens. 4-16) and ends with a short combination of praise and petition (bens. 17-18). The repeated blessing formulas make the prayer resemble Ps 136 and the Hymn of Praise located between Sir 51:12 and 13 in one of the manuscripts. In Ps 136 the formula “his love endures forever” is repeated in every verse after the sentence which describes God’s former deeds. Sir 51:12 i-xvi repeats, in addition to the recurring proclamation of God’s everlasting mercy, the admonition “Give thanks to” + an epithet of God or a description of his deeds altogether 16 times. Nevertheless, both of these prayers are full-scale praises, while the *Amidah* also includes a clear element of petition.

Early Rabbinic prayer lacks some elements, which are typical for the prayers in the Hebrew Bible. First, we do not find the desperate questions “Why?” or “How long?” which characterize many biblical petitions. Second, there are no traces of blame against God. Third, the demands are also lacking. True, mTa’an 3:8 includes an anecdote about Honi the Circle-Drawer and his supplication for rain. Honi drew a circle on the ground, stood inside it, prayed for rain and swore that he would not move from the circle until God answered his prayer – and God answered with a rain. Rabbi Simeon b. Shetah’s evaluation of Honi’s prayer is illuminative:

> If you were not Honi, I should decree a ban of excommunication against you. But what am I going to do to you? For you importunate before the Omnipresent, so he does what you want, like a son importunes his father, so he does what he wants.

Thus, the demanding prayer seems not to be accepted without question. In general the Rabbinic petitionary prayer could be characterized as courteous petitioning.

Petitions are, on the whole, quite infrequent in early Rabbinic texts, and most of the early Rabbinic prayers are praises. Thus, in Rabbinic prayer, compared with the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish prayer, praise has become more prevalent and petitions no longer have such a significant position. Further, most of the Rabbinic praises are blessings in the *third*...
person, for example the short blessings in different occasions in mBer 9. Thus, one of the praise formulas in the Hebrew Bible has become predominant within Rabbinic prayer.

2. Context

2.3.2. Boundary-making Elements

ERHARD S. GERSTENBERGER points out, that religious rituals, and we may include also common prayer, create and strengthen the social identity. They create communion within the praying community, but at the same time they define boundaries against outsiders. This is a phenomenon, which can be found throughout the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish and Rabbinic literature. Further, this is not only an ancient matter, but, as ITHAMAR GRUENWALD complains, the same phenomenon is to be found in the modern prayer practices as well. 399

The Hebrew Bible. In the Hebrew Bible the boundary-making elements are clearly seen especially in some psalms. We note, for example, how the prayers in the Hebrew Bible often describe the enemies and their lot.400 We may take as an example Ps 83:6-13:

With one mind they plot together; they form an alliance against you-the tents of Edom and the Ishmaelites, of Moab and the Hagrites, Gebal, Ammon and Amalek, Philistia, with the people of Tyre. Even Assyria has joined them to lend strength to the descendants of Lot. Selah
Do to them as you did to Midian, as you did to Sisera and Jabin at the river Kishon, who perished at Endor and became like refuse on the ground. Make their nobles like Oreb and Zeeb, all their princes like Zebah and Zalmunna, who said, “Let us take possession of the pasturelands of God.”

This prayer, as many others, is a plea against national enemies. Nevertheless, even the boundary lines between different social groups within the people are reflected in some prayers. Let us consider, for example, Ps 12:2-5:

Help, LORD, for the godly are no more; the faithful have vanished from among men. Everyone lies to his neighbor; their flattering lips speak with deception. May the LORD cut off all flattering lips and every boastful tongue that says, “We will triumph with our tongues; we own our lips – who is our master?”

2. Context

Early Jewish literature. As many psalms in the Hebrew Bible, so also the Psalms of Solomon include elements, which serve as a boundary marker between the worshipping group and the outsiders. We may read, for example, PsSol 5:1:

Lord God, I will joyfully praise your name among those who know your righteous judgments.

This piece of praise clearly defines the worshippers as a group of the righteous. Further, many of these psalms include petitions against the outsiders, whether they be gentiles or sinners within the own people. For example, PsSol 2:24-31 urges God to avenge the nations, who have destroyed Jerusalem. Likewise PsSol 7 is a prayer against enemies. PsSol 12, for its part, is a plea that God would destroy the sinners and unrighteous and preserve the pious.

The Dead Sea Scrolls. As the biblical Psalms and the Psalms of Solomon, even the hymns in *Hodayot* describe the foes of the Community and God’s revenge upon them. The hymns do not include explicit pleas against the foes, but their condemnation is anticipated as a self-evident fact. An illuminative passage is to be found in 1QH⁸ xii:18-22:

But you, O God, will answer them, judging them with your power according to their idols and their numerous sins, so that in their schemes are caught those who deviate from your covenant. At the judgment you will annihilate all the men of deception, there will no longer exist seers of delusion. For there is no folly in all your acts, and there is no deception in the intentions of your heart. Those in harmony with you, will persist in your presence always; those who walk on the path of your heart, will be established permanently.

This text, besides describing the lot of the wicked, relates the good future of the just. Thus it clearly draws a boundary line between the Community and the outsiders.

Even more clearly the distinction between the just and the wicked has been drawn in a psalm pesher 4QpPs⁹ (4Q171), which is mainly an interpretation of the biblical Ps 37. True, the pesher as such is not a prayer text but a commentary on a biblical text. Nevertheless, assuming that the biblical Psalms were recited at Qumran,⁴⁰¹ this pesher reveals, how the Qumranites understood the psalm and accordingly, which kind of social significance the recitation of the psalm had as an identity confirmer for them. An informative excerpt of the pesher is its interpretation of Ps 37:10-11. The text runs:

⁴⁰¹ See Falk 2000, 120.
(Ps 37:10) *I will stare at his place and he will no longer be there.* Its interpretation concerns all the evil at the end of the forty years, for they shall be devoured and upon the earth no wicked person will be found. (Ps 37:11) *And the poor shall inherit the land and enjoy peace in plenty.* Its interpretation concerns the congregation of the poor who will tolerate the period of distress and will be rescued from all the snares of Belial (4QpPs* ii:9-11).

Thus, all the evil (רמשיע) will be destroyed and the congregation of the poor (לדת האברונים), i.e. the Community, will inherit the land.

*Early Rabbinic literature.* The strict regulation of proper prayer formulas in early Rabbinic literature made prayer a distinctive mark of the praying person’s social status. An anonymous saying in tBer 1:6 suggests, that from the recited formulas one could draw conclusions, whether the praying man was a boor or a disciple of the sages. TBer 1:6 runs as follows:

> These are the blessings [whose formulae] they may shorten: [those recited over] the produce [one eats], over the [performance of individual] Commandments, the blessings of the invitation [to recite the other blessings after the meal], and the meal-blessings after the meal. These are the blessings [whose formulae] they may lengthen: those blessings [in the Prayer recited on] public fast days, and those blessings [in the Prayer recited on] the New Year, and those blessings [in the Prayer recited on] the Day of Atonement. *From a man’s [style of reciting] blessings one can tell whether he is a boor or a disciple of the sages.*

The social significance of prayer is to be seen even clearer in a regulation in tBer 6:18. The saying of an Ushan rabbi Judah runs:

> “A man must recite three benedictions every day: (1) “Praised [be Thou, O Lord …] who did not make me a gentile”; (2) “Praised [be thou, O Lord …] who did not make me a boor”; (3) “Praised [be Thou, O Lord …] who did not make me a woman.”

These benedictions define the social status of the praying person by drawing boundary lines between him and the outsiders.

2.3.3. Addresses

*The Hebrew Bible.* Sometimes the prayers in the Hebrew Bible are said without any address,402 but most often they include a short address at the

---

402 E.g. Num 21:2; Judg 6:36,39; 11:30; 15:18; 1Sam 14:37,41.

87
beginning of the prayer or perhaps later within the prayer text.\(^{403}\) Predominantly the most frequently used address to God is a simple ‘Yahweh’ (יהוה). Other frequently found addresses are ‘God’ (אלוהים), ‘Lord’ (אדון) and ‘King’ (מלך) often with a possessive suffix denoting ‘my’ or ‘our’, and further, often a combination of these is used.\(^{404}\)

The simple addresses are often attached by genitive attributes, e.g. ‘of revenge’ ( kukmim)\(^{405}\), ‘of hosts’ (צבאות)\(^{406}\), ‘of heaven’\(^ {407}\), ‘of Israel’\(^{408}\), ‘of Abraham’\(^{409}\), ‘of Abraham and Isaac’\(^{410}\), ‘of Abraham, Isaac and Israel’\(^{411}\), ‘of Jacob’\(^{412}\), ‘of our fathers’\(^ {413}\). In the last example the significance of mentioning the fathers is to recall God’s former good deeds towards them. The Ammonites and the Moabites make war against Judah, and in this emergency King Jehoshaphat prays in the Temple and reminds God, how he once drove out the inhabitants of the promised land and gave the land to the descendants of Abraham (2Chr 20:6-12). It is probable, that also in those cases where the petitioner calls God ‘the God of Abraham, Isaac and/or Jacob’, the purpose is to appeal to God’s promises to the patriarchs.

Besides genitive attributes the addresses may include adjective and noun attributes. God is addressed as a ‘great, [mighty] and awesome God’ (יהוה הגדולה והדרון)\(^ {414}\) or ‘mighty King’ (מלך מלחים)\(^ {415}\). He is further called ‘my/our Saviour’ (ישועו/ישועתנו)\(^ {416}\), ‘my Salvation’ (ישועתא)\(^ {417}\), ‘my Rock and my Redeemer’ (עד תורן ואלהי)\(^ {418}\).

\(^{403}\) Blank 1961, 79. See also Aejmelaeus 1986, 54-59, who discusses the addresses in individual laments.

\(^{404}\) E.g. 1Kgs 19:10,14; Pss 69:7; 80:5,8; 84:2,4

\(^{405}\) Ps 94:1.

\(^{406}\) E.g. 1Sam 1:11; 2Sam 7:27; 1Kgs 19:10,14; Pss 69:7; 80:5,8; 84:2,4

\(^{407}\) Neh 1:5.

\(^{408}\) E.g. Judg 21:3; 1Sam 8:23; 2Sam 7:27; 2Kgs 19:15; Ps 69:7; Ezra 9:15.

\(^{409}\) Gen 24:12.

\(^{410}\) Gen 32:9.

\(^{411}\) 1Kgs 18:36.

\(^{412}\) Ps 76,7; 84,9.

\(^{413}\) 2Chr 20:6.

\(^{414}\) Neh 1:5; 9:32.

\(^{415}\) Ps 99:4.

\(^{416}\) Ps 88:2 / Pss 79:9; 85:5.

\(^{417}\) Pss 38:23; 51:16.
Furthermore, sometimes God is addressed with an alone-standing epithet, e.g. he is called ‘Most High’ (אלל”), ‘Shepherd of Israel’ or ‘Judge of the Earth’. 419

Moreover, in some prayers the address proper is followed by a relative sentence, which describes God’s deeds or qualities. 420 For example, the prayer of Hezekiah runs as follows:

O Lord, God of Israel, enthroned between the cherubim, you alone are God over all the kingdoms of the earth. You have made heaven and earth. Give ear, O Lord ... (2Kgs 19:15).

Another good example is the prayer of Nehemiah:

O Lord, God of heaven, the great and awesome God, who keeps his covenant of love with those who love him and obey his commands, 421 let your ear be attentive ... (Neh 1:5).

A third example of a relative clause in an address from Ps 80:

Hear us, o Shepherd of Israel, you who lead Joseph like a flock; you who sit enthroned between the cherubim, shine forth ... (Ps 80:2).

We note that there is a great variety of addresses to God, and in one and the same prayer there may be several different ones. The addresses are generally associated with the contents of the actual prayer. 422 Most often the addresses are quite short, with, at most, two or three epithets or attributes, 423 but there are also some examples of longer addresses. For example, Nehemiah’s prayer, cited above, has three epithets (אל, אלל”), one genitive attribute, two adjective attributes and a relative clause.

Early Jewish literature. The most frequent prayer address in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is a simple ‘Lord’. In the Greek text the word

418 Ps 19:15.
419 Pss 9:3; 80:2; 94:2
420 In addition to the examples mentioned below see e.g. Dan 9:15: “... who brought your people out of Egypt with a mighty hand and who made for yourself a name that endures to this day ...”; Jer 11:20: “... , you who judge righteously and test the heart and mind ... “
421 Dan 9:4 has an identical, formulaic, relative clause. See also Neh 9:32, 1Kgs 8:23 and 2Chr 6:14, where the clause is in a shorter form. The formula derives from Deut 7:9.
422 Greenberg 1983, 11; Balentine 1993a, 265-266.
423 See Aejmelaeus 1986, 56-57.
underlying that translation is usually κύριε, sometimes δέσποτα.\textsuperscript{424} Frequently appears also the address ‘God’, often together with the title ‘Lord’, and repeatedly with an addition ‘of Israel’\textsuperscript{425} / Abraham,\textsuperscript{426} Isaac,\textsuperscript{427} and Jacob\textsuperscript{428} / my father\textsuperscript{429} / our (my)fathers.\textsuperscript{430} This address includes a clear reminder of God’s former good deeds for the fathers or for the people. Sometimes an individual calls God ‘my God’.\textsuperscript{431}

Occasionally God is addressed as ‘King’.\textsuperscript{432} Another way to refer to God’s sovereignty is to call him, for instance, ‘the God of all power (and might)’,\textsuperscript{433} ‘the God of all’,\textsuperscript{434} ‘Almighty’,\textsuperscript{435} ‘Creator’,\textsuperscript{436} ‘Sovereign (of the heavens)’,\textsuperscript{437} etc. We note that the great variety of addresses in the Hebrew Bible is to be found in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha as well.

Nevertheless, there is one remarkable difference between the addresses in the Hebrew Bible and in the post-biblical texts. Namely, the address ‘Father’, which does not appear in the Hebrew Bible,\textsuperscript{438} is attested a few times in these later texts. God is addressed as ‘Father’ twice in Ben Sira, once in the Wisdom of Solomon, once in the Life of Adam and Eve and twice in the Third Maccabees, that means, both in Palestinian and in Diaspora-Jewish documents. The texts run:

\begin{verbatim}
Lord, Father and Ruler of my life ... Lord, Father and God of my life ... (Sir 23:1,4).\textsuperscript{439}

Desire for gain invented the ship, and the shipwright with his wisdom built it, but it is thy providence, O Father, that is its pilot, ... (WisSol 14:2-3).

... ‘Forgive him, O Father of all, for he is your image’ (LAE 35:2).
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{424} E.g. Sir 23:1; 36:1; 2Mac 15:21; 1Esdr 4:60; LetJer 5.
\textsuperscript{425} E.g. Jdt 13:7; Bar 2:11; 3:1:4; 1En 8:89 (Lord of Israel); PsSol 9:8; Jub 45:4.
\textsuperscript{426} E.g. AddEsth 13:15; 14:18; Jub 31:25.
\textsuperscript{427} Jub 31:31; 45:4.
\textsuperscript{428} E.g. PrMan 1.
\textsuperscript{429} Jdt 9:2,12.
\textsuperscript{430} E.g. Dan 3:26,52 (LXX); PrMan 1; 1Esdr 4:60; Tob 8:5; TestJos 6:7; Jub 49:6; LAB 10:4; 22:7; 25:6; 27:7; 43:7.
\textsuperscript{432} E.g. AddEsth 13:9,15; Sir 51:1; 2Mac 1:24; 3Mac 2:2,9; 6:2.
\textsuperscript{433} Jdt 9:14; 13:4.
\textsuperscript{434} Sir 36:1; Jub 31:13.
\textsuperscript{435} Bar 3:1,4; LetArist 185; Jub 27:11.
\textsuperscript{436} 2Mac 1:24; Jub 45:5.
\textsuperscript{437} 2Mac 15:23; 3Mac 2:2.
\textsuperscript{438} See, nevertheless, Jer 3:19. In that passage the ‘Father’-address is not used in connection with an actual, real prayer, but it is a prayer address of God’s ideal people. See p. 136.
\textsuperscript{439} κύριε πάτερ καὶ δέσποτα / θεὲ μου. Unfortunately we don’t have the Hebrew text of this passage. See Corley 2002, 36.
King, great in power, Most High, All-conquering God, who governs the whole creation with mercy, look upon the the seed of Abraham, O Father, upon the children of Jacob whom you sanctified, the people of your sanctified inheritance who are perishing unjustly as strangers in a strange land. ... When Jonah was pining away unpitied in the belly of the monster of the deep, you, Father, restored him uninjured to all his household (3Mac 6:3,8).

Although the addresses in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha prayers are usually quite short, there are, nevertheless, a few prayers where God is addressed with multiple names, titles and attributes. The most elaborate ones can be found in the Book of Judith, in the Third Maccabees and especially in the Apocalypse of Abraham:

Hear, O hear, thou God of my forefather, God of Israel’s heritage, ruler of heaven and earth, creator of the waters, king of all thy creation, hear thou my prayer (Jud 9:12).

The high priest, Simon, knelt in homage in front of the sanctuary and, holding out his hands with due reverence, he prayed. “Lord, Lord, King of heaven, ruler of all creation, holy among the holy ones, sovereign, conqueror of all, pay heed to us ...” (3Mac 2:1-2).

Eternal One, Mighty One, Holy El, God autocrat self-originate, incorruptible, immaculate, unbecotten, spotless, immortal, self-perfected, self-devised, without mother, without father, ungenerated, exalted, fiery, just, lover of men, benevolent, compassionate, bountiful, jealous over me, patient one, most merciful. Eli, eternal, mighty one, holy, Sabaoth, most glorious El, El, El, Iaoel, you are he my soul has loved, my protector. Eternal, fiery, shining, light-giving, thunder-voiced, lighting-visioned, many-eyed ... Accept my prayer ... (ApAb 17:8-15,20).

Let us take yet an example from Second Maccabees, in which several relative clauses appear in addition to the epithets:

The prayer was in this style: “O Lord God, creator of all things, thou the terrible, the mighty, the just, and the merciful, the only King, the only gracious one, the only giver, the only just, omnipotent, and everlasting one, who dost deliver Israel from every evil, who didst choose the patriarchs and set them apart ...” (2Mac 1:24).

Anderson’s translation in The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha does not – probably because of text critical reasons – contain the word ‘Father’. In Rahlf’s LXX-edition the corresponding Greek word is, nevertheless, attested.
2. Context

The Dead Sea Scrolls. In the prayers found at Qumran God is addressed generally only briefly with a simple ‘Yahweh’, ‘Adonai’ or ‘God of Israel’. For our study a small fragmentary text, which includes a psalm attributed to Joseph (4QapocrJosephb [4Q372]), is of high interest, because God is addressed as ‘father’ in this prayer. The psalm begins with words:

My father and my God, do not abandon me into the hands of the nations, ...

This text is probably of non-Qumranic provenance, which makes it even more valuable for us, because it thus gives us – in addition to the early Jewish prayers referred to on p. 90 – more evidence for the fact that God was addressed ‘father’, not only at Qumran, but also beyond, within early Judaism.

Early Rabbinic literature. The most prominent address in the Rabbinic prayers is a simple and short ‘Lord’, often with an addition ‘my/our God’. In the Amidah God is, nevertheless, addressed with several epithets. Even in this prayer the formula ‘Lord our God’ recurs, but in addition to it God is called ‘our Father’ in bens. 4, (5) and 6. The epithet ‘Lord’ is combined with different relative clauses in most of the benedictions, and in the first benediction God is addressed with altogether seven different, biblical epithets. Unfortunately, we do not know, whether these addresses were already in use during the Javnean era. We only know that the outline of the Amidah was established then, but the oldest documented wording of it is some hundred years later.

Many of the Rabbinic prayers do not include any address at all. We have already noted that most of the praises do not address God directly but they are formulated in the third person. These praises most often do not have any epithet for God but they refer to God with the personal pronoun ‘he’. The Qaddish is one example of this kind of praise.

441 E.g. in the Plea for Deliverance and Psalm 155.
442 E.g. in the Festival Prayers, Words of the Luminaries and Hodayot.
443 In the Daily Prayers.
444 About 4QapocrJosephb see Schuller 1992, 67-79.
445 Heinemann 1978, 83.
2. Context

2.4. Intercessory Prayer

One important form of prayer found throughout the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish literature is intercessory prayer. To consider this form of prayer separately is to the purpose for us, because there is one clear reference to intercessory prayer in the Jesus tradition (Q 6:28).

The Hebrew Bible. Moses, Samuel, and particularly Jeremiah, are known as intercessors in the Hebrew Bible. That task is implicitly granted also to Noah, Daniel and Job (Ezek 14:4), and even the prophet Amos prays twice for the people in his vision (Amos 7:1-6). Thus, intercessory prayer seems to be mainly a task of special men of God.

TORREY SELAND points out that intercession is most often described in legal terms in the Hebrew Bible. The intercessor stands up before God for the people or for an individual. A good example of this kind of intercession is Jer 18:20, in which the prophet says to God:

... Remember that I stood before you and spoke in their behalf to turn your wrath away from them.

Likewise, Moses intercedes for the people because of their sins, and even for Aaron, as in Deut 9:20:

---

446 Balentine 1984, 161-162; Reventlow 1986, 228-264. Reventlow 1986, 229 suggests that intercessory prayer would be generally a prophetic task. In my reading the examples he takes from 1. and 2. Kings (1Kgs 14:1-14; 2Kgs 8:7-15) and Ezekiel (Ezek 14:2; 20:1-3) are not, nevertheless, about intercessory prayer, but in these passages a prophet has mainly an oracle-like function to declare God’s answer. In 2Kgs 19:4 / Isa 37:1-7 King Hezekiah does ask Isaiah for an intercessory prayer, true, but the prophet does not pray but proclaims deliverance from the enemy. Balentine 1984, 161-163 has shown that the understanding of intercession as a specific prophetic function does not hold good. It is only some figures, which are known as intercessors in the Hebrew Bible, and among them Jeremiah is the only major prophet. We might add that also Daniel and Amos are granted an intercessory task. See also Fenske 1997, 173-174.


450 Balentine 1984, 170.

451 See Job 41:7-11.


453 Seland 1987, 158-159.
And the Lord was angry enough with Aaron to destroy him, but at that time I prayed for Aaron too.

A special case to be mentioned in this connection is the suffering Servant of God, who in Isa 53:12 is said to have interceded for the transgressors. Nevertheless, intercession is not a task for special men alone in the Hebrew Bible, but even the people as a whole in exile gets an exhortation to pray for Babylon from Jeremiah (Jer 29:7).

Early Jewish literature. As already stated above, on p. 71, many of the prayers in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha are intercessory prayers. Again, as in the Hebrew Bible, we note that intercession is mainly a task for particular individuals. For example, in the Lives of the Prophets Jeremiah is said to have prayed for the Egyptians (LivPro 2:3-4) and Daniel, for his part, for Nebuchadnezzar (LivPro 4:4). Further, Judith is asked to pray for the people because she is a devout woman (Jdt 8:29). Judah sees, in a vision, high priest Onias and prophet Jeremiah praying for the people and Jerusalem (2Mac 15:12-14). In the vision Onias says about Jeremiah that he prays much for the people. This corresponds well with this prophet’s image in the Hebrew Bible. Furthermore, a pious man called Eleazar prays for the people while dying as martyr (4Mac 4:13). An angel prays for the people in the Testament of Dan (TDan 6:2). Likewise, in 1.Enoch, the angels (1En 39:5) and one of the four presences before the Lord of the Spirits intercede for those who dwell on the earth (1En 40:6). In Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum (Pseudo-Philo) Moses is presented as a shepherd and judge, who always prays for the sins of the people (LAB 19:3. Cf. 12:8-9; 19:8-9), and the guardian angel of the people is implicitly granted the task of interceding for them (LAB 15:5).

In Philo’s Quaest. in Ex. 2:49, Moses is, once again, presented as an intercessor. Philo gives his explanation to Ex. 24:18 and says that Moses stayed on the mountain forty days and nights in order to reconcile the Father to the nation through prayers and intercessions. Nevertheless, not only Moses but even the high priest is, according to Philo, a great intercessor. In Spec.Leg. 1:97 Philo compares the Jewish high priest to the priests of other deities and says, that while they offer up prayers and sacrifices solely for their own fellow citizens, the high priest offers them for all of mankind and even for different parts of the nature.

454 See, nevertheless, Baltzer 1999, 540, who suggests that the last line of Isa 53:12 should be revised according to 1QIsa and translated: "und für ihre Sünde wird er eintreten." 1QIsa has instead of the masoretic ולפשעיהו instead of the masoretic ופלשעיהו.

455 See p. 93.
We note that, most often, it is the hero of the story, or a priest, a prophet, a martyr, a devout woman or an angel who intercedes for others. Likewise for Philo, it is mainly a righteous man who serves as an intercessor.456

In addition to the intercessory prayers of specific individuals, even a group of people may pray for others. Let us take up some examples. First, the second book of the Maccabees begins with a letter by the people of Jerusalem to the Jews in Egypt. In this letter the Jerusalemites promise to pray for their kinsmen in Diaspora (1Mac 1:6). Second, 1Mac 12:6-18 reproduces the letter, which the high priest Jonathan, in the name of the Jewish people, wrote to the Spartans. He declares in this letter that they constantly remember their brother Spartans in their feasts, sacrifices and prayers. Third, the faithful of the people sacrifice and pray for the sons of Reuben, sons of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh, who had transgressed through establishing an altar of their own (LAB 22:7). Finally, Philo considers the whole Jewish people as a priesthood, whose task is to pray for all of mankind (Mos.I 149; Spec.Leg. 2:167).457 A similar idea is attested in JosApion 2:193, where Josephus writes that the Jews’ duty is, in the first place, to pray for common welfare of all.

It is also to the purpose to refer to LetAris 248, in which one of the 72 elders of the Jewish tribes tells King Ptolemy that it is customary for the Jewish people to pray for blessings on their children.

There can be seen a slight change in early Jewish literature in the contents of intercessory prayer as compared with the Hebrew Bible. Namely, the legal aspects, which are very central in the Hebrew Bible, are not prominent in early Jewish literature, rather the intercessor asks for God’s blessings and for his welfare.458

2.5. Grounds for God’s Answering

Confidence in that God will hear the prayers and answer them is prevalent throughout the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish literature, as well as the Dead Sea Scrolls and early Rabbinic literature. This becomes evident, for example, in the construction of single prayers and of larger compositions. We have already noted that conventional songs of prayer often include an element of thanksgiving in the end. Even in the structure of the Book of Psalms a corresponding tendency from lament and petition to thanksgiving

456 Larson 1946, 195.
458 Seland 1987, 159.
and praise can be seen. Also in the Book of Job God answers at the end, although not in the way Job has expected. Thus, faith in God who answers prayers is one of the corner-stones of the biblical and early Jewish faith. Often God’s willingness to answer is taken for granted, but there are also texts, where the grounds for God’s answer are discussed either explicitly or implicitly.\textsuperscript{459} We will now go on to find out, what the grounds for God’s answer are, which are referred to in the Hebrew Bible, in early Jewish literature, in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in early Rabbinic literature.

2.5.1. Attributes of God

The Hebrew Bible. The basic ground for God’s answer is the covenant God has made with his people, or with David,\textsuperscript{460} and his faithfulness to this covenant.\textsuperscript{461} An illuminative passage concerning this is to be found in the beginning of Exodus. The text runs:

... The Israelites groaned in their slavery and cried out, and their cry for help because of their slavery went up to God. God heard their groaning and he remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac and with Jacob. So God looked on the Israelites and was concerned about them (Ex 2:24-25).

The petitioner can, accordingly, appeal to God through asking him to remember the covenant.\textsuperscript{462} For example, Moses says when he prays for the people, who have lapsed into worshipping the Golden Calf:

Turn from your fierce anger; relent and do not bring disaster on your people. Remember your servants Abraham, Isaac and Israel, to whom you swore by your own self: ‘I will make your descendants as numerous as the stars in the sky and I will give your descendants all this land I promised them, and it will be their inheritance forever’ (Ex 32:12-13).

It is reported immediately after this prayer that the Lord relented and did not punish the people as he had planned.

We have already noted, when we discussed the different addresses to God, that some of them, especially those which address God as the God of the Fathers or which in the relative clauses remind God of his former good

---

\textsuperscript{460} E.g. Ps 89 describes first the covenant, which God has made with David (vv. 4-5,20-38), and appeals then to this covenant: “O Lord, where is your former great love (יְדִיבָה), which in your faithfulness you swore to David? Remember, O Lord, ...” (vv. 49-50).
\textsuperscript{461} Blank 1953, 7-8. See also Balentine 1993b, 22.
\textsuperscript{462} In addition to the passage quoted below see also e.g. Deut 9:27; Ps 74:2; Jer 14:21.
2. Context

deeds, have the tone of appealing to God’s faithfulness.  The deuteronomistic formula (“... who keeps his covenant of love with those who love him and obey his commands”; see p. 89), which is attested in the prayers of Nehemiah and Daniel, should especially be taken note of at this point.

A specific word denoting God’s faithfulness towards the covenant is הָבֵד. For example, the psalmist appeals to God’s הָבֵד in Pss 6:5, 25:7; 51:3; 69:17 and 109:21 and Nehemiah in Neh 13:22.

Thus, God will answer the prayers because of his faithfulness. Nevertheless, this is not the only attribute of God that serves as grounds for his answer. Daniel, for example, appeals in his prayer, in Dan 9, to God’s righteousness (זְדֶקָה, v. 7), mercifulness (רַחַם, vv. 9, 18; cf. Ps 51:3) and forgivingness (סְלָמָה, v. 9). Further, more generally without mentioning any specific attribute of God, Daniel asks him to respond “for your sake” (vv. 17, 19). Correspondingly, God promises through Ezekiel to save his people for his name’s sake and not to act according to the people’s evil ways (Ezek 20:44; 36:22). Furthermore, the psalmist appeals, for example, to God’s goodness (בְּרִי). Abraham, for his part, appeals to God’s sense of justice, when he questions God’s plan to destroy Sodom (Gen 18:25).

Early Jewish literature. As in the Hebrew Bible even in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha the praying people frequently appeal to God’s former deeds, which are related to their actual need and petition. As an example of this we can take Judith’s prayer for victory against the Assyrians. She reminds God of how he once helped her ancestor Simeon to take vengeance on the evildoing foreigners:

O Lord, the God of my forefather Simeon! Thou didst put in his hand a sword to take vengeance on those foreigners who had stripped off a virgin’s veil to defile her, uncovered her thighs to shame her, and polluted her womb to dishonour her... Grant that my deceitful words may wound and bruise them; for they have cruel designs against thy covenant, thy sacred house, the summit of Zion, and thy children’s home, their own possession (Jdt 9:2.13).

466 Ps 25:7.
467 Johnson 1948, 38-41; Flusser 1984, 570-573.

97
Likewise Raguel blesses God for the mercy he has already shown to him and asks for further mercy for his daughter Sarah and for Tobias:

Praise to thee for the joy thou hast given me; the thing I feared has not happened, but thou hast shown us thy great mercy. Praise to thee for the mercy thou hast shown to these two, these only children. Lord, show them mercy, keep them safe, and grant them a long life of happiness and affection (Tob 8:16-17).

When Eleazar asks God to save the people from the hands of King Ptolemy, he reminds God of his deeds against the Pharaoh in Moses’s time and against Sennacherib, and how he once saved the three young men from the flames and Daniel from the lions’ den in Babylon (3Mac 6:4-8). When Aseneth approaches God with her plea, she reminds God of the miracles of creation (JosAsen 12:1-2). The people in Exile ask Baruch to pray for them, so that they would get favour in the sight of the Babylonians, and they request him to remind God of the Exodus (Bar 2:11-14). Frequently God is reminded of his covenant with Abraham (e.g. Bar 2:34; PrAzar 12-13). Similar examples could be drawn from almost every supplicatory prayer found in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

Closely related to the manner of reminding God of his deeds is to give him several attributes, as in the following two prayers of Tobit and Judith:

Thou art just, O Lord, and all your acts are just; in all your ways thou art merciful and true; thou art judge of the world. Remember me now, Lord, and look upon me (Tob 3:2-3).

But thou art the God of the humble, the help of the poor, the support of the weak, the protector of the desperate, the deliverer of the hopeless. Hear, O hear, thou God of my forefather, God of Israel’s heritage, ruler of heaven and earth, creator of the waters, king of all thy creation, hear thou my prayer (Jdt 9:11b-12).

God’s compassion, mercifulness, righteousness, omniscience and so on, are appealed to in many prayers. Further, we may suppose that those addresses, which call God the God of the fathers, are, in fact, appeals to God’s faithfulness to the covenant. In 2Mac 8:14-15 Judas and his men pray to God and it is said explicitly that they appeal not to their own merits but to the covenants. Moses, when praying before crossing the Red Sea, reminds God of the promise he had given when he called Moses (LAB 10:4). Ben Sira, for his part, states explicitly that God answers to prayers because he is compassionate and merciful (Sir 2:11), and in PsSol 5:5 the certainty of

---

470 Werline 1998, 121.170-172.
God’s answer is based simply on the fact that he is the God of the praying people.

*The Dead Sea Scrolls.* We have already noted that the *Festival Prayers* and the *Prayers of the Luminaries* appeal to God by asking him to remember his former deeds. Among them are, for example, the creation (*4QDibHam* [4Q504] frag. 8 front) and the covenant made at Horeb (*4QDibHam* frag. 3 ii). We may again, as with the prayers in the Hebrew Bible and in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, understand these remembrances so that they are appealing to God’s faithfulness. Further, in the *Plea for Deliverance*, the petitioner appeals to God’s goodness, great compassion and his many righteous deeds (*11QPs* [11Q5] xix:5).

*Early Rabbinic literature.* The biblical belief in God who hears prayers is prevalent even in the Rabbinic prayers. The phrase ‘Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer!’, which closes the 15th benediction of the *Amidah*, occurs often at the end of other Rabbinic prayers as well (see e.g. *tBer* 3:7). Nevertheless, that kind of appealing to God’s attributes or former good deeds, which is customary in the biblical prayers and in early Jewish literature, does not occur in early Rabbinic prayers.

2.5.2. Attributes of the Praying Person

*The Hebrew Bible.* Let us now turn to consider the attributes of the praying person, which may serve as grounds for God’s answer. In some cases the petitioner appeals to his own merits before God. We take the prayer of King Hezekiah as an example:

> Remember, O Lord, how I have walked before you faithfully and with wholehearted devotion and have done what is good in your eyes (*2Kgs* 20:2; *Isa* 38:3).

Likewise Nehemiah reminds God of his merits for the people (*Neh* 5:19; 13:14) and the psalmist appeals to his own piety (*Ps 86:2 (הרי התמיי) or blamelessness and upright walk (*Ps 26:1-3).*

471 See pp. 75-76.
472 Charlesworth 1993a, 38.
473 See Greenberg 1983, 48-51. Greenberg discusses especially the sincerity as a condition of prayer.
Humbling oneself and repentance are sometimes mentioned as the grounds for God’s answer.\textsuperscript{474} God himself promises to remember his covenant, if the people confess their sins and humble their hearts (Lev 26:40-45), and King Manasseh’s prayer is heard, when he humbles himself and prays to God in his distress (2Chr 33:12-13). Likewise God promises Solomon that he will hear from heaven and forgive the sins of the people, if they humble themselves and pray and seek his face and turn from their wicked ways (2Chr 7:14), and God hears King Josiah, because he has humbled himself before God (2Kgs 22:19, 2Chr 34:27).

Some heroes, especially the Great Intercessors, Abraham, Samuel, Jeremiah, Noah, Daniel and Job, are presented as having a special relationship to God, which ensures that their prayers will be heard, or, as Sheldon H. Blank states: “God cannot lightly ignore their prayers.”\textsuperscript{475} He points out that God could not only be unconcerned towards Jeremiah’s intercessory prayers, but he had to forbid Jeremiah to pray for the wicked people (Jer 7:16; 11:14; 14:11), which indicates that it was indeed hard for God to refuse answering.\textsuperscript{476} What is, then, the virtue of these men, which makes them into great men of prayer? God promises to answer Moses’s prayer simply because he is pleased with Moses and knows him by name (Ex 33:17). Abraham, Noah and Job, for their part, are said to be particularly righteous. Abraham’s belief was credited for him as righteousness (Gen 15:6); Noah is said to have been a righteous man, blameless among the people of his time (Gen 6:9); and Job receives from God a high esteem of being blameless and upright, a man who fears God and shuns evil. He is, in this respect, even the best among the all of mankind (Job 1:8). Similarly, Samuel has a close relationship with God from his early childhood (1Sam 1:24-28; 3:1-21) and Daniel keeps himself pure and faithful despite the serious consequences (Dan 6).

Thus, we note that it is especially the prayers of the righteous that will be heard. This fact is confirmed by negation when we observe, whose prayers God will \textit{not} hear. God declares through Isaiah that he will not listen to the prayers of his people, how many and eager they even might be, because their hands are full of blood, i.e. because of their evil deeds (Isa 1:15), and also later, in the third Isaiah, the sins of the people are said to be the reason why God will not hear (Isa 59:2). The same tone continues in the Book of Jeremiah. Although the people fast, cry and make offerings, God will not listen to their cry nor accept their offerings because of their wickedness (Jer 14:10-12). To Ezekiel God says that he will not listen to the shouts of the people because of their idolatry (Ezek 8:17-18). Through

\textsuperscript{474} In addition to the passages below see 1Kgs 21:29; 2Chr 12:6-7.12; 32:26. See Reventlow 1986, 274.
\textsuperscript{475} Blank 1953, 2-5.
\textsuperscript{476} Blank 1953, 4.
2. Context

Amos God announces his hate towards the religious activities of the people, including their songs (Amos 5:21-24). Zechariah gets a word from God stating that because the people have not listened to his word, neither will he listen to their prayers (Zech 7:13). The psalmist, for his part, states that if he had cherished sin in his heart, the Lord would not have listened to his prayer (Ps 66:18), and a proverb crystallizes the idea very aptly:

If anyone turns a deaf ear to the law, even his prayers are detestable (Prov 28:9).

The overall picture is thus quite clear. The prayers of the righteous are heard, but the prayers of sinners are not, unless they repent and humble themselves.

Nevertheless, the matter is not that simple. Namely, the discussion of the subject matter in the book of Job gives an interesting point of view. The ‘friends’ of Job maintain the simple view described above. Thus, according to their theology, the misfortunes of Job prove that he must have some sins to repent of, in order to be heard by God. Accordingly Eliphaz instructs Job:477

If you return to the Almighty, you will be restored478; If you remove wickedness far from your tent and assign your nuggets to the dust, your gold of Ophir to the rocks in the ravines, then the Almighty will be your gold, the choicest silver for you. Surely then you will find delight in the Almighty and will lift up your face to God. You will pray to him and he will hear you, and you will fulfill your vows (Job 22:23-27).

Nevertheless, in the end of the book God himself declares that the friends’ ideas about God have been wrong (Job 42:7). Thus the problem of theodicy makes a categorical use of the rule ‘righteous are heard, sinners not’ problematic.

Yet another attribute of the praying person, which is mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, is persistence.479 This virtue is evidenced especially in Isa 62. The text runs:

For Zion’s sake I will not keep silent, for Jerusalem’s sake I will not remain quiet, till her righteousness shines out like the dawn, her salvation like a blazing torch. ... I have posted watchmen on your walls, O Jerusalem; they will never be silent day or night. You who call on the Lord, give yourselves no rest, and give

478 Instead of the masoretic ‘you will be restored’ (רנן) LXX has ‘and humble yourself’ (ταπεινώθης σεαυτόν). Maybe the translator had a word ἀπατάω, ‘humble himself’ in his Hebrew version. We have already noted, that the motif of humbling himself is often attested in passages, which deal with God’s answering prayers.
him no rest till he establishes Jerusalem and makes her the praise of the earth
(Isa 62:1,6-7).

The prophet himself will continue praying for Jerusalem until God answers,
and the watchmen, whom the prophet has posted, will follow his example.
The idea is interesting, that those who pray must not rest nor give *God* any
rest until he establishes Jerusalem.

*Early Jewish literature.* The biblical idea that God will hear the prayers of
the righteous is well attested even in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.
For example, the psalmist in the Psalms of Solomon is sure that God will
hear his cry because he is full of righteousness (PsSol 1:2). Further, it is
stated that God will hear the prayer of those who fear him (PsSol 6:5) or of

Even an honest repentance is a ground for God’s answer. Judah is
granted forgiveness of his heavy transgression, because he supplicates
earnestly and turns away from sin (Jub 41:23-26). Further, LetAris 18
stresses pure motives, interest in righteousness and performance of noble
deeds as the grounds for God’s answering. Furthermore, in LetAris 192 it is
stated that the petitions of the worthy are always fulfilled. The same idea is
expressed in a negative way in LAB 44:10, where God says that he will not
hear the prayers of those, who make a false declaration of his name.

Ben Sira has quite a lot to say about this matter. Regarding God’s response
to prayers he makes a clear distinction between the righteous and the
wicked. On the one hand, those who fear God (2:7-10), honor their father
(3:5), have wisdom (15:10), forgive their neighbors (28:2), whose service is
pleasing to the Lord and who are humble (35:16-17), they will be
answered. On the other hand, God will not listen to the prayers of sinners
(15:9; 34:26).\(^{480}\)

Further, Ben Sira especially stresses that God will hear the prayers of
the poor or of those who are underprivileged for other reasons, e.g. the

Furthermore, there is a short but obscure admonition to the one who
prays in Sir 7:10:

Do not grow weary of praying, or neglect the giving of charity
μὴ ὀλιγοψυχήσῃς ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ σου, ...
... ἀλ ἔλεει καὶ ἕπειλα

\(^{480}\) Cf. Jn 9:31, which seems to reflect a common idea.
2. Context

The Greek word ὀλιγοψυχεῖ means ‘to be faint-hearted’, but the Hebrew word לָשֶׁנָּנָה has the meanings ‘to shorten’, ‘to be shortened’ or even ‘to be impatient’. Thus the meaning of the original Hebrew saying would be either that a prayer must not be too short or, more likely, that the praying person should be patient in his prayer.  

The Dead Sea Scrolls. The fact that prayer replaced sacrifices at Qumran had an effect even upon the requirements for the praying persons. The passage of the Damascus Document, which we have already referred to (CD xi:22 - xii:1), demands ritual purity of those who enter the house of prayer. The purity requirements, stipulated in the Hebrew Bible for the priests in their sacrificing ministry (see e.g. Lev. 21:6), are, thus, adapted to the worshipping Community.

Early Rabbinic literature. While the pondering in the Rabbinic literature over which attributes of God serve as grounds for his answering has diminished to a simple conviction that he will answer, the discussion about the state of mind of the praying person has gained in importance. The praying person must have the right kind of concentration, kavvanah. An informative, unfortunately anonymous, saying is to be found in mBer5:1:

One may stand to pray only in a solemn frame of mind. The early pious ones used to tarry one hour [before they would] pray, so that they could direct their hearts to the Omnipresent. [While one is praying] even if the king greets him, he may not respond. And even if a serpent is entwined around his heel, he may not interrupt [his prayer].

An anecdote about a pre-70 C.E. rabbi Hanina b. Dosa serves as an example of uninterrupted prayer. Though he was bitten by a poisonous lizard, he continued to recite the Amidah, and later the lizard was found dead (tBer 3:20).

The discussions about the circumstances, in which it is legitimate to interrupt the recitation of a prayer, in what situations one is altogether free from reciting it, should one recite in the tree top or should one climb

482 About kavvanah in Mishna, Tosefta and Talmud see Zahavy 1987a, 37-48.
483 Cf. tBer 3:4.18.
484 mBer 2:1 about greeting during the recitation of the Shema, mBer 5:1 about interrupting the recitation of the Amidah.
485 mBer 2:5.8 and tBer 2:10 about bridegrooms and the wedding guests, mBer 2:6-7; 3:1-2 and tBer 2:11 about mourners.
down in order to recite\textsuperscript{486} etc. have to do with the praying person’s state of mind and ability of concentration.\textsuperscript{487} Some of the discussion is attributed to the Yavnean rabbi Gamaliel, but otherwise the question about right concentration seems to be mainly an Ushan concern.

2.5.3. Attributes of Prayer

The Hebrew Bible. We will still make some remarks concerning the attributes of the prayers themselves, which make them acceptable for God. First of all we will note that, as ANNELI AEJMELAEUS, referring to JOACHIM BEGRICH, remarks concerning the prayer songs, the prayers in the Hebrew Bible do not contain that kind of persuading of the deity with long addresses as do, for example, the Babylonian prayers.\textsuperscript{488} As a good example of these prayers we may quote a section of a probable neo-Babylonian Prayer of Lamentation to Ishtar:\textsuperscript{489}

I pray to thee, O Lady of ladies, goddess of goddesses. O Ishtar, queen of all peoples, who guides mankind aright, O Irnini, ever exalted, greatest of the Igigi, O most mighty of princesses, exalted is thy name. Thou indeed art the light of heaven and earth, O valiant daughter of Sin. O supporter of arms, who determines battle, O possessor of all divine power, who wears the crown of dominion, O Lady, glorious is thy greatness; over all the gods it is exalted. O star of lamentation, who causes peaceable brothers to fight, yet who constantly gives friendship, O mighty one, Lady of battle, who suppresses the mountains, O Gushea, the one covered with fighting and clothed with terror...

BEGRICH understands the enumerating of a god’s epithets and the description of his or her splendour, which are frequently attested in Babylonian prayers, as a kind of \textit{captatio benevolentiae} in order to make the god (or gods) willing to answer.\textsuperscript{490} We have already noted that, apart from some cases, the addresses in the prayers of the Hebrew Bible are quite

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{486} mBer 2:4; tBer 2:8.
\item \textsuperscript{487} Zahavy 1987a, 38-40.47.
\item \textsuperscript{488} Aejmalaeus 1986, 56-57. She understands the most frequent address ‘Yahweh’ as a confession of faith and a guarantee of help to come. Begrich’s article, which originally was published in 1928, has been reprinted in Begrich 1964, 168-216.
\item \textsuperscript{489} Translation of Ferris J. Stephens in: \textit{Ancient Near Eastern Texts: Relating to the Old Testament} (1955), p. 384. In this connection it is proper to refer even to a Sumerian \textit{Hymn to Ninurta as God of Vegetation}, in which the praying person several times repeats the sentence: “I will pronounce your name again and again”; Translation of S. N. Kramer in: \textit{The Ancient Near East: Supplementary Texts and Pictures. Relating to the Old Testament} (1969), pp. 140-141.
\item \textsuperscript{490} Begrich 1964, 184.
\end{itemize}
short. This might suggest that persuading with multiple epithets, attributes and relative clauses was considered superfluous because of God’s mercifulness and closeness to the worshippers.\footnote{Aejmalaues 1986, 57.}

Even the content of the request has its significance, when we seek for grounds for God’s answering. This is evidenced by Solomon’s request for wisdom. His request was granted by God, because the matter he asked for was good in the eyes of God. God answers Solomon:

Since you have asked for this and not for long life or wealth for yourself, nor have asked for the death of your enemies but for discernment in administering justice, I will do what you have asked (1Kgs 3:11-12).

The Hebrew Bible includes very little explicit teaching on prayer. In fact, the only passage is to be found in Ecclesiastes. The text admonishes not to be too quick with one’s mouth or too hasty in one’s heart to utter anything before God (Eccl 5:1). This somewhat ambiguous passage probably urges one to be sparse with words in prayer.\footnote{Krüger 2000, 208-209.} Maybe the idea is that, because God is in heaven and man on earth, God cannot be manipulated with many words.\footnote{So Murphy 1992, 50.}

One special feature in the prayers of the Hebrew Bible is the vows.\footnote{See Reventlow 1986, 101-105.} The petitioner, in order to incline God to answer, makes a promise to God, which he will fulfil after God’s response. For example, Jephthah promises to sacrifice the first living being which comes out of the door of his house to meet him as a burnt offering, if God gives him victory against the Ammonites (Judg 11:29-31) and the childless Hannah promises that, if God gives her a son, she will give him to God as a nazir (1Sam 1:11).\footnote{Reventlow 1986, 101-105.} It is also of great importance and urgency to pay the vow, so that it would indeed be better not to make a vow at all than to make a vow and not pay it (Deut 23:21; Eccl 5:3-4).

\textit{Early Jewish literature.} Ben Sira instructs, in Sir 7:14, about right kind of prayer. The instruction runs:

Never be garrulous among your elders or repeat yourself when you pray.

\ldots μη δευτερώσῃς λόγον ἐν προσευχῇ σου

\footnote{For more examples see e.g. Gen 28:20-22; Num 21:2; 2Sam 15:7-9.}
The exhortation to be sparse with words before God is to be found already in Eccl 5:1, though it is not exactly said there, that it is a question of repeating oneself. It is not very clear what Ben Sira has in mind. Does he refer to prayer formulas? At any rate Ben Sira’s own prayers do not include repeated formulas. The prayer in 52:12, i-xvi makes, however, an exception, but that prayer probably does not originate from Ben Sira.

An interesting example of the influence of magic-like practices on the early Jewish prayer is the Prayer of Jacob. In this prayer one tries to invoke God with enumerating multiple names, which are supposed to contain magical powers to get God to answer:

Father of (the) Patriachs, Father of all (things), Father of the cosmos; Creator of the angels and archangels, the Creator of all things; O Father of powers altogether... God Abaoth, Abrathiaoth, Sabaoth, Adonai, astra... The Lord God of the Hebrews, Epaigel, of whom (is) the everlasting power, Eloel, Souel (PrJac 1-2,4a,9,13).

Although this prayer may be quite late and it comes from the Greek Magical Papyri from Egypt, it is still to be regarded as a Jewish prayer and thus it bears witness of the fact that Jewish prayer life could be influenced by magic-like practices.

Another prayer, which resembles the Prayer of Jacob quite closely, is Jacob’s prayer in the document called the Ladder of Jacob. LadJac 2:18-21 runs:

Holy, Holy, Holy, Yao, Yaoa, Yaoil, Yao, Kados, Chavod, Savaoth, Omlemlech il avir amismi, varich, eternal king, mighty, powerful, most great, patient, blessed one. You who fill the heaven and earth, the sea and abysses and all the ages with your glory, hear my song ...

Unfortunately the original language, date and provenance of the document are very obscure. Nevertheless, if the document is originally written in Greek, comes from the 1st century C.E., as the editor of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha suggests, and is originally a Jewish text, then it would

---

496 Di Lella suggests that the prohibition hardly refers to prayer formulas, but he gives no other alternative explanations, Di Lella & Skehan 1987, 201.
497 Reif 2002, 334.
498 Charlesworth dates the prayer to the 1.-4. century C.E.; Charlesworth 1985, 715.
499 See Lunt 1985, 403-405.
500 See Lunt 1985, 403.
501 See Lunt 1985, 403.
give further evidence about the fact that the practice of enumerating Hebrew epithets of God within a prayer in another language, probably as some kind of magic, was in use in 1st century C.E. Judaism.

*The Dead Sea Scrolls.* We have already noted that at Qumran prayers should be recited according to God’s eternal ordinances (1QM xiv:13). In the passage in question the expression refers to appointed times of prayer and the strict observance of them. Nevertheless, it is possible that even the liturgical prayer texts themselves were regarded as God-given and thus unchangeable.

*Early Rabbinic literature.* According to early Rabbinic halakah, it is important that the prayers are recited in the ordained form and include the right motifs and even wording. MBer 1:4 includes anonymous regulations about the number of blessings before and after the Shema. TBer 3:11-13, for its part, includes a dispute about the number of benedictions in the Amidah during certain festival days. Some of the viewpoints are attributed to the houses of Hillel and Shammai, and thus the question may originate from the pre-70 C.E. era. Moreover, to these pre-70 C.E. houses are attributed some disputes about the right order of the blessings for food (mBer 8:1.8). Another topic concerning the blessings for foods is, what kind of products should the blessing be recited for (mBer 6).

The mishnah mBer 5:2 deals with the contents of some benedictions of the Amidah, and in this connection the text refers to Yavnean rabbis Aqiba and Eliezer. Further, tBer 3:9 supplements the discussion and ordains that the prayer must be recited anew if some motifs were missed out. Further, an even more strict regulation is to be found in tBer 2:4-5. According to it, if one errs and omits one verse of his prayer he must begin all over again. Furthermore, it is a bad omen if one errs during the recitation (mBer 5:5).

There is, nevertheless, even a good omen, which indicates that God has heard the prayer. A story about rabbi Hanina b. Dosa illustrates the matter:

They said concerning R. Hanina b. Dosa, “When he would pray for the sick he would say ‘This one shall live’ or ‘This one shall die.’” They said to him, “How do you know?” He said to them, “If my prayer is fluent, then I know it is

---

502 The regulation in tBer is based on the regulation concerning the recitation of the Shema in mBer 2:3, and is adapted to the Amidah, Hallel and the reading of the Book of Esther read on Purim as well.
accepted [and the person will live]. But if not, I know that it is rejected [and the person shall die].”

In tBer 3:3 the same idea is put forth as a saying of rabbi Aqiba. Akin to the saying of Aqiba is a somewhat peculiar statement of rabbi Eliezer, the teacher of Aqiba. MBer 4:4 runs as follows:

R. Eliezer says. “One who makes his prayers a fixed task – his prayers are not [valid] supplications [of God].”

Eliezer’s statement seems to be some kind of protest against the ongoing fixation of prayer, and Aqiba’s positive attitude to fluent prayer would share Eliezer’s viewpoint.

One special concern in the mBer and tBer is vain prayers. According to an anonymous saying, if one recites that blessing over evil, which should be recited for good or vice versa, or if one prays about past things, these prayers are vain (mBer 9:3; tBer 6:7).

2.6. Institutionalization of Prayer

BILHAH NITZAN describes the development of Jewish prayer from the Hebrew Bible through the Second Temple period to the Rabbinic thinking as follows:

In the Bible, prayer appears primarily as a literary expression of spontaneous emotions and religious feelings, rather than as an organized, static mode of divine worship, analogous to the sacrificial system. In Rabbinic sources, by contrast, we find a tradition of fixed divine worship through prayer. The transitional stage between these two extreme positions occurred during the Second Temple period; ...

NITZAN is certainly right in pointing out the change from more spontaneous to more organized prayer, a change that can be called institutionalization of prayer. Nevertheless, as she rightly writes, in the Hebrew Bible, prayer is primarily a spontaneous act, and in the Rabbinic literature we can find a tradition of fixed prayer. Thus, the situation cannot be described in black-and-white Hebrew Bible – spontaneous / Rabbinic literature –

503 See Zahavy 1987b, 59.
504 In addition to tBer 3:3, see MBer 4:3.
institutionalized -schema, but we surely find traces of both spontaneous and institutionalized prayer throughout the material.\textsuperscript{507} The question is merely about different emphases of the respective modes of prayer.

In order to discuss the question about the institutionalization of prayer we have to first define the term more exactly. What do we mean by institutionalized prayer and, as the other side of the coin, what do we mean by spontaneous prayer as a kind of contrast? SHEMARYAHU TALMON has given a very useful definition. He describes ‘institutionalized prayer’ as follows:\textsuperscript{508}

‘Institutionalized prayer’ is a prayer in which the spontaneous, the individual and the sporadic are replaced by the conventional, the universal and the periodic. Institutionalized prayer does not arise directly out of a specific human situation in which man yearns for a perforce intermittent high-tension communion with God. It rather is a means toward the achievement of a stabilized, unbroken bond with God. Institutionalized prayer does not aim at bringing about an immediate response from the deity with regard to a specific situation, but rather at safeguarding the continuous, slow-flowing relationship between the worshipper and his God.

Thus, it is distinctive for spontaneous prayer that it emerges from an actual need and the petitioner waits for an immediate response from God. Institutionalized prayer, for its part, is regular, attached to certain hours of prayer and mainly aims to maintain the existing relationship between man and God. Further, characteristic of institutionalized prayer is its formality, i.e. fixed prayer texts and formulas.\textsuperscript{509}

Now we go on to find elements of both spontaneous and institutionalized prayer in our text material.

\textit{The Hebrew Bible.} As we already have noted on p. 52, in the Hebrew Bible prayer is, on the narrative level, most often a spontaneous act called forth by an acute situation, whether it is an emergency or an experience of God’s help. We might recall, for example, the prayers of Moses (Ex 15:1-18; 32:11-14) Hannah (1Sam 1:10-11; 2:1-10); David (2Sam 7:18-29; 22:1-51), Solomon (1Kgs 3:5-9), Elijah (1Kgs 17:20-21), Hezekiah (2Kgs

\textsuperscript{507} See Greenberg 1983, 38-46.
\textsuperscript{508} Talmon 1978, 266.
\textsuperscript{509} Talmon 1978, 267. Talmon suggests that even specifically appointed locales would be characteristic of institutionalized prayer. I think, nevertheless, that even spontaneous, or as Talmon calls it ‘individual-voluntary’, prayer may very well be associated with special places, in which the deity is supposed to live or reveal himself. See also Heiler 1997, 65-73, who discusses the difference between spontaneous and ritual prayer as religious phenomena in general.
Further, some of the psalm headings enclose the respective prayer psalm to a specific situation in the life of David (Pss 3:1; 7:1; 18:1; 51:1; 52:1; 56:1; 57:1, 59:1; 60:1, 63:1; 142:1). Although the headings do not give us an authentic context of the origins of the respective psalm, they, nevertheless, reflect the idea that prayers were said in concrete emergencies. Moreover, the prayers in the narrative texts, and even most of the psalms, do not have a fixed form or include fixed prayer formulas. Even the diversity of different verbs and nouns denoting prayer (see appendix), and the fact that most of those terms derive from inter-human relationships, stress the non-fixed and spontaneous nature of prayer.  

Nevertheless, the Hebrew Bible also includes traces of a more fixed prayer practice. First, we have already noted some references to daily hours of prayer. Second, some of the psalms include fixed formulas. We might refer, for example, to Ps 136, in which the phrase “His love endures forever” recurs altogether 26 times. Concerning the Psalms, it is to be remembered, that at least a big part of them were in use in the Temple service – probably already in the first Temple and surely in the second – and the Temple service, for its part, has, from the very beginning, been strongly institutionalized. Thus, we may say that already in the Hebrew Bible prayer life, which is connected to the Temple cult, is institutionalized.

**Early Jewish literature.** Regarding the institutionalization of prayer, early Jewish literature does not bear witness of any bigger change in relation to the Hebrew Bible. The documents report mostly of spontaneous prayers, but even of some regular times of prayer. The prayer texts mainly do not include any fixed formulas, but there are even some exceptions. Maybe the most illuminative example of a formulaic prayer is in Sir 51:12 i-xvi. This prayer resembles the biblical Ps 136 very closely. The first line of

---

510 For further examples see p. 52.
512 See p. 52.
513 See Reif 2002, 336, who claims that Ben Sira does not testify to a fixed liturgy outside the Temple.
514 See pp. 53-55.
515 The provenance of this section in Sir is obscure. It is attested only in one of the Hebrew manuscripts (B), and thus it is likely that it does not belong to the original version of Ben Sira; Di Lella & Skehan 1987, 569. Di Lella & Skehan suggest a Qumranic origin on the grounds of some expressions, which are to be found in the Qumranic documents as well.
516 About the biblical background of the prayer see Di Lella & Skehan 1987, 570.
these prayers is altogether identical (הדרו ליהוה כי טוב כי לולאס חסד) and the phrase “for his mercy endures forever” ends every line in both prayers (except the last one in Sir).

A collection of prayer texts, which is of special importance in this connection, is the Psalms of Solomon. Our problem is, that the origins and especially the Sitz im Leben of that collection are quite uncertain. It has been suggested that the psalms would have originated from pharisaic circles\textsuperscript{517} or maybe from the Chasidim – the predecessors of the Pharisees –, but also the Essenes have been mentioned in this connection as a possibility.\textsuperscript{519} The geographical provenance and the date are clearer. It is generally suggested, that the Psalms of Solomon have been composed in Jerusalem\textsuperscript{520} probably during the 1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C.E.\textsuperscript{521} But the Sitz im Leben, i.e. the context, in which the psalms were used – a central matter for our question about the institutionalization of prayer – is unfortunately obscure. Both SVEND HOLM-NIELSEN and MIKAEL WINNINGE consider it possible, the latter even probable, that the Psalms of Solomon would have been used liturgically in Synagogue services.\textsuperscript{522} That would mean that this composition would witness about institutionalized prayer outside of the Temple, though in Jerusalem, already during the 1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C.E. Nevertheless, the evidence about liturgical use of the psalms is quite weak,\textsuperscript{523} and thus the matter must remain tentative.

The Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls witness of the establishing of institutionalized prayer in early Judaism. As we have seen, in the documents found in the Qumran caves the characteristics of institutionalized prayer, i.e. strictly ordained times of prayer\textsuperscript{524} and formulations\textsuperscript{525}, are clearly to be seen.

TALMON has discussed this phenomenon of institutionalized prayer in early Jewish piety and especially at Qumran.\textsuperscript{526} He writes about the reasons for the phenomenon at Qumran:\textsuperscript{527}

\textsuperscript{517} E.g. Holm-Nielsen 1977, 59.
\textsuperscript{518} Winninge 1995, 180.
\textsuperscript{519} See Wright 1985, 642. Wright himself suggests, that our knowledge of the early Jewish groupings is so limited, that it is unwise to label the Psalms of Solomon according to some group.
\textsuperscript{520} Holm-Nielsen 1977, 59; Wright 1985, 641; Winninge 1995, 14.
\textsuperscript{521} Holm-Nielsen 1977, 58; Wright 1985, 640-641; Winninge 1995, 13.
\textsuperscript{522} Holm-Nielsen 1977, 59; Winninge 1995, 18-19.
\textsuperscript{523} The word ןולאמשא, the Greek variant of the Hebrew חסד, which is attested in PsSol 17:29 and 18:9 might refer to liturgical use; Winninge 1995, 19.
\textsuperscript{524} See p. 55.
\textsuperscript{525} See pp. 74 and 76.
\textsuperscript{526} Talmon 1978.
In order successfully to compensate the loss of the sacrificial cult, and by reason of their group-centered ideology, the Covenants especially promoted de-individualized, and therefore stereotyped, forms of prayer, which could be adapted without further qualification to communal devotion.

The institutionalization of prayer at Qumran had, thus, both theological and sociological reasons. From the theological point of view common prayer became a kind of substitute for the sacrificial cult, and, as a social factor, it functioned as a means to create and strengthen the sense of togetherness within the praying community.

Now, the question of the provenance of the Dead Sea Scrolls makes the straightforward conclusion that the institutionalization of prayer was during the Second Temple period a solely Qumranic phenomenon, at least questionable. Namely, if, for example, the _Words of the Luminaries_ and the _Festival Prayers_ were to be regarded non-Qumranic, then they would witness of regular and accordingly institutionalized prayer even _outside_, and maybe _before_ the rise, of the Qumran Community. Further, if institutionalized prayer is connected with the sacrificial cult, as seems probable, either as an accompaniment to it in the Temple cult or as a substitute, then the prayer texts mentioned above would probably originate (if not at Qumran) either in the Temple liturgy or in a group(s), whose relation to the Jerusalem Temple cult would have been analogous to the Qumran Community.

_Early Rabbinic literature_. In early Rabbinic literature institutionalized prayer is an obvious matter of fact. The regulation of prayer as a spiritual sacrifice gains its ultimate limits. Times of prayer are strictly regulated according to the sacrificial schedule of the Temple, and prayer itself must be faultless – like the sacrificial animal – in order to be valid and accepted by God. Likewise, the important mental state of _kavvanah_ is demanded both from the praying person and from the one who performs sacrifices in the Temple. Thus, the connection between the institutionalization of prayer and its significance as a substitute for sacrifice is obvious in early Rabbinic literature.

---

527 Talmon 1978, 279.
528 See footnotes 333 and 345 above.
530 See p. 57-58.
531 See p. 107-107.
532 See p. 103-104.
533 Zahavy 1987a, 37 n.1.
Further, even the social significance of institutionalized prayer can be seen in early Rabbinic literature. I think that we may safely conclude that the Rabbinic regulations, which gradually unified the prayer practice of the Jewish people, brought about a feeling of togetherness among the people. The statement in tBer 3:16 about the correct direction of prayer, i.e. the Temple, is noteworthy in this respect:

Thus all Israel turn out to be praying toward one place.

We can only imagine, what kind of significance the common prayer practices had for a people, who lived scattered around the known world struggling for its survival and identity.

Nevertheless, early Rabbinic literature also bears witness to efforts of preventing this ongoing institutionalization. The saying, which is attributed to rabbi Eliezer and which we already have quoted on p. 108, gives more light to this matter.

2.7. Summary

We have now gone through the prayer material in the Hebrew Bible, early Jewish literature, the Dead Sea Scrolls and early Rabbinic literature, and we have surveyed the subject matter from points of view, which are relevant for our study. It is time to briefly summarize our findings.

2.7.1. External Conditions

The significance of the Temple as a place for God’s presence and thus as a house of prayer par excellence or as a direction for prayer is a very prominent factor throughout all the material from the Hebrew Bible until early Rabbinic literature. The most informative passages about this are surely Solomon’s prayer during the dedication feast of the new-built Temple in 1Kgs 8 and the Tosefta passage tBer 3:16, in which it is stated that all Israel prays towards one place, i.e. the Temple (or the place where the Temple used to stand).

There rose already during the Second Temple period even other houses of prayer/synagogues, especially in the Diaspora but also in Palestine. These buildings were designed for many kinds of gatherings and activities, but most probably also for common prayer. A special example of this kind of a building is the house of prayer at Qumran.
In the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish literature prayer is mostly a spontaneous matter and can thus be said at any time, but some tokens of more established times of prayer can also be found. These times of prayer seem to be connected with the sacrificial timetable.

The Dead Sea Scrolls and early Rabbinic literature, for their part, witness of strictly defined times of prayer. At Qumran they were scheduled according to the change of the luminaries, and in early Rabbinic literature according to the sacrificial practices.

We find throughout the material the same prayer postures: standing, prostrating and lifting up of hands towards heaven. Nevertheless, especially the prophets of the Hebrew Bible stress that more important than the outer posture is the inner attitude, and the posture should reflect the attitude of the heart.

The texts give us a uniform picture even regarding the accompanying elements. Penitential prayer is often accompanied by fasting with sprinkling of ashes, tearing up the clothes, wearing sackcloth etc.

2.7.2. Prayer Texts

The main genres of Prayers in the Hebrew Bible are the Songs of praise and the Songs of prayer. These genres are found even in early Jewish literature, in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in early Rabbinic literature. Nevertheless, many prayers, already in the Hebrew Bible and more often in later texts, represent a mixed form, in which elements from both main genres are mixed together.

A special phenomenon throughout the material are the boundary-making elements. The prayer texts draw boundaries between the insiders and outsiders, and thus they create and strengthen the feeling of social belonging in the praying group.

The prayers in the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish literature provide us with a great diversity of prayer addresses. The addresses are mostly quite brief, but there are also some examples of longer ones, in which several names and epithets, attributes and relative clauses occur. Some prayers indicate even, that the practice of trying to invoke God with magic-like behavior by enumerating his names and epithets had gained entry into early Jewish prayer life.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, God is most often addressed simply as ‘Yahweh’, ‘Adonaj’ or ‘God of Israel’, and, likewise, in early Rabbinic literature the diversity of addresses has shrank – with the exception of the
2. Context

Amidah, in which several epithets occur – to a short ‘Lord’, often with an addition ‘my/our God’. Moreover, most of the early Rabbinic blessings do not have any name or epithet for God, but they address God simply by the personal pronoun ‘he’.

An important detail for our study is, that amongst the great variety of different epithets, in early Jewish literature and in the Dead Sea Scrolls there occurs a couple of times even the address ‘Father’.

2.7.3. Intercessory Prayer

Intercession is a central topic both in the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish literature. Intercessory prayer is mainly a task of especially righteous men or women of God, but a righteous group of people or even the whole Jewish people may intercede for others.

2.7.4. Grounds for God’s Answering

The basic conviction can be found throughout the material that God surely answers prayers. Nevertheless, the grounds for God’s answering are explicitly discussed, or more often implicitly referred to, in the texts.

Frequently in the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish literature, and to a degree even in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the petitioner appeals to God’s attributes. The most important attribute in this connection is God’s faithfulness towards the covenant(s). The petitioner asks God to remember the covenant or even his other former deeds, or addresses him as the God of the fathers.

Not only the attributes of God but even the attributes of the petitioner are significant. The basic rule is that the prayers of the righteous are answered, but the prayers of sinners are not. In the Dead Sea Scrolls and in early Rabbinic literature the petitioner is required to have such attributes, which originally belonged to the sacrificing priests, because of the significance of prayer as a spiritual sacrifice. According to the Dead Sea Scrolls the petitioners must be pure in order to enter the house of prayer, and in early Rabbinic literature the mental state of kavvanah is presupposed.

The texts do not say a lot about the attributes of the prayer proper. Only in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in early Rabbinic literature the attributes of prayer get more significance, again probably because of the status of prayer as a substitute for sacrifice. At Qumran, in addition to the fixed times of prayer, possibly even the prayer texts themselves were regarded as God-given ordinances, and in Mishna and Tosefta the number and contents
of the benedictions is discussed, and a prayer, which is not recited according to the prescriptions is considered invalid.

2.7.5. Institutionalization of Prayer

The institutionalization of prayer, i.e. the change from spontaneous and primarily individual prayer to predominately common prayer with fixed prayer texts and times of prayer, occurred gradually. On the one hand, the Hebrew Bible already witnesses of institutionalized prayer in connection with the Temple cult, on the other hand, early Rabbinic literature, in which institutionalized prayer has gained an ultimate level, includes opinions, which do not entirely accept the phenomenon.

Although the earliest documents, which witness of the institutionalization of prayer, are to be found amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls, this must not indicate, that the phenomenon was primarily a Qumranic matter, because some of the Dead Sea Scrolls may very well describe non- or pre-Qumranic practices and ideas.

At any rate, institutionalized prayer seems to be connected with the Temple cult, either as an accompaniment or as a substitute for it. Further, the institutionalization of prayer has also social reasons.
3. Analysis


In this chapter we will analyze the separate synoptic passages, which contain Jesus’ sayings about prayer. We are not yet aiming to get an overall-picture about the matter. That is not our task until the next chapter.

The passages we will analyze are following:

Q-source

1. Jesus’ admonition to pray for persecutors (Mt) / mistreaters (Lk) in Q 6:27-28,35c.
2. The Lord’s Prayer in Q 11:2-4.

Mark

1. The miracle story about a healing of a boy with an evil spirit in Mk 9:14-29. This story contains a short saying about the significance of prayer in v. 29.
2. The composition in Mk 11:12-25, which includes the Temple cleansing episode (vv. 15-18), a saying about faith as precondition for effective prayer (v. 24) and, closely attached to the previous one, a saying about forgiveness as precondition for prayers being heard (v. 25).

Matthew’s special material

1. The composition in Mt 6:1-18, which includes sayings against the prayer of the hypocrites (vv. 5-6) and the pagans (vv.7-8), with teaching on correct prayer attached to the criticism.
2. The saying about the importance of common agreement about the matters, which will be prayed for in Mt 18:19-20.

Luke’s special material

1. The Parable of the Friend at Midnight in Lk 11:5-8.
2. The Parables of the Unjust Judge (vv. 1-8) and the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (vv. 9-14) in Lk 18:1-14.

Four short sayings, which deal with prayer, will be left out of study. In these sayings Jesus merely *urges* people to pray, but does not say anything *about* prayer. Therefore they are not important for us. These sayings are the
admonition to watch and pray in the Getshemane-pericope in Mk 14:38; a similar saying in Lk 21:36; a request to pray to God so that he would send out workers into his harvest field in Q 10:2; and an advise to pray that the flight in the end of the age would not take place in winter or on a Sabbath in Mt 24:20.
3. Analysis

3.1. Q-source

3.1.1. The Admonition to Pray for Enemies (Q 6:27-28,35c)

Reconstruction of the Q-form. The saying we are now dealing with belongs to a larger passage within the Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 5:38-48) and the Sermon on the Plain in the Gospel of Luke (Lk 6:27-36). In this passage Jesus urges his disciples to love their enemies and to pray for them, to give to those who ask without expecting anything in return, and to turn the other cheek. All this should be done in order to imitate God, who is good both to the good and to the bad.

It is very complicated to reconstruct the Q-form of the passage. Especially the order of the separate sayings is different in Mt and in Lk, but even the vocabulary differs quite a lot. Moreover, both of the Gospels have such material, which is lacking from the other. It is wholly possible that Matthew and Luke have used different sources as a basis for their respective texts.

We will not take into account the whole passage, but will concentrate on the saying about loving and praying for one’s enemies. The saying continues in Mt by giving reasons for the exhortation by means of referring to the goodness of God. The last mentioned clause has its parallel in Lk 6:35c. Even this saying includes, however, so many differences between the Matthean and Lukan versions, that it is impossible, and, in fact, needless, to try to reconstruct a Q-version. The text runs in the Matthean, respectively Lukan, account as follows:

---

534 See e.g. Kloppenborg 1987, 171-172 and Betz 1995, 296-301.
535 Grundmann 1971, 175; Betz 1995, 296-301 suggests that there are two different versions of Q behind the Matthean and Lukan texts. Similarly Kosch 1989, 289-290 explains the difference between the two imperatives in Mt 5:44 and four imperatives in Lk 6:27-28 by suggesting that the Lukan text is based on a different Q-recension (QLk). About the Matthean and Lukan recensions of Q (QMt and QLk) see e.g. Neirynck 1991, 475-480 and Kloppenborg Verbin 2000, 104-111. It is also possible that the remarkable differences between the Matthean and Lukan texts are due to the influence of an oral tradition on both or one of the redactors. In his presidential address in the 57th annual meeting of the SNTS (Durham August 6-10, 2002) James D. G. Dunn paid attention to the significance of the orality in the transmission of the Jesus tradition, and suggested that some of the differences between the Matthean and Lukan reproductions of the Q-material could be due to a parallel but slightly different oral tradition. Also Wrege 1968, 85 suggests an oral tradition. See also Betz 1995, 297 and Luz 2002, 257-259.
Somewhat clumsy expression  

Admonition to love one’s enemies is identical in both contexts, and the ‘persecutors’, in Lk 6:27-28,35c.

We note that, despite the differences, there are still three similarities between the Matthean and the Lukan texts that are significant for our study. First, the admonition to love one’s enemies is identical in both of them. Second, in both of them, the admonition to love is accompanied with a similar exhortation to pray for the enemies (in Mt τῶν διωκόντων, ‘persecutors’, in Lk τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων, ‘those who curse you’).

Third, the admonition to love is motivated by the imitation Dei -motif in both of them. True, in the Lukan version this motif is not combined with the exhortation to pray for the enemies but it does not appear until the repeated admonition to love one’s enemies in the end of the passage (v. 35c). Further, the description of God’s love in Lk has a more refined form (αὐτὸς χρηστός ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηροὺς) than the more concrete Matthean version (τὸν ἦλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἁδίκους). Nevertheless, I think it is possible to argue that Luke has removed the imitation Dei -motif from its original place to a new context.

Namely, the context in which Luke now has the sentence (v. 35) seems to be an elaborated reproduction of the fourfold exhortation in v. 27. The admonition to love one’s enemies is identical in both contexts, and the somewhat clumsy expression καλῶς ποιεῖτε (v. 27) is replaced in v. 35 with a more sophisticated ἀγαθοποιεῖτε, which is a specific Lukan.

---

536 Several manuscripts try to harmonize the texts by adding the Lukan imperatives (v. 27b-28a) to the Matthean text.
538 Bultmann 1931, 83; Luz 2002, 402.
3. Analysis

I, then, suggest that Luke has repeated the exhortation at the end of the passage in a shorter form, with which he had initiated the whole passage. Further, he has placed the sentence about imitating God, which he found in his source immediately after the admonition to love one’s enemies and pray for them, in a stylized form after the reproduced version of the exhortation. Thus, both the Matthean order of the sentences and his vocabulary concerning the description of God’s love would be more original than the Lukan ones.

There still remains a question, why did Luke not leave the sentence about *imitatio Dei* in its original place. The suggestion, that the insertion of vv. 29-31 after v. 28 would have caused the relocation, is not convincing, because it would have been altogether possible to insert the verses only after the sentence of imitating God. Perhaps Luke wanted to place the two quite similar sentences of God’s goodness and mercifulness one after the other (vv. 35 and 36).

Although we cannot reconstruct a verbatim version of the tradition underlying the Matthean and the Lukan texts, we can still conclude that there has existed a tradition, which both Matthew and Luke have known probably in somewhat different versions. This tradition has included at least the following three elements, which are important for our study:

1. An admonition to love one’s enemies
2. An exhortation to practise this love by praying for them, whether they originally have been designated as ‘persecutors’ (Mt), ‘mistreaters’ (Lk), ‘those who hate’ (reconstruction by KOSCH), or something else.
3. A motivation by means of the *imitatio Dei* -motif.

---

541 Strecker 1984, 90.
543 So Nolland 1989, 293.
544 In the Critical Edition of Q the saying is reconstructed as follows: *Love your enemies [and] pray for those [persecuting] you, so that you may become sons of your Father, for he raises his sun on bad and [good and rains on the just and unjust]*. Similarly Sato 1988, 222, with the exception that instead of ‘those persecuting’ he has ‘those mistreating’ (ἐπιτρέψεις ὅντων) and Kosch 1989, 291, who has ‘those hating’ (μισοῦντων). About the common elements in the Matthean and Lukan accounts see Gnlinka 1986, 188. See also Schneider 1989, 81-82, who considers Lk 6:27-28,35c a traditional, inseparable whole. See also Holmén 2001a, 260.
545 Kosch 1989, 290-291.
Interpretation. As Kloppenborg correctly points out, the core of the saying is the admonition to love one’s enemies, and the exhortation to pray for them is a practical adaptation of that love. The listeners are to love their enemies and show that love in practice, in order that they would become, and at the same time already show themselves to be, sons of God. God manifests his love in practice by letting the sun shine on all kinds of people, and the listeners should imitate God by practising their love by praying for their enemies. The sons naturally share the attributes of their father, and so also the sons of God have, or should have, the same frame of mind as their Heavenly Father has.

The passage has no exact parallels in early Jewish literature, but some remarks are worth making. In Lev 19:18 there is the commandment to love one’s neighbour. Matthew refers to this passage in the antithesis, which precedes the admonition to love one’s enemies. The explicit reference to Lev 19:18 is probably a Matthean redaction, although even the admonition to love one’s enemies is probably, even though an implicit, reference to that commandment. The admonition would, then, be an interpretation of, who is one’s neighbour, a frequently asked question in early Judaism.

Although the specific commandment to love the enemy is not attested in early Jewish writings, several stories do describe actions, which are at least very near to that kind of love. For example, we could mention the stories of, how David did not kill Saul in the cave of the Crags of the Wild Goat (1Sam 24), and how Benjamin and Levi did not kill Pharaoh’s son but helped him instead as he fell from his horse and lied helpless on the ground (JosAsen 29:2-3). Anyways, the motive for these deeds of charity seems to be calculation, not love and the imitation of God’s goodness, as in the sermon of Jesus. In the case of David and Saul, in addition, David says explicitly, that the Lord himself had forbidden him to harm the Lord’s anointed (v. 6). Thus, the main motif is not love but obedience towards God and, maybe, respect towards the anointed one.

---

546 Kloppenborg 1987, 177.
547 Manson 1949, 50.
548 About both future and present meaning of the sentence see Gnïlka 1986, 193-194 and Betz 1995, 315.
549 Schweizer 1986, 81.
550 Davies and Allison 1988, 555.
551 About early Jewish and non-Jewish parallels see especially Zeller 1977, 104-109 and also e.g. Strecke 1984, 92; Gnïlka 1986, 191-192; Davies & Allison 1988, 551-552.
552 Strecke 1984, 90.
554 Betz 1995, 310-311. See also Manson 1949, 50 and Davies and Allison 1988, 556.
3. Analysis

One early Jewish passage, which contains a quite similar idea as our passage, is Philo’s *Quaest. in Ex.* 2:11. Philo explains Ex 23:4, in which one is told to return his enemy’s ox or ass, if he happens to find it wandering off, and he enumerates three motives for this biblical admonition. First, in addition to not harming an enemy but even trying to be of help is an excess of kindness. Second, not to harm an enemy is a limitation of greed, for if one does not want to harm an enemy, whom else would he harm for his own profit. Third, the biblical admonition removes quarrels and fights and brings peace. The giving back of the ass is like the beginning of offerings of peace and reconciliation. In this connection, Philo calls the giving back of something a work of love. Thus, Philo’s text includes both the motives of loving the enemy and a concrete expression of that love, as does Jesus’ admonition in our passage.

Nevertheless, even Philo’s interpretation of Ex 23:4, as well as the other early Jewish texts referred to above, lacks an explicit command to love one’s enemies. Thus, we might conclude that the admonition to love one’s enemies, like BETZ expresses, “has precedent or preparation in the history of ideas, although it did represent a new step at that time.”

Our main concern in this passage lies naturally with the exhortation to pray for one’s enemies. Praying for another person is not explicitly mentioned as an action of love in early Jewish writings, but we can find this idea implicitly in several passages, where the father or mother blesses his or her children.

The idea of praying for one’s enemies is, nevertheless, only sparsely attested in early Jewish literature. In TJos 18:2 Joseph exhorts to do good and pray for the person, who wishes to harm one. Nevertheless, T12P, although it is probably originally a Jewish text, includes Christian interpolations. The interpolations witness of the fact that those recensions of T12P that we now possess have been written under Christian influence. I think that it is altogether possible that even those parts of T12P, which are outside of the interpolations proper, might be affected by Christians. Thus, it is possible that TJos 18:2 is influenced by Jesus’ saying in Q 6:28. Further, in 1QapGen (1Q20) xx:28-29 Abram prays for Pharaoh, who had taken Abrams wife Sarah as his wife, i.e. for his apparent personal enemy. This intercessory prayer is, nevertheless, preceded by a very different prayer, in which Abram entreats God that he would do justice for

---

556 See Zeller 1977, 106; Davies and Allison 1988, 553.
557 About the provenance and the Christian interpolations in T12P see e.g. Kee 1983, 775-778.
558 Davies & Allison 1988, 553 mention this passage as a Jewish parallel for Jesus’ exhortation.
3. Analysis

Abram against Pharaoh (1QapGen xx:12-16). According to Abram’s plea God sends a chastising spirit to afflict Pharaoh and his household. As a consequence Pharaoh gives Sarah back to Abram, and it is not until then that Abram can, or is willing, to pray for him that the evil spirit would leave. Thus, this passage, taken as a whole, offers by no means a proper parallel to Jesus’ exhortation.

On the opposite of praying for one’s enemies, as we have seen in ch. 2.3.2., the enemies are most often cursed. The most illuminative example of this is the Qumranic covenantal texts, for example 1QS ii:4-10. The text runs:

... And the levites shall curse all the men of the lot of Belial. They shall begin to speak and shall say: “Accursed are you for all your wicked, blameworthy deeds. May he (God) hand you over to dread into the hands of all those carrying out acts of vengeance. Accursed, without mercy, for the darkness of your deeds, and sentenced to the gloom of everlasting fire. May God not be merciful when you entreat him, not pardon you when you do penance for your faults. May he lift the countenance of his anger to avenge himself on you, and may there be no peace for you in the mouth of those who intercede”. And all those who enter the covenant shall say, after those who pronounce blessings and those who pronounce curses: “Amen, Amen”.

The same kinds of curses can be found, for example, in the Psalms of the Hebrew Bible and in the Psalms of Solomon and in Hodayot as well. We have already referred to these texts in ch. 2.3.2. Further, in this connection we could refer also to an instruction by Ben Sira:

Do not reject the appeal of a man in distress or turn your back on the poor; when he begs for alms, do not look the other way and so give him reason to curse you, for if he curses you in his bitterness, his Maker will listen to his prayer (Sir 4:4-6).

This passage is not a recommendation to curse anybody, but it still includes the idea that God answers even that kind of prayer, in which an ‘enemy’ is cursed.

There is in the Hebrew Bible, nevertheless, one passage, which has close affinities with Jesus’ exhortation to pray for one’s enemies, namely the mention in Isa 53:12 that the suffering Servant of God interceded, or will intercede, for transgressors (לָאנשֵׁレビュー יַעֲזָר).559 I think it is possible, or

559 About an alternative reading see Baltzer 1999, 540, who suggests that the last line of the verse should be understood so that the servant will pray for the sins of the many. See n. 454. Nevertheless, if Lk 23:34a is an allusion to Isa 53:12 (see eg. Marshall 1978, 868, and also Crump 1992, 86 n. 43), then the verse was at least in the 1st century C.E. – or perhaps somewhat later if the verse is a later addition to the Lukan account, as many
even probable, that Jesus’ saying is a conscious reference to Isa 53:12. In order to make my case and to find out which consequences it would have if the exhortation to pray for one’s enemies proved to be a reference to Isa 53:12, we will now briefly survey the early Jewish interpretation of Isa 53.

First of all it is important to point out that in early Judaism Isa 53 was most often interpreted collectively, i.e. the suffering Servant was regarded as a group, not as an individual. To have this kind of interpretation as a background would make it very understandable that Jesus gives the prayer of the Servant as an example for his audience, i.e. for a group.

Further, in the original text of Isa 53 the identity of the transgressors, for whom the Servant prays and their relationship to the Servant is not altogether clear. Nevertheless, in WisSol 2:13-5:23, in which Isa 53 is alluded several times, and in which the suffering Servant is seen as the typos for the righteous one(s), it is those who oppress the suffering righteous who are called law-breakers (ἀμαρτήματα νόμου; 2:12), and godless (ἀσεβεῖς; 3:10). It seems likely that at least the writer of the Wisdom of Solomon has understood Isa 53:12 so, that the transgressors, for whom the Servant prays, are exactly those, who cause him to suffer. This kind of interpretation of Isa 53 would again fit very well as a background for Jesus’ exhortation to pray, not for just any sinners, but particularly for one’s enemies.

We note that, although the parallelism between the exhortation in Q 6:28 and Isa 53:12, as such, is not very strong, the early Jewish interpretation of Isa 53, nevertheless, makes the parallelism stronger. Thus, it is even probable, in my mind, that Q 6:28 is a conscious reference to Isa 53:12.

If I am right about this and the exhortation to pray for enemies is a reference to Isa 53:12, then this might have important sociological consequences. Namely, in that case praying for one’s enemies might identify those oppressed people, to whom Jesus’ admonitions are directed to, as the suffering Servant of Isa 53, which was interpreted in early Judaism to be a group of righteous but oppressed people, whom God will

---

564 It is worth noting that in the Targum Jonathan of Isaiah the motif of intercessory prayer is more dominant than in the Hebrew text. In that Targum v. 53:4 begins: “For our sins he will pray (אַל בִּשְׁנֵהוֹ)” and in v. 11 it is said: “For their sins he will pray (אל בּוֹ).”
reward. This idea would be consistent with the one expressed in the Beatitudes, especially in the last one (Mt 5:11-12; Lk 6:22-23).

Further, considering more generally the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish ideas about intercessory prayer, we can see more profoundly the significance of Jesus’ exhortation. As we have seen in chapter 2.4., those who intercede for others are most often somehow particular individuals. In the Hebrew Bible such heroes as Moses, Samuel, Jeremiah, Noah, Daniel, Amos and Job are known as intercessors. In the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha the pious woman Judith, the high priest Onias, the martyr Eleazar and even angels intercede for others. Further, in addition to these individuals even a group of righteous ones may intercede for an ungodly group, and the people of God can pray for another people or even for the all of mankind.565

Thus, the exhortations to love and to pray for one’s enemies are not only moralistic teachings about, how one should respond to evil, but also encouragement for the oppressed. They are no way in a subjugated situation, but, on the contrary, by praying for their enemies they prove to be ‘heroes’ or righteous ones, and even sons of God, as the following motivation clause indicates.

The idea of imitating God by doing good is not new. Maybe the closest early Jewish parallel to our passage is in Sir 4:10:566 The text runs according to the Hebrew version.567

Be a father to orphans and a husband to widows; then God will call you his son, and he will be gracious to you and rescue you from a pit-fall.

Despite the close similarity between Q 6:35 and Sir 4:10, there still remains one clear difference. In Ben Sira those who should be treated with kindness are not enemies but outsiders. Does Q offer us an interpretation of the passage in Ben Sira, which could be paraphrased as follows: It is not enough to love only the poor, but you must do good and pray for your enemies as well, only then you will be sons of God?

---

565 See ch. 2.4. above.
566 See Manson 1949, 55 and Gnilka 1986, 193.
3. Analysis

Authenticity.568 The most important argument for the authenticity of the saying about loving one’s enemies is the fact, that it was obviously considered somewhat problematic by the subsequent Christians,569 at least by Paul.570 The utopian and non-utilitarian idea of loving one’s enemy attested in the Q-passage is in later Christian tradition (see e.g. Rom 12:14-21) changed into more realistic exhortations not to do harm to anybody. Thus the saying is to be regarded as dissimilar to Christianity.

Moreover, even the imitatio Dei -motif as a ground for attaining the status of a child of God is to be considered dissimilar to Christianity.571 Namely, according to the early Christian thinking the Father-child -relationship of an individual Christian is closely dependent on Christ’s relationship to his Father (see e.g. John 1:12 and also Rom 8:9-10,15-17 and Gal 4:4-7)). A Christian is God’s child through God’s only Son. This kind of christological motivation for being God’s child is totally absent in Q 6:27-28,35c.

Nevertheless, it must be observed, that the dissimilarity to the Johannine and Pauline Christianity does not necessary mean, that those, who were responsible of collecting the Q-material, would have regarded the motifs of loving the enemy and being God’s children by imitating him problematic.

In addition to the fact that our passage is in several ways dissimilar to at least some streams of early Christianity, it is also well consistent with Jesus’ teaching in general. Namely, the radical, even utopian, teaching especially regarding ethics is evidenced in the Jesus tradition connected to several matters. HOLMÉN, for example, refers to Jesus’ teaching about divorce and remarriage,572 and WONG, for his part, to Jesus’ demand for his disciples to leave their families and give up their jobs.573 Even Jesus’ associating with outcasts, who were regarded as God’s enemies, as HOLMÉN points out, would be very well consistent with the admonition to love one’s enemies.574

Further, if the exhortation to pray for one’s enemies is a conscious reference to Isa 53:12, as I have argued, then the saying must have a

568 The authenticity is suggested by e.g. Sato 1988, 224; Bovon 1989, 310; Holmén 2001a, 273 and Luz 2002, 402. For inauthenticity see e.g. Sauer 1985, 28. Holmén 2001a, 270-273 discusses the question in a profound way and, in my mind, argues convincingly for the authenticity. See especially his critical discussion of Sauer’s thesis, who claims that the Q-saying would represent a later development of a tradition, whose earlier phase would be attested in Rom 12:14-21.

569 See Strecker 1984, 92.

570 See Wong 2001, 245-263. See also Holmén 2001a, 270.

571 Holmén 2001a, 273.

572 Holmén 2001a, 272.

573 Wong 2001, 245.

574 Holmén 2001a, 272.
Hebrew text of the Old Testament as its background. Namely, Isa 53:12 LXX does not include any mention about praying for transgressors. This would indicate that the saying most probably comes from the Aramaic milieu. Further, the reference to Isa 53:12 would presuppose an early Jewish interpretation of the Isaiah text, not a Christian and christological one, according to which Jesus was the Servant. Both the Semitic background and the non-christological interpretation of Isa 53, suggest authenticity for the saying.

In my opinion there is good reasons to consider the saying as an authentic piece of Jesus’ teaching.

3.1.2. The Prayer (Q 11:2-4)

The Lord’s Prayer is probably the most studied passage in the New Testament. Nevertheless, or maybe just therefore, several controversial questions still remain: as well about the meaning of single words of the Prayer,575 as of the overall meaning,576 the original setting577, tradition and literary history578, language579 and authenticity580 of it. For our study it is not necessary to go into all the theological questions about the meaning of the separate petitions of the Prayer, but we will limit our investigation to

575 Especially the meaning of the word ἐπιοῦσιν is still a crux interpretum within the New Testament scholarship (see e.g. Evans 1990, 481-482), but also the words ἁφελήματα and τοῦ πονηροῦ get different interpretations.
576 About different lines of interpretation see p. 133-135.
577 The Matthean setting within the Sermon on the Mount is secondary, but the Lukan setting as a response to the plea to teach to pray might be original, Wright 1996, 293. Taussig 1999, 59 suggests that the prayer as a composition would have its original setting in the life of the Q people, but the separate pieces of the Prayer would have their setting in different situations of the life of Jesus.
578 See n. 592.
579 Most scholars take an Aramaic original as granted, e.g. Guelich 1982, 285; Schneider 1987, 408 n.17; Nolland 1993, 611 (with some reservation); Gundry 1994, 105; Bovon 1996, 121; Laaksonen 2002, 242, Luz 2002, 437; Philonenko 2002, 7, and there are indeed several attempts to translate the Greek text back to Aramaic, e.g. Kuhn 1950, 32-33; Lohmeyer 1952, 15-16; Jeremias 1966, 160 (a slightly different version in Jeremias 1971, 191); Fitzmyer 1985, 901; de Moor 1988, 421; Schwarz & Schwarz 1993, 22; Gese 1997, 412; Chilton, 1997, 28-47; Oakman 1999, 146. Nevertheless, for example Betz 1995, 374-375 suggests a Greek original.
580 Most scholars consider the Lord’s Prayer as authentic, but there are also scholars who deny either the authenticity of the composition, e.g. Taussig 1999, 59, the entire Prayer, e.g. Mell 1994, 149.180 and Goulder 1963, 34, or some of the single prayers of the shorter Lukan version, e.g. Oakman 1999, 151-155, who considers the you-petitions as probably inauthentic.
3. Analysis

those questions, which have effect on the understanding of Jesus’ teaching on prayer in general and which, thus, coincide with the aim of our study.

*Tradition, redaction and sources.* The tradition, literary and redaction historical questions concerning the Lord’s Prayer are indeed very complicated. The Lord’s Prayer is attested as three different versions in the ancient texts: Mt 6:9-13, Lk 11:2-4 and Did 8:2. The relation of these texts to each other is a matter of ongoing scholarly dispute. It has been suggested that all these versions would be textually independent of each other, but are, nevertheless, dependent on a common oral tradition. The versions would derive from respective church traditions. Further, several scholars advocate the thesis that behind the versions of Matthew and Luke, or at least either of them, is a Q-version of the Prayer. In my opinion the simplest resolution to the question about the provenance of the different versions would be that the Prayer has been in Q. Thus both Matthew’s and Luke’s versions would derive from that common source, and the differences between the versions would probably, at least partly, be due to the liturgical tradition of the Matthean and Lukan churches. The third version in Didache, for its part, is likely to be dependent either directly on the Matthean version, or on a common liturgical tradition.

581 So e.g. Crossan 1991, 293.
582 Betz 1995, 370. See also Manson 1949, 167; Lohmeyer 1952, 17; Knoch 1982, 37; Evans 1990, 476 and Wright 1996, 293. Jeremias 1966, 156-157 and following him Bovon 1996, 119 suggest that the different synoptic versions would be a part of two different prayer Catechisms, the Matthean version of a Jewish-Christian (Mt 6:5-15) and the Lukan of a gentile-Christian (Lk 11:1-13). This thesis is nevertheless very problematic, because, as we shall see later, in the Matthean context the teaching about almsgiving, prayer and fasting derive from a united didache (Mt 6:2-6,16-18), and thus the teaching about prayer in vv. 5-6 and the Lord’s prayer in vv. 9-13 have not formed a unity within the tradition. Further, of the Lukan passages about prayer in Luke 11:1-13 the Similitude of a Child Asking for Food most probably derives from Q, and not from an alleged Catechism.
583 Crossan 1991, 293 suggests that only the Lukan version would derive from Q.
586 So e.g. Fizmyer 1985, 897; Mell 1994, 151; Mell 1997, 285.
587 Niederwimmer 1998, 135-136. The Lord’s Prayer in Didache runs as follows:

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γεννηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν άρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δός ἡμῖν σήμερον, καὶ ἐφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὕπηλήν ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίμενοι τοῖς ὑπεράκταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκητε ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ δῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἔστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
To gain the Q-version of the Prayer let us compare the versions of Matthew and Luke with each other:

Mt 6:9-13
9 Οὕτως οὖν προσεύχεσθε ὑμεῖς.
   Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς,
   ἀγιασθῆτω τὸ ὄνομά σου.
10 ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου.
   γεννηθῆτω τὸ θέλημά σου,
   ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς.
11 τὸν ἀρτὸν ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον
dός ἡμῖν σήμερον.
12 καὶ ἁφεῖς ἡμῖν τὰ ὁφειλήματα
   ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν
tοῖς ὁφειλέταις ἡμῶν.
13 καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκης ἡμᾶς
   εἰς πειρασμόν.
   ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

Lk 11:2-4
2 εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς, Ὑποτελείοι, Ἠλθετε, ἀγιασθῆτω τὸ ὄνομά σου.
3 τὸν ἀρτὸν ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον
dίδον ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν.
4 καὶ ἁφεῖς ἡμῖν τὰς ἀμαρτίας
   ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίουμεν
   παντὶ ὁφειλοῦντι ἡμῖν.
   καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν.

Nowadays there prevails quite a strong consensus that, of the two versions of the Prayer attested in the synoptic gospels (Mt 6:9-13 and Lk 11:2-4),

In the underlined points the text in Didache is identical with the Matthean version, and in those points, where the versions disagree, the difference is merely on the form of the respective words. The doxology in the end of the Didache-version is attested even in some Mt manuscripts.

Text witnesses include several attempts to harmonize the Lukan text with the Matthean. Oakman 1999, 143.

Some late manuscripts (162, 700), Marcion according to Tertullian, and Gregory of Nyssa add here a sentence: “May your Holy Spirit come onto us and purify us.” This variant has got some scholarly support as an original reading, but because of the very weak attestation of the variant in the witnesses, it is not to be considered as belonging to the original text of Luke. See Jeremias 1971, 188 n. 77; Oakman 1999, 144 and Philonenko 2002, 68. About the scholarly discussion see Marshall 1978, 460. See also n. 592.
Luke’s version has better preserved the original length and Matthew’s the original wording of the Prayer. Thus, joining this consensus and taking for granted that those pieces of the prayer, which Matthew and Luke reproduce identically, originate from Q, the reconstructed Q-form of the Prayer runs as follows:

Πάτερ,
ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·
ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·
tὸν ἁρτὸν ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δῶς ἡμῖν σήμερον·
καὶ ἀφές ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν,
ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν·
cαὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν.

Hereafter I will call this reconstructed version ‘the Prayer’, because the designation ‘Lord’s Prayer’ most often refers to the Matthean version.

The question about the tradition(s) behind the Q-version, or – in case the Q-version is ignored – behind the gospel versions, has got different answers. Most of the scholars consider the reconstructed version, whether it is made up with help of an alleged Q-provenance or not, as the most original tradition, but there have also been attempts to argue for that the separate petitions of the Prayer have originally been independent pieces of prayer, and consequently the versions in Mt 6 and Lk 11, or in Q, would be

590 So e.g. Jeremias 1966, 157-160; Brown 1968, 279; Schulz 1972, 86; Vögtle 1974, 167-168 (Vögtle considers, however, the sentence dealing with our forgiving our debtors as probably secondary); Marshall 1978, 454-455; Strecker 1982, 13. 15; Guelich 1982, 284; Knoch 1985, 35-36; Fitzmyer 1985, 897; Schneider 1987, 407; Soares-Prabhu, 1990, 34; Nolland 1993, 610-611 (Nolland considers, however, the longer Matthean address as original); Bovon 1996, 121; Douglas 1997, 212; Gese 1997, 409-413; Luz 2002, 436-437. See also Davies and Allison 1988, 591 n.28. Differently Charlesworth 1994, 1-5, who proves that the thesis of Jeremias that the liturgical texts in the course of transmission always tend to get longer does not hold. Charlesworth gives examples of both lengthening and shortening of liturgical texts. Charlesworth’s study weakens the argument of Jeremias’ and of those who follow him, it is true, but does not, however, prove the opposite regarding the Lord’s Prayer. Mell 1994, 157-158 suggests that the condition to forgive one’s debtors would originate from the Q people, but in my opinion his arguments do not prove the case. Philonenko 2002, 69,102-103 suggests that the Matthean petitions “your will be done” and “deliver us from the evil one” would be original. Fenske 1997, 238-240 suggests that even the Lukan wording would be original.

secondary compilations.\footnote{O’Neill 1993, 3-10 suggests that both the Matthean and the Lukan versions of the Prayer would have come into being so that originally independent prayers, which Jesus had uttered in a Rabbinic way as his own closings to traditional prayers, had been collected and attached to an original core, which in the Matthean case would have been Jesus’ instruction to pray: “Pray so: ‘Our Father in heaven, hallowed be thy name’” and in the Lukan case Jesus’ answer to a request of a disciple: “When you pray, say: ‘Father, let your Spirit come and cleanse us.’” (See n. 589). According to O’Neill this prayer would have been omitted as unnecessary after Pentecost. O’Neill’s thesis, as interesting as it is, is all too hypothetical. Maybe the weakest point of it is that it reads the Rabbinic prayer custom witnessed in the Talmud back to Jesus without any problems. His argumentation suffers also from a vicious circle, when he first presupposes that the separate pieces of the Prayer have been said by Jesus as closings of traditional prayers, and then states that the Prayer, in its Matthean or Lukan form, is all too complicated to be only an attachment to a traditional prayer.} The arguments are not, however, convincing,\footnote{Taussig 1999, 54-57, for his part, suggests that the Q people would be responsible for the alleged collecting of the separate prayer fragments of Jesus and for constructing the Prayer composition. Taussig’s thesis is based on his presupposition that Jesus was a wandering, Cynic sage, who taught people with short, often cryptic and indeed humoristic aphorisms. Because a well-constructed prayer like the Prayer in its Q-form, does not seem to fit that kind of sage, Taussig does not hold the composition as authentic. Problematic in Taussig’s thesis is that his characterization of Jesus seems, at least for me, quite non-Jewish. That kind of a Jesus, whose own prayers would have been only very short sayings of a couple of words, is very different from the contemporary Jews, whose prayers we know from early Jewish and early Rabbinic literature.} and thus there are no good reasons to suppose that the Prayer would be a secondary composition of originally independent, short prayers.

**Interpretation.** The Prayer can be divided into three parts: 1. Address; 2. Two asyndetic you-petitions referring to God; 3. Three we-petitions, which are combined to each other with a simple καὶ.

\footnote{Philonenko 2002, 20-21.108-113 presents a thesis that the Abba-address and the You-petitions (the Matthean “your will be done” included) would have originally formed Jesus’ own prayer and the we-petitions would have formed a prayer, which he taught to his disciples. These two prayers would have been united only after Jesus’ death. Philonenko’s thesis is mainly based on the idea that the Abba was a messianic address — based on Ps 89:27 —, and could, thus, not be used by Jesus’ disciples (pp. 33-43). But, I think, if Jesus’ disciples could not use the Abba-address in their prayer, it is very difficult to explain the fact that already in a very early phase of the early Christianity Abba became the prayer address of the Christians, as its attestations in the Q-form of the Prayer and in Rom 8:15 and Gal 4:6 witness. Further, Philonenko’s thesis presupposes, that the prayer of the disciples would not have included any address (p. 110), which would have been quite extraordinary within the early Jewish piety.}
Regarding the *genre* – according to the categories of the prayers in the Hebrew Bible – the Prayer is mainly a *song of prayer*, more precisely a *community prayer song*. It opens with an introduction, in which God is addressed very briefly as *Abba*. The remainder forms the main body of the Prayer, in which the pleas are brought before God. Further, the Prayer even resembles the later prayer *genres* of the Hebrew Bible, and of early Judaism, in which praise precedes petition. Nevertheless, the two you-petitions, although their contents are quite similar to biblical praises, differ in their form from typical praise.

One of the main questions in the interpretation of the Prayer is, to what extent it should be regarded as eschatological. In an article from 1982 G. STRECKER defines the alternatives as *purely eschatological* and as *also eschatological*, but nowadays there is even a third alternative interpretation, which could be labelled as *non-eschatological*. The *purely eschatological* interpretation considers all the petitions as referring to eschatological entities. The concept ‘bread’ is spiritualized to denote a bread of an eschatological tomorrow comparable with the heavenly manna, the forgiveness of the debts would refer to the last judgment and the temptation is considered to be not just any temptation but *the* severe temptation of the end-time. The *also eschatological* interpretation makes a difference between the first two petitions concerning the hallowing of God’s name and the coming of his Kingdom, which are interpreted eschatologically, and the following three we-petitions, which, for their part, are considered to refer mainly to every-day life and its needs, although the eschatological touch or background of the petitions is not necessarily denied. The *non-eschatological* interpretation understands all the petitions, even the one referring to the coming of God’s Kingdom, as non-

---

594 Cf. p. 68.
595 Balentine 1993b, 27. See p. 70.72.
596 See Fenske 1997, 243.
597 Strecker 1982, 17: “rein endzeitlich” and “auch endzeitlich”.
598 This interpretation is advocated by e.g. Brown 1968, 276 (Brown’s focus is on the post-Easter interpretation of the Prayer); Jeremias 1971, 193-196; Schulz 1972, 87-93; Davies and Allison 1988, 594; Viviano 1997, 448-449; Philonenko 2002, 23. See also Vögtle’s 1974, 172-178 critique of the eschatological interpretation of the we-petitions.
600 For example Vögtle 1974, 179-182 interprets the we-petitions so that they refer to three things, which hinder the awaiting of the eschatological Kingdom of God: anxiety over secondary needs, the sins committed, and the danger of backsliding. See also Beasley-Murray 1986, 154.
eschatological. This interpretation is presented by representatives of a school, which also generally denies any eschatological contents in the proclamation of Jesus. I have already discussed in the Introduction this school’s picture of Jesus as a Cynic sage, which lies also as a background for the non-eschatological interpretation of the Prayer, and I stated that it is, in my opinion, an implausible reconstruction of the historical Jesus. Accordingly I do not consider the non-eschatological interpretation of the Prayer convincing.

The main argument for the purely eschatological interpretation is the eschatological sense of the first two petitions, which would demand, for the sake of consistency, that also the rest of the prayer should be interpreted eschatologically. Some scholars refer also to an alleged inconsistency between Jesus’ exhortation not to worry about tomorrow and the plea for bread – especially if the definition τὸν ἔπιστικον is understood as denoting ‘for tomorrow’ –, which would arise if the ‘bread’ would denote natural bread. Against the latter argument it has been correctly remarked, that there is no such contradiction between these two ideas, which would necessitate an eschatological interpretation of the ‘bread’. Phil 4:6 makes this clear:

Do not be anxious about anything, but in everything, by prayer and petition, with thanksgiving, present your requests to God.

It is precisely prayer and reliance on God’s answer that makes worrying unnecessary. Further, in my opinion, the eschatological beginning of the Prayer does not necessitate a purely eschatological interpretation of the petitions. Namely, in the minds of Jesus’ followers, the coming of the Kingdom of God, which was understood as an eschatological event but which at the same time was already close at hand, surely had an effect on the every-day life and its demands. The Kingdom of God and its close proximity and even presence guarantee that God responds to the petitions for daily bread and forgiveness. It is indeed difficult to think that Jesus would have been altogether unconcerned about the daily needs of his audience, and the Cares Tradition (Q 12:22-31), in fact, clearly shows that he was not. Thus it is, I think, only natural that the Prayer includes

---

602 Guelich 1982, 293; Knoch 1982, 42; Cullmann 1995, 54. See also Gese, who criticizes Cullmann and interprets the expression ἄριτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιστικόν so that it means the bread we need today in order to live till tomorrow; Gese 1997, 420-421.
604 See Oakman 1999, 139 and also Fenske 1997, 262.
even an every-day aspect. Accordingly I join those scholars who prefer the also eschatological interpretation.

The question about the meaning and significance of the Abba-address has been eagerly discussed within New Testament scholarship.

The first to stress the uniqueness of the Abba-address in Jesus’ own prayers and in the Prayer was JOACHIM JEREMIAS, who has presented his thesis several times in different connections. JEREMIAS argues that Jesus’ custom to address God as Abba was without any parallels in early Judaism, and thus this unique address expressed Jesus’ intimate relationship with God the Father, a relationship, which even Jesus’ followers could gain. Further, JEREMIAS suggests that the address would derive from a family context, in which the father is called abba. In an earlier phase he even thought that the address would be exclusively a chatter-word of a little child, but later he modified this thesis and gave several examples, in which even an adult calls his father with this word. Still he insisted that the origin of the address as a baby’s word was not forgotten, and thus, according to JEREMIAS, it was regarded as disrespectful and thus an unsuitable way of addressing God in early Judaism.

In subsequent research several scholars have criticized JEREMIAS’S thesis about the uniqueness of the Abba-address and referred to early Jewish and Rabbinic passages, in which God is called or even addressed as Father. These scholarly contributions have made it altogether clear that Jesus’ manner of addressing God as Father was not something unique in the early Judaism. Nevertheless, neither was this address very common. Further, JAMES BARR has convincingly argued that the Abba-address is not to be regarded as a babble-word, which even an adult can use, but, on the

---

605 Guelich 1982, 312.
606 A comprehensive account of the research history about the subject matter is to be read in Strotmann 1991, 4-17.
607 Jeremias 1926, 123-40 (This article is based on a lecture held in Leipzig 22. July 1925); Jeremias 1966, 67-80 (This article is a re-edited and expanded version of a lecture held in Paris in July 1961); Jeremias 1966, 15-67; Jeremias 1979, 180-196.
608 Jeremias 1966, 64-65.
609 Jeremias 1966, 63-64. Strangely enough, a couple of scholars have not noted Jeremias’s change of mind but have argued against his former thesis; E.g. Zeller 1981, 123-124.
610 Jeremias 1966, 63.
612 Taussig 399, 411-412; Wright 2001, 134; Corley 2002, 34.
contrary, as an adult’s word for his father, which even a young child uses.613

In order to get a better understanding about the subject matter it is to the purpose to make a brief survey of the use of the ‘Father’-epithet in the Hebrew Bible and in early Judaism.

In the Hebrew Bible the only individual, for whom God is a father, is the king.614 In 2Sam 7:14, 1Chr 17:13; 22:10 and 28:6 God promises to David to be a Father for his son Solomon, and in Ps 89:27 David calls God his Father, God, Rock and Savior. Otherwise, though not very frequently, God is called the Father of the people. In Deut 32:6 and Isa 64:7 God’s fatherhood is associated with his creating the people. In Isa 63:16 the returned people call God their Father and Redeemer. In Mal 1:6 God calls himself as the Father and Master of the people and thus expects honor and respect. In Jer 3:4-5 God blames his people that they call him God and Friend, but still do all the evil they can, and little later, in Jer 3:19, he utters his hope that his people would call upon him (גֵּ阆, this verb denotes often prayer in the Hebrew Bible)⁶¹⁵ ‘my Father’ (בָּן) and not turn away from following him.⁶¹⁶ In Jer 31:9 God promises to lead the weeping and praying people, because he is Israel’s Father.

Early Jewish literature offers a little more material about the subject matter.⁶¹⁷ To begin with, Tobit says in his praise that God is our Lord and God, our Father and our God forever (Tob 13:4).⁶¹⁸ Ben Sira, for his part, addresses God as ‘Lord, Father and Ruler/God of my life’ (Sir 23:1,4),⁶¹⁹ and in the prayer, which concludes the whole book, he in his anguish cries

---

613 Barr 1988, 35-39. Barr points out that the evidence about the use of the word abba proves, that the word was primarily an adult word. He refers, for example, to Targums Onkelos and Neofiti to Gen 20:12; 22:7; 27:31; 31:5 and 31:42, where to translate the Aramaic abba with an English ‘Daddy’ would be altogether inappropriate. Further, Barr remarks that in the New Testament the Greek translation of abba is always the normal adult word πατήρ.

614 Admittedly, as Deissler 1974, 134 points out, the proper name Abijah (e.g. the sons of Samuel, Jeroboam and Rehoboam and the mother of Hezekiah. See also 1Chr 2:24; 24:10; Neh 10:8) has the meaning: ‘Yahwe is my Father’.

615 See the appendix.

616 Deissler 1974, 134 claims that God is not addressed as ‘my/our Father’ in the prayers of the Hebrew Bible. Nevertheless, in Jer 3:19 בָּן is a prayer address. Blank 1961, 79 suggest that invoking God, addressing him, is already prayer.


619 See Strotmann 1991, 70-83. Jeremias 1971, 69 suggests that the Hebrew original of the Ben Sira text would have been בָּני, which would mean ‘God of my father’ and not ‘God, my Father’.

136
3. Analysis

to God and calls the Lord his Father (Sir 51:10). Further, in the Wisdom of Solomon the ungodly blame the righteous because of his boasting that God is his Father (WisSol 2:16). In the same document Solomon once addresses God as Father (WisSol 14:3). In ApocEzekII (=1Clem 8:3) God promises to heed Israel as a holy people, if they turn to him and call him ‘Father’. Likewise, in Jub 1:23-25, God promises that in the future he will be the Father of the people, after they have turned to God and have received from him a holy spirit, and still in v. 28 he assures that he is the God of Israel and the Father of the children of Jacob and King upon Mount Zion forever. Later on, in Jub 19:29, Abraham blesses Jacob by hoping that God would be the Father for him and for the people. Further, Aseneth calls God twice as the Father of the orphans in her prayer (JosAsen 11:13; 12:13), and in the same context she once describes God as a sweet and good and gentle Father (JosAsen 12:14). Moreover, in JosAsen 15:7-8, a heavenly figure calls God as the Father of Repentance. In the Testaments of Job and Abraham God is called Father several times, but only in passages, whose textual history and provenance is not clear. Likewise in the separate manuscripts of the Greek version of the Life of Adam and Eve (=Apocalypse of Moses) the Father-epiteth occurs altogether eight times. Nevertheless, because of text critical reasons, the modern text editions agree only in LAE 35:2 regarding the epithet. In that passage Eve describes the angels’ prayer for Adam, how they address God as Father of all and ask him to forgive Adam. In 3Mac God is called the first Father of all, which probably refers to the creation (3Mac 2:21). In the same

621 About this address see Strotmann 1991, 126-139.
622 TJob is available in three Greek, in one Salonic and in one Coptic manuscript. Only in one passage, TJob 33:9, the Father-epiteth is attested in all of them. Moreover, scholars do not agree about the unity of the document, but it has been proposed that TJob 33 and TJob 46-53 would be later Christian additions (so e.g. Spittler 1983, 834). Now, six of the altogether seven possible references to God’s fatherhood fall into these chapters (TJob 33:3.9; 47:11; 50:3; 52:9; 52:12). In addition, in two passages it is unclear, whether the word ‘father’ refers to Job or to God (TJob 47:11; 52:9). See Strotmann 1991, 176-180. Chilton 1993, 160-162 does not seem to regard the above-mentioned problems.

Of TAbr there exists two different recensions, A and B, which, for their part, are witnessed in several Greek manuscripts and translations. In the longer TAbrA God is called Father five times: TAbrA 6:6; 9:7 (only in one manuscript); 16:3; 20:12.13, while in TAbrB only once in 7:19, but not in all the manuscripts. Further, especially TAbrA includes several Christian interpolations, and thus it is possible, that the Father-epithets are due to Christian redaction. About the recensions, manuscripts and Christian influence see Sanders 1983, 871-873 and Strotmann 1991, 200-205.

document the large amount of Jews whom King Ptolemy Philopator has gathered together in order to execute them, call upon the Almighty Lord and Ruler of all power, their merciful God and Father (3Mac 5:7), and the old and honored priest Eleazar calls God, among other epithets, twice as ‘Father’ (3Mac 6:3,8). In the Prayer of Jacob God is called Father of the Patriarchs (PrJac 1) and four times as Father of everything with varying expression (PrJac 1.4). Finally, in IQH a xvii:35 God is called Father to all the sons of his truth, and the ‘Father’-address is attested in a fragmentary prayer of Joseph found at Qumran (4QapocrJosephb [4Q372] frag.1 16).

Thus, in early Jewish thinking, God is the Father of both pious men and the chosen people. As a creator he can also be called the Father of all. In the case of the chosen people it is important to note that it is especially the returned remnant (Isa 63:16), an ideal people (Jer 3:19), or a repentant people (ApocEzekII) who call God ‘Father’ and honor him, and God promises to be the Father of an eschatological, redeemed people, who turns toward him in repentance (Jer 31:9; Jub 1:25). Further, it is noteworthy that the closest parallel for the Abba-address is in the Hebrew Bible Jer 3:19, which is the only passage in the Hebrew Bible, where the people call upon God simply as ‘my Father’ without other epithets, and within early Jewish literature the similar address is found in ApocEzekII. In both of these two passages the ‘Father’-address is a token of the people’s turning to God.

This survey has shown that the Father-epithet of God has been used both in the Hebrew Bible and more frequently in early Jewish literature. Nevertheless, in prayer addresses it is used very seldom, and even in those cases usually together with some other epithet. When we deal with the social significance of the Prayer we will return to the Abba-address and its social implications, especially concerning the early Jewish precedents of the address.

The early Jewish background. The early Jewish or Rabbinic parallels of the Prayer are widely recognized. In this connection scholars have mentioned especially the Amidah and the Qaddish. Both these Jewish prayers, or at
least their motifs, probably antedate the destruction of the Temple 70 C.E. in some form, but our problem is that we do not know, how they were recited in the 1st century C.E. Palestine. Attempts to reconstruct alleged original versions of these prayers are methodologically impossible, simply because there has never existed that kind of originals. J. Heinemann has proved that the development of these prayers has not gone from a unity to diversity but on the contrary. That is why it is useless to make very detailed comparisons between the Prayer and the Jewish prayers mentioned above. Nevertheless, the striking parallelism between the Prayer, on the one hand, and the Qaddish and the Amidah, on the other hand, suggests that the core of these Jewish prayers, or their themes, were in use already in Jesus’ time and even known by Jesus. Thus, it is anyhow relevant to compare the said prayers with each other without going into details.

Still a third Jewish prayer, which resembles closely the last petition of the Prayer, is a morning and evening prayer, which is found in bBer 60b. Here the problem is that we do not know, whether this prayer was in use in 1st century Palestine or not. Nevertheless, similar prayers with the same motifs – so-called apotropaic prayers – have been found in the Qumran caves as well. In the Prayer, both the plea for forgiveness and the petition that God would not lead us into temptation, have their counterparts in those prayers.

The Prayer

Amidah, Qaddish, bBer, 11QPs

Father,

... our Father ... (Amidah,

Pardon my sins, yhwh, and cleanse me from my iniquity.
Bestow on me a faithful and knowing spirit; may I not be disgraced in the calamity.
May Satan not rule over me or an unclean spirit;
may neither pain nor evil purpose take possession of my bones.

The Syriac psalm III (11QPs[11Q5] xix:1-18) and the Aramaic Testament of Levi (4QLevi[4Q213]) are further examples of this type of prayer.
Hallowed be your name,
Glorified and sanctified be
God’s great name throughout
the world, which he has created
according to his will.

Your kingdom come,
May he establish his kingdom in
your lifetime and during your days,
and within the life of the entire
House of Israel, speedily and soon.
(Qaddish)

Give us today our daily bread.
Bless to us, O Lord our God, this
year, and fill the world with the
treasures of thy goodness (Amidah,
ben 9)

Forgive us our debts
Forgive us, our Father, for we have
sinned before you. Wipe out and
remove our transgressions from
before your eyes, for great is your
mercy. Blessed are you, Adonaj,
who is quick to forgive. (Amidah,
ben. 6)

As we also have forgiven our debtors.
And lead us not into temptation
... lead me not into situations too
hard for me (בּקשׁת מָלֻּי; 11QPs [11Q5] xxiv:10)
... ; and bring me not into sin, or
into iniquity, or into temptation
(מָסֵי), or into contempt ... (bBer
60b)

In my opinion the best explanation to the similarities between the Rabbinic
prayers and the Prayer is that they all draw their motifs and even
formulations from a common source, i.e. the early Jewish prayer traditions.
Thus we need not to suppose that Jesus would have known exactly the
Amidah or the Qaddish, which, in fact, would be quite an anachronistic
supposition.635 This explanation is supported even by the fact that the roots
of the Prayer can be found already in the Hebrew Bible, as, for example,
ALFONS DEISSLER has proved.636 Further, the eschatological tone in the
Prayer has its precedents in some early Jewish eschatological prayers,
especially in some psalms in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.637

635 See p. 83.
636 Deissler 1974, 131-150. See also Philonenko 2002, who searches for the early Jewish
(even Targumic) background for the petitions of the Prayer.
637 Flusser 1984, 556-558. The main motifs of these eschatological psalms are the
deliverance of Israel, the gathering of the dispersed and the future glory of Jerusalem.
3. Analysis

The social significance of the Prayer. DOUGLAS E. OAKMAN has made a sociological study of the Prayer with the socio-political, or socio-economic, status of the Galilean peasants as the primary context.638 He considers the more theological You-prayers as secondary additions by Judean scribes,639 and interprets the we-prayers so that they refer to hunger, economic debt and unjust judges.640

In my opinion OAKMAN is certainly right in stressing the significance of the social context, when trying to understand the Prayer or any prayer.641 I especially agree with his interpretation of the plea for bread. In order to understand the centrality of the concern for daily bread, we need only to consider the socio-economic context of Jesus’ teaching, the context in which indebtedness and thus even poverty were characteristic features in the life of the ordinary Galilean peasants.642 Jesus advised his followers to speak that concern aloud to God, to Abba.

Nonetheless, OAKMAN makes, I think, a mistake when he approaches the Prayer from a purely socio-economic point of view and regards the socio-religious643 concerns as secondary additions.644 First, although the economic interpretation of the word ‘debt’ in the second we-petition seems to fit very well to the economic situation of Jesus’ audience, it is still not convincing. Namely, the word has both in Hebrew (תֵּבַע)645 and in Aramaic (גַּם)646 also a theological denotation ‘sin’, and according to my opinion we are correct in following Luke and the majority of modern scholars, and interpret the petition theologically.647 In addition, as we have

and the Temple. For example the praise in Tob 13 and the petition in Sir 36:11-17 represent this type of prayer.

638 Oakman 1999, 140.
639 Oakman 1999, 141-142.
640 Oakman 1999, 176.
641 Oakman 1999, 138: “... the meaning of a prayer depends significantly upon the social system and location of the petitioner...”
644 I think it is indeed questionable, whether the political, economic and religious factors can be separated from each other in the early Judaism. Cf. Saldarini 1988, 4-5 and following him Jokiranta 2001, 235.
645 See 11QMelch (11Q13) ii:6.
646 See Jeremias 1971, 18 n.47 and Gesenius 1995. For example in the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Exodus 10:17 the Targum translates the Hebrew שֶׁמֶרֶף with וַעֲשֵׂהוּ.
647 So e.g. Jeremias 1971, 194-195; Schürmann 1981, 92-93; Strecker 1984, 124-125; Davies & Allison 1988, 611; Betz 1995, 400. An economic interpretation is suggested
3. Analysis

seen, the motif of repentance and thus asking for forgiveness is to be found throughout the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish literature, and especially in the apotropaic prayers, with which the Prayer shares even the petition about resisting temptation. I think that the problem of indebtedness in human relationships made Jesus to choose the word ‘debt’ as a metaphor of men’s indebtedness towards God, i.e. sin (cf. the parable of the unmerciful servant in Mt 18:23-35).

Second, in my reading of the gospel texts there is a lot of authentic material, which has its primary focus especially on the socio-religious level. We may recall, for example, the so-called ‘parables of reversal’, e.g. the Rich Man and Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31), the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Lk 18:9-14) and the Great Supper (Q 14:16-24), as well as the statement that the tax collectors and the prostitutes will enter the Kingdom of God ahead of the chief priests and the elders of the people (Mt 21:31-32). All these passages deal with certain groups – supposed that the characters of the parables stand for groups – and their relation to God or to his Kingdom. The Prayer must be interpreted without forgetting that context. Indeed, in my opinion, it is precisely the socio-religious context, which gives for the Prayer its unique significance, as we will see.

It has been suggested, and in my opinion correctly, that the Prayer served as one of the boundary markers for Jesus’ disciples as a distinct group within the early Judaism. Thus, we will now discuss, which kind of socio-religious significance the Prayer had for Jesus’ followers. Or more precisely: How did the Prayer define the relationship between Jesus’ followers and God?

Before going on, however, we must first define what we mean with the term ‘Jesus’ followers’ – a designation, which we have already used a couple of times without defining it – and thereafter describe the socio-religious status of these followers.

MEIER, in the third volume of his four-volume study A Marginal Jew, discerns two different categories of Jesus’ followers. First, there were people who followed Jesus physically and therefore left their homes. Amongst them were the twelve closest disciples but also other people.

in addition to Oakman e.g. by Taussig 1999, 89-90. Crossan 1991, 294, for his part, gives an intermediate interpretation so that the plea itself concerns sin, but the mutual, inter-human forgiveness is about economic debt.

648 See ch. 3.4.2.2. below.
649 Meier 1996, 367 and Meier 2001, 626-627. In the latter passage Meier calls the Prayer one of the “identity badges” of Jesus’ followers. See also Jeremias 1971, 191; Wright 1996, 292-293; McKnight 1999, 63 and Philonenko 2002, 23.
650 Meier 2001 54-73.
Second, some of Jesus’ followers were people who indeed supported Jesus but did not follow him full-time but continued to live in their homes. Accordingly, with ‘Jesus’ followers’ I mean both the full-time followers and the local supporters.

We have only little evidence about the socio-religious status of Jesus’ followers. Nonetheless, what is important for us, the tradition reports of a tax collector, whom Jesus called to be a disciple (Mk 2:14), and more generally about Jesus’ dealings with tax collectors and sinners (Mk 2:15-16; Lk 15:1; Q 7:34). Further, in two passages Jesus gives the tax collectors (and prostitutes) a special, positive position before God (Mt 21:31-32; Lk 18:10-13). These passages evidence that there were such people among Jesus’ followers, who were generally estimated as sinners. Within the Judaism of Jesus’ time the different factions regarded themselves as righteous and those who did not observe their regulations were easily labeled as sinners. This holds good especially regarding the Qumranic view of other Jews. Nonetheless, some of Jesus’ followers, especially the tax collectors, were considered sinners by all Jews. Neither is it likely that they would have regarded themselves as righteous. It is revealing that they are called sinners by both Jews in general and even by Jesus (Mk 2:17). Furthermore, there is not a single passage in the gospel accounts, which would claim that they would not have been sinners. Especially remarkable in this connection is that Jesus practiced table fellowship with these outcasts, which signified a close relationship between the participants.

---

651 Meier 2001, 80-82.
653 Sanders 1985, 207; Meier 2001, 207.
654 Q 7:34 is a polemical saying against Jesus, and can thus not be taken in its face value, but as such it still confirms the general picture.
655 See Horsley 1994, 121-122 and Wright 1996, 267-268. See also Theissen 1989, 15. It is not possible to deal with the question of authenticity of the single passages here, but the general idea is attested in multiple sources, which suggests authenticity; Sanders 1985, 174-175.179. See also Witherington III 1999, 262, who argues for the authenticity of the reversal motif.
656 Theissen 1989, 85-87; Dunn 1995, 246.
657 Sanders 1985, 193.
658 About the attitude towards the tax collectors see e.g. 4QInstruction-like Work (4Q424) and mToh 7:6.
659 This point is especially stressed by Sanders 1985, 187: “... Jesus was accused of associating with, and offering the Kingdom to those who by the normal standards of Judaism were wicked.”, (Italics Sanders’s).
660 About the significance of table fellowship in Jesus’ activity see McKnight 1999, 41-49.
We may, thus, conclude as a summary of the discussion above that at least some of Jesus’ followers were obvious sinners and further, Jesus himself and the other disciples were, then, close friends of sinners, especially because they ate together.\textsuperscript{661} This was, I think, enough to brand the whole group as at least suspicious in religious respect. Now, against this socio-religious background we can consider what significance the Prayer had for Jesus’ followers as their particular prayer.

In our analysis of the \textit{Abba}-address we noted that in the Hebrew Bible and in early Judaism God is called the Father of either the especially pious men or – which is more important for us – of the eschatological, redeemed and even ideal people of God. In my reading the most striking and important background for the \textit{Abba}-address in the Hebrew Bible is Jer 3:19, where God expresses his hope that his people would address him as ‘my Father’ in their prayer; and in early Jewish literature ApocEzekII, which, for its part, resembles the idea expressed in Jer 3:19 very closely. Against this background it is easy for us to understand, how significant it was for Jesus’ followers – these sinners and sinners’ friends – that they could address God as \textit{Abba}. This surely must have given them the self-assurance that they could regard themselves as belonging to the true people of God.\textsuperscript{662}

Even the ‘you’-petitions of the Prayer may be understood against the socio-religious background described above. We will first consider the petition of hallowing the name of God. In Isa 29:13-24 the Lord accuses the people for their useless worship. They honor their God with their lips, but their hearts are far away from him. In the future God will, nevertheless, save his people, the humble will rejoice in the Lord, and \textit{they will keep God’s name holy} (v. 23). Similarly, in Ezek 36:22-32, God blames his people for having profaned his name among the nations, but \textit{God himself will show the holiness of his great name} (v. 23) by gathering his people together, cleansing them of their sins and giving them a new spirit and a new heart. We note that in both passages the future, redeemed Israel, will hallow God’s name, either actively (Isa) or passively by being the means, with which God himself glorifies his name (Ezek). Further, in a fragment found at Qumran (4Q\textit{Myst} \textit{[4Q301] frag.3 6}) it is stated that God is glorified in, or by, the people of his holy ones (אוד\כבד\ אל\ בלא\ קדוש). It is unlikely that the kind of people who followed Jesus would have been regarded as those, who honor the name of God or through whom his name would be glorified. Rather, they apparently profaned it because of their sins. Nevertheless, Jesus taught his followers to pray for God’s name to be

\textsuperscript{661} See Meier 2001, 207.

\textsuperscript{662} Cf. Wright 1996, 294: “Those who prayed this prayer were, from Jesus’ point of view, becoming true Israelites, those whom the covenant God would vindicate.” See also Jeremias 1971, 191 and Evans 1990, 479.
hallowed. Thus they claimed to belong to the true Israel with a new spirit and a new heart.

Even the coming of the Kingdom is associated with the eschatological people of God both in the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish literature. In Mic 4:6-8 God promises that one day he will gather the lame and the exiled, make a strong nation of them and rule as a king over them in Zion. PsSol 17, for its part, describes the messianic Kingdom somewhat differently. About the Davidic king it is said:

See, Lord, and raise up for them their king, the son of David, to rule over your servant Israel in the time known to you, O God. Undergird him with the strength to destroy the unrighteous rulers, to purge Jerusalem from gentiles who trample her to destruction; in wisdom and in righteousness to drive out the sinners from the inheritance; to smash the arrogance of sinners like a potter’s jar; to shatter all their substance with an iron rod; to destroy the unlawful nations with the word of his mouth; at his warning the nations will flee from his presence; and he will condemn sinners by the thoughts of their hearts. He will gather a holy people whom he will lead in righteousness; and he will judge the tribes of the people that have been made holy by the Lord their God (PsSol 17:21-26).

Thus it is both sinners and godless nations, which will be ruled out of the Kingdom. Granted that the Psalms of Solomon represent Pharisaic thinking roughly contemporary to Jesus, it is quite understandable, why the Pharisees could not accept Jesus’ dealings with sinners.

Another contemporary Jewish text, which makes a clear distinction between the sinners and the righteous, is 1. Enoch. Chapter 38 describes the last judgment, which the Righteous One, i.e. the Messiah, will carry out, and, we might suppose, the judgment inaugurates the Messianic Kingdom. The text runs as follows:

When the congregation of the righteous shall appear, sinners shall be judged for their sins, they shall be driven from the face of the earth, and when the Righteous One shall appear before the face of the righteous, those elect ones, their deeds are hung upon the Lord of the Spirits, he shall reveal light to the righteous and the elect who dwell upon the earth, where will the dwelling of the sinners be, and where the resting place of those who denied the name of the Lord

663 Luz 2002, 446-447 points out that the petition can be interpreted either so that God is the agent of the hallowing of his name or so that the praying people will hallow God’s name by upright behavior. Maybe the petition purposely includes both aspects, which are attested in Ez 36 respectively Isa 29. See Karris 2000, 13-16 and Philonenko 2002, 49.

664 So e.g. Winninge 1995, 180.

665 The ‘sinners’ of the Psalms of Solomon were probably originally the Hasmonean Sadducees; see Dunn 1995, 248; Winninge 1995, 188-189. Nevertheless, I think that it is altogether possible, indeed probable, that later the designation was applied more widely.
of the Spirits? It would have been better for them not to have been born (1En 38:1-2).

The provenance of 1En is unclear, and thus it is not possible to say exactly, who the righteous respectively the sinners are. Nevertheless, the text makes it obvious that in the thinking represented by 1En not all the Jews belonged to the Kingdom, but the sinners were on the outside. Against the background of the quoted texts it is quite easy to understand, what it meant for the followers of Jesus to be able to petition for the coming of the Kingdom of God. Praying like that made the claim of being part of the once lamed and exiled people of the prophecy of Micah, a people, which would soon be saved and ruled by the Great King.

We will yet make some remarks about the second ‘we’-petition. The penitential motive is not very common in the prayers of the Hebrew Bible, though it is surely attested in some psalms and narrative prayers, which represent a later phase in the development of the Hebrew prayer tradition. In the post-biblical literature the motive is more common.

As we have seen, in the Hebrew Bible penitence is one of the grounds for God’s answering prayers. God himself promises to remember his covenant if the people confess their sins and their hearts are humbled (Lev 26:40-45), and king Manasseh’s prayer is heard, when he in his distress humbles himself and prays to God (2Chr 33:12-13). Likewise, God promises to Solomon that he will hear from heaven and forgive the sins of the people, if they humble themselves and pray and seek his face and turn from their wicked ways (2Chr 7:14), and God hears king Josiah, because he has humbled himself before God (2Kgs 22:19, 2Chr 34:27). Against this background we can understand better, why Jesus taught his followers to ask for forgiveness. Penitence is one of the distinctive marks of God’s people.

Finally, it is important to note that the Prayer does not contain such elements, which would explicitly exclude some individuals or groups, which is the case with many psalms in the Hebrew Bible, in the Psalms of Solomon and in Hodayot.666 This is well in line with Jesus’ teaching about loving one’s enemies and praying for them, which we already have dealt with.

**Authenticity.**667 Let us begin the discussion of authenticity by evaluating the arguments, which have been presented against it. The first argument comes from M. GOULDER.

---

666 See ch. 2.3.2.
GOULDER considers it *a priori* unlikely that Jesus would have taught his disciples something, which they should learn by heart. There are no other examples of that kind of teaching in the gospel tradition, and that is why GOULDER will not regard the Prayer as authentic. Further, if the Prayer were authentic, then it would be very improbable, according to GOULDER, that the Christians would have hesitated to alter the prayer, as would be the case evidenced by the different versions of the Prayer in Matthew, Luke and the Didache. Moreover, if the Prayer were authentic and thus the only thing which Jesus taught the disciples to know by heart, it would be unlikely that Mark would have omitted it from his Gospel. GOULDER’S own suggestion is that Matthew composed the Prayer out of separate pieces found in Mark, and Luke, for his part, abbreviated the Matthean version.668

The first argument makes sense as such, but, taken that our interpretation of the Prayer’s social nature is correct, it is not at all improbable that Jesus would have expressly taught a quite fixed prayer formula, even though he did not otherwise teach things to be remembered by heart. As concerns the second argument, early Jewish prayer practice made it possible to make minor alterations and especially additions to traditional prayers, and still the prayer remained essentially the same. Or would anyone claim that the two different versions of the Prayer in Luke and in Matthew do not both represent the same prayer? About the third argument, it is admittedly somehow odd that Mark does not reproduce the Prayer, but as such the non-existence does not prove much. It is altogether possible, for example, that, as BRUCE CHILTON suggests, in Mark’s congregation the Prayer was taught orally, and that is why Mark did not write it down into his gospel account.669

GOULDER’S own suggestion is based on his peculiar resolution to the synoptic question, according to which there has never existed a Q-source, but Luke has used Matthew as his source. We have rejected this paradigm already in the Introduction and accepted the 2-source hypothesis. Accordingly we need not to discuss GOULDER’S reconstruction of the origins of the Matthean respective Lukan versions or the Prayer any longer.

H. F. VON CAMPENHAUSEN, for his part, bases his argument against authenticity on his thesis that Jesus’ teaching on prayer deals exclusively with individual prayer. Thus, a communal prayer like the Prayer cannot be authentic.670 Nevertheless, in my opinion VON CAMPENHAUSEN’S view is all

---

293. There are, nevertheless, some scholars, who suggest inauthenticity, e.g. Goulder 1963, 34; Campenhausen 1977, 159; Crossan 1991, 294; Mell 1997, 283-290. See also n. 592.

668 Goulder 1963, 32-35.

669 Chilton 1996, 58. See also Hultgren 2002, 293-295.

670 Von Campenhausen 1977, 159.
too one-sided. He neglects the social significance of Jesus’ teaching altogether and thus dismisses an important point. Thus, if our interpretation of the Prayer’s social significance for Jesus’ followers is valid, then VON CAMPENHAUSEN’S argument inevitably falls short.

JOHN DOMINIC CROSSAN has two main arguments against the authenticity of the Prayer. First, he suggests that if Jesus originally taught the Prayer to his followers, it would be more widely attested and even in more uniform versions. CROSSAN’S argument is here well in line with his general methodology, but, as we have stated in the Introduction, the criterion of multiple attestation cannot be used to suggest inauthenticity. Further, the claim for uniformity as a presupposition for authenticity is not very convincing, for it is a self-evident fact that the early Christians surely adapted the traditions they transmitted further. Why should the Prayer make an exception in this respect?

CROSSAN’S second argument is based on his general view of Jesus as a wandering Cynic. He states that the establishment of a prayer like the Prayer fits best to a situation, in which a group starts to distinguish itself from the wider religious community, and suggests that it did not happen during the life of Jesus. Nevertheless, we have above suggested that it indeed happened during Jesus’ lifetime, and in that distinguishing the Prayer played an important role.

U. MELL argues against authenticity with the criterion of double dissimilarity. Here MELL makes two crucial mistakes. First, as we already have stated in the Introduction, dissimilarity to early Judaism is not in any case an adequate criterion for estimating authenticity. Second, as we likewise noted in the discussion about the authenticity criteria, dissimilarity to Christianity must not be used as an argument against authenticity. MELL’S thesis is not convincing because of these problems in argumentation.

Now we can turn to the arguments for authenticity. In the evaluation of the authenticity of the Prayer it is first important to note, that it does not

\[671\] Crossan 1991, 294.

\[672\] Mell 1997, 286-287: “Unableitzbarskriterium.” Mell considers it indeed possible that Jesus might have given the Prayer to his followers as a model prayer, but in that case the Prayer would not have been a peculiar Jesuanic prayer but a prayer of the contemporary synagogue. About the discussion of Mell’s thesis see Haacker 1996, 176-182, which is a critical response to Mell’s article from 1994, and Haacker 1997, 291-295, which, for its part, is an answer to Mell’s response to Haacker’s critique.

3. Analysis

contain any christological features. On the contrary, as we have already stated, the Prayer is thoroughly Jewish. Second, the motifs of the Prayer are well attested in multiple sources and forms in the gospel accounts, and some of them represent even the core teachings of Jesus. This is the case especially regarding the Abba-address and the petitioning for the coming of the Kingdom of God. Admittedly, this is rather an argument for the authenticity of the single petitions, not for the whole composition. Nevertheless, as JOHN P. MEIER points out, even though the New Testament swarms with prayers, the Prayer is still the only one, which Jesus, according to the tradition, taught to his disciples, and both Matthew and Luke mention this fact. This fact suggests authenticity for the whole composition.

As a conclusion we may state that the arguments against the authenticity do not hold, but there are good arguments for the authenticity. Thus I suggest that we can regard the Prayer as a whole as an authentic teaching of Jesus.

3.1.3. The Similitude of a Child Asking for Food (Q 11:9-13)

The similitude of a child, who asks food from his father, with an introductory proverb and a theological conclusion is attested in Mt 7:7-11 and Lk 11:9-13. The parallel texts run as follows:

---

675 See Laaksonen 2002, 246.
676 Meier 1994, 294.
677 Meier 1994, 294. See also Laaksonen 2002, 243.
Mt 7:7-11
7 Αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν, ζητεῖτε καὶ εὑρήσετε, κρούετε καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν. 8 πάς γὰρ ὁ αἵτων λαμβάνει καὶ ὁ ζητῶν εὑρίσκει καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοιγήσεται. 9 ἡ τίς ἔστιν ἐς ὑμῶν ἀνθρώπος, ἢν ἀιτήσει ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρτον, μὴ λίθον ἔπιδόσει αὐτῷ; 10 ἡ καὶ ἰχθύν ἀιτήσει, μὴ ὁφιν ἔπιδόσει αὐτῷ; 11 εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες οἴδατε δόματα ἁγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, πόσω μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς δώσει ἁγάθα τοῖς αἰτούσιν αὐτῶν.

Lk 11:9-13
9 καὶ ὁ ὑμῖν λέγω, αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν, ζητεῖτε καὶ εὑρήσετε, κρούετε καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν. 10 πάς γὰρ ὁ αἵτων λαμβάνει καὶ ὁ ζητῶν εὑρίσκει καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοιγήσεται. 11 τίνα δὲ ἐς ὑμῶν τὸν πατέρα αἰτήσει ὁ υἱὸς ἰχθύν, καὶ ἀντὶ ἰχθύος ὁφιν αὐτῷ ἔπιδόσει; 12 ἡ καὶ αἰτήσει φῶν, ἔπιδόσει αὐτῷ σκορπίον; 13 εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὑπάρχοντες οἴδατε δόματα ἁγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, πόσω μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ ὥς ἐς οὐρανοῦ δώσει πνεῦμα ἁγιον τοῖς αἰτούσιν αὐτῶν.

Construction. The passage consists of three parts:

1. A twofold proverb of asking, searching and knocking (Q 11:9-10). In the first part of the proverb the stress is on the exhortations in the 2. pers. pl. imperative and in the second part on the encouraging promises in the 3. pers. sing. futurum. The proverb is a symmetrical whole.

2. A short, twofold similitude of a son asking for food of his father (Q 11:11-12).

3. A theological conclusion with help of a hermeneutical qal wahomer-rule (Q 11:13).

Reconstruction of the Q-form. Mt and Lk have quite similar versions of the passage. Especially the proverb in the first two verses is given in an exactly identical form.

---

678 It could be discussed, whether the word ‘aphorism’ would be better here; see e.g. Crossan 1988, 121. Nevertheless, the difference between aphorism and proverb is vague. The basic difference lies therein that a proverb is more traditional, “a voice from the cultural past” while an aphorism has a known author; see e.g. Envall 1987, 284-299; Henaut 1993, 268; Arora 1994, 4-5. I use the word ‘proverb’ because I think the text includes a traditional wisdom saying; see the interpretation below. See Betz 1995, 501.

679 Luke adds an introduction to the logion.
3. Analysis

The similitude in the following two verses differs significantly in the accounts of Mt and Lk. Nevertheless, these two versions are identical in several aspects. The expressions ἦ τίς ἐστιν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀνθρώπος ὁ πατέρα, and the word-pair ‘fish’ – ‘snake’ are attested in both of them.

Further, a similarity between the versions of Mt and Lk lies in the fact that they both have two word-pairs as examples of, how the earthly fathers do not give bad things to their sons. Nevertheless, besides a fish and a snake, Mt talks about a loaf of bread and a stone, whereas Lk has an egg and a scorpion. Bread and fish were the most common nutrients in Palestine, therefore the Matthean version fits better in a Palestinian context. Moreover, also elsewhere in the Q-tradition bread and stone are attested as counterparts. That is why the Matthean version is likely to reproduce the original Q-form here. Luke has possibly changed the other pair into an egg and a scorpion to make the metaphor even more striking: while Mt has two useless things as negative alternatives, Lk presents dangerous things. True, this does not explain, why Luke has an egg instead of bread. The point is, perhaps, that a scorpion with claws and tail rolled up resembles outwardly an egg.

While Mt has the opening phrase of the similitude in form ἦ τίς ἐστιν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀνθρώπος, Lk has the form τίνα δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν τὸν πατέρα. The Matthean ἦ and the Lukan δὲ seem both to be redactional additions, in order to make the text more fluent. The phrase τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν appears frequently as an opening question in the synoptic similitudes. In Mt another example is Mt 12:11. There, too, the Matthean version has the verb εἶμι, whereas the verb is lacking in the Lukan version (Lk 15:4). I think it is more probable that Matthew has added the verb, than that Luke would have omitted it in both cases. The interrogative pronoun is in the nominative case in Mt and in the accusative in Lk. While the Lukan version is more sophisticated Greek and while the phrase usually has the pronoun in the nominative case (Q 15:4, Lk 11:5; 14:28; 17:7), the Matthean version

---

680 Davies & Allison 1988, 681 consider the differences between Mt and Lk so severe that they suppose two different versions of Q behind the synoptic texts. Although this is possible, I still think that the differences can be explained with the hypothesis of a similar source text underlying both Mt and Lk.

681 Q 4:3.


683 Davies & Allison 1988, 683; Wiefel 1988, 218. See also Rengstorf 1968, 147.


685 Schulz 1972, 161.

686 About this formula see Greeven 1982.


151
3. Analysis

is likely to reproduce the original Q-version.\[^{688}\] The word \(\text{ἀνθρωπός}\) is attested also in Q 15:4 in this phrase. Thus it is likely that the word \(\text{πατήρ}\) is redactional,\[^{689}\] maybe in order to get the metaphor ‘father - son’ clearer.\[^{690}\]

Matthew has maybe added the definition \(\text{ἀποτοῦ}\) after the word \(\text{ὑίος}\), in order to clarify the fact that the text is not dealing with the son \textit{par excellence}, i.e. Jesus.\[^{691}\]

The \(\text{ἀντί}\)-construction in Lk 11:11b and the omission of the word \(\mu \eta\) in Lk 11:11-12 are probably linguistic improvements by Luke.

The rest of the text, i.e. the conclusion, is much easier to deal with than the middle part of it. While the Lukan \(\text{ὑπάρχοντες}\) is a more sophisticated word than the Matthean \(\text{ὁντες}\), the Matthean form is likely to be original.\[^{692}\]

Matthew adds his favorite phrase \(\text{⌀μῶν}\ \text{ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὑπάρχοντες}\) to the word \(\text{πατήρ}\).\[^{693}\] Thus the Lukan version, “Father gives from heaven”, reproduces the original Q-text. The Holy Spirit as a gift of God is an important theme for Luke, and that is why he interprets the original Q-version’s \(\text{ἄγαθός}\) to mean the Spirit.\[^{694}\]

Based on the discussion above, our reconstruction of the Q-form of the passage runs as follows:\[^{695}\]

\[
9 \ 	ext{αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν, ζητεῖτε καὶ εὑρήσετε, κροῦετε καὶ ἀνοιχθῇ ὑμῖν.} 10 \ \text{πᾶς γὰρ ὁ αἰτῶν λαμβάνει καὶ ὁ ζητῶν εὑρίσκει καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοιχθῇ.} 11 \ \text{τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀνθρωπός, ὃν αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς ἀρτον,} \ \text{μὴ λίθων ἐπιδώσῃ αὐτῷ;} 12 \ \text{ἤ καὶ ἱζών αἰτήσει,} \ \text{μὴ δρίνῃ ἐπιδώσῃ αὐτῷ;} 13 \ \text{ἐὰν ὡς πάντων ὁντες ὁδιάτε δόματα ἀγαθά διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, πόσῳ} \ \text{μᾶλλον ὁ πατήρ ἐξ ὑπάρχοντο ἀνήσκει ἄγαθά τοῖς αἰτούσιν αὐτῶν.}
\]

\[^{688}\] See GnIlka 1986, 261.

\[^{689}\] See GnIlka 1986, 261; Schürmann 1994, 217n.318.

\[^{690}\] Schulz 1972, 162.

\[^{691}\] Davies & Allison 1988, 681.

\[^{692}\] Schulz 1972, 162.

\[^{693}\] Schulz 1972, 162; GnIlka 1986, 261; Davies & Allison 1988, 684.


\[^{695}\] The Critical Edition of Q gives an almost identical reconstruction. In v. 11 CEQ suggests ‘ἐστιν’ between ‘τις’ and ‘ἐξ’, and the possessive pronoun ‘αὐτοῦ’ after the word ‘ὑιός’. These differences in reconstruction do not have any significance for the interpretation.
Traditions. Some scholars suggest that this passage consists of at least two originally separate traditions: 1. vv. 9-10; 2. vv. 11-13.\(^ {696} \) Moreover, some scholars see v. 10 either as an unnecessary addition to v. 9 or as another version of the proverb in v. 9.\(^ {697} \)

DALE GOLDSMITH argues that before the appearance of Q (and Mark) there circulated a saying like this:

Ask and it will be yours/given; for whoever asks receives

According to GOLDSMITH the saying in this form could be an authentic saying of Jesus. Mark would then, on his part, have made redactional additions to this logion in Mk 11:24 (about prayer and faith), and a different development would have occurred in the Q-tradition, where the sayings about seeking and knocking and the similitude of the son asking for food were joined to the original ask-saying.\(^ {698} \) GOLDSMITH supports his case with the following three arguments:

First, the exhortations to seek and to knock and especially the repetition of these words in v. 10 are superfluous and they do not advance the reasoning of the logion. GOLDSMITH states that “such a lacklustre literary form” is scarcely original.\(^ {699} \) Nevertheless, I ask, why would somebody at the later stage of tradition have wanted to add such unnecessary phrases.

Second, the similitude makes use only of the word pair ask-receive.\(^ {700} \) This statement has been presented by several scholars as an argument, not for the original independence of the ask-receive -word pair, but for two separate traditions, i.e. vv. 9-10 and vv. 11-13, in the passage. I will discuss this question later.

Third, both in the New Testament and later by the Church Fathers the parts of the saying in v. 9-10 are quoted separately. According to GOLDSMITH this shows that the word pairs were regarded as separate sayings.\(^ {701} \) Nevertheless, it is often customary even today to quote only one of the word pairs of the proverb, and I think that nobody claims that this would indicate that the word pairs still today circulate as separate

\(^{696}\) E.g. Piper 1982, 412; Schürmann 1994, 220.

\(^{697}\) Crossan 1988, 128 argues that the two different versions of the same proverb (7:7 and 8) have probably been joined together in Q. Piper 1982, 411-412 states that the units Mt 7:7-8 and 9-10 have originally been independent and that either one of the threefold proverbial sayings (vv. 7-8) has been modeled on the other.

\(^{698}\) Goldsmith 1989, 255-262.

\(^{699}\) Goldsmith 1989, 256.

\(^{700}\) Goldsmith 1989, 256.

\(^{701}\) Goldsmith 1989, 256-257.
3. Analysis

traditions. Thus, this is not a convincing argument for the thesis that the ask-receive -word pair would have originally been a separate logion.

After all, it is important to remember that the Q-source is the oldest source we have access to, and while it has the saying in a very concise, threefold form, all attempts to try to reconstruct an earlier form of the saying are highly hypothetical.

Verses 11-13 have obviously belonged originally together, because the qal wahomer -argument in v. 13 needs a preceding point of comparison in vv. 11-12.

We will now first discuss the question about the unity of vv. 9-10 and then the question about the unity of the whole passage.

Verses 9 and 10 are strikingly symmetrical, which could suggest that they reproduce two different versions of the same proverb. Still I do not think that is the case, because, despite the symmetry, v. 10 advances the reasoning in three ways: First, while the stress in v. 9 is on the exhortations, v. 10 underlines the certainty of positive results.702 Second, present forms in v. 10 show implicitly that the asking, searching and knocking must be continual, patient activity. Third, v. 10 is a motivating commentary to v. 9.

Thus, in my opinion, v. 10 is a well-fitting continuation to v. 9. Accordingly, I do not think that v. 10 is an unnecessary addition.703 There still remain two possibilities: Either the proverb originally consisted of two threefold lines, or on some stage of the transmission of the tradition somebody added the other line as a kind of commentary. I think it is, on the one hand, very difficult and, on the other hand, useless to try to investigate, which one of these possibilities would be true, and when the possible addition would have been made.

The similitude proper in vv. 11-13 does not necessary need vv. 9-10 as an introduction. Thus it is possible that the similitude has originally been a separate tradition. Anyway, I think that there are two arguments, which suggest that the whole passage still should be considered as an inseparable unit. First, the word-pair ‘ask-receive’ holds the whole passage together. It is possible, of course, that it is exactly this word combination, which is the reason why somebody has joined two originally separate traditions together.704 Second, due to their nature proverbs, though they are separate

702 So e.g. Schürmann 1994, 213.215 and Bovon 1996, 153. Otherwise Gnilka 1986, 261, who states that the stress in v. 9 lies on the promise.
703 See e.g. Goldsmith 1989, 258.
704 So e.g. Goldsmith 1989, 256.
sayings, get their precise meaning from their context, either historical or literal, in which they are uttered.\(^{705}\) Thus, I think, it is improbable that a separate proverb would have circulated as a word of Jesus without any clarifying context. More natural is to suppose that the context in which the proverb now stands is the original Jesuanic one.

The fact, that the ‘searching’ and ‘knocking’ of the proverb do not have any counterparts in the following similitude, has been presented as an argument against the unity of the passage.\(^{706}\) Nevertheless, this need not mean that the similitude with the conclusion has originally been a separate saying. In my opinion the most natural explanation to the present shape of the passage is that the proverb has originally been a separate wisdom saying, which somebody – probably Jesus (about the authenticity see p. 157) – has used as a striking introduction to his teaching about prayer in vv. 11-13, which, for its part, has never circulated as a separate logion. Accordingly we will interpret the whole passage as a unity.\(^{707}\)

**Interpretation.** The opening proverb as such presents merely an ordinary experience of inter-human relationships.\(^{708}\) One who asks usually gets, one who searches usually finds and the door is usually opened for the one who knocks,\(^{709}\) especially when he is asking, searching and knocking patiently.\(^{710}\) This proverb may represent some kind of beggar-wisdom, as some scholars have suggested.\(^{711}\) Nevertheless, it is important to note that the verbs attested in the proverb have even theological connotations in early Jewish thinking,\(^{712}\) especially in connection with prayer. The Hebrew words for ‘to ask’ (➢➢➢) and ‘to search’ (➢➢➢) are often used as terms denoting prayer in the Hebrew Bible.\(^{713}\) The proverb is placed on a theological level also by the passive forms, which could be understood as *passivum divinum*.\(^{714}\)

\(^{705}\) Tannehill 1988, 143 states this regarding the proverb in Mt 7:7-8. According to him, while the promise that everyone who asks will be given is not supported by ordinary experience, a special context seems to be assumed for the proverb. See also Grzybek 1994, 35.

\(^{706}\) E.g. Piper 1982, 412.


\(^{708}\) Gnilka 1986, 262.

\(^{709}\) Betz 1995, 504-505.

\(^{710}\) It is worth to note that the verb forms are in the present, which implies continual activity. Finnmyer 1985, 914.

\(^{711}\) Brox 1973, 18; Gnilka 1986, 262; Jeremias 1984, 159.


\(^{713}\) See the appendix. See also Lachs 1987, 141; Fuhs 1993; 911-913.

Much interest and astonishment has been raised by the unconditional promises of God’s answer, which seem quite unrealistic, even naive. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that we are here really dealing with a proverb. By their nature proverbs are sayings of general wisdom accorded by everyone, but it is still generally understood that they do not always include the whole, we could say ‘dogmatic’, truth about a matter. Thus the proverb must be understood in its context with the following similitude and conclusion, which provide not just a clarifying example but rather a commentary to the proverb. It is fully possible that we have a widely known proverb in vv. 9-10, which is quoted as an introduction to the following teaching about prayer. In that case it is clear that the meaning of the whole passage is to be found in the following similitude and conclusion, not in the proverb itself.

The similitude makes it clear that the asking does not concern just anything, but food, i.e. things necessary for living, and the father will give bread and fish for his hungry son. An important detail is that both of the negative counterparts resemble the foods asked for: a stone can in its outward appearance be like a loaf of bread, and a species of snake which lives in the Sea of Galilee resembles fish by the way it lives, so that a catch of fish could include even those snakes. Thus, the similitude describes a

---

716 Piper 1989, 4-5.
718 See n. 705; Evans 1990, 485 and Rogers 1994, 163. Schürmann 1994, 215-216 sees as a relevant context for the proverb Jesus’ teaching of the Kingdom of God. Thus the asking, searching and knocking would all refer to one’s attempt to get to the Kingdom. Tannehill 1988, 143-144 argues that the context is the promise of the coming of the reign of God and of the release of sins. Similarly Wiefel 1988, 218; Goldsmith 1989, 262.264-265. I think, still, that the context in which the proverb now stands is original (i.e. Q 11:9-13), and it has no references to the Kingdom. It is, of course, possible that the larger context in which the whole passage has originally had its place has included preaching about the Kingdom, but we do not have any access to that context.
719 Otherwise Goldsmith 1989, 256.
720 Carlston 1980, 99-103 notes that several proverbs uttered by Jesus have parallels in ancient literature. Thus it is probable that Jesus used to quote already known proverbs and aphorisms. See Bultmann 1931, 105 and McEleney 1994, 497.
721 Otherwise e.g. Tannehill 1988, 143-144 who stresses the meaning of the proverb.
723 Schürmann 1994 217.
724 Betz 1995, 505.
725 Some scholars suggest that the fish Jesus is talking about is a specie of eel, and so it would of its outer appearance resemble a snake; e.g. Schweizer 1986, 11. Nevertheless, this attempt to explain the connection between the snake and the fish is impossible, because there are no eels in the Sea of Galilee; Börge 1946, 197; Luz 1985, 384n.10. Börge 1946, 195 describes in his article, how some fishermen by the Sea of Galilee got snakes with their lines.
self-evident fact, which is that a father does not joke with his son by giving something, which seems to be good but, in fact, is useless or even harmful.\(^{726}\)

The rest of the saying makes a conclusion regarding the heavenly Father and his children. God gives only good things to them. The certainty of getting good gifts from God is stressed by the mention that the earthly fathers are bad and still give good things to their sons. That the heavenly Father is good in contrast to the earthly ones is obvious for the audience,\(^{727}\) and thus it is much more certain that he gives good things to his children. The main purpose of the teaching is not to say what the good gifts are that God will give, but to underline the fact that he gives good things in contrast to bad ones.\(^{728}\) The preceding similitude proper, nevertheless, makes one to think that the whole passage deals with things necessary for everyday living.

It is to be noted here that, again, prayer is described as an activity taking place in a relationship between the petitioner as God’s child and the heavenly Father,\(^{729}\) and it is exactly this relationship, which guarantees God’s positive response to the requests. Thus, when we ask for the grounds for God’s answering – one of the aspects of our study – in Jesus’ teaching on prayer, this passage provides us a clear answer: God answers because of his fatherly love. No other grounds are needed. The attributes of the petitioner or of the prayer are not important, only the quality of God matters, and not any quality but expressly his fatherhood. In this respect Jesus’ teaching has a somewhat different emphasis than the early Jewish thinking, in which, alongside the many attributes of God, even the attributes of the petitioner and in some degree also the attributes of the prayer have significant importance, as we have seen.\(^{730}\)

**Authenticity.**\(^{731}\) The most important argument for the authenticity of the saying is the fact that the unconditional promises seem to have been quite problematic for early Christians. This is evidenced by Mark and James’s

\(^{726}\) Fizmyer 1985, 915.

\(^{727}\) See Gnilka 1986, 263.

\(^{728}\) Piper 1982, 415. Schnackenburg 1985, 73-74; Gnilka 1986, 263 and Cullmann 1995, 22 suggest that the word \(\gamma\alpha\theta\) should be understood without any definitions, i.e. that it would refer either to spiritual or material things. Maybe the original larger context in which this saying has been uttered did clarify the contents of the \(\gamma\alpha\theta\), but unfortunately we do not know that context.

\(^{729}\) Cf. the previous two Q-passages, which we already have dealt with.

\(^{730}\) See ch. 2.5.

\(^{731}\) The authenticity is suggested by e.g. Zeller 1977, 131; Bailey 1983a, 141; Davies & Allison 1988, 685; Luz 2002, 499.
reproduction of the promise with the premise that the praying man has faith (Mk 11:24; Jas 1:5-7); John’s statement that in order to receive one must pray in Jesus’ name (Jn 14:13) and James’s explanation, why the promise that anyone who asks receives, seems not always be fulfilled (Jas 4:3). It is, thus, not very probable that the early Christians would have put this saying into Jesus’ mouth. Thus, according to the criterion of dissimilarity to Christianity, the saying is to be deemed probably authentic.

The probability of the authenticity is strengthened by the fact, that the passage includes several Jesuanic characteristics in both form and content. The Jesus tradition in general includes several passages, in which Jesus teaches with the help of a parable or a similitude and uses the *qal wahomer* -argument.

Especially in this connection it is good to mention the parables, which begin with the rhetorical question “Which of you ...”. Further, the father-son -metaphor and the teaching of God as Father belong to the bedrock of Jesus’ teaching in all the sources. Of those passages in which they appear, we have already estimated as authentic the admonition to love one’s enemy, the admonition that is accompanied with the *imitatio Dei* -motive, which, for its part, includes the father-son -metaphor. Likewise, we have suggested that the Prayer is an authentic piece of Jesus’ teaching, and in that prayer the idea of God as Father is prominent. Finally, the promise that God will hear and answer prayers is to be found in two other passages as well (Lk 11:5-8 and 18:1-8). Thus the overall idea of the passage is attested in two sources, in Q and in the special material of Luke. Thus we may conclude that both the contents, separable motifs and even the form of the similitude are both coherent with the Jesus tradition in general and multiply attested in multiple sources, although the similitude itself is attested only once.

Further, the passage contains nothing, which would witness against the authenticity of the saying. The only somewhat odd detail is the mention of the wickedness of men. Nevertheless, this statement is not to be regarded as dogmatic, but it serves as a rhetorical means to outline the goodness of God.

Thus we may conclude that this passage can be considered an authentic teaching of Jesus.

---

732 See ch. 3.2.2.2. below.
733 Manson 1949, 82.
734 See p. 211, esp. n. 968, and p. 215.
735 See ch. 3.4.1. and 3.4.2.1. below.
3. Analysis

3.1.3. Summary

The relationship between the Father and his children as a right context for prayer is a prominent factor in the Q-sayings about prayer. In the admonition to pray for one’s enemies (Q 6:27-28,35c) the interceding in prayer is imitating the Father and his love; in the Prayer (Q 11:2-4) God is addressed as \textit{Abba} and in the Similitude of a Child Asking for Food it is the Father, who will hear the prayers and give good things from heaven.

All the above-mentioned passages have even a social significance. According to our interpretation the implications of the admonition to pray for one’s enemies and particularly the Prayer served to strengthen the self-understanding of Jesus’ followers as God’s people and children. Further, we suggested that this was specially important for them, because at least some of them were apparent sinners and outcasts according to a general estimation. The Similitude of a Child Asking for Food, for its part, like also the petition for bread in the Prayer, certainly had socio-economic significance for poor Galilean people, who had to worry about daily necessities. Jesus taught them to tell their concerns to the Father with a steady trust. Furthermore, in the Similitude of a Child Asking for Food the idea is evident that the certainty of God’s answer to petitions is based solely on his fatherly love.

Finally, the three sayings about prayer attested in the Q-source belong most probably to the authentic teaching of Jesus and may therefore serve as a solid ground for our study.
3. Analysis

3.2. Mark

3.2.1. The Saying about Prayer in Connection with the Healing of a Boy with an Evil Spirit (Mk 9:29)

Mk 9:14-29 is a miracle story about a healing of a boy with an evil spirit. Jesus answers the question of the disciples, why they could not drive out the evil spirit, by referring to the necessity of prayer:

29 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι γένος ἐν ὑμῖν δύναται ἡ λύσις εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ.736

The reference to prayer is quite obscure within the story. What is meant by prayer in this context? The reader would expect to find the answer in the action of Jesus, because, in contrast to the disciples, he succeeded in driving out the evil spirit. Are, then, Jesus’ words to the evil spirit to be considered a prayer?737 “You deaf and mute spirit, I command you, come out of him and never enter him again!” (v. 25).738 If this was the prayer that was lacking in the disciples’ action, how did they, in that case, try to drive out the spirit? Further, Mk 6:13 informs us that often even the disciples succeeded as exorcists. How did they do that, if they did not utter exhortations to the spirits? There seems to be a tension between vv. 28-29 and the rest of the story.739

The understanding of the passage is further complicated by the fact that it seems not to be the lack of prayer only, which hindered the disciples from driving out the spirit. In v. 19 Jesus groans because of the unbelief of the generation, and the question about the power of faith is prevalent in the

736 Many manuscripts, including Codex Alexandrinus and probably the papyrus number 45, have an additional phrase καὶ νηστεία. Nevertheless, the shorter form is to be preferred because of both external and internal criteria. First, the shorter form is attested in Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus, that is, in the most important manuscripts. Second, it is more probable that a copyist has added the reference to fasting, because it often appears as a counterpart to prayer, rather than that somebody would have taken the reference away.

737 Gundry 1992, 492-493 states that Jesus did not pray when he exorcised the spirit. He suggests that the disciples would have needed to pray in order to cast out this kind of spirit, but Jesus himself, because of his power as a Son of God, could handle it without prayer.

738 This command to the evil spirit resembles closely the incantation against Demons found in Qumran: “I enchant you, spirit, ...” 4QAgainst Demons (4Q560) ii:6.

739 Pesch 1977, 84-85 also recognizes the “auffälligen Widerspruchs zwischen Instruktion (Austreibung durch Gebet V29) und vorbildlicher Aktion (Austreibung in der Kraft des Glaubens VV 23-25).
whole story (vv. 23-24). Indeed, the whole story functions in the Gospel of Mark as a teaching about faith.\footnote{Söding 1987, 456-457; Crump 1992, 129.} Thus, in the Markan account, it is the lack of both faith and prayer, which caused the disciples to fail.\footnote{Gundry makes a difference between the lack of faith by the crowd, disciples not included, and the lack of prayer by the disciples; Gundry 1992, 497. It is nevertheless artificial to try to exclude the disciples from the “unbelieving generation” in v. 19. See e.g. Grundmann 1977, 253.} The connection between prayer and faith is also more generally a specific Markan emphasis,\footnote{Söding has a long discussion of “Gebetsglaube” in the Gospel of Mark in his book “Glaube bei Markus”; Söding 1987, 315-384, see especially p. 365. Cullmann 1995, 31, for his part, suggests that Jesus already made it a condition that the petitioner should have an unshakable faith in order to pray effectively.} and it is attested also in a redactional composition in Mk 11:22-25.\footnote{Söding states that we may not read a connection between prayerlessness and unbelief here; Gundry 1992, 497. This statement is in line with his understanding of the difference between the crowd and disciples commented in footnote 741. Otherwise Grundmann 1977, 256. He states: “..., denn Gebet ist Gott zugewandter Glaube, der Kraft und Vollmacht empfängt.” Pesch 1977, 97 also suggests that v. 29 interprets prayer as an expression of faith. So also Lane 1974, 335.} There the sentence about faith, as a premise for prayers being answered, seems to be redactional. Then, probably also here in Mk 9:29, the connection is redactional. That means that, because the motif of faith belongs essentially to the traditional form of the story, vv. 28-29 must be later additions by Mark.\footnote{Söding 1987, 461. Bultmann 1931, 225-226 argues that the healing story in its present form would be a probably pre-Markan composition of two originally separate traditions. Nevertheless, even he regards vv. 28-29 as a redactional addition.} Further, there are also other arguments to support this conclusion. For example, R. Pesch refers to the style and the vocabulary of vv. 28-29, which differ from the rest of the story,\footnote{Pesch 1977, 84.} and T. Söding points out that a house as a background and also the private teaching of disciples are specific Markan features.\footnote{Söding 1987, 461. So also Anderson 1976, 231.}

Accordingly, I think that Mk 9:28-29 does not come from tradition but is Mark’s redactional creation, and thus I will not consider it as an authentic saying of Jesus.
3. Analysis

3.2.2. Mark 11:12-25

Composition. Mk 11:12-25 forms a unity in the Markan composition. The unity begins with the cursing of a fig tree (vv. 12-14). This is followed by the so-called Temple Cleansing Episode (vv. 15-19) and the mention that the cursed fig tree had withered (vv. 20-21). The fate of the tree is here to be understood, on the one hand, as a symbolic description of the future destruction of the Temple, and, on the other hand, as a manifestation of the power of prayer, and that is why the following passage about faith and prayer (vv. 22-25) has its place in the unity. The saying about the power of prayer and about the certainty that the prayers will be answered has still a further connection to the cleansing of the Temple: as the Temple – which should be the house of prayer for the nations, the place where God is present and prayers are heard – will be destroyed, the Christian congregation will replace it. This line of thought is to be found at the redactional level of the passage.

The composition is a Markan redaction, and it consists of several originally separate pieces. The description of the cleansing of the Temple is a separate tradition, and even the passage in vv. 22-25, which contains two mentions of prayer, consists of several, originally separate sayings. In fact, every verse seems to include an independent logion, which Mark has joined together with redactional additions (ὅτα τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν in v. 24, καὶ in v. 25). Moreover, it is important to note that v. 23 has a

---

747 A profound monograph of this passage has been written by Sharyn Echols Dowd: Prayer, Power and the Problem of Suffering: Mark 11:22-25 in the Context of Markan Theology (1988), but her study is solely redaction critical, or maybe better – as she herself calls it – composition critical. Thus she explicitly states: “this study will not seek to determine to what extent the Markan theology of prayer is derived from the historical Jesus. Nor will the discussion in this study seek to establish which parts of the text are pre-Markan tradition and which are redactional.”; Dowd 1988, 28.

748 About the structure of the whole chapter see Dowd 1988, 38-40.

749 So e.g. Dowd 1988, 39; Crossan 1988, 123. Otherwise Haenchen 1966, 381. It is true that Haenchen neglects the connection between the episode of the fig-tree and the fate of Jerusalem. Pesch remains uncertain; Pesch 1977, 195.

750 Dowd shows clearly that an attempt to declare vv. 24-25 as a later interpolation to the Markan text does not hold; Dowd 1988, 40-45.

751 Dowd 1988, 45.53.

752 Dowd 1988, 38.

753 Haenchen 1966, 391; Lane 1974, 409; Pesch 1977, 206; Gnilka 1979, 133. Dowd calls this passage as a logia-collection; Dowd 1988, 1. Moreover, Dowd mentions several scholars who hold vv. 23-25 as a collection of traditional, originally independent, sayings; Dowd 1988, 41.

754 Otherwise Gnilka who thinks it is probable that the composition v. 20-25 is pre-Markan; Gnilka 1979, 133.

755 Verse 22 may be wholly redactional. See Haenchen 1966, 391.
parallel in Q 17:6, v. 24 in Q 11:9a and v. 25 in Mt 6:14. Due to these facts I will deal with the Temple Cleansing Episode and the two sayings about prayer in vv. 24-25 separately and without any concern for the context in which they now stand.

3.2.2.1. The Temple Cleansing Episode (Mk 11:15-18)

The Temple Cleansing Episode includes a saying about the Temple as a house of prayer:

17 ὁ ὁίκος μου ὁίκος προσευχῆς κληθῆσαι πᾶσιν τοῖς ἑθνεσιν; ἡμεῖς δὲ πεποιήκατε αὐτὸν σπήλαιον λῃστῶν.

This saying is a combination of two passages in the Hebrew Bible: Isa 56:7 and Jer 7:11. Isa 56 is an eschatological vision of the day, when also those foreigners, who will serve the Lord may come to the Temple to sacrifice and to pray. The text, which Jesus according to the Temple cleansing pericope refers to, runs:

And foreigners who bind themselves to the LORD to serve him, to love the name of the LORD, and to worship him, all who keep the Sabbath without desecrating it and who hold fast to my covenant – these I will bring to my holy mountain and give them joy in my house of prayer. Their burnt offerings and sacrifices will be accepted on my altar; for my house will be called a house of prayer for all nations (Isa 56:6-7).

Jer 7:11, for its part, is an accusation against the people of Judah, who did not live according to God’s law, but still performed the religious duties in the Temple and thus thought that they were safe. The prophet’s proclamation runs:

Will you steal and murder, commit adultery and perjury, burn incense to Baal and follow other gods you have not known, and then come and stand before me in this house, which bears my Name, and say, "We are safe"- safe to do all these detestable things? Has this house, which bears my Name, become a den of robbers to you? But I have been watching! declares the LORD (Jer 7:9-11).

First question to be answered is, whether the saying has originally belonged to the pericope or whether it is a secondary addition. Several scholars argue for the secondary nature of the saying. For example, J. GNILKA suggests that the saying is a Markan addition. He puts forward his case by

---

756 About this discussion see e.g. Evans 2001, 164-165. 174-175.
stating that the sentence, which introduces the saying, is a typical Markan formula and that the mention of a house of prayer for all nations does not fit into the context. Further, W. GRUNDMANN suggests that the saying is Markan, and that it may have replaced an original, more radical, saying, which has been preserved in Jn 2:19. There are, nevertheless, even scholars who argue that the saying is original within the passage. For example, R. GUNDREY states that explanatory words regularly accompany Jesus’ unusual actions. Further, although the introductory formula may be Markan, it needs not to mean that the whole saying therefore is secondary. T. HOLMÉN stands for the originality of the saying by pointing out that it is improbable that the pericope would have circulated without an explanatory saying, particularly as the weight of the whole story lies on v. 17c. HOLMÉN notes, further, how problematic the mentioning of the house of prayer for all nations was for Matthew and Luke, who both omitted it, and he states that it is improbable that Mark, for whom the term probably was equally problematic, would have created such a phrase. HOLMÉN, furthermore, rejects the suggestion that the pericope would originally have included some other saying, instead of the saying we now have.

I agree with HOLMÉN that the arguments against the originality of the saying within the pericope are not convincing. First, v. 18a, supposing that it belongs to the original tradition as e.g. GNILKA suggests, presupposes a saying. Namely, it is stated that the chief priests and the teachers of law heard, ἤκουσαν. Second, it is, I think, far too hypothetical to assume, that the original version of the pericope would have included some other saying, which now is placed into some other context. It is more probable that, while there evidently has been a saying within the pericope, it has originally been the very same one as we now have in the Markan text. Third, I agree with GUNDREY, that the Markan introduction to the saying does not imply that the whole saying would be Markan. Mark can very well have worked up the original text with slight alterations. Fourth, the

---

757 Gnìlka 1979, 127. Likewise e.g. Best 1981, 217. See also Sanders 1985, 66 and Mann 1986, 449.
758 Grundmann 1977, 310. Schweizer 1968, 131 suggests that this replacement would be already pre-Markan.
760 Holmén 2001a, 310-311.
761 Holmén 2001a, 311.
762 Gnìlka 1979, 127.
763 Of course it is possible that the meaning is that the priests and teachers heard of the actions of Jesus, but I think it more natural to think that the hearing refers to the words of Jesus. The Greek text states only that they heard, but does not declare explicit, what they heard.
764 So also Schweizer 1968, 131-132.
fact that the mention of the nations would not fit the story, does not prove anything, because we could suggest with the same argument that it is improbable that Mark has added it to the story. Namely, why would a redactor add an unsuitable element to a text? Besides, as we will see, the mention of the house of prayer for all nations makes very good sense in the story.

We conclude that the saying in v. 17 has originally belonged to the pericope, and thus it is self-evident that it must also be interpreted within the context of the Temple demonstration. Thus we will now consider the whole passage, but focus on the saying.

**Interpretation.** Several scholars note that Jesus’ actions were, in fact, not merely cleansing the somehow polluted sacrificial cult, but that they were rather making an end of the Temple cult altogether. It is pertinent that the sellers were selling sacrificial animals for the Jews, who had maybe come from far a way to sacrifice, in order to make the sacrificing possible. The money changers, for their part, were changing foreign coinage to the Tyrian coinage, i.e. the only accepted currency for paying the Temple tax. Thus, Jesus’ symbolic action proclaimed an end of the whole Temple establishment.

The saying in v. 17 is an explanation of why Jesus took such a negative attitude towards the contemporary Temple cult. Before trying to interpret the saying, however, we must recollect that it contains two references to the Hebrew Bible, indeed two exact quotations from it. The early Jews or Christians, when alluding to the Scriptures, could make it without paying attention to the context of the alluded text, but more often the allusions were contextual. In our case it makes good sense to

---

765 See e.g. Mann 1986, 446; Holmén 2001a, 315. Murphy-O’Connor 2000, 46-50 suggests, that Jesus’ temple-action would have originally been directed precisely against the paying of the Temple tax with the Tyrian coinage, which carried pictures of an idol and an eagle. Further, Jesus would have opposed the custom of paying the tax annually, while the Mosaic law orders the payment of the ransom for oneself only once in a lifetime. Nevertheless, Murphy-O’Connors’s thesis does not consider the mention of Jesus’ overtuning the tables of the dove sellers and preventing anyone from carrying merchandise through the Temple courts. That is why I do not find his thesis very convincing.

766 See Holmén 2001a, 312-314 of the discussion, whether the actions of Jesus should be regarded as symbolic or concrete in their purpose. Holmén, with several other scholars (see Holmén 2001a, 314 n. 236), prefers to interpret the actions as symbolic. So also e.g. Harvey 1982, 130-131; Childs 1984, 17-18; Brooks 1991, 183-184; Wright 1996, 416-417. 424; Betz 1997, 459 and Evans 2001, 166-167.

767 Holmén 2001a, 321-322. See also Sanders 1985, 66.

understand the saying in the context of the Hebrew Bible, and that is why it is reasonable to take the interpretation of Isa 56:6-7 and Jer 7:9-11 as a key for understanding the saying in Mk 11:17.769

The main stress of the saying lays on the latter part.770 Jesus accuses the people for making the Temple a den of robbers. What does this metaphor mean? In Jer 7 Jeremiah accuses the people of Judah for living, on the one hand, ungodly lives, stealing, murdering, committing adultery, perjury and worshipping idols, and, on the other hand, for coming to the Temple before God and imagining themselves safe in there. The Temple is for the people what a den is for the robbers. Outside of it they can ‘rob’, and afterwards they flee to their ‘den’, to a place of safety.771 The Temple cult has thus become a purely external matter for them, which ex opere operato guarantees God’s blessing.772 This kind of attitude to the cult is an object of hard criticism in the writings of many Israelite prophets. Jesus joins these prophets in Mk 11:17. Jesus sees in his contemporaries the same outwardness of performing the cult and an unconcern for God’s will, and strikes them with indeed violent actions.

The reference to Jer 7, when the larger context of the prophetic proclamation is taken into consideration, may refer to a cessation of the Temple cult and even to a destruction of the Temple.773 Namely, Jer 7:9-11 is a prelude to the proclamation of the coming harsh judgment (Jer 7:12-15). Thus the reference to Jer 7 and Jesus’ symbolic actions agree well with each other.774

The former part of the saying gives the positive alternative about how the people should have worshipped God. The Temple was meant to be a house of prayer for all nations. The idea that also the nations would once gather into Jerusalem and worship Yahweh is attested not only in the proclamation of the later prophets of the Hebrew Bible, but the idea lived on in some Jewish groups contemporary to Jesus. This is evidenced by, for example, the Psalms of Solomon, which was written during the 1st century B.C.E. in Palestine probably within Pharisaic circles. PsSol 17:29-31 describes the Messianic time as follows:

769 Against e.g. Grundmann 1977, 312.
770 Holmén 2001a, 323.
771 Brooks 1991, 186; Holmén 2001a, 324-325. Several scholars miss the meaning of the metaphor and try to find a counterpart for the word ‘robber’ in the historical context. Some suggest that the word refers to those, who misuse the Temple establishment economically, “swindlers” (e.g. Betz 1997, 467), some argue that the word refers to bandits (e.g. Wright 1996, 420).
772 Craigie et al 1991, 121.127-128.
774 See Wright 1996, 421.
3. Analysis

He (i.e. the Messiah) will judge peoples and nations in the wisdom of his righteousness. Pause.
And he will have gentile nations serving him under his yoke,
And he will glorify the Lord in (a place) prominent (above) the whole earth.
And he will purge Jerusalem, (and make it) holy as it was even from the beginning,
(for) nations to come from the ends of the earth to see his glory,
to bring as gifts her children who had been driven out,
and to see the glory of the Lord, with which God has glorified her.

It is possible that the saying we are dealing with is rooted in this kind of waiting. The Temple should be a house of prayer even for gentiles, but the distorted cult has ruined this hope. We note that the mention of the nations fits very well into the context.

It would be tempting to interpret the saying so that Jesus here sets prayer and sacrifice as exclusive alternatives, but the context of the quotation from Isa 56 makes this kind of interpretation improbable. Namely, in Isa 56:6-7 it is said that the foreigners’ burnt offerings and sacrifices will be accepted in the house of prayer for all the nations. Prayer and sacrificing belong thus together. Nevertheless, the emphasis lays now – in the proclamation of the third Isaiah – on prayer, which enables communion with God. What is, then, the meaning of the quotation from Isaiah in Jesus’ saying? We will recollect that Jesus’ criticism in the latter part of the saying is directed, in fact, not against sacrificing as such but against the outwardness of the sacrificing, we might say, against the heartlessness, of it. Then the mention of prayer serves as a contrast to that. Thus, the word ‘prayer’ stands here for the real meaning of the sacrificing, or more general, for worshipping God.

We might paraphrase the saying as follows: “This house should be the place, where you, and indeed the heathen people as well, meet your God and with your heart worship him – a house of prayer for all nations – but it has become for you a place for outward, and thus useless, performing of religious acts.” We cannot conclude that Jesus would have altogether condemned the sacrificial cult on the basis of this passage, but we may anyhow say that for him – assuming that the saying is authentic – prayer obviously was the core of true worship. That is why the distorted sacrificial cult could and should be ceased. Thus this passage informs us about the theological significance, which Jesus gave to prayer.

775 So e.g. Betz 1997, 468 “Taking his clue from the prophets, Jesus sets the two activities in opposition to each other.” Betz states though, that maybe Jesus is not criticizing the sacrificial cult as such but the commercialism, which is attached to it.
777 Watts 1987, 249-250.
In the Qumran Community we find a somewhat analogous attitude towards the Temple cult. We have already seen, how the Community refrained from sacrificing in the Temple, because they regarded the cult as polluted, and as a result prayer gained high significance as a substitute for the sacrificing. It was even regarded as true sacrifice.\footnote{See pp. 41-42.}

There are, nevertheless, clear differences between the attitudes of Jesus and the Qumran Community. First, the reason for the critical stand of the Community was mainly a calendrical disagreement, and purity regulations, whereas Jesus seems to reject the whole contemporary Temple establishment. Second, the Qumran Community waited for a time, when the Temple would be reformed and they could again sacrifice there, whereas Jesus probably proclaimed a definitive end to the whole Temple cult.\footnote{See Chilton 1984, 17-18.}

The anticipation of the destruction of the Temple indicates also that, although Jesus principally regarded the Temple as a house of prayer, i.e. as a place for prayer, he obviously did not consider this matter very significant. In this regard Jesus seems to differ from early Jewish thinking, in which the Temple was regarded practically by all Jews – even after its destruction in 70 C.E. – a place or a direction for prayer \textit{par excellence}.\footnote{See ch. 2.2.1.}

\textbf{Authenticity.}\footnote{For the authenticity argument see e.g. Schweizer 1968, 131; Evans 1995, 362; Wright 1996, 418; Chilton 1996, 93; Evans 1997, 439-440; Evans 2001, 169. Against the authenticity, for their part, are e.g. Mann 1986, 449; Sanders 1985, 66; Seeley 2000, 55-63.} We will now first discuss the authenticity of the Temple event as such and then separately the authenticity of the saying.

Most scholars who argue against the authenticity of the story refer to the impossibility that Jesus, even if assisted by his disciples, could have emptied the huge outer court and prohibited anyone to pass through it. Nevertheless, this argument is irrelevant, when we understand Jesus’ actions merely as symbolic, as has been suggested above. The symbolic actions probably took place in some small part of the area, and did not even create a sensation within the crowd, which had gathered in the Temple area. It is wholly possible that this kind of demonstration could be performed by a single man.\footnote{See Wright 1996, 424-425 and Holmén 2001a, 327.}

A strong argument for the authenticity is that the Temple episode best explains the death sentence of Jesus. The crucifixion is one of the few
indisputable facts in the life of the historical Jesus, and thus it is justified to try and find in the gospel accounts the historical reason for the death sentence. While there is no other plausible reason recorded in the gospels, we will consider the Temple episode as the reason and accordingly as authentic. Further, as CRAIG A. EVANS points out, the Temple episode explains, why the ruling priests were engaged in the condemnation of Jesus, a fact, which seems to be proved even by Josephus in the so-called Testimonium Flavianum (Ant. 18:63).

Further, the Temple episode, understood as a prophetic act anticipating the destruction of the Temple, is very well coherent with Jesus’ saying about the destruction in Mk 13:2 and Mk 14:58.

We have already noted that the saying probably is an original part of the passage. This does not, nevertheless, automatically mean that – even though the event was authentic, as we have concluded – the saying also would be authentic. This question must be discussed separately.

We will begin with weighing the arguments, which have been presented against the authenticity of the saying. First, the suggestion of some scholars that the present saying would have replaced an original, more severe saying of Jesus, for example a prediction of the destruction of the Temple, simply does not make sense, because, as we already have seen, the reference to Jer 7 includes the idea of destruction. Thus there is no need to postulate some other, allegedly more appropriate, saying to replace the present saying. Second, some argue by stating that the word ‘robbers’, which refers to violent bandits, does not fit to the context, because Jesus’ directed his actions against swindlers. Thus, the saying must be inauthentic. This argument is, nevertheless, not convincing, because it is based on two misunderstandings of the text. Namely, as we have already noted, the reason for Jesus’ actions is not the economic corruption of the sellers, but the outwardness of the Temple cult, and the metaphor of the den of robbers is not meant to be a means to identify the ‘robbers’ as a special group of people, neither in Jer 7 nor in Mark 11. Third, some scholars

---

783 Holmén 2001a, 328.
784 Evans 1995, 350-351. As is well known, the authenticity of the referred passage is questionable.
785 About the authenticity of Mk 13:2 see e.g. Dschulnigg 1995, 167-170.
786 About the authenticity of this saying see e.g. Sanders 1985, 71-72 and Theissen 1992, 95-97.
787 Many scholars consider the saying as inauthentic because of redaction critical reasons. If the saying is Markan, it cannot, of course, be an authentic saying of Jesus.
788 Some of the arguments have already been discussed with regards to the question of the tradition history of the saying.
790 E.g. Sanders 1985, 66.
present an argument, which apparently is based on a mere oversight in reading Isa 56:7. For example, C. S. Mann states that the expression: “house of prayer for all nations” would be attested in the LXX only, and that the Hebrew text would have: “I will give them joy in my house of prayer” instead, and, accordingly, the quotation hardly could be authentic.791 Nevertheless, on a closer look on the Hebrew text we note that both expressions are attested in it (see the quotation on p. 163). It is, indeed, true that the quotation from Isa 56 is a literal copy of the LXX-text, but this is not a strong argument against a Hebrew original form for Jesus’ saying. Namely, it is wholly possible, even probable, that the translator of the saying, while translating a biblical quotation, has consulted the LXX. As a result of this discussion we can so far conclude that there are no convincing arguments against the authenticity of the saying.

Now the arguments for the authenticity. Holmén argues for the authenticity with the criterion of dissimilarity to Christianity. While the saying implies a gathering of the Gentiles into the Temple of Jerusalem, it is improbable that the early church, which was engaged in Gentile mission, would have set this kind of saying into Jesus’ mouth.792 This conclusion makes sense, but there is, nevertheless, one crucial problem with it. Namely, the Gentile mission was not a self-evident fact at the very beginning of early Christianity. The first Christians obviously continued to pray in the Temple (Acts 2:46), and it is possible, even probable, that they hoped for the Gentiles to accompany them. Thus, it is possible that in a very early stage of tradition the saying would have been added to the passage. We note that the criterion of dissimilarity is unfortunately useless here, and so are the other conventional criteria as well.

What do we then have? We have a story of Jesus’ actions in the Temple area, which is with high probability authentic, and an accompanying saying, which both explains the actions and fits the story very well, but the authenticity of which cannot with certainty be proved. I will, anyhow, advocate the authenticity of the saying because of one simple reason: It is probable that Jesus explained his actions somehow, and while there is no good reason to suppose that the explanatory saying would have been transferred to another context, and while the present saying gives an adequate explanation, I suggest that the saying in v. 17 probably is authentic.793

791 Mann 1986, 449. The same error is made by Sanders 1985,66, who is here dependent on Harvey 1982, 132.
793 Also e.g. Betz 1997, 467 and Ådna 1999, 469-470 consider the saying in v. 17 as Jesus’ authentic explanation of his prophetical actions in the Temple.
3. Analysis

3.2.2.2. The Saying about Faith as a Precondition for Effective Prayer (Mk 11:24)

The saying about faith as a precondition for an effective prayer begins with a phrase διὰ τοῦτο, which is probably redactional and connects the saying to the preceding verse. The following λέγω ὑμῖν is probably redactional as well, and is, further, influenced by v. 23 (ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν). The word προσεύχομαι is, in fact, superfluous and probably a redactional explanation of the word αἰτεῖσθε. Faith as a premise for getting the thing asked, πιστεύετε ὅτι ἐλάβετε, corresponds perfectly with the description of the power of faith in v. 23. We have already seen in connection with the story of the healing of a boy with an evil spirit, that Mark willingly combines prayer with faith. Thus it is probable that the clause about faith is redactional. Thus we conclude that the original saying behind the Markan text is:

πάντα ὅσα αἰτεῖσθε ἔσται ὑμῖν

This saying resembles the Q-saying in Q 11:9 closely. How is the relationship between these two to be explained?

In my opinion J. CROSSAN is right, when he argues that the logion in Mk 11:24 is a later version of the Q-form and is, thus, dependent on it. Thus we will not deal with Mk 11:24 as a source for the teaching of the historical Jesus.

---

795 Evans 2001, 190.
798 Crossan 1988, 123-124 has in his article shown how the originally threefold aphorism (or proverb, see n. 678 above) has in the later tradition been shortened through the omission of one or two of the parts. About Goldsmith’s thesis that the Markan version of the logion would be more original and the Q-logion a developed one see p. 153-154.
799 It is maybe necessary to underline that I do not mean that Mark would be dependent on Q-source, but on a tradition whose original form is attested in Q; see Evans 2001, 190.
3. Analysis

3.2.2.3. The Saying about Mutual Forgiveness as a Precondition for Effective Prayer (Mk 11:25)

As we have already noted, Mk 11:25 includes an independent saying, which Mark, or maybe an earlier redactor, connects to the preceding verse, on the basis of the catchword προσευχόμαι, with a simple καὶ. Thus the saying we will analyze runs:

25 ὅταν στήκετε προσευχόμενοι, ἀφίετε εἰς τι ἔχετε κατὰ τινός, ἵνα καὶ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἁφῇ ὑμῖν τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν.

Some scholars suggest that this logion might be a later gloss to the Markan text on the grounds of Mt 6:14. The following arguments have been presented for this assumption. First, the Matthean epithet for God (ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς). Second, the fact that some manuscripts add a sentence after Mk 11:25, which is almost a literal copy of Mt 6:15. Third, the fact that Matthew has adopted Mk 11:20-24 in Mt 21:20-22 but has left v. 25 out. This might be caused by the fact that the Markan text, which Matthew knew and used as his source, did not include that verse. Fourth, the abrupt transition between verses 24 and 25. We will now discuss these arguments.

To begin with, we do not have any manuscripts, which would not include v. 25. Furthermore, especially the first part of the sentence is not identical in Mk and in Mt. Usually the glosses are, however, very exact copies, like in Mk 11:26, and thus it is hard to think that Mk 11:25 would be a gloss. I suggest, rather, that Matthew has placed the saying, which he found in Mk 11:25, after the Lord’s Prayer, because the saying in Mk begins with a mention of prayer and because the idea of mutual forgiving as a precondition for receiving forgiveness of God is attested in the text of the Lord’s Prayer. This would explain also, why Mt 21:20-22 is not followed by an adoption of Mk 11:25. As regards the ‘Matthean’ epithet,
3. Analysis

It is not solely Matthean, but rather Jewish, and it is probable that the Jewish use of the epithet has influenced both Matthew and the tradition behind Mk 11:25. Finally, the abrupt transition between verses 24 and 25 is probably due to the fact, that Mark has compiled the passage out of separate short traditions, as we suggested above.

On the basis of the discussion above we might conclude that Mk 11:25 hardly is a later gloss but most likely belongs to the original Markan account.

Interpretation. Several texts in the Hebrew Bible and in early Rabbinic literature inform us that standing was a common prayer posture. Here the posture is referred to only in passing, and it has not much significance. The plural form of the verbs indicates that prayer is here mainly a communal, congregational, matter. Further, the common prayer may reflect even a fixed prayer time.

The idea of forgiving the neighbor’s sins as a prerequisite for one’s penitential prayers being heard is attested also in Ben Sira. Sir 28:2-5 runs:

Forgive your neighbour his wrongdoing; then, when you pray, your sins will be forgiven. If a man harbours a grudge against another, is he to expect healing from the Lord? If he has no mercy on his fellow-man, is he still to ask forgiveness for his own sins? If a mere mortal cherishes rage, where is he to look for pardon?

The Greek wording of Sir 28:2 is far from identical with the Markan text. The word for praying is in Ben Sira δέομαι, instead of Mark’s προσεύχομαι. Instead of the Markan εἴ τι ἔχετε κατά τίνος, Ben Sira has ἀδίκημα τῷ πλησίον σου. Both use the word ἄφιμι in the exhortation to forgive, but while Mark uses the same word for God’s forgiveness, Ben Sira has the word λύω. Furthermore, Mark has παράπτωμα and Ben Sira ἁμαρτία. Thus it seems clear that the Markan text is not dependent on the Greek text of Ben Sira. Unfortunately we do not have the Hebrew original of this Ben Sira text, and thus it remains an open question, whether the Markan text, or a tradition behind it, would be dependent on the Hebrew text of Ben Sira. It is, I think, quite possible, because the similarities, in spite of the dissimilarities in the Greek wording, are so striking.

It is worth to note that the prayer is explicitly a penitential prayer in Sir 28:2, while this is not stated clearly in Mk 11:25. In the Markan context.

806 See ch. 2.2.3.
the praying may refer to “whatever you ask for” in v. 24, and then the forgiving and getting forgiveness would be a prerequisite for the prayers in general being heard. Nonetheless, when we interpret the saying as independent, i.e. without considering the Markan context, it is most natural to understand the prayer so, that it refers to asking for forgiveness, as in Ben Sira and as in the Prayer.

We note, that in Mk 11:25 the God who responds to the penitential prayers by forgiving sins is the Father in Heaven. As in the Q-tradition so also here, praying and getting a response belong to a Father-child -relationship, and we note that the response is once again somehow based on God’s being a Father. Nevertheless, unlike in the Similitude of a Child Asking for Food in Q 11:9-13, in Mk 11:25 even the attribute of the petitioner is a matter of significance. In this respect the saying is consistent with early Jewish thinking, especially with Ben Sira, but even with the Prayer, in which the idea of mutual forgiveness is expressed in the second we-petition.

**Authenticity.** The idea of forgiving one’s neighbor’s sins as a precondition for receiving forgiveness of God is attested in multiple sources (Q and the pre-Markan tradition), as well as in multiple forms (in a prayer text in the Prayer and in a prayer instruction here in Mk 11:25). The multiple attestation suggest authenticity for this motif and thus indirectly for the whole saying. Further, there is nothing in this instruction, which would contradict the authenticity of it. On the contrary, as R. Pesch states, it fits well in Jesus’ general proclamation.

The epithet ‘Father’ is attested in many prayer texts, both those attributed to Jesus himself (Mk 14:36; Q 10:21) and in a congregational prayer (Q 11:2). Further, the epithet is attested in prayer instructions both in Q (Q 11:13) and in the pre-Markan tradition (Mk 11:25). We, thus, note, that the epithet ‘Father’ is well attested both in multiple sources and forms. Nevertheless, the definition ‘in heaven’ in prayer contexts is attested only in the Matthean version of the Prayer, where it is secondary, as we have already suggested, and here in Mk 11:25. This definition is, I think, secondary also here. It has maybe been attached to the tradition because of the influence of the version of the Prayer, which found its way to the Gospel of Matthew as well, or because of Jewish influence.

On the basis of the argumentation above I consider the saying in Mk 11:25, without the definition ‘in heaven’, authentic.

---

807 Gnilka 1979, 135; Gundry 1992, 655. See also Söding 1987, 338-339.
808 Authenticity is suggested by e.g. Pesch 1977, 207; Gnilka 1979, 135.
809 Pesch 1977, 207.
3. Analysis

3.2.3. The Warning about the Teachers of the Law (Mk 12:38-40)

Mark places the passage about Jesus’ warning about the teachers of the law after the teaching on, whose son the Christ is (Mk 12:35-37). The placing is maybe caused by the catchword ‘teachers of the law’ in Mk 12:35 and 38. The passage under discussion is followed by the story of the widow’s offering (Mk 12:41-44). Again the reason for the placement of the story is probably a catchword, this time the word ‘widow’ in 12:40 and 42. Thus Mk 12:38-40 is to be regarded as a separate logion.

38 Καὶ ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν, Βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων τῶν θελόντων ἐν στολαῖς περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἁγοραῖς 39 καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ πρωτοκλησίας ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις, 40οὶ κατεσθίοντες τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν ἐκαὶ προφάσει μακρὰ προσευχόμενοι· οὕτωι λήμψονται περισσότερον κρίμα.

Redaction and traditions. The introductory clause is probably Markan (cf. Mk 4:2). In the saying itself we note the clumsy syntax: θέλω + infinitive (περιπατεῖν) is correct, but it is syntactically incorrect to set a noun as objective for θέλω (ἀσπασμοὺς, πρωτοκαθεδρίας, πρωτοκλησίας). It is illuminative that both Matthew (23:6) and Luke (20:46) add the verb φιλέω to refer to the noun accusatives and correct the syntax in that way.

The participles οἱ κατεσθίοντες and προσευχόμενοι refer to the main word γραμματέων, but again we note a syntactical clumsiness: the main word is in genitive but the participles are in nominative. Luke corrects this error as well by replacing the participles with indicatives (Lk 20:47). Thus, in the Lukan version, the sentence about the devouring of the widows’ houses, the long prayers and a severe punishment is independent of the previous sentence. I suggest that, when interpreting the Markan text, we could and even should take v. 40 as independent as well.811 There are two reasons for this suggestion. First, the syntactical break between vv. 38-39 and v. 40.812 Second, the construction οἱ ... οὕτωι, which binds v. 40a

---

810 Liddell-Scott: “not used c. acc. only, exc. when an inf. is easily supplied.” True, it might be possible to argue that the sentence is elliptical and we should suppose an infinitive, for example λαμβάνειν.

811 For example Grundmann 1977, 344 considers v. 40 as a separate saying, and Gnilka 1979, 173 argues that v. 40 has originally been an independent logion. Also Evans 2001, 279 points out that the hypocrisy on the one hand and impoverishment of the most vulnerable on the other hand are very different things. See also Lane 1974, 440 and Gundry 1992, 720.

812 Cf. Mann 1986, 491-492.
and v. 40c together, while the οὗτος refers to οὗτ. The same construction is to be found in Mk 4:18; Acts 17:6, Gal 3:7 and 4:11. In addition we could refer to the possibility that vv. 38-39, but not v. 40, have a parallel in Q (see Lk 11:43). It would mean that v. 40 has originally been a separate tradition.

Yet there is one text critical problem in v. 40, which may influence the interpretation of it. Some manuscripts do not have the particle καὶ between v. 40a and v. 40b. For example, W. GRUNDMANN and G. STÄHLIN state that without the particle the charges in v. 40a and v. 40b would belong closely together, but the separating particle makes it possible to see two independent charges in the verse. We may be quite sure that the omitting of καὶ is secondary. Nevertheless, the omitting indicates that at least some copyists understood the verse so that the two charges belong together. In order to make this clearer, they dropped the particle.

**Interpretation.** Our main question here is what kind of a prayer does this saying refer to, and what is the reason for the critique in that kind of prayer. The key for the understanding of the text is the word προφάσει, a dative form of the word προφασίς. Thus we will now have a look at the meaning of the very word and its use in some ancient Greek texts.

The word προφασίς may mean an alleged motive or plea, whether true or false, or the actual motive, purpose or cause, whether alleged or not. We, thus, note that the word may have neutral, positive or negative connotations. When the word has a negative connotation, it may signify a falsely alleged motive, pretext, pretence or excuse. In the accusative the word may mean ‘in pretence, ostensibly’, and likewise in the dative. In that case the word can be found with its opposite counterpart ἀληθεία, which refers to the real motive.

---

813 See e.g. Fleddermann 1982, 57-60.
814 So e.g. Anderson 1976, 285; Fizmyer 1985, 1316-1317.
815 D, minuscule families f1 and f13 and still a few other manuscripts.
816 Grundmann 1977, 344; Stählin 1973, 437. See also Fizmyer 1985, 1318.
817 Fizmyer points out that the charge is not against the length of the prayers but against the fact that they are said προφάσει, Fizmyer 1985, 1318.
818 See e.g. Phil 1:18: “The important thing is that in every way, whether from false motives or true (εἰτε προφάσει εἰτε ἀληθεία), Christ is preached.”
819 So, for example, in Thuc 6:33.2, where the word προφάσαντι refers to the Athenians’ falsely alleged motive to help the Egestaeans and to restore Leontini, and the word ἀληθεία to their real motive to conquer Sicily and Syracuse.
3. Analysis

A good example of the use of the dative form of the word is to be found in Thuc 3:86.4. The text is about the war between the Syracusans and the Leontines. The Leontines had asked the Athenians to send them a fleet to help them, and the response of the Athenians is described as follows:

And the Athenians sent the ships, professedly on the ground of their relationship (τίς μὲν οἶκειόττητος προφάσει), but (δὲ) really because they wished to prevent the importation of grain from Sicily into the Peloponnesus, and also to make a preliminary test whether the affairs of Sicily could be brought under their own control.

The Athenians alleged their relationship with the Leontines, but that was only a pretext. The word προφάσει thus means here the falsely alleged motive, and the false motive itself is expressed with a genitive.⁸²¹ We note here that the real motive needs not to be pointed out with the word ἀλήθεια, but the construction μὲν ... δὲ makes it clear that the other part of the sentence presents the real motive of the Athenians.

The word is attested four times in the New Testament, besides our text and the parallel in Lk 20:47. In Jn 15:22 it is used in the nominative in the meaning ‘excuse’. In Acts 27:30 the construction προφάσει ὡς refers to the sailors’ falsely alleged motive to go and lower the anchors from the bow, though their true motive was escape. In Phil 1:18 the dative form of the word means simply ‘from false motives’.⁸²² In 1Thes 2:5 the word probably means a falsely alleged motive, which would cloak the real motive, i.e. greed.

Let us return to our text. We have noted that in the New Testament the word πρόφασις, outside of our text, always has a negative connotation. We have further noted that both the dative and the accusative forms of the word usually refer to a falsely alleged motive in classical Greek. Thus it is probable that this is the case also in Mk 12:40. Then the long prayers would be the falsely alleged motive, and the real motive for the behavior of the ‘scribes’⁸²³ would be something else. True, προφάσει is here used absolutely, not with a genitive as e.g. in Thuc 3:86.4, but I still think we can reason in this way.⁸²⁴ Further, like R. GUNDREY correctly states: “Since ‘pretext’ raises the question, Pretext for what?” Nevertheless, I think, that

---

⁸²¹ See also an example from OGI669.15 in Liddell-Scott: προφάσει τῶν δημοσίων on the pretense that public debts are owing.

⁸²² See n. 819 above.

⁸²³ If v. 40 has originally been independent of v. 39, as I suggested, then it is obvious that we cannot be sure against whom the charge in v. 40 has originally been directed.

⁸²⁴ It is worth noting that the Markan syntax is not always very correct, as we already have seen in the Mk 12:38–40 passage.
we do not need to make the conclusion made by Gundry that “while the context provides no answer, we are forced back to the more general translation of \( \pi\rho\rho\phi\alpha\sigma\varepsilon \), ‘for show’ ...”\(^825\) Admittedly the text does not provide the activity, for which the long prayers and the devouring of the widows’ houses would be the pretext and the real motive respectively – at least not as clearly as the passages from Thucydides and the Acts mentioned above. Nevertheless, it is possible to understand the text as somewhat elliptical and to postulate the activity, as we will see later. Besides, the statement that ‘for show’ would be the more general translation of \( \pi\rho\rho\phi\alpha\sigma\varepsilon \) does not hold good.\(^826\)

Now we can ask: do we find the scribes’ real motive in the text? Or, more accurately: is the devouring of the widow’s houses the real motive, for which the long prayers are only a pretext? But, before dealing with this question, it is quite in order to present the different interpretations for, what the devouring of the widows’ houses might mean. J. Fitzmyer enumerates, in his commentary to Luke, six different interpretations suggested by scholars:\(^827\) 1. The scribes accepted payment for legal aid to widows, even though it was forbidden. 2. The scribes cheated widows of what was rightly theirs. As lawyers they were acting as guardians appointed by a husband’s will to care for the widow’s estate. 3. The scribes sponged on the hospitality of these women of limited means. 4. The scribes mismanaged the property of widows, who had dedicated themselves to the service of the Temple. 5. The scribes took large sums of money from credulous old women as a reward for the prolonged intercessory prayer. 6. The scribes took the houses as pledges for debts, which could not be paid. As an evaluation of these suggestions Fitzmyer states that any of these proposals may be valid.\(^828\) In addition to the suggestions presented above there are at least two other scholarly attempts to interpret the sentence: 7. The scribes collected the widows’ money to cover the Temple cult costs.\(^829\) 8. The Greek text is an error in translation from the Aramaic, and the original meaning would be: “... den Beischlaf vollziehen mit Witwen”.\(^830\)

Let us now return to the question of the relationship between the long prayers and the devouring of the widows’ houses. On the one hand, the text does not include any of those grammatical (\( \mu\varepsilon \nu \ldots \delta\varepsilon \); Thuc 3:86.4)

---

\(^{825}\) Gundry 1992, 728.

\(^{826}\) See e.g. Bauer 1988, which gives ‘zum Schein’ as a possible translation for \( \pi\rho\rho\phi\alpha\sigma\varepsilon \), but the only example of this would be Mk 12:40 par.

\(^{827}\) Fitzmyer 1985, 1318.

\(^{828}\) Fitzmyer 1985, 1318.

\(^{829}\) Fleddermann 1982, 65.

\(^{830}\) Schwartz 1997, 45-46. Schwarz’s interpretation is interesting, indeed, but in general we should resort to a suggestion of error in translation only if the Greek text is impossible or at least very difficult to understand. This is not the case here.
or lexical (ἄληθεία; Thuc 6:33.2) features, which in some texts clearly indicate the falsely alleged v. the real motives. On the other hand, this is not always necessary either, as we have seen in Acts 27:30, but the context may unambiguously point out the real motive v. the pretext. Unfortunately, this is not the case in our text, but we have two alternative ways of interpreting the passage: Either the sentences of devouring the widows’ houses and the long prayers are two independent charges, or they belong together so that the long prayers are somehow a pretext for the scribes’ actions, and their real motive is to devour the widows’ houses. In the first case we could only conclude that the charge against the long prayers is directed against wrong motives as grounds for the prayers, without knowing the real motive. Then the translation “for a show make lengthy prayers” might be justified. In the other case we should try to explain, how the scribes tried to devour the houses and which role the long prayers had in their endeavor.

Both the above-mentioned alternatives have gained scholarly support. For example, W. GRUNDMANN, J. GNILKA and R. GUNDY interpret the charge against long prayers as an independent clause, referring to ostentatious prayer. C. EVANS finds no close connection between the devouring and praying, but states still that the scribes’ long prayers may enhance their status and make it possible for them to take advance of the less influential, e.g. widows. For example, J. D. M. DERRETT, H. FLEDDERMANN, and C.S. MANN, for their part, argue that v. 40 should be seen as a unit.

In my opinion it is most natural to see v. 40 as a unit and to see a connection between the devouring and the long prayers. I have three reasons for my case. First, as we already have seen, vv. 40a and 40c are connected with the οἶ... οὔτοι construction, and I think it is improbable that v. 40b would be a separable, independent clause between them. Second, as we also already have noted, the most general meaning of προφάσει, i.e. ‘falsely alleged motive’, makes us suppose that the real motive is also attested in the text. Third, the ‘most severe punishment’ in v. 40c also recommends seeing the charges in v. 40a and 40c as connected to each other. Namely, it is improbable that ostentatious prayer would cause a ‘most severe punishment’, but, according to the Hebrew Bible, the misuse of the widows is a severe transgression. Thus, also this observation connects vv. 40a and 40c, and again it is, I think, unlikely that v. 40b would

---

831 Translation according to NIV. See also e.g. NASB “for appearance’s sake”. See also Gnilk 1979, 173: “... zum Schein beten sie lange.”
3. Analysis

be an independent insertion there inbetween. In addition, it is possible to understand the construction περισσότερον κρίμα as a true comparative. Then the meaning would be that, while the misuse of the widows as such deserves a severe punishment, when it is connected to long prayers it deserves an even more severe punishment.835

Now, let us go on to present and evaluate those interpretations, which consider v. 40 as a whole.

DERRETT’S suggestion is that the saying refers to a Jewish justice custom to assign trustees for the widows and orphans to take care of their property.836 It was important to find reliable men as trustees because the trustees often acted unjustly and squandered the money entrusted to them. Pious men were considered most reliable, and long prayers, for their part, were a sign of piety. Thus the interpretation of the saying would be as follows: the scribes recited long prayers in order to appear pious and thus get the task of a trustee, in which position they could use the property of the widows for their own purposes. Accordingly DERRETT translates v. 40:

... those that ‘eat away’ the estates of widows, and, with such an end in view, indulge in long prayers: they shall suffer a heavier sentence.

The main problem with DERRETT’S interpretation is that the witnesses of the trustee-institution are not to be found until the Babylonian Talmud and by Maimonides.837 The earlier texts which DERRETT refers to (PsSol and TMos) deal with more general oppression of widows and orphans and do not prove that a specific justice custom of trustees would have been in use in the 1st century C.E. Palestine. DERRETT’S interpretation is also grammatically problematic. He suggests that the word πρόφασις would here have the meaning ‘motive’, which as such is possible, but improbable.838 Further, the dative form of the word would then point to the preceding mention of eating up the widow’s houses, which in this interpretation is the real motive for the pious actions of the scribes. It is syntactically unlikely that the word πρόφασις would refer back to a word in the previous clause beyond the word καί. It is more natural to suppose that the word προφάσει refers to the very next word-complex μακρὰ προσευχόμενοι. DERRETT’S interpretation is not convincing because of these problems.

---

835 See Gundry 1992, 728.
837 See Gundry 1993, 727.
FLEDDERMANN also criticizes DERRET’S interpretation because of its reference to very late sources. FLEDDERMANN’S own interpretation is based on the most general meaning of the word προφαστες. He translates the dative form of the word with “for a pretext” and thus the whole sentence:

who devour the houses of the widows and for pretext say long prayers – these will receive a more severe condemnation.839

FLEDDERMANN suggests that the long prayers would refer to the continually ongoing Temple cult. The scribes, associated with the priests, would thus devour the widows’ houses by collecting their money for the Temple expences.

This interpretation has two problems. First, to interpret the long prayers as referring to the sacrificial Temple cult is quite constrained.840 Besides, FLEDDERMANN’S suggestion is based on his understanding of the larger Markan context, in which the sacrificial cult and prayer are set against each other as a bad and a good alternative. But here in Mk 12:40 the word for the right worship, i.e. ‘prayer’, would however refer to the unacceptable sacrificial cult! This is, I think, very improbable. Second, if the money was really collected for the Temple costs, then the long prayers, i.e. the Temple cult, would not have been a mere pretext but the real motive.

I suggest, with GNILKA,841 that it is maybe impossible to make a detailed reconstruction of, how the scribes in practice carried out the devouring of the widows’ houses. As a consequence, we may not know for sure, which kind of prayer v. 40b refers to. Nevertheless, it is still possible to say quite a lot, even enough for our study, about the meaning of the saying. We will now try to deal with the problem, already noted before, that the text does not seem to provide the activity, for which the long prayers would provide the pretext.

As much is obvious on the basis of v. 40a that somehow the scribes got economic advantage out of the widows.842 We have presented above several possible alternatives, how they may have done it, and there are likewise several possibilities to see the significance of the prayers within this context. The activity, for which the saying presents both the pretext and the real motif, might have simply been the collecting of the widow’s money, or perhaps the scribes invited themselves into the widows’ houses and enjoyed their hospitality. In that case the prayers might, for example,

---

839 Fleddermann 1982, 62.
841 Gnilka 1979, 175. So also Green 1997, 727.
842 Witherington III 1987, 17.
have been intercessory prayers for the benefactresses or blessings in connection with meals at the widows’ houses.\textsuperscript{843}

To summarize briefly we may say that the charge in v. 40 is directed towards the scribes’ mistreatment of the widows, in which they used prayers, indeed long prayers, as a pretext.

The charge is well in line with the proclamation of the prophets in the Hebrew Bible, and the same accusation is also present in later Jewish texts. Let us take two texts as examples, which resemble our text very closely. The first example is from Ben Sira. Ben Sira warns of mistreatment of the widows:

He never ignores the appeal of the orphan or the widow when she pours out her complaint. How the tears run down the widow’s cheeks, and her cries accuse the man who caused them! ... The Lord will not be slow, neither will he be patient with the wicked, until he crushes the sinews of the merciless and sends retribution on the heathen; until he blots out the insolent, one and all, and breaks the power of the unjust; ... (Sir 35:14-15,18).

True, the Markan text does not mention the widow’s prayers, but it does mention the prayers of the scribes as a counterpart. Nevertheless, the described situation is similar: the widows are treated wrongly, and God will punish the mistreaters.

The second example is from the Testament of Moses, which is quite close to Jesus both temporally and geographically:\textsuperscript{844}

But really they consume the goods of the (poor), saying their acts are according to justice (TMos 7:6).

In this text we see both the pretext and the real motive for the wicked men’s actions. Nevertheless, here the pretext is not a religious performance as in Mk 12:40 but a juridical right.

What does Mk 12:40, then, say of prayer? First, we have noted that the criticism of the scribes’ prayers does not here, not at least primarily, apply to their length or ostentation. Thus, it is not directed against some external conditions, but against a wrong motive. Prayer has become for the scribes a means to gain economic benefit and at the same time to oppress the underprivileged. Second, that this kind of action deserves a severe punishment according to Jesus is well in line with the fact, that, according

\textsuperscript{843} About the blessings see Heinemann 1977, 113-122 and Zahavy 1987, 99-107. See also p. 57.

\textsuperscript{844} TMos is probably written in Hebrew in 1\textsuperscript{st} century C.E. Palestine; Priest 1983, 920-921.
to Jesus, prayer should be a means of intimate communication with God. Thus the theological importance of prayer makes its misuse a severe sin.

**Authenticity.** We have already paid attention to the fact that the charge against mistreatment of widows is a common topic in the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish writings. In the New Testament Mk 12:40 par is, nevertheless, the only text, which includes this kind of criticism. Admittedly, the situation of the widows is under discussion even elsewhere in the New Testament, but not in such a polemical way. Further, it is improbable that the mistreatment of widows would have been a relevant topic in the confrontation between the early church and the synagogue. Thus, even though we can, of course, not say that Jesus’ charge is dissimilar to Christianity, it is anyhow unlikely that the early church would have created the saying either for teaching within the church or as a tool for polemics against the synagogue. This fact suggests that the saying would be authentic.

Further, the critique of prayer with false motives is well in line with Jesus’ teaching elsewhere, as we will see soon. The harsh condemnation of the use of prayers for a tool for economic gain and the mistreatment of widows fits well to the fact, that prayer was for Jesus the core of real worship and an expression of very intimate relationship with God, which is especially apparent in the *Abba*-address.

Furthermore, as we have already seen in connection with the admonition to love one’s enemies, in Q 6:27-28,35c, and especially in regard to the exhortation to forgive others, in Mk 11:25, and will see later on in conjunction with the Parable of the Unjust Judge, in Lk 18:1-8, Jesus’ teaching is often close to Ben Sira. Thus the saying in Mk 12:40 is even in this respect coherent with Jesus’ teaching elsewhere.

We may summarize by saying that there are no good arguments against the authenticity of the saying, but several features suggest its authenticity. Thus we may conclude that the saying is probably authentic.

---

845 The authenticity is suggested by e.g. Anderson 1976, 285 and Witherington III 1987, 16. Gnilka 1979, 175 suggests, that in its present form the saying is hardly authentic, but it may still be based on an authentic saying of Jesus.

846 Acts 6:1 reports of some problems concerning the distribution of food to the widows of the Greek Jews, and Jas 1:27 urges the Christians to look after orphans and widows in their distress.

847 See p. 189.
3. Analysis

3.2.4. Summary

Mark’s tendency to combine prayer and faith appears in two of the Markan passages, which deal with prayer. We suggested that the saying about prayer in Mark 9:29, which is embedded in a context, in which faith is a central topic, is a Markan addition to the story. Further, also in Mk 11:24 faith as a precondition for effective prayer is probably a Markan addition to a traditional saying, which, for its part, is a later version of the Q-saying in Q 11:9.

In those passages, which we verified as probably authentic sayings of Jesus, the essence of prayer is expressed implicitly by referring to merely outward worship in the Temple Cleansing Episode (Mk 11:15-18) or to wrong motives for prayer in the warning about the teachers of law (Mk 12:38-40). Thus, prayer is, and must be, a matter of the heart, not only an outward performance. Nevertheless, in the Markan passages Jesus refers to some of the external conditions of prayer, which were common in contemporary Judaism, without criticizing them as such. He accepts the position of the Temple as a house of prayer, even though he anticipates its destruction. He refers to standing as a posture for prayer in the saying about mutual forgiveness and prayer (Mk 11:25), and the same saying may also refer to a common, fixed prayer time.
3. Analysis

3.3. Matthew’s Special Material

3.3.1. Mt 6:1-18

*Composition.* To gain the earliest levels of the tradition, we will begin our examinations of the two sayings in Mt 6:5-8 by considering the composition as a whole, in which the sayings are embedded in the Matthean account.

First, it is obvious that vv. 2-6 and 16-18 form a unity, which is split by an insertion of further teaching about prayer in vv. 7-15. Verses 2-6,16-18 contain a threefold instruction of true righteousness, which appears in true almsgiving (2-4), prayer (5-6) and fasting (16-18), the three basic pillars of early Jewish piety. Second, v. 1 is probably a redactional introduction by Matthew. Its vocabulary, which is distinctive for him, supports that conclusion.

Verses 7-8, again, seem to be an originally separate logion, as are vv. 9-13 (the Lord’s Prayer) and vv. 14-15. This last logion is a saying about forgiveness, which is related to the fifth petition in the Lord’s Prayer (v. 12) and has a parallel in Mk 11:25.

Thus the text is composed of a redactional introduction (v. 1) and four originally separate parts (threefold instruction in vv. 2-6,16-18; saying about prayer in vv. 7-8; The Lord’s Prayer in vv. 9-13 and a saying about forgiving in vv. 14-15). A controversial question among the scholars is this: who is the responsible redactor who has put together these parts; is it Matthew or someone before him? Nevertheless, this question do not have any significance for our study.

---

849 See e.g. Hickling 1982, 252.
850 Bultmann 1931, 161; Grundmann 1971, 190; Zeller 1977, 71; Guelich 1982, 275, 316-317; Luz 1985, 321; Gnilka 1986, 202, Schweizer 1986, 87; Davies & Allison 1988, 577; Syreeni 1994, 524. Betz 1975, 446.447n.9.451 states that it is not necessary to see v. 1 as a redactional work of Matthew. He argues, that the whole text is probably pre-Matthean, and thus there are no redactional contributions of Matthew at all. Still Betz states that vv. 7-15 are a secondary addition which could have been made by Matthew. Gerhardsson 1996, 76-77 suggests that v. 1 and vv. 19-21 have probably belonged already to the tradition and made an inclusio. I still think, that the vocabulary in v. 1 indicates that it is a creation of Matthew.
851 See Bultmann 1931, 140-141.
853 Betz 1975, 446; Betz 1995, 349.
3. Analysis

Now we can go on to investigate separately those parts of the text which come from Matthew’s special material and deal with prayer, i.e. Mt 6:5-6 and Mt 6:7-8.

3.3.1.1. The Saying against Hypocritical Praying with a Positive Alternative (Mt 6:5-6)

5 Καὶ ὅταν προσεύχησθε, οὐκ ἔσεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ὅτι φιλοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς γωνίαις τῶν πλατειῶν ἑστῶτες προσεύχεσθαι, ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις: ἂμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν. 6 σὺ δὲ ὅταν προσεύχῃ, εἰσέλθει εἰς τὸ ταμεῖόν σου καὶ κλέισας τὴν θύραν σου πρόσευξαι τῷ πατρί σου τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ: καὶ ὁ πατήρ σου ὁ βλέπων ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ ἀποδώσει σοι.

Structure. This saying about prayer forms one of the three parts of the threefold instruction of true piety. The issues, which are dealt with in the instruction, are three central matters of early Jewish piety, i.e. almsgiving, prayer and fasting. Thus the concern expressed in the instruction is obviously a Jewish(-Christian) one.

Each part of the instruction has a similar structure containing the following seven points:

1. An introduction to the action (ὅταν + action; vv. 2, 5, 16)
2. A warning, not to follow the example of the hypocrites (μὴ / οὐκ ... ὡς (περὶ) οἱ ὑποκριταί; vv. 2, 5, 16)
3. A description of the hypocrites’ action (vv. 2, 5, 16)
4. The aims of the hypocrites’ action ὅπως δοξασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων; v. 2 / ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; vv. 5, 16)
5. A prophetic sentence (ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν; vv. 2, 5, 16)
6. An instruction to the correct action (σοῦ δὲ ...; v. 3 / σὺ δὲ ...; vv. 6, 17)

854 E.g. in Tob 12:8 and Sir 7:10 prayer and almsgiving are mentioned side by side. In Did 8:1-2 regular prayer and voluntary fasting are discussed as two important matters of piety. About voluntary fasting in early Judaism see Holmén 2001a, 128-134.
3. Analysis

7. A promise of future pay (καὶ ὁ πατήρ σου ὁ βλέπων ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ (κρυφαίῳ) ἀποδώσει σοι; vv. 4, 6, 18)

Redaction and traditions. A token of redactional contributions in the whole unit (vv. 1-18) is the variation between singular and plural in the addresses. Verse 1, which opens the whole unit and the introductory verses to the warning against heathen-like prayer (v. 7) and to the Lord’s Prayer (v. 9) are all in plural. Matthew usually uses plural forms. Most of the threefold instruction, for its part, is in singular, but vv. 5 and 16 make an exception. The most natural explanation to this variation within the threefold instruction is that the text originally was entirely in the singular, but due to the plural form in the Lord’s Prayer Matthew changed the addresses in the prayer-part just before and in the fasting-part just after the Lord’s Prayer from singular to plural, to make the text more solid. True, Matthew was not consistent, but left v. 6 in singular, maybe in order not to change the repeated utterance καὶ ὁ πατήρ σου ὁ βλέπων ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ (κρυφαίῳ) ἀποδώσει σοι; vv. 4, 6, 18.

The text in the three-fold instruction has a quite extraordinary blend of both specific Matthean and non-Matthean characteristics. On the one hand, as we have already noted, Matthew usually uses plural forms, but most of the addresses in the instructions are in singular. Further, the threefold instruction speaks of God as ‘your Father’ – again in singular – whereas Matthew tends to use a plural form and usually adds ‘in heaven.’ Thus, we note that the text contains non-Matthean features, which indicate the existence of an underlying pre-Matthean tradition. On the other hand, the text includes several words that are characteristic for Matthew. This seems to indicate that the present Greek text-form goes

---

856 Zeller 1977, 72; Luz 2002, 419.
859 Dietzfelbinger 1984, 190; Schweizer 1986, 86. Schweizer states further that if Matthew could have formed the text freely, he would have put the instruction about prayer last, so that the insertion of the Lord’s Prayer would not have split the threefold structure. I think this argument is not convincing, because we stand on quite uncertain ground when we try to find out, what the redactor would have done if he could. Besides, maybe Matthew wanted to insert the Lord’s Prayer in its present place, to give it a central position in the unit we are now dealing with and in the whole Sermon on the Mount. See Schnackenburg 1985, 62; Luz 1986, 318-319; Betz 1995, 351.
861 Gnilka 1986, 201. Gnilka lists the following words as favored by Matthew: προσέχω, δικαιοσύνη, ἐμπροσθεν, ὑποκριτής, ἀπέχω, ἀποδίδωμι, συναγωγή in plural, μισθός and δῶς. Of these προσέχω and δικαιοσύνη are to be found in v. 1,
back to him, i.e. he has not merely taken over a tradition and inserted it to the context, but has actually revised it. As a summary of the previous discussion we may conclude, that the threefold instruction is pre-Matthean and it has originally been wholly in singular. The striking symmetry goes probably back to the tradition. This is indicated by the fact that Matthew has let v. 6 stay in singular because of the symmetry.

Let us try to go one step further. It is possible, that all the three parts of the instruction have originally been separate sayings. The separate sayings would then have been joined together in the early church for teaching purposes, and, at the same time, they would have been stylized into their present symmetrical form. The text includes some hints, which point to this conclusion. Namely, the parts of the instruction still have some differences, despite of the symmetry. First, the prohibition not to imitate the hypocrites is expressed differently in all the parts (μη + subjunctive + ὁσπερ in v. 2; οὐκ + indicative + οὐς in v. 5; μη + imperative + οὐς in v. 16). Second, even the construction, with which the audience is addressed, is slightly different in all the parts (σοῦ δε + participle in v. 3; σῦ δε ὅταν + subjunctive in v. 6; σῦ δε + participle in v. 17). Third, we can note that in the first part of the instruction the formula ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ is an inseparable element of the text, but the two other parts are fluent also without the formula. These differences between the parts of the threefold instruction might suggest that, first, the parts have probably originally been separate sayings, and second, the present structure of the sayings, or at least the motif ‘in secret’, originates from the first saying. This leads us to the which is, as we already have noted, a redactional introduction by Matthew, so they are not an argument for Matthean characteristics in the threefold instruction.

862 Davies & Allison 1988, 573. Gnilka 1986, 208 solves the problem of both Matthean and non-Matthean features by arguing that the threefold instruction has been an oral tradition which Matthew has written down. Luz 2002, 418-419 sees in the utterances in sophisticated Greek (the wordplay φαίνω - ἀφαινέτω and the construction ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθῶν) an indication that the text has originally been written in Greek. But why could a translator not use sophisticated Greek and even wordplays, if the original text allows it. Thus, I think there is no convincing evidence for the theory that the tradition would have originally been Greek. Guelich 1982, 317-318 suggests that Matthew would have constructed the whole composition out of a traditional core, which included three positive admonitions on almsgiving, prayer and fasting by adding a negative counterpart to each of them. Guelich argues this by referring to Matthean characteristics in the negative parts. These characteristics can, nevertheless, be very well due to Matthean revision of a tradition.

863 See Gerhardsson 1996, 75: “Wir werden uns hierbei weder auf dem Stadium des Evangelisten (Endredaktors) bewegen noch werden wir versuchen, zu Jesus selbst zurückzugehen. Wir werden uns vielmehr mit dem Zwischenstadium befassen, in dem die in diesen Versen vorliegende Textkomposition zusammengestellt worden ist”.
conclusion that we can deal with the saying about hypocritical prayer without paying attention to its Matthean context. Nevertheless, because of the significant revision of the saying, we will not be able to make a detailed reconstruction of the alleged original form of the saying. We may still get a little closer to it by removing those stereotyped formulas, which are common to all the parts of the instruction, i.e. the statement of the hypocrites’ reward 864 (ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν), ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ as a definition of the Father and the promise of the future reward (καὶ ὁ πατὴρ σου ὁ βλέπων ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ ἀποδώσει σοι). Also, the introductory ὅταν προσεύχησθε is probably secondary, since every part introduces the action in question in the same way and the saying does not need the introduction. Thus, the most original form of the saying, which we are able to reconstruct, would run as follows:

οὐκ ἔσεσθε ὡς οἱ υποκριταί, ὅτι φιλοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς γωνίαις τῶν πλατειῶν ἑστώτες προσεύχεσθαι, ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. σὺ δὲ ὅταν προσεύχῃ, εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὸ ταμεῖόν σου καὶ κλείσας τὴν θύραν σου πρόσευξαι τῷ πατρί σου.

As noted above, this form of the saying may still contain, and probably does contain, secondary elements, which we are not able to remove or replace with an original one. For example, it is quite probable that the saying has not originally been about οἱ υποκριταί, but we do not know, against whose activity the charge has originally been directed. It might have been, for instance, the scribes as in a similar charge in Mk 12:38-40, or the scribes and Pharisees as in Mt 23:2.865 Nevertheless, although we do not know the exact wording of the original saying, we may still be quite sure of its contents and main structure.

**Interpretation.** The text describes every-day life in a Galilean village or city.866 Standing was an altogether normal posture for praying, and the synagogues were common places for prayer, as we have suggested.867 Neither were praying men on the street corners and in the market places an extraordinary sight during the hour of prayer. The charge in the saying is

864 Of course it is possible that this statement has originally belonged to the saying about prayer and from there influenced the other sayings, but I think this is improbable. Hickling 1982, 252-253 points out that the motif of future reward is attested already in the first part of the Sermon.
865 See Syreeni 1994, 527.
867 See ch. 2.2.1. and 2.2.3.
not against *what* or *how* or *where* the hypocrites pray but against *why* they pray.\textsuperscript{868} Prayer, which should be an expression of the most intimate relationship with God, had become an endeavor of religious boasting for some people.\textsuperscript{869} The criticism is seen in the words: “They love to say their prayers standing up in synagogues and at street corners *for everyone to see* them (ὅπως φανώσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις)”\textsuperscript{870} The hypocrites are accused that their motive for prayer was not to speak to God but to get admiration from others.\textsuperscript{871}

The instruction of right prayer must be seen as an exaggerated opposite, as clear as possible, to the hypocritical way of praying.\textsuperscript{872} To be alone behind a closed door ensures that one cannot pray in order to be seen by others. This becomes even clearer when we investigate closer, what the word for the room, ταμεῖον, in Hebrew רהט, means and how it is used in the Hebrew Bible, in the LXX and in early Jewish literature.

The Greek noun ταμεῖον, or more often ταμεῖον, like its Hebrew counterword, means simply ‘a chamber’, and in the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish texts it is often used to mean a bedroom or a bridal chamber.\textsuperscript{873} Frequently the word is used in such situations, where somebody wants to be alone without anybody seeing. For example, Joseph went to his chamber, in order that his brothers would not see him weeping (Gen 43:30); Amnon raped Tamar in his chamber (2Sam 13:10); according to the words of Micaiah son of Imlah the false prophet Zedekiah son of Kenaanah will one day hide himself in a chamber (1Kgs 22:25); somebody may curse the rich in a chamber imaging that nobody hears (Eccl 10:20); God’s people will enter into their chambers and shut the doors behind them, in order to hide themselves from the wrath of God (Isa 26:20). The story of Tobias and Sarah is interesting. They went into their bridal chamber, the door was shut, and they prayed together to the Lord (Tobit 8:1-5).\textsuperscript{874}

\textsuperscript{868} Guelich 1982, 304; Strecker 1984, 107; Schnackenburg 1985, 63; Blomberg 1992, 117; Luz 2002, 425. See, nevertheless, Wick 1998, 354-357, who suggests that Jesus is here criticizing a Diaspora-Jewish practice to pray in the synagogues, a practice which had influenced Galilean piety. According to this thesis the synagogues were traditionally, and still in Jesus’ time in Judea, places for Torah-reading and study only.

\textsuperscript{869} Manson 1949, 166.

\textsuperscript{870} Gerhardsson 1996, 78.

\textsuperscript{871} Davies & Allison 1988, 585.

\textsuperscript{872} Grundmann 1971, 196; Sjøren 1994, 525.

\textsuperscript{873} LXX uses the word ταμεῖον, which most often is a translation from the Hebrew רהט.

\textsuperscript{874} See also 1Kgs 1:15; 2Kgs 6:12; 9:2; 11:2.
3. Analysis

We, thus, note that ταμεῖον is a room where a person can be alone without anybody disturbing or even seeing one. There, in the solitude, one can talk solely to God, and that is real prayer. We may conclude, that while the criticism against the hypocrites was directed against the why of their prayer, then also the positive teaching concerns mainly the motive and the essence, not the place of prayer. In fact, the whole piece of advice to go to one’s chamber and to shut the door can, and in my opinion should, primarily be seen as symbolic and not as a concrete instruction. It is worth to note that already in the Hebrew Bible / LXX the word ταμεῖον resp. ἐγκλήμας is sometimes used symbolically referring to the inmost parts of a man (Prov 20:27; 26:22).

As noted above, we ought not to understand this instruction so that prayer in the synagogues, or observing the hours of prayer even at street corners, is rejected, or that a solitary room is made the only possible place for prayer. This saying is primarily not about the external conditions but about the essence and theological significance of prayer. Still we can observe a new stress in this teaching, somewhat different from the contemporary Jewish practice. This becomes apparent when we compare this teaching with the early Jewish ideas of, how the prayers should be directed toward the place where God dwelled. Jerusalem, the Temple or heaven. If the praying one was not in the Temple or synagogue, he either went out to pray, or opened his window and directed his prayers out of that. It is worth to note that in a private home an upper room seems to have been a special prayer room. Underlying this practice is a conception of God whose presence is connected to specific places. Compared with the early Jewish thinking about the importance of the Temple or some other specific

---

875 In ordinary Palestinian buildings the word ταμεῖον meant the only room, which could be locked. Further, the room was dark without any windows; Guelich 1982, 281; Lachs 1987, 116.
877 Strecker 1984, 108.
879 Manson 1949, 166; Kingsbury 1987,141; Davies & Allison 1988, 585-586.
880 Betz 1995, 362.
882 See ch. 2.2.1.
883 See e.g. 1Kgs 17:19-20 where Elijah prays for the son of the widow from Zarephath; the passage about Daniel’s prayer in Dan 6:10; LAB 42:2.5 about Manoah’s and his wife Eluma’s prayers and a note on the prayer of Hanina ben Dosa in bBer 34b.
884 See Herrmann 1935, 790; Johnson 1948, 44-46.
3. Analysis

places of prayer, Jesus’ teaching in this passage seems to indicate, that he was quite unconcerned about the matter. Real prayer is not connected to specific places. In this respect the teaching here is coherent with Jesus’ anticipation of the destruction of the ‘house of prayer’, i.e. the Temple.885

The teaching about praying in a closed room has, nevertheless, at least one parallel in early Jewish literature.886 We have already noted the story of Tobias and Sarah praying in their bridal chamber. Thus, we see that the teaching about prayer in Mt 6:5-6 is not something altogether unique, but still the emphasis is somehow different from the general Jewish practice at the time.

There is still one more striking parallel for our text in T12P. Namely, in TJos 3:3 Joseph says:

But I recalled my father’s words, went weeping into my quarters (ταμιεῖον) and prayed to the Lord.

Nevertheless, in my opinion it is probable that this passage is affected by the threefold instruction on true piety in Mt 6:2-6,16-18. A comparison between the Matthean passage and TJos 3 reveals the close similarity. First, both passages include the motifs of almsgiving (Mt 6:2-4; TJos 3:5), prayer (Mt 6:5-6; TJos 3:3) and fasting (Mt 6:16-18; TJos 3:4), though in a different order. Second, the motif of going into a chamber in order to pray is expressed with the same Greek expressions. The parallel texts run as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mt 6:6</th>
<th>TJos 3:3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>εἰσελθεὶς εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον</td>
<td>εἰσαρχόμενος εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σοῦ καὶ κλείσας τὴν θύραν</td>
<td>σοῦ προσευχαῖς τῷ πατρὶ σου</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σου πρόσευξιν κυρίῳ</td>
<td>προσευχόμην κυρίῳ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third, regarding fasting, the same idea is attested in both passages that fasting ought not to be seen in one’s outward being (Mt 6:17-18; TJos 3:4). In this connection the word πρόσωπον appears in both texts as a Greek word for the outward appearance. Further, in both passages the fasting man shows himself to other people, and the action is in both cases expressed

885 See p 168.
886 Several scholars see Isa 26:20 as an alluded passage, e.g. Grundmann 1971, 196, Hill 1981, 133; Strecker 1984, 108; Luz 1985, 321n.14; Schweizer 1986, 90; Viviano 1997, 434; Philonenko 2002, 10. Nevertheless, the contents of Isa 26:20 differ, in fact, totally from Mt 6:6: there the people must flee from God’s wrath to a closed room, here one should go to the room to meet God, the Father. Thus, I think that Isa 26:20 is unlikely to underlie Mt 6:6. My opinion is shared by Gnirka 1986, 209 and Fenske 1997, 260.
with the word φαίνω. In Mt 6:16 the hypocrites are accused of wanting to show (φανῶσιν) others that they are fasting, and in TJos 3:4 the fasting Joseph – as if he knew the instruction of Jesus in Mt 6:16! – appears (ἐφανόμην) to his master as one living delicately. Finally, in both passages fasting is expressly a matter of having a relationship with God. In Mt 6:18 it is said, that only God should recognize the fasting, and in TJos 3:4 fasting is said to be something done for Gods sake (ὅτα τῶν θεόν).

I think that these similarities are enough to prove that there probably is dependence between these two passages. Further, in my opinion, it is more likely that TJos is dependent on Mt 6 (or a tradition behind the Matthean text) than vice versa.887

Authenticity.888 The question about the authenticity of the saying must remain somewhat uncertain. The authenticity depends largely on whether the reconstruction we made of the alleged traditional form of the saying is correct. It is obvious that in its Matthean form the saying is hardly Jesuamic. Nevertheless, there are some arguments for the case, that there could very well be an authentic saying of Jesus behind the reconstructed logion. First, this kind of teaching on prayer is not to be found anywhere else in early Christian writings. Neither is there any evidence, as far as I know, that the early Christians would have practiced that kind of private prayer in closed rooms, as the passage recommends. Thus, the passage is not, at any rate, likely to describe the actual life of the early Christians, and the teaching might accordingly be considered somehow dissimilar to early Christianity. Second, the saying includes several features that are characteristic for Jesus, namely the clearly exaggerated manner of teaching, calling God the ‘Father’ and criticism of ostentatious religious practices. Thus, regarding the overall spirit of the saying, it might very well be authentic. This is, anyhow, not a convincing argument about the authenticity of the very saying. Third, assumed that our interpretation of the saying is correct, namely that it concerns more the theological significance rather than the external conditions of prayer, the contents of the saying would be coherent with what we have detected earlier in Mk 11:15-18 and Mk 12:38-40. Fourth, the background scene of the saying with people praying in synagogues and on street corners on specific prayer hours describes a Palestinian environment well. Finally, there is nothing in the

887 About Christian influence on T12P see p. 90 and n. 557 above.
888 Luz 2002, 420-421 estimates the authenticity of the whole threefold instruction as improbable, even though possible. Luz’s argumentation is, nevertheless, problematic, because he argues with the dissimilarity to Judaism -criterion, which cannot be used as a criterion against authenticity. Philonenko 2002, 8 states that the three instructions “tragen das Siegel der Authentizität.”
reconstructed form of the saying, which would argue against its authenticity. On the basis of the discussion above I suggest that, assuming that our reconstruction of the tradition behind the Matthean text is correct, the saying is probably authentic. Nevertheless, here lurks the danger of the vicious circle, which we have already described in the Introduction.

3.3.1.2. The Saying against Heathen-like Prayer (Mt 6:7-8)

 tekst

Structure. Mt 6:7-8, together with the following Lord’s Prayer (vv. 9-13), has a similar structure to the separate parts of the threefold instruction discussed above:

1. An introduction of the action (προσευχόμενοι; v. 7)
2. A warning, not to follow the example of the gentiles (μὴ βαπταλογήσητε ὅσπερ οἱ ἔθνικοι; v. 7)
3. The aims of the gentiles’ action (δοκοῦσιν γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθήσονται; v. 7)
4. An instruction on correct action (οὕτως οὖν προσεύχεσθε ὑμεῖς: Πάτερ ... ; vv. 9-15)

The redactor, Matthew, is likely to have given the text this structure to make it fit the context better. It is obvious that originally Mt 6:7-8 was not connected to the Lord’s Prayer.

Redaction and traditions. Verse 9a is a redactional sentence, which joins the two traditional parts together. Verses 7-8 contain no signals of Matthean redaction. On the contrary, the vocabulary is quite extraordinary.

---

889 Luz 2002, 420 points out that the text includes no christological traces.
890 See p. 9.
892 Gnilka 1986, 208. See also Guelich 1982, 282. Mell 1994, 154-155 suggests that Matthew would criticize the synagogue prayer practice with this construction, the practice in which the recitation of the Amidah would represent the praying with too many words and the Lord’s Prayer would be the right, short, alternative.
893 Zeller 1977, 133.
3. Analysis

and non-Matthean. Thus, it is probable that Matthew has taken the text over without changing it and joined it to the composition.

Still, the text does not seem to be solid, but probably consists of two originally separate parts. This is indicated by three facts:

1. Between vv. 7 and 8 there is a difference in the contents. Verse 7 talks about ensuring God’s response (δοκοῦσιν γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθῶσινται), whereas v. 8 is about the unnecessity to inform God about one’s needs (σιδεν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ υμῶν ὃν χρείαν ἔχετε)

2. The warning in v. 8 not to imitate the heathen (μὴ σὺν ὄμοιωθήτε αὐτοῖς) is superfluous, because the warning is stated already in v. 7 (μὴ βατταλογήσητε ὤσπερ οἱ ἑθνικοὶ).

3. Verse 8b has a parallel in Q 12:30b. Thus it is likely to be a separate tradition.

We may conclude that the present text is put together from two originally separate traditions (v. 7 and v. 8b), and v. 8a is a redactional addition. It is difficult, and for our task unnecessary, to find out, whether the present composition is Matthean or pre-Matthean.

Now we can concentrate solely on v. 7, because v. 8 does not exactly deal with prayer (see the context in Q 12:22-31). Thus the saying we are dealing with runs as follows:

Προσευχόμενοι δὲ μὴ βατταλογήσητε ὤσπερ οἱ ἑθνικοὶ, δοκοῦσιν γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθῶσινται.

The word βατταλογέων plays an important role in the investigation of the origin of the tradition. The word is rare and is not attested before the 6th century C.E. in texts that are independent of Mt. The etymology of the word is unclear, and scholars have given several proposals to solve the problem. The most probable solution, in my opinion, is that the word

---

894 Luz 2002, 430.
895 Gnilka 1986, 208. Zeller suggests that vv. 7b-8a would be a secondary addition, and thus the original tradition would have been: “Προσευχόμενοι δὲ μὴ βατταλογήσητε ὤσπερ οἱ ἑθνικοὶ, σιδεν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ υμῶν ὃν χρείαν ἔχετε πρὸ τοῦ υἱῶς αἰτήσαι αὐτῶν.” Nevertheless, I think that my reconstruction of the original tradition is more probable because the sentence about God’s knowing one’s desires has a parallel in Q 12:30b.
896 Lachs 1987, 116n.5.
897 About the different explanations see Lachs 1987, 116n.5.
3. Analysis

comes from an Aramaic word הִלְעָב, which means ‘idle, useless’. The other proposal that is presented as a possibility is the Greek word for ‘stammering’, βατταριζεῖν. Nevertheless, why would the author then not have used exactly that word instead of creating a new one, which, in fact, would not have been very good. Since the word βατταριζεῖν itself denotes a special way of speaking (‘to stammer’), the addition λογεῖν would be superfluous. Thus the most natural explanation for the attestation of the word βατταλογεῖν here is that it comes from an Aramaic expression אֲנָא בְּהֵרָלִי. Further, while the word is not attested elsewhere, I think it is not a generally used Aramaism but probably an ad hoc translation. This leads to a conclusion that the tradition in v. 7 has originally been Aramaic.

Another detail in the text, which is meaningful in the investigation of the origin of the tradition, is the mention of the pagans. According to BETZ this leads us to Diaspora-Judaism. Nevertheless, I think, this conclusion is not necessary. Namely, although Galilee was not strongly hellenized, in the biggest cities there was, however, a small Greek population. Thus, the non-Jewish prayer practice was probably not at all unknown to the Galilean Jews. Besides, due to both emigration and large-scale traveling, Greco-Roman influence surely reached even the Galilean Jews via other Jews, who had been in contact with foreign people while living in the Diaspora or while traveling abroad.

Thus we conclude that the tradition has originally been Aramaic and thus probably comes from Palestine, possibly even from Galilee.

Interpretation. The questions, which arise concerning the meaning of the saying, are: First, what is the βατταλογεῖν that is criticized? Second, where did a danger of this kind of wrong prayer exist? We will now try to answer these questions.

The scholars usually refer to the practice of trying to appeal to a god or gods by enumerating all the names and epithets of the god(s) or by magical...
The so-called Greek Magical Papyri give good examples of this kind of prayer.\textsuperscript{907} As HANS-DIETER BETZ points out in the introduction to the \textit{Greek Magical Papyri in Translation}, on the one hand, these texts can be read as quite representative of the common religion of the Greco-Roman world, and, on the other hand, – although the extant documents come from Egypt – they, nevertheless, represent a wider, syncretistic practice in the Greco-Roman antiquity.\textsuperscript{908}

Now, we will bear in mind that, though in the present form of the saying we are dealing with (vv. 7-8) the ‘babbling’ and the ‘many words’ seem to refer to informing God by several petitions, which is unnecessary because God already knows one’s needs, the original tradition in v. 7 does not have that connotation. Thus it is likely that it is just that kind of appealing attested in the Magical Papyri, which is criticized here. The saying concerns, thus, the grounds for God’s answering prayers.

Where was this kind of prayer practiced in Palestine? First we must note that the saying is not addressed to non-Jewish people but it is a warning to a Jewish audience not to imitate the non-Jewish practice. Thus, there was a possibility and even a danger of some kind of syncretism in the prayer life of the Jews. In fact, it was probably not a question of a mere possibility, but of something that already had happened.\textsuperscript{909} To be able to see this we will shortly glance at the addresses to God in Jewish prayers.

An investigation of the prayers in the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish literature in chapter 2.3.3. showed us that God was usually addressed quite briefly, but there are also several examples of long addresses with multiple epithets and attributes.

A good example of the practice of trying to invoke God with magic-like means is to be seen in the pseudepigraphic Prayer of Jacob, a text attested in the body of the Greek Magical Papyri (PGM XXIIb:1-26).\textsuperscript{910} Unfortunately, this text is difficult to date.\textsuperscript{911} However, it gives us evidence


\textsuperscript{907} \textit{The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation} (1986) gives plenty of striking examples.

\textsuperscript{908} Betz 1986, xlii-liii. Betz states that modern views about the Greco-Roman religions have long suffered from deformities caused by the fact that the preserved documents used as sources were written by the cultural elite, while those texts, which would have represented more general views of the common people were destroyed as heretical texts already during the antiquity.

\textsuperscript{909} Schweizer 1986, 91.

\textsuperscript{910} See also LadJac 2:18-21; p. 106 above.

\textsuperscript{911} Charlesworth 1985, 715 dates the text to 1\textsuperscript{st} to 4\textsuperscript{th} century C.E.
that this kind of syncretism did gain ground in early Jewish prayer life in the antiquity.\textsuperscript{912}

\begin{quote}
Father of (the) Patriarchs, Father of all (things), Father of the powers of the cosmos; Creator of the angels and archangels, the Creator of the redeeming names; ... O Father of powers altogether... God Abaoth, Abrathiaoth, Saba\textsubscript{oth}, Adonai, astra... The Lord God of all (things)... The Lord God of the Hebrews, Epa\textsubscript{gel}, ... of whom is the everlasting power, Elo\textsubscript{el}, Souel (PrJae 1-2, 4a, 9, 13).
\end{quote}

I will not claim that the ‘official’ Judaism would have absorbed foreign influences. E.g. the rabbis surely did not understand the multiple epithets of the Amidah as magical tools. Nevertheless, it is another question what the ideas of the ordinary people were.\textsuperscript{913}

We see that, although there is no altogether clear evidence of the matter, it still seems probable that the practice of trying to appeal to god(s) with more or less magical means by enumerating his or her epithets and attributes, influenced the prayer life of the ordinary Jewish people. Although the long addresses in the documented prayers hardly were meant to be magical features, the people under foreign influence maybe understood them so. This makes, I think, a relevant background for the prohibition not to pray like the heathen, not to Βαπτιζων.\textsuperscript{913}

The manners of praying Jesus gave to his audience, though not attested in the text we are now investigating, were a complete opposite. He himself addressed, and taught the others to address, God with a simple word Abba, without any additional attributes.\textsuperscript{914} This address made it clear that a petitioner did not need to invoke God, in the same way as a child does not have to do that with regard to his father, because God is not unwilling to hear and help his children.

\textit{Authenticity.}\textsuperscript{915} In the evaluation of the authenticity of the saying we will take up four arguments, which suggest authenticity. First, there are no parallels for the teaching in Mt 6:7 in other early Christian sources. In this

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{912} About the provenance of the text see Charlesworth 1985, 715. About the relationship between the Prayer of Jacob and the Greek Magical Papyri see Charlesworth 1985, 717.
  \item \textsuperscript{913} See Heinemann 1978, 85.
  \item \textsuperscript{914} The Lukan version of the address in the Prayer, the simple ‘Father’, is to be considered as original and the Matthean version as a modified one, probably due to the influence of some Jewish practice.
  \item \textsuperscript{915} Luz 2002, 430 suggests that the contents of the saying might originate from Jesus. Gnilik 1986, 211, for his part, states that the saying does not originate from Jesus, but still it is spiritually close to Jesus. (“Für 7f ist ... eine aussenordentliche geistige Nähe zu Jesus konstatieren.”)\end{itemize}
respect the saying may be considered dissimilar to early Christianity. Second, the idea that one must not to try to appeal to God with multiple words is coherent with Jesus’ proclamation of God as a Father who willingly gives good things to his children, and especially with his teaching of addressing God by the single word Abba. Third, on the one hand, Jesus’ teaching in Mt 6:7 has a predecessor in Sir 7:14. In that passage Ben Sira instructs his reader not to repeat himself in prayer. While, on the other hand, we have noted that Jesus’ is often in agreement with Ben Sira in his teaching (the Imitatio Dei -motif in Q 6:35; the idea of mutual forgiveness in Mk 11:25; the concern of widows in Mk 12:40; later on we will still note the similarity between the parable of the Unjust Judge and Ben Sira), the similarity with Sir 7:14 makes Mt 6:7 in this regard seem consistent with Jesus’ teaching elsewhere. True, Sir 7:14 does not mention any foreign practices, and it is probably not dealing with assuring God’s response. Thus the similarity between Sir 7:14 and Mt 6:7 is not very deep. Fourth, the Aramaic and thus probable Palestinian/Galilean origin of the tradition gives additional support for the authenticity.

Finally, because there are no severe arguments against its authenticity, I suggest that we can consider the saying probably authentic.

3.3.2. The Saying about Common Agreement about the Petitioned Matter and Jesus’ Presence in the Midst of His Followers (Mt 18:19-20)

The saying in Mt 18:19-20 is included into a larger composition Mt 18:1-35, which belongs to one of the five Matthean speech collections. The passage deals with congregational life, and it can be divided into two parts, which have a similar construction. The composition is redactional and consists of several originally independent sayings. This claim emerges from the fact that the separate sayings have parallels in other gospel accounts (vv. 1-5 in Mk 9:34-37; vv. 6-9 in Mk 9:42-47; vv. 10-14 in Q 15:3-7; vv. 15-17 in Q 17:3; v. 18 in Mt 16:19 and Jn 20:23; vv. 21-22 in Q 17:4) and thus they derive from different sources. Thus, we will consider

---

916 Zeller 1977, 135.
917 See p. 105.
919 Pesch 1966, 15. About the theme of the composition see Gnilka 1988, 119-120.
920 About the redactional composition see Pesch 1966, 36-37 and Maisch 1991, 247-248. See also Flusser 1988, 516.
the saying in vv. 19-20 an independent logion,\(^{921}\) which comes from Matthew’s special material.

19 Πάλιν [ ámbήν]\(^{922}\) λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐάν δύο συμφωνήσωσιν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς περὶ παντὸς πράγματος οὐ ἐάν αἰτήσωνται, γενήσεται αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς. 20 οὐ γὰρ εἰσιν δύο ἡ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.

Redaction and traditions. The logion vv. 19-20 consists of two parts, which some scholars understand as originally separate sayings.\(^{923}\) Nevertheless, as the following table indicates, the verses form a parallelism and thus a symmetrical whole, which suggests that they should be regarded as forming an inseparable saying.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>v. 19</th>
<th>v. 20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i) δύο</td>
<td>δύο ἡ τρεῖς</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) συμφωνήσωσιν</td>
<td>συνηγμένοι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii) γενήσεται αὐτοῖς</td>
<td>ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου</td>
<td>τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i) The mentions of ‘two’ (v. 19) respective ‘two or three’ (v. 20) correspond clearly to each other. It is possible that both parts have originally had ‘two’, but the placement of the saying into the context has altered the latter mention into ‘two or three’ due to v. 16: “... testimony of two or three witnesses.”

ii) The prefix συν links the words ‘agree’ and ‘come together’ to each other.

iii) Jesus’ presence with the gathered petitioners is the ground for God’s response to their prayers.

\(^{921}\) Albright and Mann 1971, 221. See also Sievers 1981, 175; Schnackenburg 1987, 173 and Luz 1997, 40.

\(^{922}\) ámbήν is to be omitted because of text critical reasons.

In its present form the saying is clearly post-Easter, since the idea of the presence of Jesus refers to the risen Lord. Likewise the formula εἰς τὸ ὄνομα seems to reflect the usage of the post-Easter church. Luke and Paul use this formula in connection with baptism (Acts 8:16; 19:5; 1Cor 1:13, 15) and John in conjunction with faith in Christ (Jn 1:12; 2:23; 3:18; 1Jn 5:13). It has, nevertheless, been suggested that the formula would render a Hebrew וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, which, for its part, would be a technical term meaning ‘for the sake of’. In that case the formula would not necessarily be post-Easter. We will for now leave the question open and return to it later.

It has been suggested that vv. 19-20 would be a creation of Matthew. The Matthean vocabulary has been referred to as the grounds for the argument. The saying would be a Matthean commentary on the preceding promise of the power of binding and loosing, and thus the ‘anything’ would mean any sin of a church-member. It is true that the saying does have a clear Matthean coloring. Especially the expressions ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς and (τοῦ πατρός μου) τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς belong to the vocabulary, which is distinctive for Matthew. There is, nevertheless, one detail in the text, which suggests that the saying might not originate from Matthew. Namely, as several scholars point out, the promise of Jesus’ dwelling with those who have come together in his name, corresponds with the Immanuel-name presented in Mt 1:23 and with the promise of the risen Lord in Mt 28:20. Nevertheless, there is still a difference between these passages. If Mt 18:20 would be a creation of Matthew, we would expect that he had written ἐκεῖ εἰμὶ μεθ’ αὐτῶν, as in Mt 1:23 and 28:20, but we have here ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν instead. Thus, in my opinion, there is a reason to suppose that the saying is not Matthean but traditional, and accordingly, those scholars who argue that the saying is based on a

925 Flusser 1988, 516-517.
927 Gundry 1994, 369-370. Also Pesch, who does consider the saying as traditional, states that πράγμα would be a juridical concept; Pesch 1988, 234. So also Hill 1981, 276 and Blomberg 1992, 281. Against that view Luz correctly notes that πράγμα is a general expression and not a terminus technicus for a juridical matter; Luz 1997, 51 n. 82.
928 E.g. Grundmann 1971, 420; Schnackenburg 1987, 174; Gnilk 1988, 140; Pokorny 1999, 479.
929 Gundry 1994, 370 suggests that this expression would be a reference to v. 2, in which Jesus places a child in the midst (ἐν μέσῳ) of the disciples. Luz 1997, 53 also recognizes this as a possible explanation. I think this is, however, improbable, because in addition to the preposition there are no other features which would link v. 2 and v. 20 to each other. Besides, the topic in v. 20 is no longer the little ones or the children, but the congregational life between the brothers.
3. Analysis

tradition, which Matthew has adapted and placed within the context,\textsuperscript{930} are right. The adaptation would explain the Matthean expressions of the saying, which probably are simply additions to the tradition. It is, in fact, quite easy to remove them\textsuperscript{931} and thus gain the pre-Matthean tradition of the saying, which would have been as follows:

\[ \text{λέγω ὡμον ὅτι ἐὰν δύο συμφωνήσωσιν ἔξ ὡμόν περὶ παντός πράγματος οὐ ἐὰν αἰτήσωνται, γενήσεται αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου. οὐ γὰρ εἰσίν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.} \]

Now, we are maybe able to trace back to an even earlier form of the saying, which might be even pre-Easter. Namely, there is, in my opinion, a tension within the saying, which indicates that the sentence about the presence of Jesus might be a later alteration of an older saying. The tension lies between the mentions that, on the one hand, it is the Father who will answer to the requests, and, on the other hand, as a grounds for Father’s response, it is Jesus who will be with those who come together in his name. Were the sentence consistent, it should be either the present Lord, who responses, or Father who is with those who come together. Further, the expression \( \text{πατρός μου} \) seems to be an attempt to decrease the tension. The fact that the God who responds to the requests is Jesus’ father explains why Jesus’ presence effects the response of God.\textsuperscript{932} Nevertheless, in all other synoptic passages, which deal with the Father’s response to prayers, God is called either simply Father or the Father of the praying people, not Jesus’ Father. Thus it seems probable that the possessive pronoun \( \text{μου} \) is secondary here.

I suggest that the inconsistency of the saying can be explained as follows: The saying has originally dealt with God’s presence, Shekhinah\textsuperscript{933}, in the midst of the gathered members of God’s people. The dwelling of Shekinah was a general topic in early Judaism. In the Christian church the risen Lord was identified with the Shekinah of God.\textsuperscript{934} Thus the original form of the saying was christianized by replacing the Shekinah with the risen Lord.

\textsuperscript{930} E.g. Pesch 1988, 241-242; Gnilka 1988, 136; Luz 1997, 40; Pokorný 1999, 481. See also Schnackenburg 1987, 174.

\textsuperscript{931} Regarding the expression \( \text{ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς} \) see Pesch 1988, 242.

\textsuperscript{932} See Pokorný 1999, 479.

\textsuperscript{933} I use here the term Shekhinah maybe a little anachronistically, for it is not clear, whether it was used already on the 1\textsuperscript{st} century C.E. The concept behind the term was, however, very central. About the origin of the term see e.g. Sievers 1981, 171-172.

\textsuperscript{934} See Grundmann 1971, 420-421; Gnilka 1988, 140; Pokorný 1999, 480.
Even the other likely post-Easter feature in the text – the mention of Jesus’ name – can easily be omitted as a mere Christian addition to the original saying. We note that the omission of it does not break the line of thought or the parallelism of the saying. We will, nevertheless, maintain the formula ‘in my name’ in brackets, because – as we noted above – it is possible that it is pre-Easter. Thus the alleged pre-Easter form of the saying would have been as follows (as I stated in the Introduction, I will not try to reconstruct the Aramaic form of the sayings):

I tell you that if two of you agree about anything you ask for, it will be done for you by the Father. For where two (or three) come together (in my name), there the Shekhinah is in the midst of them.

Admittedly this reconstruction is quite hypothetical, but I will now give a reason for it. Namely, most of the commentators recognize the similarity between the saying in Mt 18:20 and ’Abot 3:3, a Rabbinic saying from ca 250 C.E. The Rabbinic text runs:

R. Hanina b. Teradion said: When two sit and there are not between them words of Torah, lo, this is ‘the seat of the scornful’, as it is said: ‘Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful’. But when two sit and there are between them words of Torah, the Shekhinah rests between them, as it is said: ‘Then they that feared the Lord spake one with another’ (’Abot 3:3).

As in Mt 18:20 also in ’Abot it is a smallest possible group of people gathered together, and the question is about God’s presence in the midst of them. The similarity is so striking that it is highly improbable that it would be only a chance. Thus we must explain the similarity somehow.

Many scholars suggest that Mt 18:20 is a christianized version of the Jewish idea. Furthermore it has been suggested that in the christianized saying the presence of Jesus would have replaced the Torah of the Rabbinic saying. Nevertheless, this suggestion, especially the latter one, is, in fact, anachronistic. Namely, the saying in ’Abot is almost 200 years later than the gospel saying. It is probable that the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. influenced the Jewish ideas of the Shekhinah, and thus it is far from sure that the 1st century Jews, at least prior to the destruction, identified the Torah and the Shekhinah in the way the saying in ’Abot does. To put it more simply, it is very uncertain that either Matthew or somebody before him, who might be responsible for the pre-Matthean tradition, knew a Jewish saying of two men sitting around the words of Torah and thus the

---

935 See Flusser 1988, 517. Flusser discusses even other Rabbinic parallels; Flusser 1988, 517-520.
937 Pesch 1966, 44.
Shekhinah resting between them. Further, if they did not know the saying they could, of course, not alter the saying by replacing the Torah with the risen Lord.

I think that the relationship between Mt 18:20 and 'Abot 3:3 can best be explained so, that they both arise from a common Jewish heritage,\(^938\) in which there were an ongoing discussion about the dwelling of the Shekhinah.\(^939\) Thus the present version of the Gospel saying would be a christianized version of a Jewish original, which might have looked like the reconstruction above.

Let us try to take still one step further. Namely, is it impossible to think that the original Jewish version of the saying would originate from Jesus? I think this is not at all impossible.\(^940\) If we then assume that the saying could be inherited from Jesus, then the saying might have originally been a saying about the Kingdom of God, which in the proclamation of Jesus was almost identical with the presence of God\(^941\) i.e. the Shekhinah. Further, in that case this passage would include a similar idea about the Kingdom of God as the saying in Lk 17:20-21.\(^942\) I admit that now we are only dealing with good possibilities, not with probabilities, but it is still reasonable to try to give a hypothetical reconstruction of the possible original Jesuanic saying, which could have been as follows:

I tell you that if two of you agree about anything you ask for, it will be done for you by the Father. For where two (or three) come together (in my name), there the Kingdom of God is in the midst of them.

In the synoptic tradition there is, indeed, an example, which gives us a parallel for this kind of replacing the 'Kingdom of God' with the person of Jesus. What is especially noteworthy here, is that it is Matthew who replaces the ‘Kingdom’, in this case with the ‘Son of Man’. Let us compare Mk 9:1 and Mt 16:28 with each other:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mk 9:1} & : \ \text{ἐμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰσίνιν} \\
& : \ \text{τινες ὧδε τῶν ἑστηκότων} \\
& : \ \text{οἱ τινες οὐ μὴ γεύσωνται} \\
\text{Mt 16:28} & : \ \text{ἐμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰσίνιν} \\
& : \ \text{τινες τῶν ὧδε ἐστῶτων} \\
& : \ \text{οἱ τινες οὐ μὴ γεύσωνται}
\end{align*}
\]

---

\(^{938}\) Sievers 1981, 178.
\(^{939}\) Cf. Ezek 11:16, where the question is about God’s presence during the Exile.
\(^{940}\) Maybe it is necessary to state that I do not mean, that the saying in 'Abot would be a later version of a Jesuanic saying. I mean that it is possible that Mt 18:20 is based on an authentic saying of Jesus, which Jesus, for his part, contributed to the Jewish discussions about the Shekhinah.
\(^{941}\) Chilton 1996, 11-12.
\(^{942}\) About the authenticity of the Lukan passage see Meier 1994, 429-430.
Thus, it is indeed quite possible that Matthew has replaced the Kingdom of God, which he found in the tradition, with the risen Jesus.

Another example of christianization of a synoptic Kingdom of God - saying by replacing the ‘Kingdom’ with the person of Jesus is to be found in 1Cor 11. Namely, the comparison between apostle Paul’s teaching about the Holy Communion and the synoptic version of the Lord’s Supper demonstrates, how a Jesus-tradition was christianized after the first Easter through replacing the future Kingdom of God (Mk 14:25b par.) with the parousia of the Lord (1Cor 11:26b).

To find further support for the reconstruction above we will still ask, whether we could find a plausible context for the alleged saying of Jesus in his ministry.

We have already noted that Jesus’ followers consisted of both full-time followers and local supporters. Now, it is only natural to suppose that the local supporters had to ponder the question about the presence of the Kingdom, when Jesus was not physically with them. Jesus had proclaimed the nearness of the Kingdom, and it was believed to be near in his teaching and deeds, but was the Kingdom near, when Jesus himself was far away? Jesus’ saying in Mt 18:20 in its reconstructed version could be an apt answer to that question, especially if the formula ‘in my name’ is interpreted according to the suggestion of DAVID FLUSSER. He claims that the formula should be translated ‘for my sake’, and accordingly he writes:

Now the question arises: what does Jesus mean when he says, “Where two or three are gathered together for my sake...” The only probable answer is simply this: Jesus is present among even the smallest number of people who meet together to deal with his message or his teaching.

It is difficult for me to agree with FLUSSER in that Jesus would have talked about his own presence. That would be without any parallels in the synoptic tradition. Nevertheless, as we have noted, behind the notion of

943 Pokorný 1999, 483-484. Pokorný recognizes a tradition of Jesus’ proclamation of the Kingdom of God behind Mt 18:20, but he does not seem to think that the very saying originates from Jesus.

944 See p. 143.

945 Flusser 1988, 517.
Jesus’ presence can very well be a saying about the Kingdom, the presence of which, for its part, is surely a central theme in Jesus’ teaching. Thus we may conclude that the constructed version of the saying would fit to Jesus’ ministry very well as a promise of the presence of the Kingdom even in those times when Jesus himself was not physically present.

**Interpretation.** This saying includes four aspects of prayer. First, prayer is here emphasized as a common, emphatically social activity. Emphasis lays on the mutual understanding of the object of the request, an understanding, which rules out self-seeking motives.\(^{946}\) Thus, common prayer is something which strengthens the fellowship. Again, as in those passages, in which the mutual forgiveness in stressed, this teaching has very important social consequences for the quite heterogeneous group of Jesus’ followers/congregation.

Second, we note once more, how the responding God is called ‘Father’. As we have seen, this is the bedrock of Jesus’ teaching on prayer in general.

Third, if our enterprise to reconstruct earlier versions of the tradition is considered succesfull and the last version, thus, would represent a real and original tradition, then this saying would connect the presence of God’s Kingdom and the response to the prayers with each other. This connection we have noted already in the Prayer, in which the petition for the coming of the Kingdom precedes and prepares the three ‘we’-petitions and thus lays the ground for God’s answering.\(^{947}\)

Fourth, the significance of the Temple as a place of prayer is replaced in Mt 18:19-20 by the fellowship of Jesus’ followers/congregation. This idea would fit very well with the fact that Jesus anticipated the definitive destruction of the Temple and did not consider any specific place of prayer as significant. Further, in this respect the idea expressed in the saying is quite close the Qumranic idea, according to which the Community replaced the Temple.\(^{948}\)

**Authenticity**.\(^{949}\) As we already ascertained, in its present, Matthean, form the saying is obviously post-Easter and thus inauthentic.\(^{950}\) Nevertheless,

---

\(^{946}\) Luz 1997, 51.

\(^{947}\) See p. 134 above.

\(^{948}\) See p. 51 above.

\(^{949}\) The inauthenticity of v. 20 is suggested e.g. by Viviano 1997, 439; Luz 1997, 40-41. According to Luz v. 19 might, nevertheless, originate from Jesus, and also Pesch 1966, 43 considers v. 19 as probably authentic.
3. Analysis

we have tried to trace our way back to a pre-Matthean, and maybe even to an authentic, Jesuanic, tradition. If the final result of our tradition historical inquiry is to be considered correct, then the saying probably originates from Jesus. Namely, the ideas of the certainty of God’s answer to prayers, God as Father and the presence of the Kingdom of God are all consistent with Jesus’ teaching elsewhere, and indeed very prominent motifs in the authentic Jesus tradition. Nonetheless, we are here in a danger of a vicious circle. To remove all clearly inauthentic details from a saying and thereafter claim its authenticity is to play with mere hypotheses.951 Thus, we must content ourselves with the fact, that the authenticity of this saying is only a good possibility.

3.3.3. Summary

We observed strong redactional contributions in the Matthean sayings, and we tried to uncover the traditions behind the present Matthean text. Our results can, however, be considered only tentative regarding the sayings against hypocritical prayer (Mt 6:5-6) and especially about common agreement and Jesus’ presence in the midst of his followers (Mt 18:19-20).

Both the saying against hypocritical prayer (Mt 6:5-6) and the more probably authentic saying against heathen-like prayer (Mt 6:7-8) deal with the essence of prayer. Prayer is speaking to the Father, and thus the right motive for prayer must be a desire to be near God. Accordingly, it is not necessary to persuade God to answer prayers, and thus any magic-like tools to try to affect God in prayer are completely out.

The saying about Jesus’ presence – or, as we proposed, about the presence of the Kingdom – in the midst of the gathered followers of Jesus would define the group of the followers as the new Temple, in which even prayers are heard.

950 See e.g. Manson 1949, 211, who states that the speaker here is the risen and glorified Christ. See also Sievers 1981, 178. Flusser 1988, 522-523, nevertheless, suggests that the saying (v. 20) in its present form would be an authentic saying of Jesus. He argues by referring to similar sayings, which are attributed – and apparently genuine in Flusser’s opinion – to Hillel. Flusser considers it probable, that the saying has been originally uttered by Hillel, and Jesus would have adopted it.

951 See p. 9 above.
3. Analysis

3.4. Luke’s Special Material

3.4.1. The Parable of the Friend at Midnight (Lk 11:5-8)

The Parable of the Friend at Midnight does not explicitly deal with prayer. However, in the Lukan context between the Prayer and the Similitude of a Child asking for Food, the Parable is clearly attached to a teaching on prayer. Thus at least Luke has understood the Parable as an example story about answered prayer.952 The text runs:

5 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, Τίς ἐξ ἓμων ἔξει φίλον καὶ πορεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίου καὶ εἴπη αὐτῷ, Φίλε, χρήσον μοι τρεῖς ἄρτους. 6 ἐπειδὴ φίλος μου παρεγένετο ἐξ ὀδοῦ πρὸς με καὶ οὐκ ἔχω ὁ παραθήκως αὐτῷ 7 κάκεινος ἐσοβεθεὶς ἐπίμη. Μή μοι κόπους πάρεξε· ἤδη ἡ θύρα κέκλεισται καὶ τὰ παιδία μου μετ’ ἐμοῦ εἰς τὴν κοίτην εἰσίν· οὐ δύναμαι ἄναστας δοῦναι σοι. 8α λέγω ἡμῖν, ἐὰν καὶ οὐ δώσει αὐτῷ ἄναστας, διὰ τὸ εἶναι φίλον αὐτοῦ, διὰ γε τὴν ἀναιδείαν αὐτοῦ ἐγερθεὶς δώσει αὐτῷ ὅσων χρήζει.

Redaction and traditions. The text has several problematic features, which need to be explained in order to clarify its redaction and tradition history and to understand the meaning of the text.953 First, what is the relation between this parable and the, in many ways similar, Parable of the Unjust Judge in Lk 18:1-8.954 Second, how is an alleged inconsistency in the parable between vv. 5-7 and v. 8 to be explained? D. R. CATCHPOLE points out that while the parable presents an irrational case and anticipates an unconditional refusal to the opening question, any concern about the petitioned man’s motives is superfluous.955 This notion is important, and we will return to it later. Third, whom does the noun ἀναιδεία refer to, the

952 Waetjen 2001, 705.
954 Jeremias 1984, 157 states that this parable is almost “ein Doppelgleichnis zu dem vom ungerecten Richter.” Likewise Plummer 1922, 298; Fitzmyer 1985, 910 and Crump 1992, 131-134 interprete these parables together. Nolland 1993, 865 suggests that these two parables have stood as parallels in a parable source. Schürmann 1994, 212 opposes Jeremias’ statement, and Weder 1978, 270 and Derrett 1978, 79, for their part, suggest that these two parables should not be interpreted together. See also Manson 1949, 267.
955 Catchpole 1983, 412-413 suggests that v. 8bc is a Lukan addition. Nolland 1993, 623 states, that this is possible but not probable.
petitioner or the petitioned? Fourth, what is the meaning of the noun ἀναίδευτος? The basic meaning of it is ‘shamelessness’. Could the word in our context, nevertheless, have a positive connotation, like ‘to avoid shame’ or ‘want of shame’ in the meaning of ‘confidence’? Further, does the word suggest persistence? Fifth, how is the similarity between this parable and Lk 11:11-13 to be explained? Sixth, there is an overarching and for our study crucial question: Does the parable focus on the petitioner or the petitioned, i.e. is this a parable of persistent prayer or of certainty of God’s response?

The questions listed above are interrelated and thus they cannot be resolved separately. I think that a comparison between the Parable of the Friend at Midnight and the Parable of the Unjust Judge will help us to handle most of the open questions, and that is why I will now go on to that enterprise.

Let us begin with the similarities between the parables. First, in both parables the asked thing is of essential value: bread and justice respectively. Second, in both parables the petitioned man is obliged to help because of a social obligation. In the first case the obligations of friendship

---

958 See Bailey 1983a, 120. 131-132, who suggests that the very word would be a result of either hearing incorrectly in the oral level of the tradition or a kind of mistranslation from Aramaic. About the discussion see Snodgrass 1997, 506-510. Nolland 1983, 626 suggests, following Fridrichsen, that the phrase διὰ γε τὴν ἀναίδειαν αὕτη is a cryptic reference to the shamelessness of the petitioned, which would be revealed if he refused the request of help.
961 E.g. Catchpole 1983, 418-419 suggests that the parable we are dealing with comes from Q. He maintains further that v. 9 has in Q been the closing for the Parable of the Friend at Midnight, and consequently Luke 11:5-9 (without v. 8) and Q 11:10-13 (in the Matthean form) have been close parallels. Kloppenborg 1987, 203 n. 132 and Tuckett 1989, 371 oppose Catchpole’s thesis.
962 E.g. Schneider 1977, 259; Jeremias 1984, 158-159; Shürmann 1994, 210-11. See also Fitzmyer 1985, 911. Marshall 1978, 463 and Blomberg 1990, 276-277 suggest that the parable has originally two points, i.e. it focuses both on the petitioner and the petitioned. So also Hicks 1991, 211 n.10.
963 See Bovon 1996, 151.
964 About the similarities see Catchpole 1983, 411-412.
and hospitality should demand the sleeping friend to wake up, open the door and give the bread. In the second case the petitioner is a widow, whose status and right to get justice was indeed determined by the Mosaic law. Third, in both parables the petitioned man has a motive for not responding to the petition. In the first case the man is already asleep in bed with his family and the door is locked. It would be troublesome to get up to help. In the other case the judge regards himself as a man, who does not fear God nor care about men, and that is why he does not need to help the widow. Fourth, in both parables the petitioned man considers (the judge) or might consider (the friend) the actions of the petitioner as bothersome (μη μοι κόπονς πάρεσε, 11:7; διά γε τὸ παρέχειν μοι κόπον τὴν χήραν ταύτην, 18:5). Fifth, in both parables the petitioned man, despite of the restraining circumstances, responds to the petition. Sixth, both parables include the motif of shamelessness. In the first case there is the very word ἀναίδεια, which as such might refer either to the petitioner or the petitioned. In the second case both the judge, who does not fear God nor care about men, and the widow, who is almost attacking the judge (ὑπωπτιάξω, 18:7) may represent this kind of attitude. Seventh, both parables make their case with a qal wahomer -argument.

We note that the parables have several similarities. Nevertheless, the parables have some essential differences as well. First, the form of the parables is different. The Parable of the Friend at Midnight presents an irrational case in a form of a question. The opening question τίς ἡ μον ἐξει φίλοιν anticipates a definite refusal of the audience: No-one! The Parable of the Unjust Judge, for its part, is an example story, which could be possible as such. Second, the motif of shamelessness is not attested in the Parable of the Friend at Midnight in the story itself but only in the accompanying explanation in v. 8, while in the Parable of the Unjust Judge the motif is an important part of the story. Third, in the Parable of the Friend at Midnight the petitioner is knocking on the door and asking for bread only once, while the widow comes repeatedly to the judge. Thus, the Parable of the Unjust Judge includes the motif of persistence, even if it is not a prominent motif in the original form of the parable, as we will see later, but the Parable of the Friend at Midnight does not have that motif at all.

966 About the differences see Delling 1962, 2-4.
967 Derrett 1978, 79; Catchpole 1983, 413.
Let us now return to the question about the alleged inconsistency between v. 8 and the rest of the parable. As mentioned, CATCHPOLE refers to a tension in the contents of the parable, when he states that any speculation about the motives of the petitioned man is superfluous. We might add here another observation, which makes the contents of v. 8 even more problematic. Namely, if the word ἄναιδεια refers to the petitioner, then the focus of the parable shifts from the one petitioned to the petitioner and his mode of asking, although already the opening question sets the petitioned man to the center. Additionally, if ἄναιδεια refers to the petitioned, then v. 8 would rise troublesome speculations, not only of the motives of the petitioned man, but also of God’s motives.

A further study of the parable indicates that v. 8 is problematic not only because of its contents, but also because of form historical reasons. H. GREEVEN compares five parables, which are very similar regarding their form and contents. They all begin with the rhetorical question “Which of you ...” and go on to teach about God’s attitude. Nevertheless, the Parable of the Friend at Midnight differs from the others just because of v. 8. Whereas the others end with a further question (“Schlussfrage”), it has an assertion there instead of the question, which is introduced with the phrase “I say to you ...”; a phrase which, in fact, interrupts the story.

These considerations cause me to agree with CATCHPOLE, who suggests that at least v. 8bc is a Lukan addition. Furthermore, I think that we can argue that the addition is due to Lk 18:5. I will try to prove my case with the following table, which displays the striking parallelism between Lk 11:8bcd and Lk 18:4b-5:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>11:8bcd</th>
<th>18:4b-5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i) εἶ καὶ ὅσει αὐτῷ</td>
<td>i) εἶ καὶ τὸν θεόν ὅσαν ὑμῖν ἔντρεπομαι,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἄναστας διὰ τὸ</td>
<td>i) διὰ γε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εἶναι φίλον αὐτοῦ,</td>
<td>iii) τὴν ἄναιδειαν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) διὰ γε</td>
<td>iv) αὐτοῦ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii) τὴν ἄναιδειαν</td>
<td>v) ἐγερθεὶς δῶσει αὐτῷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv) αὐτοῦ</td>
<td>ὅσων χρῆξει.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v) ἐγερθεὶς δῶσει αὐτῷ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

968 Greeven 1982, 238-245.250-251. Greeven discusses following parables: Mt 7:9-11 / Lk 11:11-13; Mt 12:1-12 / Lk 14:5; Lk 17:7-10; Lk 11:5-8; Mt 18:12-13/ Lk 15:4-10.
969 Catchpole 1983, 413.
970 The word combination εἶ καὶ is attested only in Mk 14:29 in the synoptic gospels in addition to these two parables.
971 The word combination διὰ γε is attested nowhere else in the New Testament.
Because of the parallelism between 11:8d and 18:5 (v) it is indeed probable that even 11:8d is a Lukan addition, and then, of course, also v. 8a is secondary. Thus we conclude that the whole verse 11:8 is Lukan. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that the parable does not need v. 8 because the implied answer of the audience is enough to complete it.

As we will see in the following, most of the problems concerning the Parable of the Friend at Midnight listed above will be resolved, when we consider v. 8 as an addition to the original parable.

First, the parables have originally involved similarities, but some of them go back to the parable tradition in general: The *qal wahomer*-argument is very general in the parable tradition and the parables very often deal with everyday necessities. Luke, because of the similarities and the overall motif of prayer, has added v. 8 and thus made the Parable of the Friend at Midnight resemble even more closely the Parable of the Unjust Judge. In the Lukan version the friend who comes at night to ask for bread is as troublesome, even as shameless, as the widow, who bothers the judge.

Second, the inconsistency between vv. 5-7 and v. 8 is best explained by assuming that v. 8 is a later addition. As we have already seen, the parable is complete without v. 8.

Third, assuming that v. 8. is a Lukan addition due to the Parable of the Unjust Judge and observing the parallelism of 11:8 and 18:5, we suggest that the noun *ἀναίδεια* refers to the petitioner. This is so because the reason for the Judge’s response was the shameless behavior of the widow, not his own disregard of God and men.972

Fourth, the meaning of the word *ἀναίδεια* has given reason for an ongoing and eager scholarly debate. The main problem is that the word always has a negative connotation in the ancient Greek literature, which is independent of Lk 11:8.973 This negative connotation seems not to make sense in the parable. If *ἀναίδεια* is regarded as an attribute of the petitioner, the problem lies in the fact that in the oriental culture it is not at all shameless to act like the petitioner does, but quite the contrary. If a traveler arrives unexpectedly at night and the host does not have any bread to give to him, it is altogether appropriate to go and ask the neighbor for the needed

---

973 See e.g. Bailey 1983a, 125-126 and Scott 1990, 88-89; and especially a quite profound semantic study of the word in Snodgrass 1997, 506-510.
bread. Thus, the scholars, who advocate the thesis that \( \alpha\nu\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\iota \) refers to the petitioner, suggest that the noun may have a positive connotation signifying boldness or persistence. These suggestions do not, however, get any support from the Greek text material.

Those who, for their part, are of the opinion that \( \alpha\nu\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\iota \) refers to the one petitioned are faced with an even more difficult problem. Namely, it is stated in the text that the friend responded because of his \( \alpha\nu\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\iota \). The scholars are compelled to regard the sentence somewhat elliptical, and the meaning of it would be something like: The petitioned responded, because he did not want to be put to shame. In my opinion this interpretation is, nevertheless, too constrained.

These problems can be resolved quite easily by maintaining that v. 8 is a Lukan addition. Luke, with his Hellenistic urban background, may not have been altogether familiar with the Oriental peasant hospitality customs, and therefore the behavior of the friend, who came at night and woke up the sleeping neighbor, might have seemed quite shameless to him.

Fifth, the placement of the Parable of the Friend at Midnight between the Prayer and the Similitude of a Child Asking for Food is probably due to the catchword ‘bread’ and the similar form of the parable (“Which of you ...”). We do not need to assume a Q-provenance to explain the placement of the parable.

Sixth, the omission of v. 8 as a later addition makes it clear that the focus of the parable has originally been on the petitioned man and thus on the certainty that God will respond to prayers.

We will, finally, observe one feature, which is of value regarding the tradition history of the parable. Namely, the structure of the parable suggests a Semitic origin. The Semitic tripartite combination includes a question sentence, which can replace a conditional protasis in a Semitic language (v. 5a); a relative sentence, which sets out the presupposition and which belongs to the protasis (in the parable vv. 5b-6 correspond to the relative caluse); and an apodosis (v. 7). Even the awkward variation between the future (\( \epsilon\zeta\varepsilon\iota \), \( \pi\rho\varepsilon\varepsilon\sigma\varepsilon\tau\alpha \)) and the subjunctive (\( \epsilon\iota\pi\eta \) twice)

---

974 Derrett 1978, 85.
975 See e.g. the NIV, which has the translation ‘boldness’ in the main text and the alternative ‘persistence’ in a footnote.
976 E.g. Scott 1990, 91; Nolland 1993, 627.
977 Bovon 1996, 146.
978 Schneider 1977, 259.
979 Beyer 1968, 287-293; Catchpole 1983, 412. See also Nolland 1993, 623.
moods indicates that the present Greek text probably has a Semitic background.980

Interpretation. The parable begins with a question clause containing an
interrogative noun, which is found often in the synoptic parables: once in
the Matthean special material (Mt 12:11);981 four times in the Lukan special
material (Lk 11:5; 14:28; 15:4; 17:7) and twice in Q (Q 11:11 and 12:25).
The question anticipates a definitive refusal from the audience.982 After the
question the parable provides an irrational case in the form of a short story.
The beginning of the story describes every-day life in a Palestinian
village.983 A night time traveler was a general sight, because it was
customary to avoid traveling in the heat of the day.984 When a traveler came
to stay overnight, the hospitality demanded that the host offer him
something to eat. If there was no bread in the house, the only possibility
would be to go and ask the neighbor for help. The neighbor in the parable
lived in an ordinary peasant house with only one room, in which the whole
family was sleeping. The door was locked, and to open it would cause such
a noise, that the children would probably wake up.985 Up till this point the
parable describes a possible case, but v. 7 contains the irrational. Although
it would be troublesome to wake up, open the door and give some bread to
the petitioner, a neighbor would in no case answer like in v. 7. The
brusqueness of the potential answer is not only in the fact that the man
refuses to help. Even the way, in which the man addresses the petitioner, is
indecent.986 The petitioner addresses the neighbor with φίλε, but the
petitioned answers rudely μη μοι κόπονς πάρεξε. The potential
answer of the petitioned would cause the audience of the parable to answer

---

980 The passage includes some words, which are typical for Luke. The word ἔπειδη
occurs ten times in the New Testament. Five of them are attested in Luke/Acts and five
in the Pauline letters. The word φίλος – as such quite a general word – is attested 18
times in Luke/Acts and 11 times in the rest of the New Testament writings. The word
παραγγέλματι is to be found 28 times in Luke/Acts and nine times in the New
Testament outside of the Lukan works. In my mind these Lukan features suggest that
Luke has probably modified the tradition – as we already have noted regarding the
addition of v. 8 – but they do not tell us anything about its origin.
981 This saying may derive from Q and thus be a variant of Lk 14:5.
982 Bailey 1983a, 120-121; Waetjen 2001, 705. The same question structure is attested
also in Jn 8:46, but there it has another sense.
983 See e.g. Jeremias 1984, 157; Fitzmyer 1985, 911.
984 See, nevertheless, Bailey 1983, 121, who suggests that in the desert areas it is
customary to travel by night, but not in Palestine.
985 Nolland 1993, 624. See, nevertheless, Bailey 1983, 124, who suggests that the answer
of the petitioned should be understood as altogether ridiculous.
986 Nolland 1993, 624.
to the opening question: “No-one! We certainly do not have those kind of friends!”

Although the parable does not explicitly deal with prayer apart from the Lukian context,\(^{987}\) it is still quite obvious that prayer, and especially God’s response to it, has already originally been its focus. How else could we understand it? Furthermore, it is very possible that the tradition has originally included an interpretative word about God alongside with the parable, like the following Q-parable (Lk 11:13), which has completed the gal wahomer -argument.\(^{988}\) In that case Luke would have omitted that word probably because it was unnecessary in the context.

The most important observation for our study is that, as already noted, the original version of the parable focuses on the certainty of God’s response to petitions.\(^{989}\) Further, it is neither the attributes of the petitioner nor the style of prayer but merely the mind-set of the one petitioned, i.e. God, which is decisive. Thus the point of the parable is quite the same as in the Similitude of a Child Asking for Food in Q 11:9-13.

**Authenticity.**\(^{990}\) The Semitic background of the text and the Palestinian peasant cultural setting of the story both suggest a Palestinian origin of the parable. Thus, we can note Palestinian local color in the parable, which, it is true, is not a proper argument but merely a precondition for authenticity. Nevertheless, we are able to argue for the authenticity of the parable with the criteria of multiple attestation and of coherence.

First, the parable itself is attested only once, namely in Lk 11:5-8, but the rhetorical form of the parable, for its part, is widely attested. We have already noted that parables beginning with the rhetorical question “Which of you ...” are attested, in addition to the passage we are now dealing with, once in Luke’s special material and – what is more important – three times in Q,\(^{991}\) but nowhere else in the New Testament. This fact suggests authenticity for this rhetorical form and indirectly even for the parable in question.\(^{992}\)

Second, the main emphasis of the passage, i.e. the certainty of God’s answer to petitions, is coherent with Jesus’ teaching elsewhere. In this connection we may recall especially the Similitude of a Child Asking for

---

\(^{987}\) See Catchpole 1983, 413.

\(^{988}\) See Fitzmyer 1985, 910.

\(^{989}\) Schneider 1977, 260.

\(^{990}\) The authenticity is suggested by e.g. Nolland 1993, 623.

\(^{991}\) See p. 211, especially n. 968.

\(^{992}\) Jeremias 1984, 102 states, referring to Greeven 1982 (originally published in 1952), 255, about the words τις έξ ήμων: “Wir stehen hier also ‘in unmittelbarer Nähe der ipsissima verba Domini’”.

215
3. Analysis

Food in Q 11:9-13. Further, also the Parable of the Unjust Judge, which we will deal with next, focuses on teaching the same thing.

Finally, while there are no arguments against authenticity, we may conclude that the Parable of the Friend at Midnight in its pre-Lukan form, i.e. without v. 8, is most probably authentic.

3.4.2. Lk 18:1-14

Lk 18:1-14 is a Lukan composition, which includes two originally separate parables: the Parable of the Unjust Judge in vv. 1-8 and the Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector in vv. 9-14. That the parables do not originally belong together is evident, because they have altogether different audiences in the Lukan context. According to the Lukan introduction to the Parable of the Unjust Judge in v. 1, the parable is told to the disciples. The Lukan introduction to the Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector, in v. 9, for its part, directs that parable to some who were confident of their own righteousness. Thus these two parables are to be interpreted separately.

The Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector is not, in fact, mainly about prayer,993 but because it still includes some features, which deal with prayer, it is legitimate and indeed necessary to take it under investigation.

3.4.2.1. The Parable of the Unjust Judge (Lk 18:1-8)

1 Ἐλέγεν δὲ παραβόλην αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ δεῖν πάντοτε προσεύχεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ ἐγκακεῖν. 2 λέγων, Κριτῆς τις ἦν ἐν τινὶ πόλει τὸν θεόν μὴ φοβοῦμενός καὶ ἄνθρωπον μὴ ἐντρεπόμενος. 3 χήρα δὲ ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔκεινη καὶ ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγουσα, Ἐκδίκησόν με ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου μου. 4 καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐπὶ χρόνον. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἔπευ ἐν ἑαυτῷ. Εἰ καὶ τὸν θεόν οὐ φοβοῦμαι οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπον ἐντρέπομαι, 5 διὰ γε τὸ παρέχειν μοι κόπον τὴν χήραν ταύτην ἐκδίκησον αὐτὴν, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τέλος ἐρχομένη ὑπωπιάζῃ με. 6 Ἐπευ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κύριος. Ἀκούσατε τί ὁ κριτὴς τῆς ἁδικίας λέγει. 7 ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν

Redaction and traditions. The pericope falls into five parts:

I. The introductory v. 1 (+ the following participle λέγων)
II. The parable proper in vv. 2-5.
III. An intermediary exhortative clause in v. 6.
IV. A theological interpretation of the parable in vv. 7-8a.
V. A Son of Man-saying in v. 8b.

We will first discuss the question of the unity of the pericope, i.e. whether parts I, III, IV and V belong to the original form of the parable. Then we will discuss the probable Lukan characteristics in the parable.

The introductory v. 1 is generally deemed as redactional and thus it does not belong to the original parable. This observation is important, because in the Lukan context v. 1 gives a definite interpretation for the parable. According to Luke, the parable teaches persistent prayer. We must not, however, let Luke lead our interpretation of the possible pre-Lukan version of the parable.

There are different opinions about the unity of vv. 2-8. Several scholars consider vv. 6-8, or a part of them, as a later addition. Nevertheless, many have also suggested the unity of vv. 2-8.

---

994 About the discussion see e.g. Delling 1962, 1; Catchpole 1977, 81-82; Marshall 1978, 670; Hicks 1991, 209-213.
996 Manson 1949, 305.
997 Otherwise Bailey 1983b, 129, who suggests that it is precisely the redactional introduction that gives a key for the understanding of the original parable.
998 Bultmann 1931, 189 suggests that vv. 6-8a are secondary and v. 8b an even later addition. Schneider 1977, 360-361 argues that at least v. 8b and probably also vv. 7b-8a are secondary. Linnemann 1978, 130 considers v. 8b as a later addition. Weder 1978, 269 regards vv. 7b-8 as secondary. Fitzmyer 1985, 1177 considers vv. 7-8a as a pre-Lukan tradition, which might be even an authentic saying of Jesus, but which nevertheless has not originally belonged to the parable. Scott 1990, 176-177 suggests, following Jülicher, that vv. 6-8a originate from the church under persecution. Both Fitzmyer and Scott consider v. 8b as Lukan redaction. Nolland 1993, 869-870 suggests that v. 6 may be redactional and v. 8b may very well be authentic but it has not originally belonged to this context. Bovon 2001, 188-189 recognizes different layers in
The question about the unity of vv. 2-8 is not easy to answer. Further, the question of the unity of the passage is usually combined with the discussion of the authenticity of the parable. The arguments for a secondary nature of vv. 6-8a are following: First, the interpretative sayings attached to the parables are usually secondary. Nevertheless, this parable remains quite obscure without an explanation. Second, the explanatory verses are strongly separated from the parable proper by the clause ἐὰν δὲ ὁ κύριος in v. 6. It can be stated against this argument that the clause mentioned above may very well be a redactional means to underline the following phrase. Third, an explanatory clause is lacking from the parallel parable in Lk 11:5-8. This argument presupposes a near parallelism between the Parable of the Friend at Midnight and the Parable of the Unjust Judge. Nevertheless, as we already have remarked, these two parables have not originally been parallels. Fourth, the word ἐκλέκτοι is not found in the authentic sayings of Jesus, but is generally used in Christianity. This is certainly correct, but I will later argue that the word is here probably due to the biblical background, which can be traced back in v. 7. Thus it is not at all impossible that Jesus would have used the word here, even though he does not use it generally in a more technical meaning.

We note that the arguments against the unity of vv. 2-8a are not convincing. Further, we note also that vv. 2-5 and 6-8a are closely connected to each other both terminologically (ἐκδίκησις in vv. 3 and 5; ἐκδίκησις in vv. 7 and 8) and structurally (qal wahomer -argument). Thus, it is, I think, probable that vv. 2-8a – without the editorial interlude in v. 6a – make an original, inseparable unity.

Verse 8b creates a further problem. Scholars have noted a tension between vv. 6-8a and v. 8b in the alteration of the identity of the judge: first God,
then the Son of Man.\textsuperscript{1006} Verse 8b also introduces altogether new ideas, which are not attested in vv. 2-8a,\textsuperscript{1007} but are found in chapter 17. Further, the description of the chosen ones as those who cry out to God day and night, and the skeptical question about finding faith seem to contradict each other.\textsuperscript{1008} Finally, the sentence seems to presuppose a delayed parousia,\textsuperscript{1009} which means that it would be quite late and in any case inauthentic.

There have, nevertheless, been some attempts to argue for the originality of v. 8b. It has, for example, been stated, that God’s vindication comes through the Son of Man, and thus there is no discrepancy between the two judges.\textsuperscript{1010} It has been argued further that an Aramaic background of the sentence suggests a pre-Lukan and a Palestinian origin,\textsuperscript{1011} which, nevertheless, does not prove that the sentence would be authentic or even an original part of the parable.\textsuperscript{1012}

I think is is more likely that v. 8b is a later addition to the parable, but we can leave the question open, because it does not have any effect on the teaching on prayer in the parable.

E. D. Freed has demonstrated that the vocabulary of the parable is wholly Lukan.\textsuperscript{1013} Nevertheless, this does not necessary mean that the parable as such would be Lukan. It is well known that Luke often treats his sources quite freely, especially when the Greek of the source is bad. Thus it is no wonder that after Luke’s editorial contributions the text is Lukan both concerning the vocabulary and grammar. Luke did not even hesitate to add his theological emphasis to his sources. Thus it is important to try to remove the Lukan stress from the parable, in order to gain the possible original form of it. Here we are in the fortunate situation that Luke himself clearly reveals his point (v. 1). In the parable proper the persistence of the

\textsuperscript{1006} Linnemann 1978, 187 n.17.
\textsuperscript{1007} Nolland 1993, 870. See also Bovon 2001, 188.
\textsuperscript{1008} Linnemann 1978, 187 n.17.
\textsuperscript{1009} Fitzmyer 1985, 1177; Bovon 2001, 188.
\textsuperscript{1011} Jeremias 1984, 155.
\textsuperscript{1012} See Linnemann 1978, 187-188 n.17.
\textsuperscript{1013} Freed 1987, 38-60. Freed tries to show that also the literary style of the parable is Lukan, but he does not succeed in that attempt. For example, Freed states that Luke tends to report things in threes, and the Parable of the Unjust Judge would be the second of three parables dealing with prayer (11:5-8; 18:1-8; 18:9-14); Freed 1987, 40. Here Freed is wrong, because he forgets the parable in 11:9-13. Further, Freed suggests that the widow as a character in the story would come from Luke; Freed 1987, 44-45. But, as we shall see, this thesis is not convincing, because the theme of a widow originates from Ben Sira.
widow is expressed mainly by the tense of the verb. The imperfect tense of the verb (ἡρῴετο) indicates repeated or continuous activity and thus suggests persistence. Nonetheless, while the present Greek text is Lukan, Luke is also responsible for the tense and so also for the aspect of the verb. It is probable that Luke has wanted to make his point clearer by using the imperfect tense. Accordingly, it is very uncertain, whether the assumed original form of the parable has emphasized the aspect of continuity in the widow’s activity as strongly as the Lukan version does.

As a summary of the discussion above we may conclude that vv. 2-8a, without v. 6a, probably come from tradition, but Luke’s redactional contributions cover the whole passage, so that at least the strong emphasis on continuity in the action of the widow, indicated by the imperfect tense, is Lukan.

Interpretation. The main question for our study is, as with in the Parable of the Friend at Midnight: Who is the main character of the story, the Judge or the Widow? We can accordingly ask: Does the emphasis of the parable lie on the mode of prayer or on the certainty of response, or does the parable maybe include a double focus? As we have already stated, we will not let Luke’s interpretation influence ours.

It is important to note, how central a position the judge has in the story and especially in the accompanying exposition. The parable proper begins with the word κριτής, and thus the judge is presented before the widow. Further, the turning point of the story is the judge’s inner monologue in v. 4. Finally, in vv. 6-8a, the focus is explicitly on the judge respectively

---

1015 Different stands to this question can even be seen in the divergence in the labeling of the Parable: ‘a Parable of an Unjust Judge’ respectively ‘a Parable of a Persistent Widow’.
1016 Schneider 1977, 361; Jeremias 1984, 156. Jeremias states that in the Lukan version the widow is the main character, but in the original Parable of Jesus the judge was in focus. Nolland 1993, 866.
1017 Freed 1987, 51; Scott 1990, 187.
1018 Marshall 1978, 669-670; Weder 1978, 270-271; Fitzmyer 1985, 1176-1177; Blomberg 1990, 271; Hicks 1991, 221-223; Green 1997, 637. See also Reid’s feminist interpretation of the parable; Reid 2002, 291-294. She suggests that the widow represents a God-like widow, who is in search of justice. Thus, the parable in its original, Jesuanic, form would not concern prayer at all. I find Reid’s thesis, nevertheless, quite unconvincing.
3. Analysis

God. Thus, the widow seems to play only a minor role in the parable, and the main focus is on the judge and thus on the response to the request. This is an important observation regarding our search for the grounds for God’s answering prayers. Nevertheless, the widow’s importunate activity is indeed an important element in the intrigue of the story, because it explains why the unwilling judge finally helped her.

Several scholars correctly recognize Sir 35:12-20 as a background for the parable. There are many similarities between these two passages. First, both regard God as a judge (‘God of justice’ in Hebrew in Sir 35:12). Second, both passages mention a widow as a plaintiff. In Ben Sira the widow is mentioned amongst other persones miserabiles, it is true, but she has, nevertheless, a prominent position within the passage. Third, both deal with prayer. Fourth, in both the widow’s plea will be answered. Fifth, both include the motif of persistence. Sixth, in both the word μακροθυμέω appears as an activity of God.

Ben Sira is not the only possible intertextual background for the parable. Namely, v. 7 includes expressions and ideas, which probably come from the Hebrew Bible, more exactly from Ps 22. The following table clarifies the points of contact between Lk 18:7 and Ps 22:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lk 18:7</th>
<th>Ps 22:1,3,24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i) And will not God bring about justice</td>
<td>For he has not despised or disdained the suffering of the afflicted one; he has not hidden his face from him but has listened to his cry for help.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1019 Schneider 1975, 72; Jeremias 1984, 156.
1020 Manson 1949, 305.
1022 In addition to the similarities, which shall be enumerated below, Dumoulin 1999, 172-173 recognizes following: 1. Both passages begin with a short introduction, which declares the aim of the passage (Lk 18:1; Sir 35:11-12). 2. Both passages have an apocalyptic closing: the coming of the Son of Man in Lk 18:8 and the judgment of the nations in Sir 35:18-23. Nevertheless, Lk 18:1 is hardly influenced by Sir 35:12, because: 1. Formally these two sentences differ a lot; 2. Luke uses a similar introduction also to the following Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Lk 18:9), and it is certainly not influenced by Sir.
1023 Dumoulin 1999, 173. Nevertheless, as we have seen, persistence is not emphasized in the pre-Lukan version of the parable.
1025 See also Ps 88.
3. Analysis

i) Ps 22 is an excellent example of how God responds to prayers. The psalm is strongly bipartite. In the first part (vv. 2-22) the psalmist is in deep anguish and cries to the Lord without getting any answer. Then, suddenly, in v. 23 the psalm changes into thanksgiving, because at last God did answer. This construction of Ps 22 corresponds well with the teaching on prayer in Lk 18:7.

ii) David was one of the chosen ones of God in early Jewish tradition. Thus Ps 22, which both in the Hebrew Bible and in the LXX is attributed to David, is a plea of God’s chosen one.

iii) Both in Lk 18:7 and Ps 22:3 the praying person(s) cry out to God. LXX uses another word than Luke, but the word βοῶσι is an apt translation of the Hebrew נְלִי.

iv) It is worth noting, that of the five occurrences of the expression ‘day and night’ in Lk/Acts, Luke has νυκτα καὶ ἡμέραν three times, i.e. ‘night’ is mentioned before ‘day’, and twice ἡμέρας (τε) καὶ νυκτός. Luke, thus, seems to prefer the former phrase over the latter one, which would, then, originate from tradition, presumably originally from Ps 22, in Luke 18:7.

It is apparent that the motif of persistence is attested both in Ben Sira and in Ps 22. Thus it is probable that the very motif in the activity of the widow in the parable originates from these passages. Nevertheless, in both passages the main point is on God’s response, which confirms our observation that even the parable focuses on the activity of the judge respectively God, not on the persistence of the widow. Thus, we see again that the attributes of God are of ultimate importance as grounds for God’s answering, not the attributes of the petitioner.

Again, as in the previous passage and in Q 11:9-13, we observe that the petition, which surely is answered by God, concerns a necessity of life, this time justice. The plea for justice is a general topic throughout the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish literature, as is the question, why God

---

1026 See e.g. 1Sam 16:1-13; 2Chr 6:6; Ps 89:4.
1027 Lk 2:37; Acts 20:31; 26:7.
1030 Weaver 2002, 318.
does not seem to bring justice for the pious. The Parable of the Unjust Judge is an answer to this question. Further, the plea for justice and God’s response to it obviously reflect the social context of Jesus’ audience.¹⁰³¹

Authenticity.¹⁰³² We have already noted that, on the one hand, the main arguments against the authenticity, i.e. the word ἔκλεκτοι and the presupposition of delayed parousia, are not convincing. The last-mentioned argument suggests merely that v. 8b is inauthentic, but the argument cannot be applied to the whole parable. Neither does the obvious Lukan vocabulary necessarily prove inauthenticity, as we also have seen above, but it may witness Luke’s redactional contributions to the tradition. On the other hand, the teaching of the parable is very well coherent with Jesus’ teaching elsewhere, especially in the Parable of the Friend at Midnight in Lk 11:5-8 and in the Similitude of a Child Asking for Food in Q 11:9-13. It is further to be noted, that the parable has a close affinity to Ben Sira, a phenomenon that we have already noted in connection with several other passages, which we have estimated as authentic (Q 6:35; Mk 11:25; Mt 6:7). Even in this point the Parable of the Unjust Judge is to be considered coherent with already authenticated Jesus-tradition.

We see, thus, that the arguments against the authenticity of the parable are not convincing, but we do not have any strong arguments for its authenticity either. The criterion of coherence alone does not suffice to suggest probable authenticity, and accordingly we must remain uncertain in this case.

3.4.2.2. The Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Lk 18:9-14)

9 ἐπειν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τινὰς τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῖς ὅτι εἰσίν δίκαιοι καὶ ξουθενοῦντας τοὺς λοιποὺς τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην. 10 Ἀνθρώποι δύο ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν προσευχὴν, ὅ εἰς Φαρισαίος καὶ ὁ ἐτέρος τελῶνης. 11 ὁ Φαρισαίος σταθεὶς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ταύτα προσηγμένως ὁ θεός, εὐχαριστῶ σοι ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀσπέρ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἄρπαγες, ἀδικοὶ, μοιχοὶ, ἢ καὶ ὡς οὕτος ὁ τελῶνης. 12 νηστέω δὲς τοῦ σαββάτου, ἀποδεκατῶ πάντα ὡσα κτώμαι. 13 ὁ δὲ τελῶνης μακρόθεν

¹⁰³¹ Manson 1949, 305.
Redaction and traditions. Verse 9 is a Lukan introduction to the parable. 1033
With this sentence Luke defines the setting and the core message of the parable. The Pharisee is already beforehand represented as a negative figure, 1034 as one who is confident of his own righteousness and looks down on everybody else. This estimation of Luke does not, however, necessarily correspond with the original idea of the parable, as we will see.

The parable proper is constituted of a short story of a Pharisee and a tax collector who come to the Temple in order to pray (vv. 10-13), and an attached two-fold interpretation in v. 14. The first part of the interpretation (v. 14a) refers to the story and evaluates the righteousness of the two men, while the other part (v. 14b) is a generalization of the lesson. Verse 14a is an inseparable part of the passage. Without it the whole parable would be meaningless. 1035 Regarding v. 14b it is important to note that it has a verbatim parallel in Lk 14:11, and an almost verbatim parallel in Mt 23:12. Thus, it is likely that v. 14b is an independent, floating logion, 1036 which Luke has added as an extra interpretation to the parable. 1037 Verses 10-14a, for their part, come from tradition, 1038 although Luke may have altered the text slightly. 1039

---

1034 Scott 1990, 93; Farris 1997, 23 n.1; Kilgallen 1998, 74.
1036 Manson 1947, 312; Jeremias 1984, 106.
1039 Fitzmyer 1985, 1183; Nolland 1993, 875.
Interpretation. The main problem with the interpretation of the parable is, why does Jesus estimate the Pharisee as non-righteous, or less righteous, and the tax collector as righteous. In the Lukan context, because of the redactional introduction, the problem is not very difficult, but when we try to understand the parable within its original setting, maybe as a saying of Jesus, the problem becomes obvious.

There have been attempts to solve the problem by suggesting that the character of the Pharisee, or even both the Pharisee and the tax collector are to be considered as caricatures. In the first case the tax collector would be a positive example, and in the latter case both characters would serve as negative examples. Nonetheless, there are no reasons to neglect the truthfulness of the characters. To prove this we will now consider the actions and the prayers of the characters and try to do this from the perspective of contemporary Jews, i.e. the original audience of the parable.

Let us first deal with the Pharisee. This man comes to the Temple in order to pray. Because the Pharisee and the tax collector come at the same time, it is probable that we should regard the hour of prayer or maybe the daily offering as a background for the story. The Pharisee stands while praying, which is not an ostentatious, but a customary posture of prayer. His standing is further defined with expression πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, which probably renders an Aramaic reflexive, and emphasizes the action.
Formally the prayer of the Pharisee is a general Jewish thanksgiving.\textsuperscript{1052} The simple address ‘God’ is frequently attested in early Jewish prayers.\textsuperscript{1053} The opening phrase ἐυχαριστῶ σοὶ ὁτι renders the Hebrew formula אֶלֹהָי יְשַׁעְיָךְ, which occurs repeatedly especially in the \textit{Hodayot}.\textsuperscript{1054} Thus, there is nothing extraordinary in the outward behavior of the Pharisee or in the form of his prayer.

Both in the Hebrew Bible and especially in early Jewish and early Rabbinic texts there are prayers, which include similar motifs as the prayer of the Pharisee. The tithing liturgy in Deut 26:8-14\textsuperscript{1055} and some late Rabbinic texts\textsuperscript{1056} could be mentioned in this connection, but especially some hymns in the \textit{Hodayot} and a prayer \textit{halakah} in tBer 6:18. We will first bring out three examples from the \textit{Hodayot}. First, 1QH\textsuperscript{5} xv:34-35\textsuperscript{1057} runs as follows:

[I give you thanks,] Lord, because you did not /make/ my lot /fall/ in the congregation of falsehood, nor have you placed my regulation in the counsel of hypocrites, [but you have led me] to your favour and your forgiveness.

We note that – provided that the suggested conjecture is correct – the hymn begins with the same kind of thanksgiving as the prayer of the Pharisee, and the reason for it is quite the same in both prayers: that the praying man is not among the wicked ones.

The second example is from 1QH\textsuperscript{5} vi:17-20. The text runs:

which, for its part, defines the standing of the tax collector. Of translations for example the NLT, NRSV and YLT prefer this alternative. So also e.g. Marshall 1978, 679; Jeremias 1984, 139; Scott 1990, 94-95; Farris 1997, 29; Holmén 2001a, 119. Bovon 2001, 209 suggest that we need not choose between the alternatives but the expression would define both the standing and praying at the same time.

\textsuperscript{1050} Jeremias 1984, 139.

\textsuperscript{1051} Jeremias 1984, 139. Jeremias paraphrases the sentence: “er stellte sich sichtbar hin und sprach folgendes Gebet.”

\textsuperscript{1052} Scott 1990, 95.

\textsuperscript{1053} See ch. 2.3.3.

\textsuperscript{1054} See p. 77. Cf. also Jn 11:41. Fitzmyer 1985, 1186.

\textsuperscript{1055} Especially Josephus’ paraphrase of the text in JosAnt 4:242-243 has striking similarities with the action of the Pharisee, see Holmén 2001a, 122.

\textsuperscript{1056} bBer 28b: “I thank you, Lord my God, that you have set my portion among those who sit in the school house and have not set my portion among those who sit idly on street corners. For I get up in the morning and they get up in the morning. I get up to the words of Torah, and they get up to nonsense. I work and they work. I work and receive a reward, and they work and do not receive a reward. I run and they run. I run to the life of the world to come, and they run to the pit of destruction.”; see also the parallel in yBer 2:7d. Linnemann 1978, 65; Jeremias 1984, 141-142; Scott 1990, 95; Farris 1997, 26; Bovon 2001, 209.

\textsuperscript{1057} See Holmén 2001a, 120.
3. Analysis

But I, I have known, thanks to the wealth of your goodness, and with an oath I have enjoined my soul not to sin against you and not to do anything which is evil in your eyes.

... I do not lift my face to evil, or consider a wicked gift. I do not exchange your truth for wealth, or for a gift all your judgments.

Here we note the emphasized ‘I’, which we meet in the prayer of the Pharisee as well. In this example the point is, what the praying person will not do, as in the first part of the prayer of the Pharisee. Let us look at yet a third example, in which the emphasis is on the goodness of the praying person’s actions. 1 QH² vii:14-15 runs:

I love you lavishly, with (my) whole heart and with all (my) soul. I purify [...] [...]not to turn aside from all that you have commanded.

Further, the saying of a Ushan rabbi Judah runs:

A man must recite three benedictions every day: (1) “Praised [be Thou, O Lord [...] who did not make me a gentile”; (2) “Praised [be thou, O Lord...] who did not make me a boor”; (3) “Praised [be Thou, O Lord...] who did not make me a woman (tBer 6:18).

These examples make it probable that the original audience of the parable hardly considered the character of the Pharisee as a ridiculous caricature,¹⁰⁵⁸ but to the contrary. The praying Pharisee was an excellent example of a pious man.¹⁰⁵⁹

The tax collector, for his part, stands at a distance, does not even want to look up to heaven and beats his breast. The beating of one’s breast is not generally attested as something which accompanies prayer, but in other contexts it is a gesture that expresses sorrow. Here it probably denotes deep penitence.¹⁰⁶⁰

The activity of the tax collector has a striking parallel in the pseudepigraphic Prayer of Manasseh.¹⁰⁶¹ We compare some details:

¹⁰⁶¹ Also Downing 1992, 87 mentions this prayer in addition to some Biblical psalms, when enumerating parallels to the prayer of the tax collector. Likewise Goulder 1989, 670 and Tan 2000, 293 note the close relationship to PrMan. The words of the tax collector may also echo the opening words of Ps 51, which fact is noted by several
3. Analysis

PrMan
9a Because my sins exceeded the number of the sand(s) of the sea, and on account of the multitude of my iniquities, I have no strength to lift up my eyes
10 ... for I do not deserve to lift up my eyes and look to see the height of heaven, because of the gross iniquity of my wicked deeds ...

12 I have sinned. O Lord, I have sinned; and I certainly know my sins.
13 I beseech you; forgive me, O Lord, forgive me!

Luke 18
13. But the tax collector stood at a distance. He would not even look up to heaven, but beat his breast said, ‘God, have mercy on me a sinner.’

Manasseh serves in the Hebrew Bible almost like an archetype of a wicked man, and even in the Prayer of Manasseh his sinfulness is underlined. Verse 8 runs:

You did not appoint grace for the righteous, ... but for me, I who am a sinner.

Nevertheless, the biblical account reports about Manasseh’s repentance and about God’s pardon and the pseudepigraphic PrMan supplements the biblical account, which does not reproduce the text of the prayer of the repentant king. If the behavior and the prayer of the tax collector are consciously described with help of the Prayer of Manasseh, as I think possible, then it is probable that the tax collector is likewise an archetype of a repentant sinner in the parable. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the character would therefore be an unreal caricature.

It seems likely that both figures of the parable serve as archetypes, one is pious and the other a sinner, and thus the astonishing point of the parable, in the minds of the audience, is in v. 14a. That sentence turns

scholars, e.g. Fitzmyer 1985, 1188; Nolland 1993, 879 and Tan 2000, 293. See also von Stemm 1997, 584-588.

1062 Consider 2Kgs 21, and especially Jer 15:4, where Jeremiah proclaims destruction for Judah because of Manasseh’s bad deeds. See also mSanh 10:2, where Manasseh is regarded as one of the three kings, who do not have any portion in the world to come.

1063 The Qumranic texts also include a fragment of a penitential prayer of Manasseh, which is not a copy of the pseudepigraphic prayer.

1064 Schnider 1980, 49.

1065 Manson 1949, 310; Holmén 2001a, 124.

1066 Jeremias 1984, 143; Blomberg 1990, 256.
the acquired order of precedence upside down.\footnote{1067} Thus the lesson of the parable is coherent with several other synoptic sayings of Jesus: in the Kingdom of God “many who are first will be last, and the last will be first” (Mk 10:31; Mt 19:30), and “the tax collectors and prostitutes are going into the Kingdom” ahead of the chief priest and elders (Mt 21:31) etc.\footnote{1068} Thus we note that the parable is not to be read primarily as a teaching on right prayer but it belongs to those sayings, which give reasons for Jesus’ dealings with sinners.\footnote{1069}

Let us yet consider, what does this parable say about prayer. First, we note that Jesus considers the general external conditions of contemporary Jewish prayer as self-evident. The men probably come to the Temple, the customary place for prayer, on the hour of prayer or the daily sacrifice, and they both stand as they pray.\footnote{1070} Second, even the form of the prayers corresponds with contemporary Jewish practice. The prayer of the Pharisee is a general thanksgiving and the prayer of the tax collector, although very short, includes the main motifs of penitential prayer.

Third, as we already have pointed out, this parable is not mainly a teaching on prayer. Accordingly, we will not understand the prayer of the tax collector as an exemplary prayer, and correspondingly the prayer of the Pharisee as a negative example.\footnote{1071} Rather, both prayers are as such altogether correct prayers, a thanksgiving and a penitential prayer respectively. What is important here is that the prayers are used to reveal the praying men’s innermost relationship to God.\footnote{1072} This indicates, how big an importance Jesus laid on prayer as a means of worshipping God.

Fourth, the prayer of a sinner is accepted in this parable. We have noted in chapter 2.5.2. that, in early Jewish thinking from the Hebrew Bible to early Rabbinic literature, the main principle is that the prayer of a righteous one will be heard, but the sinner’s petitions are in vain. However, even the sinner’s prayer is heard and answered by God, if he repents. Thus Jesus’ teaching in the parable is well in line with early Jewish thinking, but raises, nevertheless, one question. Would Jesus’ audience have accepted the tax collector’s behavior as sufficient repentance? To discuss this question is, however, beyond the limits of our study.

\footnote{1068} See Fitzmyer 1985, 1184.  
\footnote{1069} Schneider 1977, 363. See also Holmén 2001a, 126.  
\footnote{1070} See ch. 2.2.2. and 2.2.3., and about the daily sacrifice the excursus on pp. 58-60.  
\footnote{1071} Scott 1990, 97.  
3. Analysis

**Authenticity.**\(^{1073}\) Two more severe claims have been presented against the authenticity of the parable. Let us make some comments about these. I will begin with the arguments of M. GOULDER and thereafter discuss the argument presented by L. SCHOTTROFF.

GOULDER suggests that the whole parable is of Lukan origin, and accordingly, of course, inauthentic.\(^ {1074}\) He refers to several, according to him, peculiarly Lukan characteristics, in the parable. Nevertheless, those matters that GOULDER considers specifically Lukan, are attested in the synoptic tradition even outside the Gospel of Luke and are, thus, not to be considered as convincing evidence for the Lukan origin. Let us discuss the arguments in detail.

First, GOULDER suggests that the hortatory character of the parable would be a Lukan feature. We can remark against this argument that, for example, the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Builders in Q 6:46-49 is likewise hortatory. Besides, it is questionable whether the Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector is to be considered hortatory at all. We have suggested in the analysis that its focus is rather on the reversed order of precedence.

Second, GOULDER refers to the motif of penitence. Again we may note that the motif of penitence is well attested even in the Gospel of Mark (e.g. Mark 1:15) and in Q (e.g. Q 10:13),\(^ {1075}\) and in addition the parable is not, at least primarily, a lesson on correct penitence.

Third, the critical stand towards the figure of a proud Pharisee contrasted with the penitent tax collector is, according to GOULDER, characteristically a Lukan creation. Nevertheless, a similar contrast is very clearly attested also, for example, in Mk 2:16-17 and Mt 21:31-32. Further, in Mk 8:15 Jesus presents the Pharisees as a warning example. The negative attitude towards the pride of the Pharisee is, thus, not an evidence of Lukan origin of the Parable.

Fourth, the motif of prayer, as a Lukan favourite, would be a further argument for a Lukan origin. It is true that prayer has a much more prominent position in the Gospel of Luke than in the other synoptic

---


\(^{1074}\) Gouldér 1989, 667-669.

\(^{1075}\) The verb \(\textit{\text{μετανοεῖ}}\) occurs twice in Q, twice in Mk, twice in Matthew’s and seven times in Luke’s special material. The noun \(\textit{\text{μετάνοια}}\), for its part, is attested once in Q, once in Mk, once in Matthew’s and three times in Luke’s special material. Thus, Luke evidently stresses the motif of repentance more than the Q-source, Mark and Matthew, but it cannot be regarded as a merely Lukan motif.
3. Analysis

gospels. Nevertheless, as we proposed in the analysis, the Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector is not to be considered a teaching on a correct way to pray, but prayer has only a subsidiary significance in the parable. In addition, although Luke does deal a lot with the topic of prayer, it is not at all unknown for the other synoptics either, as we have seen in our study.

Fifth, GOLDER points out that the characters of the story soliloquize, which is characteristic for the characters in the Lukan parables in general (the Rich Fool in Lk 12:17-19; the Prodigal Son in Lk 15:17-19; the Unjust Judge in Lk 18:4-5). It is true that in the parables, which are attested in the Lukan special material, the soliloquy plays a significant role, but we can again note, that this is not an exclusively Lukan matter. Namely, even in the Parable of the Tenants, in Mk 12:6, the Man says, probably to himself: “They will respect my son.”

Finally, in addition to the general mode of the Parable, GOULDER refers to some details in the account, which according to him are Lukan. Nevertheless, the Temple as a place of prayer is too general a theme to be considered a Lukan specialty, although in Acts 3:1 Luke describes Peter’s and John’s visit to the Temple at the hour of prayer. Further, some vocabulary Lukanisms can very well be due to Luke’s redactional contributions to the tradition.

As a summary we may conclude that GOULDER’S argumentation does not convince us to think that the Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector would be a Lukan creation and thus inauthentic. The alleged Lukan motifs are rather multiply attested, synoptic motifs, and thus they rather suggest authenticity.

Now the argument of L. SCHOTTROFF. SCHOTTROFF’S suggestion that the character of the Pharisee should be understood as a caricature leads her to a conclusion that the parable hardly originates from within Judaism, and accordingly it could not be Jesuanic. We have, nevertheless, pointed out that the thesis about a caricature Pharisee does not hold good, and accordingly SCHOTTROFF’S argumentation falls short.

After the discussion of the arguments against authenticity of the parable it is proper to ask, whether there are any arguments for authenticity.

We have already noted the coherence between this parable and Jesus’ sayings about a reversed order of precedence in the Kingdom of God. We may add here several “parables of reversal” as parallels, i.e. the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30-37); the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-

---

3. Analysis

31); the Wedding Guests (Luke 14:7-11); the Proper Guests (Luke 14:12-14); the Great Supper (Q 14:16-24) and the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32).\textsuperscript{1078} True, most of these parables are attested only in the Gospel of Luke, but – as HOLMÉN notes – they are too numerous to be all Lukan inventions, and, moreover, one of them derives from Q.\textsuperscript{1079} Further, we may pay attention to how well the parable fits into Jesus’ attitude on the one hand toward sinners – often especially tax collectors – and on the other hand toward the Pharisees, the attitude attested in several synoptic passages. We discussed this already in connection with GOULDER’S argument. This coherence to Jesus’ teaching and attitude elsewhere suggests authenticity.

While the arguments against the authenticity, on the one hand, fail to prove the case, and, on the other hand, there are good arguments for the authenticity, we may conclude that the Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector, excepting v. 9 and v. 14b, is probably authentic.

3.4.3. Summary

According to our analysis Luke has worked up the traditional version of the Parable of the Friend at Midnight (Lk 11:5-8) and also the possibly traditional version of the Parable of the Unjust Judge (Lk 18:1-8) so, that the present Lukan versions of the parables include an exhortation to persistent prayer. Jesus’ original teaching in the Parable of the Friend at Midnight and – if authentic – the Parable of the Unjust Judge simply concerns the certainty that God will answer prayer.

The Parable of the Pharisee and Tax Collector (Lk 18:9-14) is mainly not a teaching on prayer, but it tells indirectly about Jesus’ thinking about the subject matter. In this parable Jesus refers to several contemporary Jewish aspects of prayer (the Temple as a house of prayer, probably a common time of prayer, standing as a prayer posture, the genres of individual thanksgiving song and prayer song of a sinner) without criticizing them but regarding them as self-evident facts.

\textsuperscript{1078} Holmén 2001a, 126.
\textsuperscript{1079} Holmén 2001a, 126.

Let us now try to draw an overall picture about Jesus’ teaching on prayer. This picture will be principally based upon the analyses we made in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, we will consult even those passages, which report about Jesus’ own prayer life when they help us to confirm the results gained from the analysis or to clarify the picture.

An important task in this chapter is to compare Jesus’ teaching with the early Jewish prayer life in order to place Jesus into his Jewish context. In order to do this we will use the same outline in our presentation as in chapter 2. This means that we will consider Jesus’ teaching from the following aspects: the external conditions of prayer, prayer texts, intercessory prayer, the grounds for God’s answering prayer and the institutionalization of prayer. We will, finally, make some more general observations about the kind of significance Jesus gives to prayer in his teaching.

4.1. External Conditions

Places of prayer. Jesus seems to have been quite indifferent to the idea that either the place or the direction of prayer would have any remarkable importance. Our survey of the Hebrew Bible, of early Jewish and even early Rabbinic material brought to light the great significance of the Temple as a house of prayer. Jesus’ quotation of the prophetic saying about the Temple as a house of prayer for all nations (Mk 11:17) and the Temple as the backdrop for the parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Lk 18:9-14) indicate that even Jesus accepted this position of the Temple in principle.\(^{1080}\) Accordingly, the first Christians could very well continue to regard the Temple as their place of worship (Acts 2:46; 3:1; 21:26).\(^{1081}\) Nevertheless, Jesus seems to have thought that real prayer does not need any specific place, but what matters more is the attitude of the heart. The quotations from Isa 56:7 and Jer 7:11, in connection with the Temple Cleansing Episode (Mk 11:17), criticize a merely outward act of worship and thus implicitly suggest that prayer is basically a matter of the heart. The admonition to pray in a closed room (Mt 6:6) – if authentic – reveals the essence of Jesus’ teaching in this respect, though we must not understand that saying as a criticism towards places of prayer but towards wrong motives, as we pointed out in the analysis.


\(^{1081}\) See Sanders 1985, 76.
4. Synthesis

The fact that the tradition does not include any mention about Jesus praying in the Temple or even towards it is illuminating. We are, instead, told a few times – both by Mark and in the special material of Luke – that Jesus went to a lonely place to pray (Mk 1:35; 6:46; 14:32-42; Lk 5:16; 6:12). In two of these passages the place of prayer is an anonymous mountain (Mk 6:46; Lk 6:12). Although the authenticity of these single passages might be questionable, it is still probable that they are based on a living memory that Jesus used to go and pray alone on a mountain. 1082 Further, in Mk 14:32-42 Jesus is praying in Gethsemane on the Mount of Olives. These passages are highly interesting, because in the Hebrew Bible mountains are mentioned as specific places for encountering God, and especially the Mount of Olives is said to have been a place of prayer already before the building of the Temple.1083 Nevertheless, although these mountains are mentioned as places for Jesus’ own prayer life, there is no suggestion that Jesus would have advised his followers to use them for prayer.

Jesus’ indifference towards the Temple as a specific place for prayer is, in fact, quite understandable. We need only to recall his sayings and symbolic actions about its future. In the light of them it is obvious that Jesus waited for and proclaimed the coming destruction of the Temple.1084 Further, for Jesus the coming destruction would be a judgement of God,1085 caused by the people’s rejection of his proclamation. That means that, in Jesus’ thinking, the presence of God could no longer be connected with the Temple. This leads us to suppose further that in Jesus’ thinking the presence of God was connected to some other matter. Yet, the Temple was a specific house of prayer in early Judaism precisely because it was the place for God’s dwelling. Accordingly, even the place for prayer needed to be changed to something else in Jesus’ thinking.

The saying in Mt 18:19-20 fits very well to this. In its Matthean form the saying obviously reflects the idea that the Christian congregation is the new Temple, in which the resurrected Jesus, i.e. God himself, is present. This idea is also attested in Eph 2:19-22 (the Spirit as the presence of God) and in 1Pet 2:5, in addition to Mt 18:19-20. Nevertheless, we suggested in the analysis that the saying might be based on an authentic, Jesuanic saying, in which the Kingdom of God is present in the midst of Jesus’ followers who gather together to study Jesus’ message. In that case the group of Jesus’ followers would replace the Temple already in Jesus’ thinking.

1083 See p. 45.
1085 Sanders 1985, 73-74.
Accordingly, the fellowship would be the new ‘place‘ for prayer. The comparison between the thinking of the Temple Judaism and the alleged thinking of Jesus could, then, be illustrated by the following chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temple Judaism</th>
<th>Jesus’ thinking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Temple</td>
<td>The group of followers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prayer</td>
<td>prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shekhinah</td>
<td>(Kingdom of) God</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unfortunately the authenticity of Mt 18:19-20 is, after all, questionable, and accordingly the idea presented above must be considered only tentative.

We noted in ch. 2.3. that this kind of thinking, in which the Temple is replaced by a human community, has a background in the Qumranic thinking, in which the Community, at least temporarily, replaces the Temple. Nevertheless, prayers probably were still directed towards the Temple at Qumran, presumably because its importance was not rejected in principle and because the purification of the Temple was something looked forward to.

*Times of prayer.* The authentic Jesus tradition does not say anything explicit about specific times of prayer. It is probable that the saying against the hypocritical prayer (Mt 6:5) – and maybe even the Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Lk 18:9-14) and the saying about mutual forgiveness as a precondition for prayers being heard (Mk 11:25) – reflect a common time of prayer. Nevertheless, in none of them Jesus takes a stand on the question about times of prayer. Again it seems that Jesus was rather unconcerned about the matter. On the one hand, it is self-evident that Jesus knew the, either two or three, customary times of prayer and the blessings

1086 See Evans 1995, 454.
4. Synthesis

over meals. It is also probable that he himself and his followers observed these times. Jesus had nothing against that. It is altogether possible, even probable, that Jesus meant the Prayer to be recited on the hours of prayer by his followers. At least this was the practice some decades after, as Did 8:2-3 indicates. On the other hand, it seems likely that Jesus did not consider the question about the times of prayer as important as the Qumran Community and the later rabbis did. At least he did not discuss the proper observation of these times of prayer, as some of his contemporaries.

**Prayer postures.** Jesus refers three times to standing as a prayer posture in the texts we dealt with in the analysis. Both the Pharisee and the tax collector are standing and praying in the Temple, in the parable in Lk 18:9-14; the demand to forgive others, in Mk 11:25, is directed to those who are standing and praying; and in Mt 6:5, the hypocrites are standing and praying in the synagogues and on the street corners. We noted in ch 2.2.3. that standing was a customary praying posture from the era of the Hebrew Bible, even until early Rabbinic Judaism, and surely even later on. Thus, the references to this posture do not have any specific significance in Jesus’ teaching. Jesus neither criticized the standing posture nor specifically introduced it as the only acceptable one, but he simply referred to general customs in his teaching.

The teaching of Jesus does not have any mention of prostrating oneself or lifting up one’s hands, which were other customary prayer postures in the Hebrew Bible and in early Judaism. Nevertheless, we cannot draw any conclusions from that.

**Accompanying elements.** Our material is silent even regarding the accompanying elements. We could, nevertheless, draw the following conclusion about this silence. As we have observed in ch. 2.2.4., in the Hebrew Bible, in early Judaism and in early Rabbinic Judaism, petitionary prayer was often accompanied with fasting, especially in times of emergency or penitence, in order to strengthen the effect of the prayer. Further, Jesus teaching is strongly centered on petitionary prayer. Thus, had Jesus agreed with this idea, it would be probable, I think, that the tradition would include at least some reflections on it. Nonetheless, the only synoptic saying which combines prayer with fasting is Mk 9:29, about which we suggested that the verse is Markan, and the mention of fasting an even later gloss to the Markan text. Thus, it seems likely that Jesus did not

---

consider fasting a necessary element to strengthen petitionary prayers. This conclusion accords with the probably authentic saying in Mk 2:18-19, in which Jesus defends his disciples’ non-fasting. Further, this observation is well in line with Jesus’ teaching about the grounds for God’s answering, which we will deal with later in ch. 4.4.

On the whole, Jesus seems not to have been concerned about the outer conditions of prayer but rather about the inner attitude of the praying person. Some would accuse that this conclusion is making Jesus all too modern, spiritualized and strange for being a 1st century C.E. Jew. I would, however, claim that in this regard he definitely was not a stranger within the contemporary Judaism, but, on the contrary, he agreed with those passages in the Hebrew Bible in which the inner attitude is combined with the outer condition (e.g. Job 11:13; Lam 3:41) and especially with those predominantly prophetic sayings, in which the inner attitude is evaluated as more important than the outer act (e.g. Isa 1:15; 29:13; Joel 2:12).

4.2. Prayer Texts

*Genre.* It is somewhat striking that Jesus’ teaching on prayer concentrates exclusively on petitionary prayer, or – to use the terminology established in ch. 2.3.1. – *prayer songs.* Further, the only example of praise in Jesus’ teaching is the Pharisee’s thanksgiving in the Temple (Lk 18:11-12). Nevertheless, Jesus does not criticize praise either. As we noted in the analysis, the point of the Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector is not in the evaluation of the characters’ different prayers but in the reversal of the typecast order of preference.

What could we conclude from this silence? I think we cannot draw such a conclusion that for Jesus praise would have been something insignificant. Besides, although Jesus’ teaching on prayer does not contain any sayings about praise, the traditions about his own prayer life refer to praise a couple of times. We may recall Jesus’ thanksgiving in Q 10:21; the reference to blessings over the food in Mk 6:41; 14:22-23, and a mention in Mk 14:26 that Jesus sang a hymn with his disciples after the Last Supper. Because both Q and Mark include sayings about Jesus’ praise, it is probable that this general matter is authentic, although the authenticity of the single passages might be questionable.

---

1089 About the authenticity of Mk 2:18-19 see Holmén 2001a, 148-155.
1091 See p. 61.
1092 Von Campenhausen 1977, 158; Gnilka 1990, 239.
I think it is most probable that both Jesus and his followers simply observed the contemporary practices as regards praise. Jesus did not have anything to say about this matter, and that is why his teaching does not include any saying about praise either. By contrast, petition, and especially the question about God’s answer to petitions, was surely a matter of current interest amongst Jesus’ audience, a people who lived in poverty. That is why Jesus had much to say about that.

Even the Prayer is mainly a community prayer song in its genre. Nevertheless, we can find even several elements of other early Jewish types of prayer in the Prayer. That the petitions concerning God’s name and Kingdom precede the subsequent petitions dealing with human needs, makes the Prayer to resemble those late biblical and early Jewish prayers, and especially the Amidah, in which praise precedes petition. Praying for the coming of the Kingdom, for its part, is a general topic in early Jewish eschatological prayers. Further, the asking for forgiveness and especially the plea that God would not lead into temptation, make the Prayer to resemble the apotropaic prayers. Thus, we can note that, when composing the Prayer, Jesus did it totally within his contemporary Jewish context. The Prayer is a Jewish prayer both in its form and contents. Not even the brevity or simplicity of it are to be regarded as something unique, as some scholars have suggested. Namely, it appears short and simple only when considered against the background of the later Rabbinic prayers. Nevertheless, as we have noted, regarding it in this way would be a rather anachronistic endeavor.

Addresses. The only prayer address which Jesus taught was the simple and short ‘Father’, which renders the Aramaic Abba. The original version of the Prayer opens with this short address, and the longer Matthean ‘Our Father in heaven’ is to be regarded as a later modification, as we suggested in the analysis.

The traditions about Jesus’ own prayer life verify that Abba was even Jesus’ own prayer address to God. Both Jesus’ thanksgiving, in Q 10:21, and his prayer in Gethsemane, in Mk 14:36, open with ‘Father’. Further, the Johannine Jesus addresses God as ‘Father’ as well (Jn 17:1,5,11,21,24,25). Again, we can conclude that, although the authenticity of the single passages can be discussed critically, they do, in any case, witness about a living memory that Jesus did address God as Abba. Thus, Jesus’ own prayer life and his teaching on prayer coincide in this respect.

1094 See p. 28-29.
4. Synthesis

The survey of the ‘Father’-epithet, especially in prayer addresses, in the Hebrew Bible, in early Judaism and in early Rabbinic Judaism showed us that God is sometimes called and even addressed as ‘Father’ there as well. Nevertheless, considering the great variety of different addresses to God in the biblical and early Jewish and Rabbinic prayer tradition, this address is to be considered very rare. Thus, Jesus chose only one out of the variety of addresses, and even one of the most marginal ones, and made that the address for approaching God both for himself and for his followers. The significance that this address had for his followers and for the subsequent Christians is clearly evidenced by Paul, who twice refers to the Abba-address as a special, spirit-given way of approaching God (Rom 8:15; Gal 4:6). Further, even 1Pet 1:17 probably contains an allusion to the Abba-address.

4.3. Intercessory Prayer

There is one passage in the authentic tradition, which deals with Jesus’ teaching on intercessory prayer. In Q 6:27-28,35c Jesus urges his followers to pray for their enemies. In this connection it is important to note the Jewish background of this matter. Namely, in the Hebrew Bible, in early Jewish texts and even in early Rabbinic texts the intercessors are always somehow remarkable persons: prophets, priests, especially righteous people or even angels. Further, even the whole people, or an especially righteous part of it, may function as an intercessor for others. I suggest that against this background it seems probable that even Jesus’ admonition to pray for one’s enemies had a specific social significance for Jesus’ followers. Let us consider the following three points of view:

First, the followers of Jesus could identify themselves with the great intercessors of the Jewish history through praying for their enemies – that is: by acting as intercessors.

Second, those who pray imitate God through praying for one’s enemies and thereby expressing love towards them, and thus they prove to be God’s children. Supposing that amongst the audience there were such outcasts as we have described above, when discussing the socio-religious status of Jesus’ followers, the admonition had surely a great significance for them. Even the outcasts could regard themselves as God’s children!

1095 See ch. 2.3.3. and pp. 136-138 above.
1096 See ch. 2.4. above.
1097 See pp. 143-144.
Fourth, if the admonition is an allusion to the intercessory prayer of the Suffering Servant in Isa 53:12, as we proposed, then the praying for their enemies would identify the intercessors with the suffering and, according to the contemporary Jewish interpretation, with the righteous people of God.

We note that the sociological implications of Jesus’ admonition to pray for one’s enemies are well in line with the socio-religious significance of the Prayer, which we have suggested above when discussing the interpretation of the Prayer. 1098

4.4. Grounds for God’s Answering

The question about God’s answering prayers seems to have been the main concern in Jesus’ teaching on prayer. This is only natural, when we consider the socio-economic situation, in which Jesus and his audience lived; a situation, in which anxiety about living colored their everyday life. 1099 We might recall, for example, the Beatitudes (Q 6:20-23) or the Cares Tradition (Q 12:22-31), which reflect the social context of Jesus’ proclamation and even of his teaching on prayer.

What is striking in Jesus’ teaching is the highly optimistic, even utopian, trust in that God surely will answer prayers. 1100 This point must not be ignored by claiming that Jesus could not have been that naïve, and accordingly his optimistic promises must be understood as concerning only the Kingdom of God, as, for example, SOARES-PRABHU suggests. 1101 Jesus’ teaching about the subject matter was, indeed, so radical that the subsequent Christians had to alter the idea slightly by adding some preconditions (Mark’s faith, Luke’s persistence, John’s praying in Jesus’ name) or by clarifying, why the unconditional promises seem not to be fulfilled (Cf. Jas 4:3: “When you ask, you do not receive, because you ask with wrong motives“).

Nevertheless, as we have seen in ch 2.5., Jesus’ trust is not something altogether unique within the early Jewish thinking, but it is well in line with the biblical and contemporary Jewish belief that God will hear and answer. Still Jesus’ teaching has somewhat different emphases compared with his Jewish context when he discusses the grounds for God’s answering.

1098 See pp. 141-146.
1099 About the socio-economic situation of the Galilean peasants see p. 141.
1101 See p. 31.
Attributes of God. In Jesus’ teaching about the certainty of God answering prayers there is, in fact, not any explicit reference to any attribute of God, which would be the basis for the answer. The parables about the Unjust Judge (Lk 18:1-8) and about the Friend at Midnight (Lk 11:5-8) as well as the Similitude of a Child Asking for Food (Q 11:9-13) simply state the matter of fact that God will answer. Neither does the Prayer nor any other passage about prayer include any explicit reference to the appealing to some attribute of God. In this respect Jesus’ teaching differs remarkable from the biblical and contemporary Jewish prayer, in which it was customary to appeal to God’s faithfulness, lovingkindness, compassion, mercifulness, righteousness, omniscience etc. or to remind him of his former good deeds.1102

Nevertheless, we may implicitly understand that in Jesus’ teaching the reason for God’s answering prayers is his fatherly love.1103 Especially in the similitude in Q 11:9-13 it is exactly stated that the God, to whom prayers are directed, is the Father, which guarantees the positive answer. Further, as we have noted, in biblical and early Jewish prayer the prayer address often implicitly includes the appeal as well. For example, to address God as the ‘God of the fathers’ refers to the covenant made with the fathers and thus appeals to God’s faithfulness. Thus, when Jesus teaches his followers to address God as Abba, this can be understood as an appeal to God’s fatherly love. We may conclude that when Jesus chose a prayer address from the many epithets of God, he wanted to highlight the attribute, which is connected to the ‘Father’-epithet, as the basic ground for God’s answering prayers.

Attributes of the praying person. Although the synoptic tradition includes mentions about several preconditions for effective prayer, in the authentic Jesus tradition the only explicit mentioned precondition is mutual forgiveness.1104 We suggested in the analysis that the exhortation to persistence in prayer is a Lukan emphasis, and that faith as a ground for God’s answer to prayers, for its part, is a Markan idea.1105

Forgiveness as a precondition for prayers to be heard – specifically penitential prayers – is attested both in Mk 11:25 and in the second ‘we’-petition of the Prayer. The same idea is attested in Sir 28:2-5,1106 and, as we noted in the analysis, Mk 11:25 might even be dependent on the,
unfortunately lost, Hebrew original text of this Ben Sira-passage. Thus, Jesus shares the idea of mutual forgiveness as a precondition for effective prayer with the early Jewish thinking.

Now, I think that even the precondition to forgive others is to be understood in the framework of God’s fatherhood. Namely, the exhortation to forgive others is quite close to the admonition to love one’s enemies and to pray for them, as is attested in Q 6:27-28,35c. Further, in that passage the underlying motive for the loving and interceding is *imitatio Dei*, in order to be children of God. Thus, we may conclude, that the Father-child-relationship, and therefore even God’s answer to prayers, presupposes the readiness to love and to forgive like God himself does.

Jesus taught even about the correct motive for prayer. This can be seen most clearly in the sayings against wrong motives. We have seen that Jesus directed very hard critique, indeed, towards wrong motives for prayer. His critique was directed towards prayer, which serves merely as a pretext for getting economic advantage (Mk 12:40), or which is recited in order to get admiration from others (Mt 6:5). In this respect Jesus’ teaching resembles the cult critique of the prophets in the Hebrew Bible. We may refer, for example, to Isa 29:13:

> The Lord says: “These people come near to me with their mouth and honor me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me. Their worship of me is made up only of rules taught by men.”

An even more harsh judgment is to be found in Amos 5:21-24:

> I hate, I despise your religious feasts; I cannot stand your assemblies. Even though you bring me burnt offerings and grain offerings, I will not accept them. Though you bring choice fellowship offerings, I will have no regard for them. Away with the noise of your songs! I will not listen to the music of your harps. But let justice roll on like a river, righteousness like a never-failing stream!

Although in these passages the criticism does not focus explicitly on the worshippers’ wrong motives, but more generally on the merely outward performance of the cultic acts, the tone in them is, nevertheless, quite similar to the words of Jesus. Thus, we may see the proclamation of the prophets of the Hebrew Bible in this regard as a background for Jesus’ teaching on prayer.

Jesus’ attitude towards the wrong motives for prayer is to be seen even in the larger context of his proclamation. In the synoptic tradition

---

1107 According to Mk 7:6 Jesus himself quoted this passage. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that the quotation would be an authentic saying of Jesus, because it reproduces the LXX text and differs remarkable form the Hebrew text.
Jesus criticizes even the outwardness and wrong motives of the contemporary Temple cult (Mk 11:15-18). He also criticizes some other matters of the Jewish piety: almsgiving (Mt 6:2); fasting (Mt 6:16); the use of flowing robes (Mk 12:38) and the making of the phylacteries wide and the tassels of the garments long (Mt 23:5). We have verified the Temple Cleansing Pericope as authentic, and although the authenticity of the other single passages referred to above is questionable, the overall pattern that Jesus criticized the outward piety of at least some of his contemporary Jews is attested both in Mark and in the Matthean special material and is thus to be regarded as quite plausible.

The right motive for and the real essence of prayer appear in Jesus’ exhortation to address God as Abba. Prayer is, and must be, an intimate encountering between the Father and his children. Even the admonition to pray in a closed room (Mt 6:6) clearly reflects the idea that the right motive to pray can only be the desire to be close to God and to talk solely to him, not to other people.

Attributes of prayer. The only saying which deals with right attributes of prayer proper is the critical comment against the heathen-like prayer in Mt 6:7. We drew the conclusion in the analysis that the ‘babbling’, which Jesus rejected, refers to an attempt to affect God in a magical way by enumerating his names and epithets. Further, we supposed that Jesus saw this kind of prayer practice as an actuality within the common Jewish prayer life due to foreign influence.

The Abba-address, which Jesus taught to his followers, is a clear contrast to the enumerating of multiple names. At the same time the meaning of the Abba-address and the corresponding teaching about the certainty of God’s answer emphasize the fact that the petitioner does not need to try to evoke God’s favor because it is self-evident that the Father loves his children and therefore answers their prayers.

In this connection it is good to recollect our analysis of Mk 12:40. We noted that Jesus’ criticism is not directed against the length of the scribes’ prayers but against their wrong motives in that passage. Thus we cannot draw such a conclusion that Jesus would have preferred short prayers. True, the Prayer is quite a short prayer, although it is in no way unique within early Jewish prayer tradition in this respect.

Let us make still one observation about the contents of prayer. It is, I think, important to note that all those passages, in which Jesus teaches
unconditionally about God’s answer, the request concerns something necessary for everyday life. The child in Q 11:9-13 and the friend in Lk 11:5-8 ask for food and the widow in Lk 18:1-8 asks for justice. This observation gives proper limits to Jesus’ teaching. The promises about God’s answer cannot be applied to whatsoever.

4.5. Institutionalization of Prayer

Before discussing Jesus’ position within the ongoing institutionalizing of prayer let us recall the early Jewish context about the subject matter.

We noted in ch. 2.6. that a clear change can be observed from a more spontaneous to clearly institutionalized prayer, starting from the Hebrew Bible to the early Rabbinic thinking, even though already in the Hebrew Bible there are traces of more fixed prayer in connection with the Temple cult. Early Rabbinic tradition, for its part, even contains criticism towards the fixation. Prayer seems to have been a strongly institutionalized matter already at Qumran, but the Dead Sea Scrolls may in this connection witness of a wider phenomenon even outside of, and maybe before, the Qumran Community.

It is of importance that the institutionalization of prayer seems to have had two main reasons, a theological and a social one. First of all, the impossibility to partake in the sacrificial cult in Jerusalem – either because of ideological (Qumran) or historical (rabbis) reasons – can be seen as a theological impetus for the development. Thus, institutionalized prayer became a substitute for the sacrificial cult. A social factor, which, for its part, contributed to the institutionalization, was a need to strengthen the feeling of togetherness. This was surely an important concern both for a small sectarian community at Qumran and for the Jewish people living scattered around the known world.

Let us now turn to the teaching of Jesus. We have already noted Jesus’ indifference towards the external conditions of prayer. This already suggests that we cannot easily consider him as a representant of the ongoing institutionalization of early Jewish prayer. The un-institutionalized nature of prayer in Jesus’ teaching can be seen still clearer in the fact, that Jesus’ teaching focuses strongly on the question about God’s answer to petitions in actual need. What is characteristic for institutionalized prayer, however, is – as TALMON points out – that it “does not aim at bringing about an immediate response from the deity with regard to a specific
situation”. We can note also that there are no hints that Jesus would have considered prayer as a kind of equivalent to or a substitute for the sacrifice: no sacrifice terminology, no connection of prayer times to a sacrificial time table, no transferring of sacrificial purity laws to prayer – phenomena we have met in early Jewish and early Rabbinic thinking. Jesus, however, anticipated the destruction of the Temple and, accordingly, even the cessation of the sacrificial cult. Thus, in this respect Jesus and his followers found themselves in somewhat similar situation to the Qumran Community and the post-70 C.E. rabbis: They needed to form their worship without connection to the Temple cult. At Qumran and in the Rabbinic Judaism this led to the replacing the sacrificial cult with regular prayer and thus to the institutionalization of prayer, but not in Jesus’ thinking. The theological impetus, which at Qumran and in the Rabbinic thinking led to institutionalized prayer, did not have the same effect on Jesus and his thinking. This raises an interesting question: How did Jesus, then, think the Temple sacrifice would be replaced? Nevertheless, to answer this question would go well beyond the limits of this study.

We find, nevertheless, one feature, which is characteristic for institutionalized prayer, in Jesus’ teaching on prayer, namely a fixed prayer text. The reason for Jesus’ teaching the Prayer for his followers was, as we have suggested, a social one. A new faction needed some distinctive features to be discernable from others, and a common prayer served as one such feature. Nevertheless, the Prayer did not only distinguish Jesus’ followers from others as a separate faction, but it even defined their relation to God. Even the outcasts, who formed a remarkable part of Jesus’ followers, could regard themselves as God’s children, who may address him as Abba, sanctify the name of God and wait for his Kingdom to come.

4.6. Significance of Prayer

We will finally make some more general observations about the kind of significance Jesus gives to prayer.

In the Hebrew Bible prayer appears as an important means for God’s people to be near God. An illuminative passage is to be found in Deut 4:7. The text runs as follows:

---

1110 Talmon 1978, 266.
1111 About Jesus’ aggressive attitude towards the Temple see Theissen 1992, 96.
1112 See Adna 1999, 472, who suggests that Jesus was willing to offer himself and thus replace the sacrificial cult.
1113 See p. 109.
What other nation is so great as to have their gods near them the way the Lord our God is near us whenever we pray to him?

The same idea about the significance of prayer can be seen in Jesus’ teaching as well. We have already suggested that especially the Abba-address, and even the exhortation to pray in a closed room, indicate a close intimacy between the praying person and God. Further, in this respect prayer might be understood as a response to the fact that, according to Jesus, the Kingdom of God has come near. This nearness of God and his Kingdom enables even the close intimacy with him in prayer.

Further, prayer is to be seen even as a response to God’s fatherly care, about which Jesus teaches, for example, in Q 12:22-31. The promises about God’s care encourage his followers to approach God with trust. Thus, the promises about God’s care and the exhortations to pray must not be seen as conflicting, as, for example, Steve Patterson has suggested. The statements about God’s pre-knowledge must not to be understood so that they would represent some kind of determinism. Despite his pre-knowledge God is still a Father in Jesus’ teaching, who hears and considers the prayers of his children. Thus, as Rudolf Bultmann correctly states:

Aber man kann nicht zweifeln. Dass, wenn Jesus zum Bittgebet mahnt, dann die Bitte im eigentlichen Sinne gemeint ist, d.h. im Gebet soll sich nicht die Ergebung in Gottes unabänderlichen Willen vollziehen, sondern das Gebet soll Gott bewegen, etwas zu tun, was er sonst nicht tun würde. (Italics Bultmann’s).

This is well in line with the idea in the Hebrew Bible that God has indeed changed his mind because of intercessory prayers.

Regarding the social situation of the Galilean peasants, i.e. the people who constituted the main audience of Jesus’ proclamation, the great social significance of Jesus’ teaching on prayer becomes evident. The promises that God will answer to pleas for food and justice were surely of high importance for a people, who lived in poverty and under the yoke of rich landowners. In this respect Jesus’ teaching on prayer and its social significance coincides with those sayings, in which Jesus promises God’s blessings for the poor, as, for example, in the Beatitudes. Douglas E.

1114 About the authenticity of Q 12:22-31 see e.g. Miller 1989, 78.
1115 Robert J. Miller describes the Jesus Seminar’s discussion about the authenticity of the Prayer. During this discussion Patterson proposed that Jesus might have rejected the very practice of prayer, because it was superfluous, since God already knows the human needs; Miller 1989, 180-181.
1116 Bultmann 1926, 170.
4. Synthesis

OAKMAN is surely right when he states that Jesus was concerned about the material needs of the Galilean people and that his teaching on prayer reflects this concern. \(^{1117}\) Thus, Jesus’ teaching on prayer has important socio-economic implications.

Nevertheless, Jesus’ teaching on prayer has not only socio-economic but also socio-religious significance. We have already pointed out above, in connection with the discussion about the institutionalization of prayer, the significance, which the Prayer had for Jesus’ followers as an identity marker. We may make still two observations concerning the social significance of Jesus’ teaching on prayer in general.

First, the exhortation to forgive others, attested in Mk 11:25 and in the Prayer, can be understood even from a social perspective. We have already suggested that the Prayer is to be regarded as a communal prayer of Jesus’ followers, and thus the forgiving refers at least primarily to mutual forgiving within their own group. \(^{1118}\) In my opinion, the saying in Mk 11:25 must be understood in the same way. Thus, the purpose of these exhortations is first and foremost to preserve the fellowship within the group of followers. JOHN. P. MEIER points out, how important mutual forgiveness was even within the group of the twelve disciples, which included men from different backgrounds, for example zealot Simon and a tax collector Levi. \(^{1119}\)

Second, it is worth to note that neither the Prayer, nor any other saying about prayer, include any explicit demarcation against the outsiders. On the contrary, Jesus urges love and intercession for them. In this respect Jesus’ teaching differs both from the Hebrew Bible, and from early Jewish and early Rabbinic prayer. \(^{1120}\)

Excursus: Jesus’ Teaching on Prayer in the Gospel of John

In this excursus we will take up two aspects of the Johannine Jesus’ teaching on prayer. These two aspects have their counterparts in the synoptic tradition, and I suggest that the Johannine teaching can be understood as John’s theological interpretation of the synoptic teaching. Whether John is on these points directly dependent on the written version of the synoptics or knows an earlier tradition will remain an open question in this study.

\(^{1117}\) See Oakman 1999, 138-139. Oakman considers in his article merely the Prayer.

\(^{1118}\) See Fenske 1997, 249.


\(^{1120}\) Cf. ch. 2.3.2. above.
Worship in spirit and in truth. Jesus’ saying in Jn 4:21-24 could very well be understood as John’s theological interpretation of Jesus’ attitude towards the Temple as a place for prayer:1121

Jesus declared, “Believe me, woman, a time is coming when you will worship the Father neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem. You Samaritans worship what you do not know; we worship what we do know, for salvation is from the Jews. Yet a time is coming and has now come when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for they are the kind of worshipers the Father seeks. God is spirit, and his worshipers must worship in spirit and in truth.”

The saying “neither on this mountain”, i.e. Mount Gerizim, the holy place of the Samaritans,1122 “nor in Jerusalem” reflects, on the one hand, the early Jewish thinking about the importance of specific places of worship and, on the other hand, Jesus’ indifference towards the matter. “In spirit and in truth”, for its part, would be a more theological version of Jesus’ request to pray in a closed room attested in Mt 6:6. At the same time it very aptly expresses the essence of Jesus’ teaching on prayer in general, namely the significance of the inner attitude over some external conditions.

Praying in the name of Jesus. The Johannine exhortation to pray in the name of Jesus might be understood as an interpretation of Jesus’ teaching on addressing God as ‘Father’. Let us consider Jn 16:23:

In that day you will no longer ask me anything. I tell you the truth, my Father will give you whatever you ask in my name (ἐν τῷ ὄνοματί μου).

We note in this passage the promise that the Father will give whatever he is asked for. The same kind of promise is attested several times in the synoptic Jesus tradition. The closest parallel is the Similitude of a Child Asking for Food in Q 11:9-13. Nevertheless, in the Johannine version the promise has a precondition: in order to be heard the petitioner must pray in Jesus’ name. Now, in the Gospel of John Jesus’ sonship in relation to God is strongly stressed. Further, God is primarily his Father and not the disciples’, as several times in the synoptic tradition. This becomes evident when we compare the Johannine saying quoted above and the Q-similitude of the asking child. In Jn 16:23 it is my Father who will give, in Q 11:13 it is your Father. Accordingly, it is only Jesus, who addresses God as ‘Father’ in prayer in the Gospel of John. Nevertheless, even the disciples might become God’s children, but it is possible only by believing in Jesus. This is stated explicitly in Jn 1:12; and even Jn 20:17 can be understood so that it is Jesus’ relationship to his Father, which is primary, and it is only because of it that God is also the Father of the disciples. Thus, the disciples’ Father-child -relationship to God is dependent on Jesus’ Father-Son relationship. Now, in this framework praying in Jesus’ name would mean approaching God, Jesus’ Father, by appealing to Jesus’ unique sonship. The

1121 See Betz 1981, 70.
1122 About the Samaritan Temple on Mt. Gerizim see Frey 1999, 180-186.
4. Synthesis

disciples cannot themselves address God as ‘Father’, but the same effect is achieved by praying to God in Jesus’ name.\textsuperscript{1123}

\textsuperscript{1123} Cf. Stolle 1991, 308. See also von Campenhausen 1977, 164. 168.
5. Summary

In the introduction (ch. 1) we defined the aim of this thesis as follows: Our task is to bring about a wide and general understanding of, what Jesus’ taught about prayer... Especially our task is to understand Jesus’ teaching on prayer in terms of early Judaism.

In the course of our study we outlined the ideas and practices of prayer in the Hebrew Bible, in early Jewish literature, the Dead Sea Scrolls included, and in early Rabbinic literature (ch. 2). Further, we analyzed those synoptic passages, in which Jesus teaches about prayer, and evaluated the authenticity of the respective traditions (ch. 3). In this analysis we noted that some of the emphases connected to the synoptic teaching on prayer originate from the redactors of the tradition, but the core teaching about prayer can mainly be regarded as authentic teaching of Jesus.

Based on this analysis we constructed an overall picture of Jesus’ teaching on prayer with a special focus on its Jewish context (ch. 4). We noted that Jesus’ teaching rises mainly from contemporary Judaism, but the emphasis of Jesus is somehow different from his Jewish context. First, Jesus is quite indifferent regarding the importance of outer conditions of prayer. In this regard he is closer to the prophets of the Hebrew Bible than to his contemporaries. Second, regarding the genre of prayer Jesus follows his Jewish heritage entirely. Third, Jesus chooses one of the most marginal Jewish prayer addresses, ‘Father’, and elaborates his whole teaching on prayer almost entirely around it and its meaning. Thus, even the different attributes of God and the petitioner, which in the biblical and early Jewish prayer tradition serve as grounds for God’s answer to prayers, must give way to the conviction that God answers because of his fatherly love. Fourth, there are only minor indications of institutionalization of prayer in Jesus’ teaching. The theological impetus, which especially at Qumran and in early Rabbinism led to institutionalized prayer, i.e. the loss of the sacrificial cult and thus the consideration of prayer as spiritual sacrifice, seems not to have had the same effect on Jesus and his teaching. Fifth, regarding the theological significance of prayer, Jesus agrees with the idea in the Hebrew Bible that prayer is a means to be near God.

Finally, especially important in Jesus’ teaching on prayer is its social significance. Prayer was a means of coping with the everyday anguish for the poor, Galilean people, and Jesus’ teaching about the certainty of God’s answer to prayers was surely an encouragement for them. Further, Jesus’ teaching on prayer – especially the Prayer – gave his followers such self-awareness, that, in spite of the estimation of the other Jews, they could still regard themselves as belonging to the true people of God.
# Appendix

## Appendix. Hebrew Verbs and Nouns Denoting Prayer

### Table 1: Hebrew verbs denoting prayer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word</th>
<th>basic meaning</th>
<th>passages where attested, e.g.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>בקש</td>
<td>to search</td>
<td>2Sam 12:16; Ezra 8:21,23; Dan 9:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>להען / לאם</td>
<td>to shout</td>
<td>Ex 2:23; Judg 3:9. 15; 4:3; Ps 34:17; Isa 30:19; Jer 11:11; Lam 3:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>קרא</td>
<td>to call</td>
<td>Gen 4:26; 21:33; Ex 19:3; Judg 16:28; 2Sam 22:4. 7; Isa 12:4; Ps 3:5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>אפר</td>
<td>to speak</td>
<td>Gen 24:12; 32:10; Ex 32:31; 2Sam 15:31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>עתר</td>
<td>to pray</td>
<td>Gen 25:21; Ex 8:4-5,25-28; 10:18; Judg 13:8; Job 22:27; 33:26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>רדה</td>
<td>to seek, ask</td>
<td>Gen 25:22; Deut 4:29; Isa 8:19; 31:1; 55:6; 58:2; Jer 21:2; Ps 34:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שאל</td>
<td>to ask</td>
<td>Josh 9:14; 1Sam 10:22; 23:2; 30:8; Isa 30:1-2; Ps 122:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>פעל (hitp.)</td>
<td>to judge; to pray (hitp.)</td>
<td>Gen 20:7,17; Num 11:2; 21:7; Deut 9:20, 26; 1Sam 1:10,12,26-27; 2:25; 7:5; 2Sam 7:27; 1Kgs 8:28-54; Isa 37:15; Ps 5:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>פעל (hitp.)</td>
<td>to have mercy; to seek mercy (hitp)</td>
<td>Deut 3:23; 1Kgs 8:33,47,59; Ps 30:9; 142:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>פעל (piel)</td>
<td>to be weak; to implore (piel)</td>
<td>Ex 32:11; 1Kgs 13:6; 2Kgs 13:4; Zech 8:21-22; 2Chr 33:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>פעל (piel)</td>
<td>to shine; to praise (piel)</td>
<td>Isa 62:9; Jer 20:13; Joel 2:26; Ps 22:23-24; 69:31; 106:1; Ezra 3:11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ברך</td>
<td>to bless</td>
<td>Ex 18:10; Judg 5:2; Ps 16:7; 18:47; 63:5; Dan 6:11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1125 Hasel 1977, 637.
1126 Hossfeld & Kindl 1993, 122-125. Hossfeld & Kindl suggest that the construction קרא beep והודר belongs originally to a cultic context. Further they state that קרא is used mostly, but not only, in laments.
1128 Often the verb is used of seeking the will of God through a mediator, e.g. Ex 18:15; Deut 17:8-9; 1Sam 9:9; 28:7; 1Kgs 22:5-8; 2Kgs 3:11; 8:8; 22:13-20;
1129 The word denotes most often intercessory prayer; Balentine 1984, 162.
**Table 2: Hebrew nouns denoting prayer**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word</th>
<th>basic meaning</th>
<th>passages where attested, e.g.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>קול</td>
<td>the voice, plea</td>
<td>Num 21:3; Jer 3:21; Ps 116:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>תָּהֹנִים</td>
<td>supplication</td>
<td>Jer 3:21; 31:9; Zech 12:10; Ps 28:2,6; 31:23; 86:6; 116:1; Dan 9:3; 2Chr 6:21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>תָּהֹנוֹת</td>
<td>(plea for) mercy</td>
<td>1Kgs 8:28,30,38,45,49,52,54; Jer 36:7; 37:20; Ps 6:10; 55:2; Dan 9:20; 2Chr 6:19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>תַפְלָה</td>
<td>supplication, hymn</td>
<td>2Sam 7:27; 1Kgs 8:28,29,38,45,49,54; 2Kgs 20:5; Isa 1:15; 37:4; 56:7; Jer 7:16; Ps 4:2; 6:10; 17:1; Dan 9:3; Neh 1:6,11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>דָּוָה</td>
<td>rejoicing, lamentation</td>
<td>1Kgs 8:28; Jer 7:16; 11:14; 14:12; Ps 17:1; 42:4, 2Chr 20:22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Texts and translations.

**Ancient Near Eastern Texts**

**Greek Magical Papyri**

**Bible, English**

**Dead Sea Scrolls**

**Eusebius Ecclesiastical History**

**Hebrew Bible**
Bibliography

Josephus


Mishnah


New Testament, Greek


Old Testament Apocrypha


Old Testament, Greek


Old Testament Pseudepigrapha


Philo


Bibliography

Talmud

Targum Jonathan of Isaiah

Targum of the Song of Songs

Thucydides

Tosefta

Literature

Ådna, Jostein
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Edition/Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Back, Sven-Olav</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td><em>Jesus of Nazareth and the Sabbath Commandment</em></td>
<td>Åbo.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bibliography


Bibliography


Berkovits, Eliezer

Best, Ernest
1981  Following Jesus: Discipleship in the Gospel of Mark. JSNT.Sup. 4. Sheffield.

Betz, Hans Dieter

Betz, Otto

Beyer, Klaus

Bickerman, Elias
Bibliography


Billerbeck, Paul

Blank, Sheldon H.

Blatz, Beate

Blomberg, Craig L.

Boccaccini, G.

Boecker, H. J.

Bórgo, Hjerl-Hansen

Bornemann, Eduard and Risch, Ernst
1978 Griechische Grammatik. Frankfurt am Main.
Bibliography

Bornkamm, Günther

Bovon, Francois

Bradshaw, Paul F.

Brooks, James A.

Brown, Raymond E.

Brox, Norbert

Bultmann, Rudolf

Burke, Peter

Byrskog, Samuel
2000  Story as History – History as Story. WUNT 123. Tübingen.
Bibliography

Cameron, Ron

Campenhausen, Hans Freiherr von

Carlston, Charles E.

Carrard, Philippe

Catchpole, David R.

Cavaletti, Sofia

Chancey, Mark A.

Charlesworth, James H.

1992

1993a

1993b

1994

1996

Charlesworth J. H. and Olson D. T.

1997

Chazon, Esther Glicker

1992

1994

1998

2000
Bibliography

Chilton, Bruce
1984  
*A Galilean Rabbi and his Bible: Jesus’ own interpretation of Isaiah*. London.

1993  
“God as ‘Father’ in the Targumim, in Non-canonical Literatures of Early Judaism and Primitive Christianity, and in Matthew”.  

1995  

1996  

1997  
*Jesus’ Prayer and Jesus’ Eucharist: His Personal Practice of Spirituality*. Valley Forge.

Corley, Jeremy
2002  
“God as Merciful Father in Ben Sira and the New Testament”.  

Craigie, Peter C., Kelley, Page H & Drinkard Jr, Joel F.
1991  

Crossan, John Dominic
1988  
“Aphorism in Discourse and Narrative”. *Semeia* 43. Pp. 121-140.

1991  

2002  

Crump, David
1992  
*Jesus the Intercessor*. WUNT 2. Reihe 49. Tübingen.

Cullmann, Oscar
1995  
D’Angelo, Mary Rose  

Davies, W.D. & Allison, Dale C.  
1988 *A critical and exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew, vol 1: Introduction and Commentary on Matthew I-VII.* *ICC.* Edinburgh.

Davila, James R.  

Dehandshutter, B.  

Deissler, Alfons  

Delling, Gerhard  

Derrett, J. Duncan M.  

Dietzfelbinger, Christian  
Di Lella, Alexander A. and Skehan, Patrick W.

Dorneich, Monica

Douglas, R. Conrad

Dowd, Sharyn Echols

Downing, F. Gerald

Dschulnigg, Peter

Dumoulin, Pierre

Dundenberg, Ismo
Dunn, James D. G.

Ellis, E. Earle

Envall, Markku

Evans, Craig A.
Bibliography


Evans, C. F.

Falk, Daniel K.

Farris, Michael

Ó Fearghail, Fearghas

Fenske, Wolfgang

Ferguson, Everett

Fiensy, David A.
1985  *Prayers alleged to be Jewish: An Examination of the Constitutiones Apostolorum*. Chico.
1997  “Jesus’ Socioeconomic Background”. *Hillel and Jesus: Comparative Studies of Two Major Religious Leaders*. Eds.
Bibliography


Fizmyer, Joseph A.

Fledermann, Harry

Flusser, David

Freed

Frennesson, Björn

Frey, Jörg

Fuhs, H.-F.

Gerhardsson, Birger
Bibliography

Gerstenberger, Erhard S.


Gese, Hartmut

Gesenius, Wilhelm

Gnilka, Joachim

Goldingay John E.
1989 Daniel. *WBC 30.* Dallas

Goldsmith, Dale
1989 “‘Ask and it will be given. .’: Toward Writing the History of a Logion”. *NTS* 35. Pp. 254-265.

Goulder, Michael D
1974 *Midrash and Lection in Matthew.* London.
Graf-Stuhlhofer, Franz

Graubard, Baruch

Green, Joel B.

Greenberg, Moshe

Greeven, Heinrich

Gruenwald, Ithamar

Grundmann, Walter

Grzybek, Peter

Guelich, Robert A.
Bibliography

Gundry, Robert H.

Günther, Hartmut

Haacker, Klaus

Haenchen, Ernst

Häkkinen, Sakari

Harrington, Daniel J.

Hartman, Louis F. & Di Lella Alexander A.

Harvey, A. E.
Bibliography

Hasel, G. F.

Heiler, Friedrich

Heinemann, Joseph

Henaut, Barry W.

Hengel, Martin

Herrmann, Johannes

Hickling, C. J. A.
Bibliography

Hicks, John Mark

Hill, David

Hoffner, H. A.

Holmén, Tom

Holmgren, Fredrick C.

Holm-Nielsen, Svend

Horsley, Richard A.

Hossfeld, F.-L. & Kindl, E.-M.
Hultgren, Stephen

Hurst, L. D.

Jacobson, Howard

Jeremias, Joachim

Johnson, Luke Timothy

Johnson, Norman B.

Johnson, Steven R.
Jokiranta, Jutta M.

Karris, Robert J.

Käsemann, Ernst

Kee, H. C.

Kilgallen, John J.

Kimelman, Reuven

Kingsbury, Jach Dean

Kloppenborg (Verbin), John S.

Knoch, Otto

Knohl, Israel
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kraus, Hans-Joachim</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Psalmen. 5. grundlegend überarbeitete und veränderte Auflage. BKAT X/1-2</td>
<td>Neukirchen-Vluyn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laaksonen, Jari</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Jesus und das Land: Das Gelobte Land in der Verkündigung Jesu. Åbo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Inledning till Gamla testamentet. Religionsvetenskapliga skrifter 54. Åbo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lane, William L.  

Larson, Curtis W.  

Layton, Bentley  

Lehnardt, Andreas  

Leroy, Herbert  
1978 *Jesus*. ErFor, Band 95. Darmstadt.

Levine, Baruch A.  

Levine, Lee I.  

Liddell, H. G. & Scott, R.  

Linnemann, Eta  

Lohmeyer, Ernst  
Bibliography

Lunt, H. G.

Luz, Ulrich
2002 Das Evangelium nach Matthäus (Mt 1-7) EKK I/1. 5., völlig neubearbeitete Auflage. Zürich – Düsseldorf – Neukirchen-Vluyn.

Maier, Johann

Maisch, Ingrid

Mann, C. S.

Manson, T. W.

Marjanen, Antti

Marsh, Clive
Marshall, I. Howard

Mayer, Günter

McKay, Heather A.

McKnight, Scot

Meier, John P.

Mell, Ulrich
Metso, Sarianna

Mieder, Wolfgang

Miller, Patrick D. Jr.

Miller, Robert J.

De Moor, Johannes C.

Moxnes, Halvor

Mulder, Otto

Murphy-O’Connor, Jerome
Myllykoski, Matti

Neirynck, Frans

Neusner, Jacob

Newsom, Carol A.

Niederwimmer, Kurt

O’Neill, J. C.

Nitzan, Bilhah
Nolland, John

Noack, Bent

Oakman, Douglas E.

Olson, Dennis T.

Pesch, Rudolf

Pesch, Wilhelm

Philonenko, Marc
Piper, Ronald, A.

Plummer, Alfred

Pokorný, Petr

Preuss, H. D.

Priest, J.

Reicke, Bo

Reid, Barbara E.

Reif, Stefan C.
Bibliography

Rengstorf, Karl Heinrich

Reventlow, Henning Graf

Ringgren, Helmer

Robinson, James M., Hoffmann, Paul & Kloppenborg John S.(eds.)

Rogers, Tim B.

Runesson, Anders

Ruzer, Serge

Safrai, S.

Saldarini, Anthony J.
Sarason, Richard S.

Sato, Migaku

Sauer, Jürgen

Schiffman, Lawrence H.

Schnackenburg, Rudolf
Bibliography

Schneider, Gerhard

Schnider, Franz

Schniewind, Julius

Schottroff, Luise

Schuller, Eileen M.

Schulz, Siegfried
Schürer, Emil

Schürmann, Heinz

Schwarz, Günther
1997  “‘Die Häuser der Witwern verzehren’? (Markus 12,40 / Lk 20,47)”. *BN 88.* Pp. 45-46.

Schwarz, Günther & Schwarz, Jörn

Schweizer, Eduard
1968  *Das Evangelium nach Markus. NTD 1.* Göttingen.

Scott, Bernard Brandon
1990  *Hear Then the Parable: A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus.* Minneapolis.

Seeley, David

Seland, Torrey

Sievers, Joseph
1981  “‘Where Two or Three...’: The Rabbinic Concept of *Shekhinah* and Matthew 18,20”. *Standing before God: Studies*

Smith, Morton
1981 Jesus the Magician. San Francisco.

Snodgrass, Klyne

Soares-Prabhu, George M.

Söding, Thomas

Spencer, William David and Aída Besançon

Spittler, R. P.

Stählin, Gustav

Stegemann, Hartmut

Stemm, Sönke von
1997 “Der betende Sünder vor Gott: Lk 18, 9-14 zur Rezeption von Psalm 51(50), 19”. The Scriptures in the Gospels. Ed. C. M.
Bibliography


Stern, Sacha

Steudel, Annette

Stolle, Volker

Strecker, Georg

Strotmann, Angelika

Syreeni, Kari

Talmon, Shemaryahu
Tan, Betty O. S.

Tannehill, Robert C.

Tate, Marvin E.

Taussig, Hal
1999 Jesus Before God: The Prayer Life of the Historical Jesus. Santa Rosa, California.

Theissen, Gerd

Theissen, Gerd & Märtz, Annette

Thomson, James G. S. S.

Tuckett, Christopher M.

VanderKam, James C.
Vansina, Jan

Vermes, Geza

Vielhauer, Philipp

Viviano, B. T.

Vögtle, Anton

Waetjen, Herman C.

Wagner, S

Watts, John D. W.

Weaver, Dorothy Jean
Weder, Hans

Weinfeld, Moshe

Werline, Rodney Alan

Westermann, Claus

Wick, Peter

Wiefel, Wolfgang

Winninge, Mikael

Witherington III, Ben
Wong, Eric K. C.

Wrege, Hans-Theo

Wright, N. T.

Wright, R. B.

Yadin, Yigael

Zahavy, Tzvee

Zeller, Dieter
Zobel, H.-J.
Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>Anchor Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABD</td>
<td>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AsJT</td>
<td>Asia Journal of Theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BHH</td>
<td>Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BN</td>
<td>Biblische Notizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bib</td>
<td>Biblica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJS</td>
<td>Brown Judaic Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BKAT</td>
<td>Biblische Kommentar Altes Testaments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BThZ</td>
<td>Berliner Theologischen Zeitschrift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BZ N.F.</td>
<td>Biblische Zeitschrift Neue Folge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBQ</td>
<td>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ConBNT</td>
<td>Coniectanea Biblica. New Testament Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darby</td>
<td>Darby Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DJD</td>
<td>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DSD</td>
<td>Dead Sea Discoveries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Echter</td>
<td>Die Neue Echter Bibel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EKK</td>
<td>Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ErFor</td>
<td>Erträge der Forschung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EuA</td>
<td>Erbe und Auftrag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ExWNT</td>
<td>Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FzB</td>
<td>Forschung zur Bibel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forum</td>
<td>Foundations &amp; Facets Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRLANT</td>
<td>Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GFC</td>
<td>Garland Folklore Casebooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herder</td>
<td>Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermeneia</td>
<td>Hermeneia - A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HTR</td>
<td>Harvard Theological Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUCA</td>
<td>Hebrew Union College Annual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICC</td>
<td>The International Critical Commentary on the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Interpretation. A Journal of Bible and Theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBL</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBL.MS</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature, Monograph Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSNT</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSP</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSPSup</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JTS.N.S.</td>
<td>Journal of Theological Studies. New Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAT</td>
<td>Kommentar zum Alten Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KD</td>
<td>Kerygma und Dogma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KJV</td>
<td>King James Version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loeb</td>
<td>The Loeb Classical Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LuThK</td>
<td>Lutherische Theologie und Kirche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAC</td>
<td>The New American Commentary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASB</td>
<td>New American Standard Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCBC</td>
<td>The New Century Bible Commentary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NICNT</td>
<td>The New International Commentary on the New Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIV</td>
<td>New International Version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NKJV</td>
<td>New King James Version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NLT</td>
<td>New Living Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NovT</td>
<td>Novum Testamentum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRSV</td>
<td>New Revised Standard Version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTD</td>
<td>Neues Testament Deutch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTS</td>
<td>New Testament Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÖTNT</td>
<td>Ökumenischer Taschenkommentar zum Neuen Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB</td>
<td>Revue Biblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RevQ</td>
<td>Revue de Qumran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ResQ</td>
<td>Restoration Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSV</td>
<td>Revised Standard Version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBL diss</td>
<td>Society of Biblical Literature. Dissertation Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBS</td>
<td>Stuttgarter Bibelstudien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SJ</td>
<td>Studia Judaica. Forschung zur Wissenschaft des Judentums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUNT</td>
<td>Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ThB</td>
<td>Theologische Beiträge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THKNT</td>
<td>Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRE</td>
<td>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWAT</td>
<td>Theologischer Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWNT</td>
<td>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTB</td>
<td>Uni-Taschenbücher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WBC</td>
<td>World Biblical Commentary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WdF</td>
<td>Wege der Forschung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WUNT</td>
<td>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YLT</td>
<td>Young's Literal Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZNT</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Neues Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZNW</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abbreviations

ZThK Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche
Indices

Index of Modern Authors

Ådna, 3, 170, 234, 245
Alejmelaeus, 35, 39, 88, 90, 96, 104
Albright, 200
Alexander, 4, 60
Allen, 53
Allison, 122, 123, 131, 133, 139, 141, 151, 152, 155, 157, 185, 187, 188, 190, 191, 197
Anderson, 91, 161, 176, 183
Arora, 150
Aune, 25

Bailey, 157, 209, 212, 214, 217, 219, 221, 223, 225, 227
Back, 3, 12
Balentine, 39, 44, 52, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 89, 93, 96, 97, 101, 133, 229, 251
Baltzer, 94, 124, 125
Barr, 135, 136
Barta, 81, 139
Bauer, 178, 196
Beasley-Murray, 133, 138
Becker, 8, 10, 15, 18, 20
Begrich, 66, 104, 105
Biger, 16, 18, 19, 25, 165, 209
Berkovits, 39
Best, 164
Betz, O, 248
Beyer, 213
Bickerman, 60, 79, 81, 82
Billerbeck, 58, 59, 60, 81, 83
Blank, 35, 45, 51, 55, 68, 88, 96, 97, 100, 101, 136
Blomberg, 21, 24, 135, 190, 197, 201, 209, 218, 219, 220, 224, 228
Bocaccini, 23
Boeckler, 36
Börge, 156
Bornemann, 220
Bornkamm, 29
Bovon, 127, 128, 129, 131, 133, 139, 146, 151, 154, 155, 156, 209, 210,

Bradshaw, 53, 54, 56
Brooks, 165, 166
Brown, 131, 133
Brox, 155
Bultmann, 1, 2, 28, 29, 83, 120, 156, 161, 185, 217, 218, 224, 246
Burke, 5
Byrskog, 7

Cameron, 24
Campenhausen von, 147, 237, 241, 249
Carlston, 156
Carrard, 5
Catchpole, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 215, 217
Cavaletti, 83
Chancey, 24, 196
Charlesworth, 4, 7, 22, 25, 34, 39, 72, 82, 83, 99, 106, 108, 131, 197, 198
Chazon, 41, 55, 71, 76, 78
Chilton, 4, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 128, 133, 135, 137, 147, 168, 170, 204, 233
Corley, 91, 135
Craigie, 166
Crossan, 3, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 23, 24, 25, 129, 141, 142, 147, 148, 150, 153, 162, 171
Crump, 124, 161, 208, 209, 217, 231
Cullmann, 32, 134, 138, 146, 157, 161, 233, 238, 241

Davies, 122, 123, 131, 133, 139, 141, 151, 152, 155, 157, 185, 187, 188, 190, 191, 197
Davila, 4, 41, 57, 73, 74, 75
De Moor, 128
Dehandshutter, 24
Deissler, 136, 140
Delling, 210, 217, 218, 219
Derrett, 179, 180, 208, 209, 210, 213
Di Lella, 45, 53, 58, 59, 84, 103, 106, 110, 111
Dietzfelbinger, 185, 187
Dorneich, 5
Douglas, 129, 131, 141, 246
Dowd, 162, 191
Downing, 23, 224, 225, 227

298
Indices

Dschulnigg, 169
Dumoulin, 217
Dundenberg, 10
Dunn, 8, 14, 16, 23, 25, 31, 39, 119, 135, 143, 145
Ellis, 165
Envall, 150, 156
Evans, C. A., 16, 18, 23, 24, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 175, 179, 234, 235
Evans, C. F., 128, 129, 135, 139, 144, 156, 221, 225
Falk, 23, 41, 54, 55, 56, 60, 73, 74, 75, 76, 86, 112
Farris, 224, 226, 227, 229
Fenske, 36, 93, 131, 133, 134, 146, 192, 231, 234, 236, 241, 243, 247
Ferguson, 42
Fiensy, 40, 141
Fizmyer, 129, 133, 138, 151, 155, 157, 176
Fleddermann, 176, 178, 179, 181, 268
Flusser, 40, 78, 97, 139, 140, 199, 201, 203, 205, 207
Freed, 219, 220
Frennesson, 50, 51, 76, 78
Frey, 248
Fuhs, 155
Gerhardsson, 185, 188, 190, 191
Gerstenberger, 85, 251
Gese, 128, 131, 133, 134
Gesenius, 141
Gnilka, 9, 120, 121, 122, 126, 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 157, 162, 163, 164, 167, 172, 174, 175, 179, 181, 183, 185, 187, 188, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 203, 237, 240
Goldingay, 53
Goldsmith, 153, 154, 156, 171
Goulder, 8, 128, 146, 147, 203, 224, 225, 227, 230, 231, 232
Graf-Stuhlhofer, 39
Graubard, 139
Green, 181, 220, 221, 225, 266
Greenberg, 40, 45, 52, 69, 70, 89, 97, 99, 109, 110
Greeven, 151, 211, 215
Gruenwald, 85
Grundmann, 119, 161, 164, 166, 167, 169, 175, 176, 179, 185, 190, 192, 196, 197, 201, 202
Grzybek, 155
Guelich, 128, 129, 131, 133, 134, 135, 138, 139, 185, 188, 189, 190, 191, 194, 197
Gundry, 128, 129, 131, 133, 134, 135, 138, 139, 185, 188, 189, 190, 191, 194, 197
Güntner, 29, 133, 138
Haacker, 146, 148
Haenchen, 162
Häkkinen, 51
Harrington, 6, 21, 22, 23, 54
Hartman, 45, 53
Harvey, 23, 165, 170
Hasel, 251
Heiler, 3, 108, 109
Heinemann, 4, 83, 84, 92, 139, 182, 198
Henaut, 150
Hengel, 48, 49, 50, 125
Herrmann, 191
Hickling, 185, 189
Hicks, 209, 217, 218, 220
Hill, 152, 192, 196, 197, 201
Hoffner, 44
Holmén, 1, 10, 12, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 121, 127, 164, 165, 166, 168, 169, 170, 186, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 232, 234, 237
Holmgren, 224, 225
Holm-Nielsen, 111
Horsley, 141, 143
Hossfeld, 251
Hultgren, 146, 147
Hurst, 10
Jacobson, 54
Johnson, L. T., 6, 10, 12, 17, 19, 23
Johnson, N. B., 39, 97, 191
Johnson, S. R., 24
Jokiranta, 141
Karris, 4, 28, 145
Käsemann, 1, 2, 11, 18
Kee, 123
Kilgallen, 224, 227
Kimelman, 79
Kindl, 251
Kingsbury, 191
Kloppenborg (Verbin), 16, 119, 122, 209,
Knoch, 129, 131, 133, 134, 135, 139,
237
Knohl, 60
Kosch, 119, 121
Kraus, 44, 53, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70
Kremer, 179
Krüger, 105
Kugler, 42
Kuhn, 128
Laaksonen, 1, 3, 10, 12, 128, 131, 139,
146, 148, 149, 165
Laato, 66, 69, 125
Lachs, 155, 191, 195
Lane, 161, 162, 172, 176
Larson, 95
Layton, 24
Lehnardt, 42, 82
Leroy, 1
Levine, L. I., 47, 50, 82, 83
Liddell, 175, 176, 177
Linnemann, 217, 218, 219, 220, 223,
224, 226, 227, 229
Lohmeyer, 128, 129, 133
Lunt, 106, 107
Luz, 9, 119, 120, 121, 123, 127, 128,
131, 132, 133, 145, 146, 155, 156,
157, 185, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192,
193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200,
201, 202, 206
Maier, 6
Maisch, 199
Mann, 164, 165, 168, 170, 172, 176,
179, 200
Manson, 122, 126, 129, 158, 190, 191,
197, 207, 208, 217, 221, 223, 224,
227, 228
Marjanen, 11
Marsh, 2
Marshall, 124, 129, 130, 131, 146, 180,
191, 209, 217, 218, 219, 220, 222,
224, 225, 226, 227, 230, 236
Mayer, 40
McKay, 47, 48, 49
McKnight, 142, 143
Meier, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17,
18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 142, 143,
144, 146, 149, 204, 247
Mell, 128, 129, 131, 147, 148, 194
Metso, 42
Mieder, 156
Miller, P. D. Jr., 67, 68
Miller, R. J., 246
Moxnes, 22
Mulder, 58
Murphy-O’Connor, 165
Myllykoski, 3
Neirynck, 119
Neusner, 43
Newsom, 77, 78
Niederwimmer, 129, 236
Nitzan, 4, 42, 55, 56, 73, 75, 76, 77, 108
Noack, 196
Nolland, 121, 128, 131, 208, 209, 213,
214, 215, 217, 219, 220, 221, 224,
225, 227, 228, 229, 230
Ó Fearghail, 58, 59, 60
Oakman, 128, 130, 131, 134, 141, 142,
247
Olson, 41, 74, 75, 78
Patterson, 246
Pesch, R., 160, 161, 162, 164, 174, 199,
200, 201, 202, 203, 206
Pesch, W., 199, 200, 203, 206
Philonenko, 128, 130, 131, 132, 133,
135, 139, 140, 142, 145, 191, 192,
193
Piper, 151, 153, 155, 156, 157
Plummer, 208, 217
Pokorný, 201, 202, 205
Preuss, 62
Priest, 182
Reicke, 58
Reid, 218, 220
Indices

Reif, 39, 42, 45, 53, 55, 106, 110
Rengstorf, 151
Reventlow, 36, 52, 61, 93, 97, 100, 105,
Ringgren, 61, 63
Risch, 220
Rogers, 156
Runesson, 6, 42, 47, 49, 50
Ruzer, 122

Safrai, 59
Saldarini, 141
Sanders, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 22, 24,
43, 45, 47, 50, 51, 57, 137, 143, 164,
165, 168, 169, 170, 196, 233, 234,
Sarason, 42, 57
Sato, 121, 127
Sauer, 127
Schildman, 41, 42, 51
Schnackenburg, 157, 185, 187, 190,
200, 202, 203
Schneider, 121, 126, 128, 131, 133,
138, 209, 213, 215, 217, 220, 221,
224, 227, 229
Schnieder, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229
Schneider, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229
Schniewind, 185, 191, 201
Schottroff, 224, 225, 230, 231
Schuller, 78, 92
Schulz, 131, 133, 151, 152, 155
Schürer, 58, 59
Schürmann, 129, 141, 151, 152, 153,
154, 156, 208
Schwarz, G., 128, 179
Schwarz, J., 128
Schweizer, 122, 151, 156, 164, 168,
169, 185, 187, 191, 192, 197
Scott, 175, 176, 177, 209, 212, 213,
217, 220, 224, 226, 227, 229
Seeley, 168
Seland, 93, 95
Sievors, 200, 202, 204, 207
Skehan, 103, 106, 110, 111
Smith, 23
Snodgrass, 209, 212
Soares-Prabhu, 30, 31, 131, 133, 237,
240, 241, 243
Söding, 161, 172, 174
Spencer, 4, 28
Spittler, 137
Stählin, 176
Stegemann, 41, 42, 50
Stemm von, 216, 225, 227, 228
Stern, 41
Steudel, 50
Stolle, 240, 249
Strecker, 121, 122, 123, 127, 131, 133,
141, 146, 187, 190, 191, 192, 196,
197
Strotmann, 82, 125, 126, 135, 136, 137,
138
Syreeni, 185, 187, 189, 190
Talmor, 41, 42, 50, 109, 112, 244, 245
Tan, 216, 225, 227
Tannehill, 155, 156
Tate, 53
Taussig, 4, 14, 32, 33, 128, 129, 132,
135, 142, 231
Theissen, 19, 141, 143, 169, 245
Thomson, 28
Tuckett, 24
VanderKam, 39, 42, 55
Vansina, 6, 7
Vermes, 12, 22, 23, 76, 77, 135
Vielhauer, 24
Viviano, 133, 135, 139, 192, 206
Vögtle, 131, 133, 138, 139
Waetjen, 208, 214
Wagner, 251
Watts, 167
Weaver, 222
Weder, 208, 217, 220, 223
Weinfeld, 53, 72
Werline, 4, 39, 71, 98
Westermann, 66, 67
Wick, 185, 186, 190, 194, 201
Wiefel, 151, 152, 156, 179
Winninge, 40, 111, 145
Witherington III, 3, 8, 13, 16, 18, 23,
24, 143, 180, 182, 183, 218, 221
Wong, 127
Wrege, 119
Wright, N. T., 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14,
15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 25, 128, 129, 135,
142, 143, 144, 165, 166, 168, 234
Wright, R. B., 111

Yadin, 76

301
Indices

Zeller, 120, 122, 123, 135, 155, 157, 185, 187, 194, 195, 199
Zobel, 97
## Hebrew Bible

### Genesis
- 6:9: 100
- 15:6: 100
- 18:22: 61
- 18:25: 97
- 24:26,48: 62
- 24:27: 52
- 28:10-22: 45
- 35:14-15: 45
- 43:30: 190

### Exodus
- 2:24-25: 96
- 9:29,33: 61
- 15:1-8: 109
- 15:1-18,21: 52
- 18:10: 52, 67
- 19:18: 45
- 23:4: 123
- 29:39: 53
- 30:7-8: 53
- 32:11-14: 109
- 32:11-14,31-34: 93
- 32:12-13: 96
- 33:17: 100
- 34:8: 62

### Leviticus
- 9:5: 61
- 19:18: 122
- 21:6: 103
- 6:40-45: 100, 146

### Numeri
- 14:13-19: 93
- 21:7: 93

### Deuteronomium
- 4:7: 245
- 8:5-10: 57
- 9:20: 93-94
- 10:8: 62
- 17:12: 62

### Judges
- 7:15: 62
- 11:29-31: 105
- 11:29-40: 52
- 13:8: 52
- 15:18: 52
- 16:28: 52
- 21:2-3: 52

### Ruth
- 4:14: 52

### 1. Samuel
- 1:9-18: 45
- 1:10-11: 109
- 1:11: 52, 105
- 1:24-28: 100
- 2:1-10: 109
- 3:1-21: 100
- 7:5: 93
- 12:19,23: 93
- 14:23-46: 52
- 23:11: 52
- 24:2: 122
- 24:6: 122
- 25:32,39: 52

### 1. Kings
- 3:5-9: 109
- 3:11-12: 105
- 5:21: 52
- 8:22: 61
- 8:22,29-30: 44
- 17:20-21: 65, 109
- 18:36: 53
- 19:45: 45
- 22:25: 190

### 2. Kings
- 4:32-35: 65
- 5:11: 61
- 19:15: 89
- 20:2: 99
- 22:19: 100, 146

### 1. Chronicles
- 15:16: 65
- 17:13: 136
- 22:10: 136
- 28:6: 136
- 29:20: 62

### 2. Chronicles
- 5:13: 65
- 7:3: 62
- 7:6: 65
- 7:14: 100, 146
- 20:5-13: 44
- 20:6-12: 88
- 20:13: 61
- 29:28-30: 62
- 29:29: 62
- 30:21: 65
- 33:12-13: 100, 110, 146
- 34:27: 100, 146
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Chapter(s)</th>
<th>Verse(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ezra</td>
<td>9:3</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9:4-5</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9:5</td>
<td>61-62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9:6-15</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehemiah</td>
<td>1:4-11</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:4</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:5</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:5-11</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5:19</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8:6</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9:2</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9:3-5</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9:6-37</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12:27</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13:14</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13:22</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esther</td>
<td>4:1-3</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job</td>
<td>1:8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11:13</td>
<td>61, 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19:7</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22:23-27</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41:7-11</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42:7</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>3:1</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4:5,7</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5:4</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5:8</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6:5</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7:1</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11:4</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12:2-5</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13:6</td>
<td>68-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18:1</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22:1,3,24</td>
<td>221-222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22:30</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24:3</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25:7</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26:1-3</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28:2</td>
<td>44, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30:1-4</td>
<td>69-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah</td>
<td>1:15</td>
<td>61, 100, 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26:20</td>
<td>30, 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29:13</td>
<td>237, 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29:13-24</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29:23</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38:3</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45:23</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53:12</td>
<td>94, 124-125, 127-128, 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56:6-7</td>
<td>163, 166-167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56:7</td>
<td>45, 163, 170, 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59:2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62:1,6-7</td>
<td>101-102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63:16</td>
<td>136, 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>64:7</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah</td>
<td>3:4-5</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3:19</td>
<td>136, 138, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7:9-11</td>
<td>163, 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7:10</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7:11</td>
<td>163, 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7:12-15</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7:16</td>
<td>93, 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11:14</td>
<td>93, 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12:1-4</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14:10-12</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14:11</td>
<td>93, 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18:20</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20:7-18</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29:7</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31:9</td>
<td>136, 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37:3</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42:4</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamentations</td>
<td>2:19</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3:41</td>
<td>61, 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecclesiastes</td>
<td>5:1</td>
<td>105-106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5:3-4</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel</td>
<td>8:17-18</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14:4</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Testament</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:11</td>
<td>45, 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:3</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:4-19</td>
<td>70, 97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:21</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>305</td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36:22</td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36:22-32</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36:23</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joel</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:12</td>
<td>64, 237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habakkuk</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos</td>
<td>101, 242</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:21-24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:1-6</td>
<td>93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zechariah</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:13</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonah</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:8</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malachi</td>
<td>136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micah</td>
<td>145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:6-8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Esdra</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobit</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:2-3a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:2-6</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:3-4</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:11-15</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:1-5</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:16-17</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:4</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judith</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:9-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:11</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:29</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:1-14</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:1</td>
<td>54, 63, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:6-8</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:3</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:17</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wisdom of Solomon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:12</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:13-5:23</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:16</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:10</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:2-3</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:3</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:7-10</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:11</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:5</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:4-6</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:10</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:10</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:14</td>
<td>105, 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:9</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:10</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21:5</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23:1,4</td>
<td>90, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28:2</td>
<td>102, 173-174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28:2-5</td>
<td>173, 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34:26</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35:12</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35:12-20</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35:13-15</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35:14-15,18</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35:16-17</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37:15</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38:1-15</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39:5-6</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50:1-21</td>
<td>46, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50:5</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50:17</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50:19</td>
<td>59-60, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51:10</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52:12, i-xvi</td>
<td>84, 106, 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baruch</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:11-14</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:11-3:8</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:12</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:34</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Song of the Three</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:22</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28-68</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Prayer of Manasseh (Whole)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a-10,12-13</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Indices

1. Maccabees
1:6  95
3:47  65
7:36-37  46
12:6-18  95
12:11  82

2. Maccabees
1:24  91
3:15  63
3:19-20  46
8:14-15  98
10:24-26  46
10:25  65
15:12  63
15:12-14  94

1. Enoch
38:1-2  145-146
39:5  94
40:6  94
84:1  63
84:2-4  72
84:5-6  72

Apocryphon of Ezekiel
II (=1Clem 8:3)  137-138, 144

4. Ezra
8:36  72

Apocalypse of Abraham
17:8-15,20  91
17:16  102

Testament of Dan
6:2  94

Testament of Joseph
3:3  192
3:4  192-193
3:5  192

18:2  123

Testament of Job
33  137
33:3  137
33:9  137
46-53  137
47:11  137
50:3  137
52:9  137
52:12  137

Testament of Abraham
Rec. A
6:6  137
9:7  137
16:3  137
20:12  137
20:13  137

Rec. B
7:19  137

Testament of Moses
7:6  182

The Letter of Aristeas
18  102
160  53
192  102
248  95

Jubilees
1:18-19  63
1:23-25  137
1:25  138
1:28  137
13:29  46
19:29  137
25:11-12  46
41:23-26  102

Joseph and Aseneth
11:15,19  46

11:13  137
12:1-2  98
12:13  137
12:14  137
15:7-8  137
29:2-3  122

Life of Adam and Eve
32:1-4  63
32:2  137
32:3  137
35:2  90, 137
35:3  137
36:3  137
37:4  137
38:1  137
38:2  137
43:4  137

The Lives of the Prophets
2:3-4  94
4:4  94

Ladder of Jacob
2:18-21  106

3. Maccabees
1:16  63
2:1  63
2:1-2  91
2:1-20  71
2:10  46
2:13  72
2:21  137
5:7  138
6:1-15  71
6:3,8  91, 138
6:4-8  98

4. Maccabees
4:9  46
4:13  94

Psalms of Solomon
1:2  102
2:24-31  86

306
## Indices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5:1</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:5</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:4</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:5</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:21-26</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:29-31</td>
<td>166-167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer of Jacob</td>
<td>12:8-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2,4a,9,13</td>
<td>106,198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer of Azariah</td>
<td>44:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-13</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liber</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antiquitatum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biblicarum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Pseudo-Phil)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:4</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:8</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Dead Sea Scrolls

#### Damascus Document (CD)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xi:18-21</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi:22-xii:1</td>
<td>50,103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Rule of the Community (1QS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii:4-10</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi:7-8</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii:4-10</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix:26-x:6</td>
<td>55-56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x:10-14</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Festival Prayers (4Q507-509)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(whole)</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Hodayot (1QH^[a-b], 4QH^[a-f] [4Q427-432])

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(whole)</td>
<td>76-77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Daily Prayers (4Q503)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(whole)</td>
<td>73-74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Words of the Luminaries (4Q504-506)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(whole)</td>
<td>74-75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### prayer of Jacob

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### prayer of azariah

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12-13</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum (Pseudo-Phil)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:4</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:8</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### War Scroll (1QM)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xiv:12-14</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv:13</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400-4Q407, 11Q17)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(whole)</td>
<td>77-78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11Q17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii:9</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 1QapGen (1Q20)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xx:12-16</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xx:28-29</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4QPs[a] (4Q171)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(whole)</td>
<td>74-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frag.8</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4QFlor (4Q174)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>frags 1-3</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:6-7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4QMyst[b] (4Q301)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>frag.3</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frag.16</td>
<td>92,138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4Qapocr.Joseph[b] (4Q372)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>frag.126</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4QSapWorkA[a] (4Q418)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>frag.126</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

307
### Indices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4QBarkhi Nafshi(^a)</th>
<th>4QapocrLamB</th>
<th>4QShir(^b) (4Q511)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(4Q434)</td>
<td>(4Q501)</td>
<td>frag. 35:3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(whole)</td>
<td>(whole)</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>11QPs(^a) (11Q5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xix 13-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiv 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Josephus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Against Apion**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>47</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:208-209</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:193</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:196</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Antiquities of the Jews**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>48</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:212</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:256-264</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:162</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:15</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:63</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 19:300-301              | 49 |

**The Life of Flavius Josephus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>47</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Philo**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flaccus (Flacc.)</th>
<th>47</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40-55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120-123</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**On the Special Laws (Spec.Leg.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>48</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:97</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:60-62</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:167</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Every Good Man is Free (Quod Omn.Prob.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>49</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:123-128</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Moses, I (Mos.I)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>94</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**On Dreams (Som.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>49</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:123-128</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Questions and Answers on Exodus (Quaest. In Ex.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>94</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:11</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**New Testament and the Q-source**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:20-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:27-28,35c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:46-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:2-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:9-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

308
Indices

11:13  174, 248
12:22-31  134, 195, 240, 246
12:25  214
12:30b  195
14:16-24  142, 232
15:3-7  199
15:4  151
17:3  199
17:4  199
17:6  163
6:1  188
6:2  187
6:3  188
6:4  187
6:5  235-236, 242
6:5-8  185
6:5-6  32, 185-194, 207
6:6  30, 233, 243, 248
6:7  29, 32, 187, 223, 243
6:7-15  185
6:7-8  9, 185, 194-199, 207
6:9a  194
6:9  187
6:9-13  129-130, 185, 194
6:9-15  194
6:12  185
6:14-15  185
6:14  163, 172
6:15  172
6:16  187-188, 193, 243
6:16-18  185, 192
6:17  188
6:17-18  192
6:18  187, 193
7:7  32
7:7-11  150
12:11  214
16:19  199
16:28  204-205
18:1-5  199
18:1-35  199
18:6-9  199
18:10-14  199
18:15-17  199
18:18  199
18:19  32
18:19-20  8, 30, 199-207, 234-235
18:21-22  199
18:23-35  142
19:30  229
21:20-22  172
21:31  229
21:31-32  142-143, 230
23:2  189
23:5  243
23:6  175
23:12  234
28:20  201
Mark
1:15  230
1:35  234
2:14  143
2:15-16  143
2:16-17  230
2:17  143
2:18-19  237
4:2  175
4:18  176
6:13  160
6:41  237
6:46  234
8:15  230
9:1  204-205
9:14-29  160
9:19  160
9:23-24  160-161
9:25  160
9:28-29  160-161
9:29  160-161, 184, 236
9:34-37  199
9:42-47  199
10:31  229
11:12-25  162
11:12-14  162
11:15-18  163-170, 184, 193, 243
11:15-19  162
11:17  233
11:20-21  162
11:20-24  172
11:22-25  161-162
11:23  162-163
11:24-25  163
11:24  32, 153, 158, 162-163, 171, 184
11:26  172
12:6  231
12:11  151
12:35-37  175
12:35  175
12:38  243
12:38-40  175-184, 189, 193
12:40  199, 242-243
12:41-44  175
12:42  175
13:2  169
14:22-23  237
14:25b  205
14:26  237
14:32-42  234
14:36  32, 174, 238
14:58  169
Luke
5:16  234
6:12  234
6:22-23  126
6:27  120
### Indices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6:27-36</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:27-28,35c</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:28</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:29-31</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:35</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:35c</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:35-36</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30-37</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:2-4</td>
<td>129-130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:5</td>
<td>151, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:5-8</td>
<td>29, 32, 158, 208-216, 218, 223, 232, 241, 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:9-13</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:11b</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:11-12</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:11-13</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:13</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:43</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:17-19</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:7-11</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:12-14</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:11</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:28</td>
<td>151, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:1</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:4</td>
<td>151, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:11-32</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:17-19</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:19-31</td>
<td>142, 231-232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:7</td>
<td>151, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:20-21</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:1</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:1-14</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:1-8</td>
<td>29, 32, 158, 184, 208, 216-223, 232, 241, 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:4b-5</td>
<td>211-212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:5</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:7</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:9</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:9-14</td>
<td>142, 216, 223-232, 233, 235-236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:10-13</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:10-14a</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:11-12</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:46</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:47</td>
<td>175, 177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### John

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:12</td>
<td>127, 201, 248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:19</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:23</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:18</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:21-24</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:13</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:22</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:23</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:1,5,11,21,24,25</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:17</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:23</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Acts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:46</td>
<td>170, 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:1</td>
<td>54, 231, 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:16</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:6</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:5</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21:26</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27:30</td>
<td>177, 179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Romans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:9-10,15-17</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:15</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:14-21</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 1. Corinthians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:13,15</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:26b</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Galatians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:7</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:4-7</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:6</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:11</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Ephesians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:19-22</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Philippians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:18</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 1. Thessalonians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:5</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### James

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:5-7</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:3</td>
<td>158, 240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 1. Peter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:17</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:5</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 1. John

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5:13</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

### Rabbinic literature

#### Mishna

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ber 1</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 1:1</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 1:3</td>
<td>57, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 1:4</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 3:5</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 4</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 4:4</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 4:5-6</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 5:1</td>
<td>64, 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 5:2</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 5:5</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 6</td>
<td>57, 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 7</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 8</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 8:1.8</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 9</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber 9:3</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta' an 1:1-3</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta' an 1:4-7</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta' an 1:8</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

310
Indices

Ta'an 2:2-3 65
Ta'an 3:8  84
Ta'an 4  54
Tam 7:3  59
’Abot 3:3  203-204

Ber 3:3  108
Ber 3:5  64
Ber 3:7  99
Ber 3:9  107
Ber 3:14  52
Ber 3:14-16  52
Ber 3:15-17,20-21  64
Ber 3:16  113
Ber 3:20  103
Ber 4:1-5:13  57
Ber 5:14-24  57
Ber 5:25-30  57
Ber 6  58
Ber 6:7  108
Ber 6:18  87, 226-

Babylonian

Talmud

Ber 28b  226
Ber 60b  140

Targum to the
Song of Songs

4:16  60

Other ancient literature

Didache
8:2  129
8:2-3  236

Gospel of Thomas
6  11
14  11
104  11

1. Clement
8:3 (=ApocEzekII)  137

Eusebios,
Ecclesiastical
History
III, 39:15  7
IV, 22:7  22

Prayer of
Lamentation to
Ishtar

Thucydides. The
Peloponnesian War
3:86.4  177-179
6:33.2  179
The aim of this book is to study Jesus’ teaching about prayer and how the early Jewish prayer life is reflected in his teaching. It turns out that the emphasis in Jesus’ teaching was somehow different from his Jewish context. On the one hand, Jesus was quite unconcerned about some aspects of prayer, which were important to his contemporaries. On the other hand, the prayer address chosen by Jesus was one of the most marginal Jewish prayer addresses. He made ‘Father’ the prayer address, and elaborated his whole teaching on prayer almost entirely around it and its meaning.