



Ville Auvinen
Jesus' Teaching
on Prayer





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Åbo Akademi University Press

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E-mail: forlaget@abo.fi

<http://www.abo.fi/stiftelsen/forlag/>

Distribution: **Oy Tibo-Trading Ab**

P.O.Box 33, FIN-21601 PARGAS, Finland

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Ville Auvinen

ÅBO 2003

ÅBO AKADEMIS FÖRLAG – ÅBO AKADEMI UNIVERSITY PRESS

CIP Cataloguing in Publication

Auvinen, Ville

Jesus' teaching on prayer / Ville Auvinen. -
Åbo : Åbo Akademi University Press, 2003.

Diss.: Åbo Akademi University.

ISBN 951-765-148-1

ISBN 951-765-148-1

ISBN 951-765-149-X (digital)

Åbo Akademi University Printing House

Åbo 2003

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.

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1. Introduction

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.¹ 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.² 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.

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However, even regarding the proclamation, he remains somehow skeptical of the possibilities of reaching the authentic teaching of Jesus,⁴ 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.⁵

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 20.10.1953.⁶ 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’.⁷ 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 uniformly⁸ 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.⁹

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*,¹⁰ 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

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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".

¹¹ *Die Letzten Tage Jesus. Markus, (und) Johannes, ihre Traditionen und die historische Frage. Band I-II* (1991, 1994).

¹² *Jesus of Nazareth and the Sabbath Commandment* (1995).

¹³ *Jesu Stellung zum Temple. Die Tempelaktion und das Tempelwort als Ausdruck seiner messianischen Sendung* (2000).

¹⁴ *Jesus & Jewish Covenant Thinking* (2001).

¹⁵ *Jesus und das Land. Das Gelobte Land in der Verkündigung Jesu* (2002).

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.

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about ancient prayer in general.¹⁸ The standard form-historical study of Rabbinic prayer by JOSEPH HEINEMANN¹⁹ 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,²⁰ RODNEY ALAN WERLINE'S study of penitential prayer in early Judaism²¹, BILHAH NITZAN'S comprehensive study of prayer at Qumran²², JAMES R. DAVILA'S commentary on the liturgical texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls,²³ and ZWEE ZAHAVY'S studies about Rabbinic prayer.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.²⁵

There are, of course, also several new books about New Testament and especially Jesus' prayer.²⁶ Here we could mention, for example, WILLIAM DAVID and AÍDA 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)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).

¹⁸ *Das Gebet: Eine religionsgeschichtliche und religionspsychologische Untersuchung* (1919). The latest reprinting of English translation *The Prayer: A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion* is from 1997.

¹⁹ *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns* (1977).

²⁰ For example: *A Prolegomenon to a New Study of the Jewish Background of the Hymns and Prayers in the New Testament* in *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1982), *Jewish Hymns, Odes, and Prayers (ca. 167 B.C.E. – 135 C.E.) in Early Judaism and its modern Interpreters* (1986), *Prayer in early Judaism* in *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (1992), *Jewish Prayers in the Time of Jesus in The Lord's Prayer – Perspectives for Reclaiming Christian Prayer* (1993), *Prayer in the New Testament in Light of Contemporary Jewish Prayers* in *SBL Seminar Paper Series* 32 (1993).

²¹ *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution* (1998).

²² *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (1994).

²³ *Liturgical Works* (2000).

²⁴ *The Mishnah Law of Blessings and Prayers* (1987); *Studies in Jewish Prayer* (1990) and several articles.

²⁵ E.g. *Standing before God: Studies on Prayer in Scriptures and in Tradition with Essays* (1981), *The Lord's Prayer and Other Prayer Texts from the Greco-Roman Era* (1994), *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine: A Critical Anthology* (1997).

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.

²⁷ German original 1994.

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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

²⁸ Dorneich 1982 and 1988.

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.

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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.³⁰

Regarding Jesus-of-history -research JOHN P. MEIER puts the matter as follows: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,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.³³

The dilemma of Jesus-of-history -research is mainly due to the nature of the sources.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.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.

³¹ Meier 1991, 24.

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).

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interpretation.³⁶ Further, as JOHN DOMINIC CROSSAN remarks, for example the synoptic parables of Jesus are short summaries of the original stories presented by Jesus.³⁷

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.³⁸ It is just this ‘more or less’, which makes the whole matter so difficult and controversial.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰

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

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.

³⁸ Crossan 1991, xxx; Meier 1991, 41; Wright 1996, 22: “The gospels are faith-documents, not history-books.” Charlesworth 1996, 81.

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.

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about Jesus on tradition?⁴¹ 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,⁴² 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,⁴³ 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.

⁴³ Sanders 1985, 15; Becker 1996, 6.

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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:

Inhaltlich könnte es von Jesus stammen.⁴⁵

Or like this:

Für 7f ist, obwohl die Verse nicht vom ihm stammen, eine ausserordentliche 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 Gnlika 1986, 211 about the same passage.

⁴⁷ See nevertheless Wright 1996, 24, who points out the problems of tradition history.

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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 retranlations. Becker 1996, 10.

⁴⁹ Sanders 1993, 60-61.

⁵⁰ See Johnson 1996, 131.

⁵¹ Sanders 1993, 76-77.

⁵² See Meier 1991, 127-139. See also p. 24.

⁵³ For example Meier 1991, 44 considers John an independent witness, but e.g. Dunderberg 1994, 190-192 as dependent. See Holmén 2001a, 24; Laaksonen 2002, 23-24. About discussion about the relationship between John and the Synoptics see Dunderberg 1994, 12-23.

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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.

⁵⁶ Marjanen 1998, 168-170.

⁵⁷ Marjanen 1998, 170.

⁵⁸ Marjanen 1998, 170-172.

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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,

⁵⁹ In this question I follow my Åbo Akademi University colleagues Back 1995, 16; Holmén 2001a, 25 and Laaksonen 2002, 24. See also p. 24.

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.

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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.

⁶⁷ Witherington III 1995, 82; Wright 1996, 88.

⁶⁸ Crossan 1991, xxxiv speaks of "honesty", Wright 1996, 55 of "public nature" of the research and Meier 1991, 5 of "honest admission of one's own personal stance."

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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 TAUSSIG'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.

⁷⁰ Wright 1996, 87-88.

⁷¹ See Dunn 2002, 142-147 for a critical evaluation of Wright's book.

⁷² Taussig 1999.

⁷³ A more profound discussion about Taussig's thesis is found on p. 32.

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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.⁷⁴

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.⁷⁵ 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 –⁷⁶ 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,⁷⁷ 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 Jesusrest zu einem Jesusbild, 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

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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.⁷⁸ 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,⁷⁹ I would not call working with them "pseudo-historical use of home-made 'criteria'", as N.T. WRIGHT

of attempts to solve the synoptic problem is to be found in Kloppenborg Verbin 2000, 11-54.

⁷⁸ A further question is the thesis about different layers of Q and about the Q people, who were responsible for the compilation of the document. A good presentation of the discussion about these matters is to be found in Kloppenborg Verbin 2000, 128-214. These theses are, nevertheless, not generally accepted; see e.g. Witherington III 1994, 211-212; Meier 1996, 357-359; Evans 1999, 3-14; Dunn 2002, 151-152. I will not consider the different theses, because I think they are not very relevant to my study. Namely, though the thesis about different layers of the Q would be right, it is, nevertheless, altogether possible that an authentic saying of Jesus may appear in the document in an either early or later phase. In addition, at least in Kloppenborg's reconstruction of the formation of the Q, those Q-passages I will deal with in this study belong to the earliest phase, "the formative stratum" in Kloppenborg's nomenclature; Kloppenborg 1987, 317-322; Kloppenborg Verbin 2000, 146.

⁷⁹ See e.g. Berger 1998, 52-58.

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does, but, rather, serious use of *frontisterion*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.*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.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.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

⁸⁰ The Greek word φροντιστήριον means 'a place for hard thinking'.

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.

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.

⁸³ Meier 1991, 172; Johnson 1996, 129.

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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.⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵

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.⁸⁶

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.⁸⁷ 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.⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹ 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.

⁸⁴ Evans 1995, 21; Holmén 2001, 30-31.

⁸⁵ See Becker 1996, 4-5.

⁸⁶ See e.g. Evans 1995, 20; Berger 1998, 52; Holmén 2001, 28-29.

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.

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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 Münchhausen, 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*. It 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.

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inauthentic.⁹⁴ There, nevertheless, lurks a danger also here to make too hasty conclusions.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.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.

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.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.

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.⁹⁸ Palestinian local color is thus a *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.

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

⁹⁴ Holmén 2001, 35.

⁹⁵ Meier 1991, 176-177.

⁹⁶ Becker 1996, 18-19.

⁹⁷ Meier 1991, 177; Holmén 2001, 34-35.

⁹⁸ Meier 1991, 180; Holmén 2001, 35.

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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

⁹⁹ Meier 1991, 183.

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.

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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*,¹¹⁰ 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,¹¹¹ indeed a miracle-working, eschatological one;¹¹² he was a non-Cynic Jewish sage;¹¹³ he was a Hillelite pharisaic teacher;¹¹⁴ he was a Galilean rabbi;¹¹⁵ he was a Galilean charismatic;¹¹⁶ he was a magician¹¹⁷ etc.¹¹⁸ 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.¹¹⁹ 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*)¹²⁰ makes good sense as such, it is problematic mainly due to a quite hypothetical dating of the sources.¹²¹ 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.

¹¹² Meier 1996, 355, 361.

¹¹³ Witherington III 1994.

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.

¹²¹ About criticism of Crossan's method see Witherington III 1995, 77-82 and Wright 1996, 47-52. See also Evans 1995, 27-37.

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and even as independent of the synoptic gospels¹²² – a thesis that is not generally accepted¹²³ – 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: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 essay¹²⁵ and concludes: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 *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee* is illuminating, about the Gentile influence in Galilee: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.¹²⁸

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.

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.

¹²⁴ Crossan 1991, 421.

¹²⁵ Sanders 2002, 3-41.

¹²⁶ Sanders 2002, 36.

¹²⁷ Chancey 2002, 182.

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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.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.¹³⁰ This is so because, as HANS DIETER BETZ states in his commentary to the Sermon on the Mount:¹³¹

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 worshipping community will accept.

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

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.

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.

¹³⁰ Charlesworth 1986, 421.

¹³¹ Betz 1995, 372.

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some traditional ones.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: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,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.

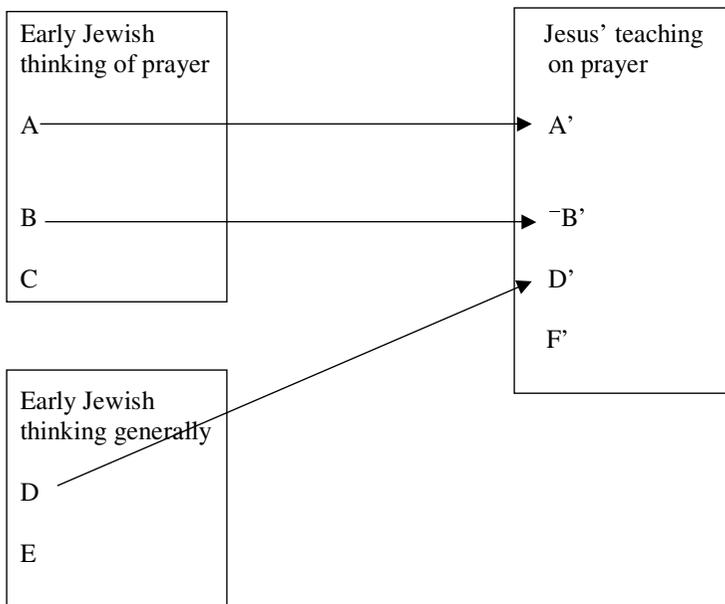
The following table will clarify the options of how Jesus' teaching in principle could have been related to contemporary Judaism:

¹³² Meier 1991, 173.

¹³³ Chilton 1984, 31.

¹³⁴ Holmén 2001b, 153.

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- AA' Early Jewish aspects of prayer, which Jesus adopted and maybe adapted
- B-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.

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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.¹³⁵ 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.¹³⁶

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.¹³⁷

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. 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.

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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*.¹³⁸ 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.¹³⁹ In his *Neutestamentliche Theologie* he discusses the question about *Das neue Beten* under the title of *Das neue Gottesvolk*.¹⁴⁰

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

¹³⁸ Bornkamm 1960, 119-126: chapter *Gebet und Glaube*. (First impression in 1956).

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.

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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.¹⁴¹ 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)¹⁴² 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.

¹⁴² Soares-Prabhu 1990, 31-43.

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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:¹⁴³

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.¹⁴⁴

JAMES D. G. DUNN agrees in his article "Prayer" in *the Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (1992)¹⁴⁵ 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.

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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.

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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".

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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*.¹⁵²

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.

¹⁵² 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."

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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.

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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 3rd 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.

2. Context

The research on prayer in the Hebrew Bible has emphasized the study of Psalms, especially their form and setting.¹⁵⁶ This is, of course, only natural, since the Book of Psalms is *the* Prayer Book of the Hebrew Bible, and, further, it served as a collection of exemplary prayers.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.¹⁵⁸

*Early Jewish literature (except the Dead Sea Scrolls)*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 2nd – 1st centuries B.C.E. to 1st 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.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.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.¹⁶²

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

¹⁵⁶ Balentine 1993a, 13.

¹⁵⁷ Aejmelaeus 1986, 10.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Balentine 1993b, 25. 28.

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.

¹⁶⁰ Dunn 1995, 242.

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.

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.

¹⁶³ Charlesworth 1992, 449.

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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 1st 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. Winnige 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.

¹⁶⁸ E.g. Jdt 4:9-13; 6:18-19; 7:19; 9:1-10:6; 1Mac 3:44-50; 4:40; 5:31-33; 11:71; 2Mac 3:18-22; 8:2-3; 8:14-15; 10:16-26; 11:6; 13:12; 3Mac 1:16-25; 2:1-20; 4:1-10; 5:6-9; 4Mac 4:9.

¹⁶⁹ E.g. Jdt 13:14-18; 16:1-17; 1Mac 4:24-25, 54-55; 2Mac 3:30; 8:27; 10:38; 11:9; 15:29; 15:34; 3Mac 5:13; 5:35; 6:29; 6:35.

¹⁷⁰ The Book of Ben Sira originates probably from 2nd 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*¹⁷¹. 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.¹⁷² 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^{a-b} [4Q507-508], 4QpapPrFêtes^c [4Q509]¹⁷³), the *Words of the Luminaries* (4QDibHam^{a,c} [4Q504, 506]), the *Daily Prayers* (4QpapPrQuot [4Q503]), the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4QShirShabb^{a-h} [4Q400-4Q407], 11QShirShabb [11Q17]), *Hodayot* (1QH^{a-b}, 4QH^{a-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.¹⁷⁴ 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.¹⁷⁵ 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.

The names and abbreviations of the manuscripts observe DJD. The translations are from Florentino García Martínez's *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated. The Qumran Texts in English. Second Edition* (1996). Also the references are according to Martínez's book.

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.

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official offering cult in Jerusalem.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, they could not sacrifice elsewhere, because principally they still agreed that Jerusalem was the only place for the sacrificial cult.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 *Damascus Document*¹⁷⁸ instructs:¹⁷⁹

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).

Moreover, several disagreements about the offering regulations made the participating in the contemporary Temple cult problematic.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.¹⁸¹

Early Rabbinic literature. The Rabbinic ideas about prayer are strongly colored by the destruction of the Temple 70 C.E.¹⁸² The sacrificial cult was made impossible, which, for its part, made it necessary to find new ways to live as a Jew.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.¹⁸⁴ This phenomenon is somewhat analogous to the one that happened at Qumran.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁶ Talmon 1978, 273-274; Nitzan 1994, 48.

¹⁷⁷ Stegemann 1994, 267. It is unlikely, that the Qumranite priests did sacrifice; Kugler 1999, 111.

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.

¹⁷⁹ See Talmon 1978, 279.

¹⁸⁰ Schiffman 1999, 269-271.

¹⁸¹ VanderKam 2001, 211.

¹⁸² See Runesson 2001, 348-349 and Lehnardt 2002, 1.

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.

¹⁸⁴ Zahavy 1987b, 1.

¹⁸⁵ See e.g. Talmon 1978, 274; Schiffman 1999, 274; Sarason 2001, 169 and Reif 2002, 338.

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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.).¹⁸⁶ 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.¹⁸⁷ 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.

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nations (Isa 56:7).¹⁹⁰ 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.¹⁹¹ 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.

¹⁹¹ See Hartman & Di Lella 1978, 199.

¹⁹² See Blank 1961, 83 and Greenberg 1983, 10.17.

¹⁹³ Reif 1993, 45-46.

¹⁹⁴ See p. 51.

¹⁹⁵ Sanders 1998, 80.

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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.

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Apart from the Temple there seems to have been even other places, both in Jerusalem and elsewhere, where people gathered to pray together.¹⁹⁸ 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.¹⁹⁹ 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.²⁰⁰ This seems to indicate, that a house of prayer did exist also in Jerusalem, and maybe several of the kind, as in Alexandria.²⁰¹

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,²⁰² 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,²⁰³ 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.

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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 *προσευχή* 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.²⁰⁴ 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.²⁰⁵ 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,²⁰⁶ 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.²⁰⁷

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 Diaspora²⁰⁸ and in Palestine (Tiberias), probably even in Jerusalem. In fact, archaeological finds and inscriptions give evidence of *προσευχαί* already in the 3rd century B.C.E. in Egypt.²⁰⁹ These houses served as assembly rooms for many purposes, not only especially religious ones.²¹⁰

²⁰⁴ Spec.Leg 2:60-62; Flacc. 49. McKay 1994, 66-67.

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.

²¹⁰ See Hengel 1971, 167-168, who refers to the great synagogue in Alexandria. See also Hengel 1971, 180.

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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.²¹¹ Philo uses the word once²¹² when describing the meeting-places of the Essenes.²¹³ Josephus uses the word in four contexts. He informs us of Synagogues in Antioch²¹⁴, Caesarea²¹⁵ and Dora²¹⁶, and gives an account of a letter of the Emperor Augustus, in which he defends the Jews, their customs and their synagogues.²¹⁷

The descriptions of the synagogues resemble closely those of the houses of prayer,²¹⁸ 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 –²¹⁹ for the same concept.²²⁰

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 συναγωγή, 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.

²¹³ Quod Omn.Prob. 81. McKay 1994, 75.

²¹⁴ JosWar 7:43-45.

²¹⁵ JosWar 2:284-292.

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 תפלה) 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.

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prostration/worship²²¹, (בית השתחורת), and it is said to be ‘a holy house’ (ש[ב]ית קודש).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,²²³ but it seems, I think, more probable, that it describes a specific Qumranic house of prayer,²²⁴ which, for the community, would have replaced the Temple in Jerusalem, which they could not visit.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.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,²²⁷ or towards the Temple in Jerusalem (west). STEUDEL prefers the latter alternative, and, in my opinion, gives convincing arguments for it.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.²²⁹

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.

²²² Steudel 1993, 50-52. Steudel reconstructs the destroyed end of the line 23 as follows: ת[כי ב]י].

²²³ Thus e.g. Runesson 2001, 334-345 and with some reservations Sanders 1998, 351.

²²⁴ So e.g. Hengel 1971, 169; Steudel 1993, 52-55; Levine 2000, 61-62.

²²⁵ Steudel 1993, 65.

²²⁶ Steudel 1993, 59-60. So also Levine 2000, 62 and Runesson 2001, 180-181.

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).

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.

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.

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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.²³⁰ 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 (בית קודש) 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*^b (4Q511) frag. 35 3-4 the Community, or at least a part of it, is compared with a sanctuary:²³¹

Among the holy ones, God makes (some) holy for himself like an everlasting sanctuary (למקדש עולם), 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 (מקדש אדם), to offer him in it, before him, the works of thanksgiving (מעשי תודה).

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,²³² 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.²³³ M*Ber* 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

²³⁰ Sanders 1998, 376-377; Schiffman 1999, 272. See also Frennesson 1999, 28. 66.

²³¹ Frennesson 1999, 74-75.

²³² See Schiffman 1999, 279-280 and Frennesson 1999, 26 n. 79.

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.

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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).

²³⁵ Zahavy 1987b, 3. See also Zahavy 1990, 26.

²³⁶ Balentine 1993b, 26, 31.

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.

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Temple in the evening (see Ex 29:39; 30:7-8).²³⁹ 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.²⁴⁰ 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).²⁴¹ 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.*²⁴² 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:²⁴³

Let every one commemorate (μάρτυρεῖν) 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.²⁴⁴ According to the *Mishnah* it was, nevertheless, accompanied with blessings,²⁴⁵ but it is uncertain, how old this practice is.²⁴⁶

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,

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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 4.²⁴⁷ *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,²⁴⁸ then this passage

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

²⁴⁷ See Bradshaw 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

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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,²⁴⁹ 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.²⁵⁰ 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).²⁵¹ 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 (תעודות עולמים), 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.²⁵² The Rule of the Community gives evidence for this.²⁵³

[] 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.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Reif 2002, 337.

²⁵⁰ See VanderKam 2001, 211.

²⁵¹ An obscure verse 38:34 may refer to a prayer of a craftsman.

²⁵² Chazon 1994, 281; Nitzan 1994, 49-52.

²⁵³ See Falk 2000, 115-121.

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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^a xx:4-11. The text runs:

[For the Instruc]tor, 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.²⁵⁴ It is interesting to note that at Qumran the times for prayer were not established according to the sacrificial timetable, as it

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^a xx:4-7, the scholars suggest two, three or even six hours of daily prayer. However, the scroll 4QpapPrQuot, 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 4QapocrMoses^c (4Q408) frag. 1 6-11 and 4QOrdo (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.

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seems to have been the case in the Hebrew Bible, in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and surely in early Rabbinic literature.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 4Q*Barkhi Nafshi*^a (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.²⁵⁶

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 *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.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 *Shema* twice a day is probably pre-70 C.E.,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 *Amidah*.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.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

²⁵⁵ Sarason 2001, 179.

²⁵⁶ See Davila 2000, 173. 4Q434 is a grace after a family meal in mourning of a recent death.

²⁵⁷ See mBer 1:1-2 and tBer 1:1-2.

²⁵⁸ Cf. p. 53.

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.

²⁶⁰ See mBer 4:1 and tBer 3:1-3.

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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

²⁶¹ Zahavy 1990, 14-15.

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.

²⁶⁵ So Mulder 2002, 225.

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'.

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In this excursus I will try to reconstruct the morning burnt offering service mainly on the basis of Ben Sira's account²⁶⁷ 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.²⁶⁸

Ben Sira's account begins with a description of the former deeds and the great splendor of the high priest Simon.²⁶⁹ The text describes how the high priest²⁷⁰ comes from the "house of the veil" (בית הפרכת; οἶκος καταπετάσματος; Sir 50:5), which in this case probably means the Temple building,²⁷¹ where he has just burned incense.²⁷² He goes up to the bronze altar²⁷³ surrounded by Aronite priests.²⁷⁴ 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,²⁷⁵ and the congregation prostrates itself before God. The Levite²⁷⁶ choir begins their praise and sings psalms.²⁷⁷ During the singing the people pray to God (וירגו כל עם הארץ בתפלה לפני ה' ויהי; και ἐδεήθη ὁ λαὸς κυρίου ὑψίστου ἐν προσευχῇ κατέναντι ἐλεήμονος; Sir 50:19).²⁷⁸

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.

²⁷¹ Ó Fearghail 1978, 307-313; Di Lella 1987, 552.

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^a (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.

2. Context

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 Targum²⁸¹. 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.

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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* (עמד) 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* (כרע). 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 Jehoshaphath 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).

²⁸⁹ Cf. Ps 24:4. See Reventlow 1986, 300.

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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 (כרע) 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 כרע appears in a *parallelismus membrorum* as a synonym to a more frequently used word for worshipping, namely השתחוה²⁹⁰.

Prostrating oneself (השתחוה) 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' (קדד). 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 (כרע) 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 השתחוה, 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 השתחוה see Preuss 1980, 249-250.

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השתחווה 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.²⁹¹

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^a xx:4; 1QH^a frag. 7 i:18), 4Q*SapWorkA*^a (4Q418) frag.126 ii:10 and a passage in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (11Q*ShirShabb* [11Q17] ii:9) refer to bowing down as a prayer posture. Also the name of the house of prayer, בית השתחווה, 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 Shammai, 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.

²⁹¹ Ringgren 1989, 199-200.

2. Context

The *Amidah*, as the very word indicates (תָּמַד 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.

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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),²⁹³ and Elisha acts likewise when he intercedes 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 mannerrism 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 1928²⁹⁴, and his proposition has been followed and elaborated on ever since.²⁹⁵

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.²⁹⁶ 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.²⁹⁷

KRAUS divides the Psalms into six main groups, which are:²⁹⁸

1. Songs of praise (תהלה)
2. Songs of prayer (תפלה)
3. Royal psalms (מעשי למלך)
4. Songs of Zion (שיר 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:²⁹⁹

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.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Laato 2002, 277.

²⁹⁸ Kraus 1978, 36-68.

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- 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.³⁰⁰ Let us take Ex 18:10 and Ps 117 as examples.³⁰¹

Declaration of praise: Praise be to the Lord (ברוך 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 (הללו אתיהוה), 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 ברוך + an epithet of God.³⁰² The call to praise, often expressed with the imperative of הלל or ברך³⁰³ or with the *hifil*-form of ידה³⁰⁴ 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.³⁰⁵

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.

2. Context

KRAUS divides the *Songs of prayer* in three subcategories:

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

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.

2. Context

answering the plea.³¹³ 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*:³¹⁴

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.³¹⁵

The *Thanksgiving song*³¹⁶ 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.

³¹⁴ Cf. Greenberg's 1983, 10-11 analysis of Jacob's prayer in Gen 32:10-13.

³¹⁵ Kraus 1978, 39. See also Laato 2002, 279-280.

³¹⁶ Kraus 1978, 54-55.

2. Context

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:³¹⁷

- 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.³¹⁸ 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.³¹⁹ 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 Balentine 1993b, 27. These prayers represent the latest phase of prayer in the Hebrew Bible.

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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.³²⁰ 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.

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..., 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.

³²² See Charlesworth 1992, 449.

³²³ Balentine 1993b, 27. See also e.g. JosAsen 12-13.

³²⁴ See Weinfeld 1992, 241-258.

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Daily Prayers. (4QpapPrQuot [4Q503])³²⁵ 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.”³²⁶ 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:10-14.³²⁷

The scroll consists of evening and morning prayers for one month, probably the first month of the year.³²⁸ FALK enumerates several observations, which prove that the prayers were public.³²⁹ 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.”³³⁰

The prayers have a highly fixed structure with fixed formulas. FALK presents the structure as follows:³³¹

Evening Prayers

Time	ב — לחודש בערב יברכו וענו ואמרו	On the X of the month in the evening they shall bless. They shall recite, saying:
Opening	ברוך אל ישראל ... אשר פעל ... הפועל ... אלוהי ... ברוך אל אשר	Blessed be the God of Israel, who did ... (3 rd p. relative clause) who does ... (participle clause) (noun clause) Blessed be God who ...
Body	... והלילה ... גורלות אור חושך	And this night ... — X lots of light / darkness
Closing	ברוך שמכה ... אל ישראל or: ברוך אתה אל ישראל	Blessed be your name, God of Israel ... Blessed be you, God of Israel,

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.

³²⁶ Falk 1998, 54-55.

³²⁷ Falk 2000, 115-119.

³²⁸ Nitzan 1994, 50; Falk 1998, 21; Davila 2000, 209.

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

³³⁰ Falk 1998, 53-54.

³³¹ Falk 1998, 41-42. See also Nitzan 1994, 69-71.

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	... אשר פעלתה ... ברוך אל	you did ... (2 nd p. relative cl.) or: Blessed be God ...
Response	שלום עליכה ישראל	Peace be on you, Israel
<i>Morning Prayers</i>		
Time	ובצאת השמש להאיר על הארץ	And when the sun rises to shine on the earth
Opening		(same as evening)
Body	... והיום ב— שערי אור	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 ברוך, ענו, אמר)
3. A blessing formula (ברוך) in the opening and closing of the prayer
4. An addressing God as 'God of Israel' (אל ישראל)³³²
5. A response formula (שלום עליכה ישראל)

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

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

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

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.

³³⁴ Olson 1997, 107; Falk 1998, 59, 88; Davila 2000, 239.

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the scroll indicates, that the prayers were probably used as morning and/or evening prayers.³³⁵

Words of the Luminaries are petitions concerning both spiritual and physical needs of the congregation,³³⁶ for example:

You, acquire us and forgive, [please,] our iniquity and [our sin] (4QDibHam^a [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 Isr[ael from all] the countries, both near and far, [to where you have exiled us] (4QDibHam^a [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.³³⁷

These prayers, like the *Daily Prayers* discussed above, contain several fixed formulas. They open with a remembrance formula “Remember, O Lord” (זכור אדוני).³³⁸ The same formula is used within the main body of the prayer as well.³³⁹ 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 (הודות ביום השבת). Accordingly the prayer begins with an exhortation “Give thanks...” (הודו).³⁴⁰

These prayers close with a blessing formula “Blessed is the Lord...” (ברוך אדוני).³⁴¹ With few exceptions, God is called אדוני throughout the scroll.³⁴²

There is a response formula “Amen, amen” at the very end of the prayers,³⁴³ which is a clear evidence for the liturgical use of the prayers.³⁴⁴

³³⁵ Falk 1998,59. 87; Davila 2000, 240-241.

³³⁶ Falk 1998, 70-71.

³³⁷ Nitzan 1994,99; Olson 1997, 107; Davila 2000, 241.

³³⁸ 4QDibHam^a (4Q504) frag.8 1; frag.3 ii:5.

³³⁹ E.g. 4QDibHam^a (4Q504) frag.6 6; frag.5 ii:3.

³⁴⁰ 4QDibHam^a (4Q504) frags1-2 vii:4.

³⁴¹ 4QDibHam^a (4Q504) frag.4 14; frag.3 ii:2; frags 1-2 vii:1-2.

³⁴² E.g. in 4QDibHam^a (4Q504) frag.8 12, frag.3 ii:2 and frag.4 4 God is called אל.

³⁴³ 4QDibHam^a (4Q504) frag.3 ii:3; frag.4 15; frags1-2 i:7, vii:2.

³⁴⁴ Falk presents several arguments for the liturgical use of the prayers; Falk 1998, 85-87.

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Festival Prayers (4QPrFêtes^{a-b} [4Q507-508], 4QpapPrFêtes^c [4Q509]).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.³⁴⁶

These prayers resemble the *Words of the Luminaries* a lot. We can note that the openings with the remembrance formula,³⁴⁷ the closings with the *berakha*-formula³⁴⁸ and the double 'amen' as a response formula³⁴⁹, 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^{a-b}, 4QH^{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.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.³⁵¹

Significant for the Hymns in *Hodayot* is their external similarity to the canonical Psalms,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.³⁵³

The major theme in the Hymns is the sinfulness of man,³⁵⁴ as well as the election of the author to the lot of those who are saved³⁵⁵ and the anxiety of the author. These themes are usual in the biblical literature, but in the

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

³⁴⁶ Falk 1998, 157.

³⁴⁷ 1QPrFêtes (1Q34) frags 1-2 6; 4QPrFêtes^d (4Q507) frag. 3 2; 4QPrFêtes^b (4Q508) frag. 2 2; 4QPrFêtes^c (4Q509) frags 131-132 ii:5.

³⁴⁸ 1QPrFêtes (1Q34) frags 1-2 4; frag. 3 i:7-8; 4QPrFêtes^d (4Q507) frag. 2 2; frag. 3 1-2; 4QPrFêtes^b (4Q508) frag. 1 3; 4QPrFêtes^c (4Q509) frags 1-4 i:23.

³⁴⁹ 4QPrFêtes^d (4Q507) frag. 3 2; 4QPrFêtes^c (4Q509) frags 1-4 i:7; frags 131-132 ii:3.

³⁵⁰ Chazon 1998, 266-267; Frennesson 1999, 46.

³⁵¹ Nitzan 1994, 324-325.354-355.

³⁵² Yadin 1962, 107.

³⁵³ Nitzan 1994, 325.

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

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

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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.³⁵⁶ 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.³⁵⁷ 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.³⁵⁸ Still, there are some fixed formulas in the prayers, which the following table clarifies:³⁵⁹

1QH^a x:20, 31; xi:19; xii:5; xiii:5; xv:6, (26), (34), אודכה אדוני כיא
xvi:(4)

1QH^a vi:(8) אודכה אדוני הנותן...³⁶⁰
1QH^a xix:15 אודכה אלי ארוממכה צורי ...

1QH^a vi:(23) אודך אדוני כגדול ...
1QH^a iv:17 אודך אדוני מרוחות ...

1QH^a v:(4) ברוך אתה אדוני כיא
1QH^a xiii:20; xix:33 ברוך (אודכה) אתה אדוני כי³⁶¹
1QH^a xviii:14 ברוך אתה אדוני אל הרחמים ורב חסד כי
1QH^a viii:16 ברוך אתה אדוני גדול ...
1QH^a xix:(27) ברוך אתה אדוני אשר
1QH^a xix:29 ברוך אתה אל הרחמים

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4QShirShabb^{a-h} [4Q400-4Q407], 11QShirShabb [11Q17]).³⁶² *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

³⁵⁶ Nitzan 1994, 327-328.

³⁵⁷ Nitzan 1994, 333-345.

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 ברוך, Vermes 1975, 192.

³⁶¹ אודכה has been written in the manuscript above the word ברוך.

³⁶² Newsom 1990, 185 suggests a non-Qumranic provenance for the Songs, but states that they still had an important status in the Community.

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praise in a heavenly Temple. Nevertheless, as the heading ‘of the Instructor’ (למשכיל)³⁶³ in the beginning of every song suggests, they were probably recited in the Community.³⁶⁴ By reciting these angelic songs the Community members probably thought themselves partaking in the heavenly service together with the praising angels.³⁶⁵

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*.³⁶⁶ 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 4*QapocrLamB* (4Q501), an apocryphic petition, which resembles the biblical prayer songs very closely.

The *Daily Prayers*, for their part, are typical biblical *Songs of Praise*.³⁶⁷ 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.³⁶⁸

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^a 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.³⁶⁹ If God has already beforehand determined all things, petition is, at least logically thinking, unnecessary.

³⁶³ In IQS 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.

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Early Rabbinic literature. I will first present and discuss two important early Jewish prayers, i.e. the *Amidah* and the *Qaddish*,³⁷⁰ and then I will move to the more general question about the *genres*.

The Amidah.³⁷¹ 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.³⁷² 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.³⁷³ 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.³⁷⁴ Nevertheless, at least some of the motifs and even formulations probably originate from the pre-70 C.E. era,³⁷⁵ 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:³⁷⁶

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*.

³⁷² Bickerman 1980, 291.

³⁷³ Kimelman 1997, 115.

³⁷⁴ Zahavy 1990, 13, 19-20. See also Bickerman 1980, 290-291 and Kimelman 1997, 114-115. BMeg 17b determines the origin of the *Amidah* by referring to a certain Simeon of Paqoli, who established the order of the Prayer before rabbi Gamaliel at Yavneh.

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.

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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 dispersed.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest the dispersed 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 lovest 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,

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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.

³⁸⁰ Bickerman 1980, 300-303.

³⁸¹ Bickerman 1980, 297.

³⁸² Bickerman 1980, 295.

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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 unfortunately 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 *Qaddish*³⁸⁹ 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.

³⁸⁵ Bickerman 1980, 307-309.

³⁸⁶ Bickerman 1980, 310.

³⁸⁷ Bickerman 1980, 312.

³⁸⁸ Cf Levine 2000, 528: "Use of the '*Amidah*', as crystallized at Yavneh and in subsequent generations, to explain first-century Christian prayer formulas, would be anachronistic." See also Strotmann 1991, 20-21.

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.

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antiquity.³⁹⁰ Nonetheless, at least some of the elements of the prayer were used already earlier. The central verse of the *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.³⁹¹

Again, we must observe that Jesus and his contemporaries did not know the form of the *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 *Qaddish* runs as follows:³⁹²

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!

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:³⁹³

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.

³⁹⁰ Levine 2000, 558. See also Heinemann 1978, 90.

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.

³⁹² Translation from Grant 1953, 73.

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 *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 *Qaddish* was in use already during the time of Jesus, and Charlesworth 1993a, 40 claims that the *Amidah* certainly represents Jewish prayer during the time of Jesus.

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Now about the *genres* of the early Rabbinic prayers. The *Amidah* resembles the later, mixed forms of the prayers in the Hebrew Bible.³⁹⁴ 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.³⁹⁵ 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.³⁹⁶ 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.³⁹⁷

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.³⁹⁸ Further, most of the Rabbinic praises are blessings in the *third*

³⁹⁴ See p. 70.

³⁹⁵ About the origin of the Hymn see Di Lella 1987, 569-571.

³⁹⁶ Honi was a miracle-worker, who lived in the 1st century B.C.E. Simeon b. Shetah, for his part, was a contemporary pharisaic leader.

³⁹⁷ See Heinemann 1978, 83-84, who refers to the petition formula “may it be Thy will that ...”, which instead of the imperative often expresses the petition in private prayers.

³⁹⁸ True, the *Amidah* with its petitions was regularly recited thrice a day at any rate since the Yavnean era, which practice, of course, colored the whole prayer life.

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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.

2.3.2. 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?”

³⁹⁹ Gruenwald 2000, 232-233.

⁴⁰⁰ Gerstenberger 1988, 30-31.

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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 1QH^a 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 4QpPs^a (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.

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(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^a ii:9-11).

Thus, all the evil (הרשעה) will be destroyed and the congregation of the poor (עדת האביונים), 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.

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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' (אלהים or אל), 'Lord' (אדון) and 'King' (מלכ) 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' (נקמות)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 Jehoshaphath 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' (האל הגדול [הגבור] והנורא)⁴¹⁴ or 'mighty King' (עז מלך)⁴¹⁵. He is further called 'my/our Saviour' (ישועתי / יושעני)⁴¹⁶, 'my Salvation' (תשועתי)⁴¹⁷; 'my Rock and my Redeemer' (צורי וגאלי)⁴¹⁸.

⁴⁰³ Blank 1961, 79. See also Aejmelaes 1986, 54-59, who discusses the addresses in individual laments.

⁴⁰⁴ E.g. יהוה אלהים יהוה (Ps 50:1); יה אלהים (Ps 68:19); יהוה אלהים (2Chr 6:41); יהוה אלהי (Pss 7:2; 13:4; 30:3; 40:6; Jonah 2:7); יהוה אלהינו (2Kgs 19:19; 2Chr 14:10; Pss 99:8; 106:47; Jer 14:22); אלהי אלהים (Ps 43:4); יהוה אדני (Ps 109:21); יהוה אדני יהוה (Josh 7:7; Judg 6:22; 16:28; 2Sam 17:18-19); יהוה אדנינו (Ps 8:2,10); יהוה אלהינו (Ps 90:17; Dan 9:15); מלכי ואלהי (Ps 5:3); אלוהי המלך (Ps 145:1); אלי מלכי (Ps 68:25). See also Blank 1961, 82.

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 (יהוה צבאות מלכי ואלהי), 9; 89:9; Jer 11:20.

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.

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Furthermore, sometimes God is addressed with an alone-standing epithet, e.g. he is called 'Most High' (עליון), '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 (יהוה, אלהים, אל), 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.

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underlying that translation is usually κύριε, sometimes δέσποτα⁴²⁴. Frequently appears also the address ‘God’, often together with the title ‘Lord’, and repeatedly with an addition ‘of Israel⁴²⁵ / Abraham,⁴²⁶ Isaac⁴²⁷ and Jacob⁴²⁸ / my father⁴²⁹ / our (my)fathers’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’⁴³¹

Occasionally God is addressed as ‘King’⁴³². Another way to refer to God’s sovereignty is to call him, for instance, ‘the God of all power (and might)’⁴³³, ‘the God of all’⁴³⁴, ‘Almighty’⁴³⁵, ‘Creator’⁴³⁶, ‘Sovereign (of the heavens)’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,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:

Lord, *Father* and Ruler of my life ... Lord, *Father* and God of my life ... (Sir 23:1,4).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).

⁴²⁴ E.g. Sir 23:1; 36:1; 2Mac 15:21; 1Esd 4:60; LetJer 5.

⁴²⁵ E.g. Jdt 13:7; Bar 2:11; 3:1,4; 1En 8:89 (Lord of Israel); PsSol 9:8; Jub 45:4.

⁴²⁶ E.g. AddEsth 13:15; 14:18; Jub 31:25.

⁴²⁷ Jub 31:31; 45:4.

⁴²⁸ E.g. PrMan 1.

⁴²⁹ Jdt 9:2,12.

⁴³⁰ E.g. Dan 3:26,52 (LXX); PrMan 1; 1Esd 4:60; Tob 8:5; TestJos 6:7; Jub 49:6; LAB 10:4; 22:7; 25:6; 27:7; 43:7.

⁴³¹ E.g. Jdt 9:4; Tob 3:11; Jub 12:19; 22:7,9; 45:4.

⁴³² E.g. AddEsth 13:9,15; Sir 51:1; 2Mac 1:24; 3Mac 2:2,9; 6:2.

⁴³³ Jdt 9:14; 13:4.

⁴³⁴ Sir 36:1; Jub 31:13.

⁴³⁵ Bar 3:1,4; LetArist 185; Jub 27:11.

⁴³⁶ 2Mac 1:24; Jub 45:5.

⁴³⁷ 2Mac 15:23; 3Mac 2:2.

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.

⁴³⁹ κύριε πάτερ καὶ δέσποτα / θεὸς μου. Unfortunately we don’t have the Hebrew text of this passage. See Corley 2002, 36.

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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*⁴⁴⁰, 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, 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).

⁴⁴⁰ 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.

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The Dead Sea Scrolls. In the prayers found at Qumran God is addressed generally only briefly with a simple ‘Yahweh’⁴⁴¹, ‘Adonaj’⁴⁴² or ‘God of Israel’⁴⁴³.

For our study a small fragmentary text, which includes a psalm attributed to Joseph (4*QapocrJoseph*^b [4Q372])⁴⁴⁴, is of high interest, because God is addressed as ‘father’ in this prayer. The psalm begins with words:

My father and my God (אבִי ואלֹהֵי), do not abandon me into the hands of the nations, ... (4*QapocrJoseph*^b frag.1 16).

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’.⁴⁴⁵ 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 Hodayat.

⁴⁴³ In the Daily Prayers.

⁴⁴⁴ About 4*QapocrJoseph*^b see Schuller 1992, 67-79.

⁴⁴⁵ Heinemann 1978, 83.

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2.4. Intercessory Prayer

One important form of prayer found throughout the Hebrew Bible⁴⁴⁶ 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. Moses⁴⁴⁷, Samuel⁴⁴⁸, and particularly Jeremiah⁴⁴⁹, are known as intercessors in the Hebrew Bible.⁴⁵⁰ That task is implicitly granted also to Noah, Daniel and Job⁴⁵¹ (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.⁴⁵²

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.⁴⁵³ 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.

⁴⁴⁷ See Ex 32:11-14,31-34; Num 14:13-19; 21:7 and Deut 9:20. See Reventlow 1986, 230-237.

⁴⁴⁸ See 1Sam 7:5; 12:19,23. See Reventlow 1986, 237-239.

⁴⁴⁹ See Jer 7:16; 11:14; 14:11; 37:3; 42:4. See Reventlow 1986, 251-260.

⁴⁵⁰ Balentine 1984, 170.

⁴⁵¹ See Job 41:7-11.

⁴⁵² Seland 1987, 157.

⁴⁵³ Seland 1987, 158-159.

2. Context

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.⁴⁵⁴

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.⁴⁵⁵ 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^a and translated: "und für ihre Sünde wird er eintreten." 1QIsa^a has וּלְפָשְׁעֵיהֶם יִפְגַּע instead of the masoretic וּלְפָשְׁעֵיהֶם יִפְגַּע.

⁴⁵⁵ See p. 93.

2. Context

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.

⁴⁵⁷ Seland 1987, 168-170.

⁴⁵⁸ Seland 1987, 159.

2. Context

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.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,⁴⁶⁰ and his faithfulness to this covenant.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.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

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. Aejmelaus 1986, 59-60: "Motivations for Divine Intervention".

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 (יִדְוָה), which in your faithfulness you swore to David? Remember, O Lord, ..." (vv. 49-50).

⁴⁶¹ Blank 1953, 7-8. See also Balentine 1993b, 22.

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.⁴⁶³ The deuteronomic 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 **חֶסֶד**.⁴⁶⁴ For example, the psalmist appeals to God's **חֶסֶד** in Pss 6:5, 25:7; 51:3; 69:17 and 109:21 and Nehemiah in Neh 13:22.⁴⁶⁵

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 (**צְדִיקָה**, v. 7), mercifulness (**רַחֲמִים**, vv. 9, 18; cf. Ps 51:3) and forgivingness (**סְלִיחָה**, v. 9). Further, more generally without mentioning any specific attribute of God, Daniel asks him to respond "for your sake" (vv. 17, 19).⁴⁶⁶ 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 (**טוֹב**).⁴⁶⁷ Abraham, for his part, appeals to God's sense of justice, when he questions God's plan to destroy Sodom (Gen 18:25).⁴⁶⁸

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.⁴⁶⁹ 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).

⁴⁶³ See Reventlow 1986, 182.306-307.

⁴⁶⁴ Zobel 1982, 66-69.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. Greenberg 1983, 13-14.

⁴⁶⁶ Blank 1953, 6-7; Balentine 1993a, 106-108. Cf. Pss 31:3; 143:11.

⁴⁶⁷ Ps 25:7.

⁴⁶⁸ Blank 1953, 8-9.

⁴⁶⁹ Johnson 1948, 38-41; Flusser 1984, 570-573.

2. Context

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).⁴⁷⁰ 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.

2. Context

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.⁴⁷¹ Among them are, for example, the creation (4QDibHam^a [4Q504] frag. 8 front) and the covenant made at Horeb (4QDibHam^a 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^a [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).⁴⁷² 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.⁴⁷³ 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 כִּירְחִיד אֲנִי) 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.

2. Context

Humbling oneself and repentance are sometimes mentioned as the grounds for God's answer.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."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.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 *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

⁴⁷⁴ In addition to the passages below see 1Kgs 21:29; 2Chr 12:6-7.12; 32:26. See Reventlow 1986, 274.

⁴⁷⁵ Blank 1953, 2-5.

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

⁴⁷⁷ See also Job 8:5-6; 11:13-15. Balentine 1993a, 170-171.

⁴⁷⁸ Instead of the masoretic ‘you will be restored’ (תבנה) LXX has ‘and humble yourself’ (ταπεινώσης σεαυτὸν). Maybe the translator had a word נכנע, ‘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.

⁴⁷⁹ Blank 1953, 12-13.

2. Context

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 those who honor him (ApAb 17:16).

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 widows and orphans (4:4-6; 21:5; 35:13-15).

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
μη̄ ὀλιγοψυχῆσῃς ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ σου, ...
... אל תתקצר בתפלה

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. Jn 9:31, which seems to reflect a common idea.

2. Context

The Greek word ὀλιγοψυχέω means ‘to be faint-hearted’, but the Hebrew word ‘קצר’ 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.⁴⁸¹

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*.⁴⁸² An informative, unfortunately anonymous, saying is to be found in mBer5:1:⁴⁸³

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,⁴⁸⁴ in what situations one is altogether free from reciting it,⁴⁸⁵ should one recite in the tree top or should one climb

⁴⁸¹ Di Lella & Skehan 1987, 200.

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.

2. Context

down in order to recite⁴⁸⁶ etc. have to do with the praying person's state of mind and ability of concentration.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 AEJMALAEUS, 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.⁴⁸⁸ As a good example of these prayers we may quote a section of a probable neo-Babylonian *Prayer of Lamentation to Ishtar*:⁴⁸⁹

I pray to thee, O Lady of ladies, goddess of goddesses. O Ishtar, queen of all peoples, who guides mankind aright, O Irmini, 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 *captatio benevolentiae* in order to make the god (or gods) willing to answer.⁴⁹⁰ We have already noted that, apart from some cases, the addresses in the prayers of the Hebrew Bible are quite

⁴⁸⁶ mBer 2:4; tBer 2:8.

⁴⁸⁷ Zahavy 1987a, 38-40.47.

⁴⁸⁸ Aejmalaesus 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.

⁴⁸⁹ Translation of Ferris J. Stephens in: *Ancient Near Eastern Texts: Relating to the Old Testament* (1955), p. 384. In this connection it is proper to refer even to a Sumerian *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: *The Ancient Near East: Supplementary Texts and Pictures. Relating to the Old Testament* (1969), pp. 140-141.

⁴⁹⁰ Begrich 1964, 184.

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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.⁴⁹¹

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 (ברחל) with one's mouth or too hasty (מהר) 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.⁴⁹² Maybe the idea is that, because God is in heaven and man on earth, God cannot be manipulated with many words.⁴⁹³

One special feature in the prayers of the Hebrew Bible is the vows.⁴⁹⁴ 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).⁴⁹⁵ 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).

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.
... μή δευτερώσης λόγον ἐν προσευχῇ σου

⁴⁹¹ Aejmalaeus 1986, 57.

⁴⁹² Krüger 2000, 208-209.

⁴⁹³ So Murphy 1992, 50.

⁴⁹⁴ See Reventlow 1986, 101-105.

⁴⁹⁵ For more examples see e.g. Gen 28:20-22; Num 21:2; 2Sam 15:7-9.

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... יאל תישן דבר בתפלה

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?⁴⁹⁶ 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.⁴⁹⁷

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) Patria[rch]s, Father of al[l] (things), [Fathe]r of (the) powe[rs] of the co]sm[os]; Cr[e]ato[r of al]l[...] Creator of the angels and arcang[e]ll[s], the C[r]eator of (the) re[deeming] nam[es]; ... O Father of powe[r]s altogether... God Abaoth, Abrathiaoth, [Sa]ba[oth, A]donai, astra ... The L[or]d of all (things)...The Lord God of the Hebrews, Epa[g]ael, ... of whom (is) [the] everlasting power, [Elo]jel, Souel (PrJac 1-2,4a,9,13).

Although this prayer may be quite late⁴⁹⁸ 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, Yaova, 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.⁴⁹⁹ Nevertheless, if the document is originally written in Greek,⁵⁰⁰ comes from the 1st century C.E., as the editor of the *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* suggests, and is originally a Jewish text,⁵⁰¹ 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.

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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 prayer⁵⁰² 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.

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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,⁵⁰³ and Aqiba’s positive attitude to fluent prayer⁵⁰⁴ 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:⁵⁰⁵

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.⁵⁰⁶ 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.

⁵⁰⁵ Nitzan 1994, 1. Cf. Charlesworth 1982, 265.

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. Heiler 1997, 65. Heiler uses the terms ‘petrification’ and ‘mechanization’ (“Erstarrungs- und Mechanisierungsprozess”; Heiler 1923, 151), when he describes the transition from primitive to ritual prayer.

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institutionalized -schema, but we surely find traces of *both* spontaneous and institutionalized prayer throughout the material.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: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.⁵⁰⁹

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

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

⁵⁰⁷ See Greenberg 1983, 38-46.

⁵⁰⁸ Talmon 1978, 266.

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.

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19:14-19), Manasseh (2Chr 33:12-13) and Nehemiah (Neh 1:4-11).⁵¹⁰ 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.⁵¹¹

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.⁵¹² 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.⁵¹³ The documents report mostly of spontaneous prayers, but even of some regular times of prayer.⁵¹⁴ 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.⁵¹⁵ This prayer resembles the biblical Ps 136 very closely.⁵¹⁶ The first line of

⁵¹⁰ For further examples see p. 52.

⁵¹¹ See Reif 1993, 33. About the inter-human speech patterns in prayer see Greenberg 1983, 19-37.

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.

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these prayers is altogether identical (הודו ליהוה כי טוב כי לעולם הסדור) 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 circles⁵¹⁷ or maybe from the Chasidim – the predecessors of the Pharisees – ,⁵¹⁸ but also the Essenes have been mentioned in this connection as a possibility.⁵¹⁹ The geographical provenance and the date are clearer. It is generally suggested, that the Psalms of Solomon have been composed in Jerusalem⁵²⁰ probably during the 1st century B.C.E.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.⁵²² That would mean that this composition would witness about institutionalized prayer outside of the Temple, though in Jerusalem, already during the 1st century B.C.E. Nevertheless, the evidence about liturgical use of the psalms is quite weak,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 prayer⁵²⁴ and formulations⁵²⁵, are clearly to be seen.

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

⁵¹⁷ E.g. Holm-Nielsen 1977, 59.

⁵¹⁸ Winninge 1995, 180.

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.

⁵²⁰ Holm-Nielsen 1977, 59; Wright 1985, 641; Winninge 1995, 14.

⁵²¹ Holm-Nielsen 1977, 58; Wright 1985, 640-641; Winninge 1995, 13.

⁵²² Holm-Nielsen 1977, 59; Winninge 1995, 18-19.

⁵²³ The word *διὰ ψαλμῶν*, the Greek variant of the Hebrew *סלה*, which is attested in PsSol 17:29 and 18:9 might refer to liturgical use; Winninge 1995, 19.

⁵²⁴ See p. 55.

⁵²⁵ See pp. 74 and 76.

⁵²⁶ Talmon 1978.

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In order successfully to compensate the loss of the sacrificial cult, and by reason of their group-centered ideology, the Covenanters 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,⁵²⁸ 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.⁵²⁹

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,⁵³⁰ and prayer itself must be flawless – like the sacrificial animal – in order to be valid and accepted by God.⁵³¹ Likewise, the important mental state of *kavvanah* is demanded both from the praying person⁵³² and from the one who performs sacrifices in the Temple.⁵³³ 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.

⁵²⁹ Cf. Falk 2000, 108.124-126.

⁵³⁰ See p. 57-58.

⁵³¹ See p. 107-107.

⁵³² See p. 103-104.

⁵³³ Zahavy 1987a, 37 n.1.

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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.

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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 shrunk – with the exception of the

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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

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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

3. Jesus' Teaching on Prayer. Analysis – Sayings in the Separate Materials

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.
3. The Similitude of a Child Asking for Food in Q 11:9-13.

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).
3. Jesus' criticism of the long prayers of the teachers of law in Mk 12:28-40.

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

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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.⁵³⁴ It is wholly possible that Matthew and Luke have used different sources as a basis for their respective texts.⁵³⁵

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 (Q^{Lk}). About the Matthean and Lukan recensions of Q (Q^{Mt} and Q^{Lk}) see e.g. Neiryneck 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.

Mt 5:44-45

44 ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς, 45 ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροῦς καὶ ἀγαθοῦς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους.

Lk 6:27-28,35c

27 Ἀλλὰ ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, 28 εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς. 35c ... καὶ ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ ὑψίστου, ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηροῦς.

We note that, despite the differences,⁵³⁶ 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',⁵³⁷ in Lk τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων, 'those who curse you'). Third, the admonition to love is motivated by the *imitatio 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 χρηστὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηροῦς) than the more concrete Matthean version (τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροῦς καὶ ἀγαθοῦς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους). Nevertheless, I think it is possible to argue that Luke has removed the *imitatio Dei* -motif from its original place to a new context.⁵³⁸ Namely, the context in which Luke now has the sentence (v. 35) seems to be an elaborated reproduction of the fourfold exhortation in v. 27.⁵³⁹ 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.

⁵³⁷ The Matthean 'persecutors' reflects the situation of the Matthean congregation under persecution; Gnlika 1986, 187; Betz 1995, 312; Luz 2002, 402.

⁵³⁸ Bultmann 1931, 83; Luz 2002, 402.

⁵³⁹ See Zeller 1977, 101.

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word.⁵⁴⁰ 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.⁵⁴¹ 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.⁵⁴²

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,⁵⁴³ 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:⁵⁴⁴

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)⁵⁴⁵, or something else.
3. A motivation by means of the *imitatio Dei* -motif.

⁵⁴⁰ Four matches in the New Testament, and they are all in the Gospel of Luke.

⁵⁴¹ Strecker 1984, 90.

⁵⁴² Luz 2002, 402.

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' (ἐπηρεαζόντων) and Kosch 1989, 291, who has 'those hating' (μισούντων). About the common elements in the Matthean and Lukan accounts see Gnlika 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.

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Interpretation. As KLOPPENBORG correctly points out, the core of the saying is the admonition to love one's enemies,⁵⁴⁶ and the exhortation to pray for them is a practical adaptation of that love.⁵⁴⁷ 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.⁵⁴⁸ 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.⁵⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁵⁰

The passage has no exact parallels in early Jewish literature, but some remarks are worth making.⁵⁵¹

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,⁵⁵² 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.⁵⁵³

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.⁵⁵⁴ 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 Gnilka 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. Strecker 1984, 92; Gnilka 1986, 191-192; Davies & Allison 1988, 551-552.

⁵⁵² Strecker 1984, 90.

⁵⁵³ Betz 1995, 309. See also Strecker 1984, 91. Ruzer 2002, 371-389 has made a short, but in my opinion not very successful, survey of the early Jewish exegesis of Lev 19:18.

⁵⁵⁴ Betz 1995, 310-311. See also Manson 1949, 50 and Davies and Allison 1988, 556.

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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."⁵⁵⁵

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.⁵⁵⁶ Nevertheless, T12P, although it is probably originally a Jewish text, includes Christian interpolations.⁵⁵⁷ 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 1*QapGen* (1Q20) xx:28-29 Abram prays for Pharaoh, who had taken Abram's wife Sarah as his wife, i.e. for his apparent personal enemy.⁵⁵⁸ This intercessory prayer is, nevertheless, preceded by a very different prayer, in which Abram entreats God that he would do justice for

⁵⁵⁵ Betz 1995, 311. See also Strecker 1984, 92 and Luz 2002, 403-404.

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.

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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 ones 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 (לְפִשְׁעֵי־יְפִי־אֵי).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

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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,⁵⁶⁰ 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.⁵⁶¹

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,⁵⁶² and in which the suffering Servant is seen as the *typos* for the righteous one(s),⁵⁶³ it is those who oppress the suffering righteous who are called law-breakers (ἀμαρτήματα νόμου; 2:12), and godless (ἄσεβεις; 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 53:12.⁵⁶⁴

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

scholars think due to text critical reasons (see Crump 1992, 79-85 about this discussion) – understood so that the suffering man prays for those who cause him to suffer.

⁵⁶⁰ Laato 1997, 343. See also Hengel 1996, 90-91 and Baltzer 1999, 543.

⁵⁶¹ Cf. Baltzer 1999, 542-543.

⁵⁶² Laato 1997, 337-338. See also Strotmann 1991, 101.

⁵⁶³ See Strotmann 1991, 103.

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 (״בְּעַלְּנוּ״)" and in v. 11 it is said: "For their sins he will pray (״בְּעַלְּהֶם״)."

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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 Gnlika 1986, 193.

⁵⁶⁷ The LXX-version differs a little. See Strotmann 1991, 62-63. It seems probable that Luke is here dependent of the LXX-text of Sir. Namely, unlike Matthew, Luke uses the future tense of the verb ἐμί (Mt: γίνομαι), which corresponds with Sir 4:10, and in the Lukan text God is called ὑψίστος, as in Sir. See Schneider 1989, 79.

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*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.

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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 ἐπιούσιον is still a *crux interpretum* within the New Testament scholarship (see e.g. Evans 1990, 481-482), but also the words ὄφειλήματα 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.

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,⁵⁸¹ but are, nevertheless, dependent on a common oral tradition. The versions would derive from respective church traditions.⁵⁸² Further, several scholars advocate the thesis that behind the versions of Matthew and Luke, or at least either of them,⁵⁸³ is a Q-version of the Prayer.⁵⁸⁴ 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.⁵⁸⁵ The third version in Didache, for its part, is likely to be dependent either directly on the Matthean version,⁵⁸⁶ or on a common liturgical tradition.⁵⁸⁷

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.

⁵⁸⁴ E.g. Marshall 1978, 455; Guelich 1982, 284-285; Fizmyer 1985, 897; Taussig 1988, 25; Evans 1995, 289; Bovon 1996, 120. See, nevertheless, the previous footnote. Douglas 1997, 211; Mell 1994, 157; Mell 1997, 285.

⁵⁸⁵ See Schürmann 1981, 17.

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, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον, καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

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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,
ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·

10 ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·

γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου,
ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς·

11 τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον

δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον·

12 καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα

ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν

τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν·

13 καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς

εἰς πειρασμόν,

ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

Lk 11:2-4⁵⁸⁸

2 εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς, Ὅταν
προσεύχησθε λέγετε,

Πάτερ,⁵⁸⁹
ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·

ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·

3 τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν
ἐπιούσιον

δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ'
ἡμέραν·

4 καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς
ἁμαρτίας

ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ
ἀφίομεν

παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν·

καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς 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.

⁵⁸⁸ Text witnesses include several attempts to harmonize the Lukan text with the Matthean. Oakman 1999, 143.

⁵⁸⁹ 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.⁵⁹⁰ 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:⁵⁹¹

Πάτερ,
ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·
ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·
τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον·
καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν,
ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν·
καὶ 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 1982, 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.

⁵⁹¹ The international Q-project reproduces a similar reconstruction. Likewise e.g. Schulz 1972, 84-86; Gese 1997, 412; Mell 1997, 285; Laaksonen 2002, 241-242. Oakman's 1999, 146 reconstruction differs slightly on the 6. line.

secondary compilations.⁵⁹² The arguments are not, however, convincing,⁵⁹³ 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.

⁵⁹² 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.

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.

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.

⁵⁹³ See Luz 2002, 437 and the previous footnote.

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.⁵⁹⁴ Further, the Prayer even resembles the later prayer *genres* of the Hebrew Bible, and of early Judaism, in which praise precedes petition.⁵⁹⁵ Nevertheless, the two you-petitions, although their contents are quite similar to biblical praises, differ in their form from typical praise.⁵⁹⁶

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*,⁵⁹⁷ but nowadays there is even a third alternative interpretation, which could be labelled as *non-eschatological*. The *purely eschatological* interpretation⁵⁹⁸ 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* interpretation⁵⁹⁹ 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.⁶⁰⁰ 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.

⁵⁹⁹ Represented by e.g. Lohmeyer 1952, 109; Vögtle 1974, 170; Günther 1980, 37-39; Strecker 1982, 17-18; Guelich 1982, 293; Knoch 1982, 41-42; Fizmyer 1985, 899-900; Schneider 1987, 413; Soares-Prabhu 1990, 35; Bovon 1996, 123; Gese 1997, 418. 421-422. 427-428; Chilton 1997, 47-51; Fenske 1997, 241-251; Luz 2002, 447. 451-452.

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.

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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.⁶⁰¹ 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 ἐπιούσιον 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.⁶⁰² Further, in my opinion, the eschatological beginning of the Prayer does not necessitate a purely eschatological interpretation of the we-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.⁶⁰³ It is indeed difficult to think that Jesus would have been altogether unconcerned about the daily needs of his audience,⁶⁰⁴ 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

⁶⁰¹ See pp. 23-24.

⁶⁰² Guelich 1982, 293; Knoch 1982, 42; Cullmann 1995, 54. See also Gese, who criticizes Cullmann and interprets the expression ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον so that it means the bread we need today in order to live till tomorrow; Gese 1997, 420-421.

⁶⁰³ See Guelich 1982, 295 and Fenske 1997, 245.

⁶⁰⁴ See Oakman 1999, 139 and also Fenske 1997, 262.

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even an every-day aspect.⁶⁰⁵ 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.⁶⁰⁶

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.⁶⁰⁷ 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.⁶⁰⁸ 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.⁶⁰⁹ 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.⁶¹⁰

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.⁶¹¹ 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.⁶¹² 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.

⁶¹¹ E.g. Vermes 1973, 210-213; Zeller 1981, 124-125; D'Angelo 1992, 151-156; Dunn 1992, 619; Chilton 1993, 151-169. See also Evans 1990, 479. Jeremias' thesis is, nevertheless, still supported in some recent publications, e.g. Knoch 1982, 37-39; Blomberg 1992, 119; Viviano 1997, 450-453; Philonenko 2002, 35-38.

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 (אָרָא, this verb denotes often prayer in the Hebrew Bible)⁶¹⁵ 'my Father' (אָבִי) 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 אָבִי is a prayer address. Blank 1961, 79 suggest that invoking God, addressing him, is already prayer.

⁶¹⁷ A profound study of God's fatherhood in the early Jewish documents has been made by Angelika Strotmann, *Mein Vater bist Du! Zur Bedeutung der Vaterschaft Gottes in kanonischen und nichtkanonischen frühjüdischen Schriften* (1991).

⁶¹⁸ About an astute analysis of Tob 13:4 see Strotmann 1991, 24-58.

⁶¹⁹ See Strotmann 1991, 70-83. Jeremias 1971, 69 suggests that the Hebrew original of the Ben Sira text would have been אָבִי לֵאלֹהִים, which would mean 'God of my father' and not 'God, my Father'.

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to God and calls the Lord his Father (Sir 51:10).⁶²⁰ 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).⁶²¹ 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.⁶²² Likewise in the separate manuscripts of the Greek version of the Life of Adam and Eve (=Apocalypse of Moses) the Father-epithet occurs altogether eight times.⁶²³ Nevertheless, because of text critical reasons, the modern text editions agree only in LAE 35:2 regarding the epithet.⁶²⁴ 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

⁶²⁰ So according to the Hebrew text (וַאֲרֹמָם יִי אֲבִי אֲתָהּ). The Greek translation, for its part, reads ἐπεκαλεσάμην κύριον πατέρα κυρίου μου. See Strotmann 191, 86-93.

⁶²¹ About this address see Strotmann 1991, 126-139.

⁶²² TJob is available in three Greek, in one Slavonic and in one Coptic manuscript. Only in one passage, TJob 33:9, the Father-epithet 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 TAbri there exists two different recensions, A and B, which, for their part, are witnessed in several Greek manuscripts and translations. In the longer TAbriA God is called Father five times: TAbriA 6:6; 9:7 (only in one manuscript); 16:3; 20:12.13, while in TAbriB only once in 7:19, but not in all the manuscripts. Further, especially TAbriA 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.

⁶²³ LAE 32:2.3, 35:2.3; 36:3; 37:4; 38:1.2; 43:4. See Strotmann 1991, 280-281.

⁶²⁴ Strotmann 1991, 181.

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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).⁶²⁵ Finally, in 1QH^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 (*4QapocrJoseph*^b [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.⁶²⁶

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,⁶²⁷ and even in those cases usually together with some other epithet.⁶²⁸ 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*.⁶²⁹ Both these Jewish prayers, or at

⁶²⁵ 'Father of all things', 'Father of the powers of the cosmos', 'Father of the powers altogether' and 'Father of the whole cosmos and of all creation'.

⁶²⁶ Strictly speaking the address in Jer 3:19 is a token of the people's *not turning away from God*. Nevertheless, the context deals with turning to God as well. See Strotmann 1991, 151-152.

⁶²⁷ Cullmann 1995, 41.

⁶²⁸ See p. 90-92.

⁶²⁹ E.g. Vögtle 1974, 168-172; Günther 1980, 34-35; Guelich 1982, 285. 310-311; Fizmyer 1985, 900-901; Beasley-Murray 1986, 147-148. 154-156; Schneider 1987, 410-

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.⁶³⁰ 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.⁶³¹ 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' time⁶³² 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.⁶³³ 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*⁶³⁴ – 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

Father,

Amidah, Qaddish, bBer, 11QPs^a

... our Father ...(*Amidah*,

413; Davies and Allison 1988, 595-597; Evans 1990, 478; Gundry 1994, 104; Evans 1995, 276-297; Bovon 1996, 122-123; Viviano 1997, 449-450; Laaksonen 2002, 243; Philonenko 2002, 24.

⁶³⁰ See p. 82.

⁶³¹ Heinemann 1977, 37-76. See also Barta 1974, 77; Graubard 1974, 103.

⁶³² See Philonenko 2002, 11-12.

⁶³³ See e.g. Guelich 1982, 294; Knoch 1982, 45; Vögtle 1994, 171.

⁶³⁴ Flusser 1984, 560. According to Flusser typical objectives in the apotropaic prayers are understanding, protection against sin, forgiveness, purification and removal from sin, salvation from troubles, resistance to temptation and deliverance from Satan. An illuminative example is the non-canonical psalm called *Plea for Deliverance* (11QPs^a [11Q5] xix:1-18). Lines 13-16 run as follows:

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^a [11Q5] xxiv) and the *Aramaic Testament of Levi* (4QLev^a [4Q213]) are further examples of this type of prayer.

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	bens. 4 and 6)
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. (<i>Qaddish</i>)
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 (<i>Amidah</i> , 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. (<i>Amidah</i> , ben. 6)
As we also have forgiven our debtors. And lead us not into temptation	... lead me not into situations too hard for me (בְּקִשׁוֹת מִמֶּנִּי; 11QP ^s ^a [11Q5] xxiv:10) ... ; and bring me not into sin, or into iniquity, or into temptation (וְלֹא יִבְרִיחַ), 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 (especially 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

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 (אֶשְׁכַּח)⁶⁴⁵ and in Aramaic (אֶרְכַּח)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..."

⁶⁴² About the socio-economic circumstances in the 1st century C.E. Galilee see. e.g. Richard A Horsley's *Galilee. History, Politics, People* (1995, esp. pp. 202-221) and *Archaeology, History and Society in Galilee. The Social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis* (1996), as well as Crossan 1991, 43-71 and Fiensy 1997, 231-237.

⁶⁴³ With 'socio-religious' I mean the self-awareness and identity of a group in relation to God. The term coincides somewhat with Theissen's 'socio-cultural factor'; see Theissen 1989, 31. 77-95.

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 Jeremiah 1971, 18 n.47 and Gesenius 1995. For example in the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Exodus 10:17 the Targum translates the Hebrew חָטָאתִי with חוּבֵי.

⁶⁴⁷ So e.g. Jeremiah 1971, 194-195; Schürmann 1981, 92-93; Strecker 1984, 124-125; Davies & Allison 1988, 611; Betz 1995, 400. An economic interpretation is suggested

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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)⁶⁴⁸ 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.⁶⁴⁹ 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.⁶⁵⁰ 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.

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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.⁶⁵¹ Accordingly, with 'Jesus' followers' I mean both the full-time followers and the local supporters.⁶⁵²

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),⁶⁵³ and more generally about Jesus' dealings with tax collectors and sinners (Mk 2:15-16; Lk 15:1; Q 7:34⁶⁵⁴). 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.⁶⁵⁵ 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.⁶⁵⁶ This holds good especially regarding the Qumranic view of other Jews.⁶⁵⁷ Nonetheless, some of Jesus' followers, especially the tax collectors,⁶⁵⁸ were considered sinners *by all Jews*.⁶⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵¹ Meier 2001, 80-82.

⁶⁵² Cf. Theissen 1989, 9, whose 'Jesus movement', a basically post-Easter phenomenon, consisted of wandering charismatics and local sympathizers.

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.

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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.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 *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 *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 *Abba*. This surely must have given them the self-assurance that they could regard themselves as belonging to the true people of God.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 *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 *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 (4QMyst^f [4Q301] frag.3 6) it is stated that God is glorified in, or by, the people of his holy ones (וְיִתְכַבֵּד אֱלֹהִים בְּעַמּוֹת קֳדוֹשָׁיו). 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

⁶⁶¹ See Meier 2001, 207.

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.

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hallowed.⁶⁶³ 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,⁶⁶⁴ it is quite understandable, why the Pharisees could not accept Jesus' dealings with sinners.⁶⁶⁵

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.

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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.

⁶⁶⁷ The Prayer is commonly regarded as authentic. See e.g. Marshall 1978, 455; Strecker 1982, 13-14; Luz 2002, 438; Meier 1994, 294; Cullmann 1995, 38; Bovon 1996, 123; Haacker 1996, 182; Fenske 1997, 255-259; Laaksonen 2002, 243-247; Hultgren 2002,

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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.

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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.⁶⁷¹ 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*.⁶⁷² 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.⁶⁷³ 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: "Unableitbarskriterium." 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.

⁶⁷³ See p. 18. Cf. Laaksonen's 2002, 246-247 critique of Mell's argumentation.

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contain any christological features.⁶⁷⁴ 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.⁶⁷⁵ This is the case especially regarding the *Abba*-address and the petitioning for the coming of the Kingdom of God.⁶⁷⁶ 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.⁶⁷⁷ 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:

⁶⁷⁴ Laaksonen 2002, 243.

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 εὕρησεται, κρούετε καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν· 8 πᾶς γὰρ ὁ αἰτῶν λαμβάνει καὶ ὁ ζητῶν εὕρισκει καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοιγήσεται. 9 ἢ τίς ἐστιν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἄνθρωπος, ὃν αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρτον, μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσῃ αὐτῷ; 10 ἢ καὶ ἰχθύν αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ὄφιν ἐπιδώσῃ αὐτῷ; 11 εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, πόσω μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς δώσει ἀγαθὰ τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτόν.

Lk 11:9-13

9 καὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν λέγω, αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν, ζητεῖτε καὶ εὕρησεται, κρούετε καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν· 10 πᾶς γὰρ ὁ αἰτῶν λαμβάνει καὶ ὁ ζητῶν εὕρισκει καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοιγ[ήσ]εται. 11 τίνα δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν τὸν πατέρα αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς ἰχθύν, καὶ ἀντὶ ἰχθύος ὄφιν αὐτῷ ἐπιδώσῃ; 12 ἢ καὶ αἰτήσῃ ὄφιν, ἐπιδώσῃ αὐτῷ σκορπίον; 13 εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὑπάρχοντες οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, πόσω μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ [ὁ] ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δώσει πνεῦμα ἅγιον τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτόν.

Construction. The passage consists of three parts:

1. A twofold *proverb*⁶⁷⁸ 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.⁶⁷⁹

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.⁶⁸⁰ Nevertheless, these two versions are identical in several aspects. The expressions ἐξ ὑμῶν, αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱός, ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ (twice), 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 counterparts⁶⁸¹. That is why the Matthean version is likely to reproduce the original Q-form here.⁶⁸² 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.⁶⁸³ 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.⁶⁸⁴

While Mt has the opening phrase of the similitude in form ἦ τίς ἐστὶν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἄνθρωπος Lk has the form τίνα δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν τὸν πατέρα. The Matthean ἦ⁶⁸⁵ 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.⁶⁸⁶ In Mt another example is Mt 12:11. There, too, the Matthean version has the verb εἰμί, 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.⁶⁸⁷ 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.

⁶⁸² See Schulz 1972, 162; Fizmyer 1985, 913-914; Gnllka 1986, 261; Schweizer 1986, 111; Wiefel 1988, 218; Piper 1989, 18; Schürmann 1994, 218.

⁶⁸³ Davies & Allison 1988, 683; Wiefel 1988, 218. See also Rengstorf 1968, 147.

⁶⁸⁴ Fizmyer 1985, 915; Bovon 1996, 155.

⁶⁸⁵ Schulz 1972, 161.

⁶⁸⁶ About this formula see Greeven 1982.

⁶⁸⁷ See Schulz 1972, 161-162; Schürmann 1994, 217 n.318.

3. Analysis

is likely to reproduce the original Q-version.⁶⁸⁸ The word *ἄνθρωπος* is attested also in Q 15:4 in this phrase. Thus it is likely that the word *πατήρ* is redactional,⁶⁸⁹ maybe in order to get the metaphor ‘father - son’ clearer.⁶⁹⁰

Matthew has maybe added the definition *αὐτοῦ* after the word *υἱός*, in order to clarify the fact that the text is not dealing with the son *par excellence*, i.e. Jesus.⁶⁹¹

The *ἄντι*-construction in Lk 11:11b and the omission of the word *μή* 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 *ὑπάρχοντες* is a more sophisticated word than the Matthean *ὄντες*, the Matthean form is likely to be original.⁶⁹²

Matthew adds his favorite phrase *ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* to the word *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 *ἀγαθὰ* to mean the Spirit.⁶⁹⁴

Based on the discussion above, our reconstruction of the Q-form of the passage runs as follows:⁶⁹⁵

9 αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν, ζητεῖτε καὶ εὕρησετε, κρούετε καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν· 10 πᾶς γὰρ ὁ αἰτῶν λαμβάνει καὶ ὁ ζητῶν εὕρισκει καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοιγήσεται. 11 τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἄνθρωπος, ὃν αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς ἄρτον, μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσῃ αὐτῷ; 12 ἢ καὶ ἰχθὺν αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ὄφιν ἐπιδώσῃ αὐτῷ; 13 εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατήρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δώσει ἀγαθὰ τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτόν.

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.

⁶⁹⁴ Schulz 1972, 162; Gnilka 1986, 261; Davies & Allison 1988, 684; Wiefel 1988, 218; Schürmann 1994, 219. See Hill 1981, 149.

⁶⁹⁵ The Critical Edition of Q gives an almost identical reconstruction. In v. 11 CEQ suggests ‘ἔστιν’ between ‘τις’ and ‘ἔξ’, and the possessive pronoun ‘αὐτοῦ’ after the word ‘υἱός’. These differences in reconstruction do not have any significance for the interpretation.

3. Analysis

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.

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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 Gnllka 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.

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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’ (שאל) and ‘to search’ (דרש, בקש) 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.

⁷⁰⁷ E.g. Zeller 1977, 127-128; Davies & Allison 1988, 678 and Luz 2002, 499 argue for the unity of the passage.

⁷⁰⁸ Gnllka 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. Fizmyer 1985, 914.

⁷¹¹ Brox 1973, 18; Gnllka 1986, 262; Jeremias 1984, 159.

⁷¹² Zeller 1977, 129; Luz 2002, 499-500.

⁷¹³ See the appendix. See also Lachs 1987, 141; Fuhs 1993; 911-913.

⁷¹⁴ See Schulz 1972, 163; Zeller 1977, 127; Gnllka 1986, 261; Bovon 1996, 152.

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Much interest and astonishment has been raised by the unconditional promises of God's answer, which seem quite unrealistic, even naive.⁷¹⁵ 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,⁷¹⁶ but it is still generally understood that they do not always include the whole, we could say 'dogmatic', truth about a matter.⁷¹⁷ Thus the proverb must be understood in its context⁷¹⁸ with the following similitude and conclusion, which provide not just a clarifying example but rather a commentary to the proverb.⁷¹⁹ 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.⁷²⁰ 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.⁷²¹

The similitude makes it clear that the asking does not concern just anything, but food, i.e. things necessary for living,⁷²² and the father will give bread and fish for his hungry son.⁷²³ 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,⁷²⁴ 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.⁷²⁵ Thus, the similitude describes a

⁷¹⁵ See e.g. Piper 1982, 412-413; 1989, 16-17, and Luz 2002, 502. Cf. Gnlika 1986, 261.

⁷¹⁶ Piper 1989, 4-5.

⁷¹⁷ Carlston 1980, 88-89; Envall 1987, 263; Piper 1989, 22; Mieder 1994, 127.

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.

⁷²² Bovon 1996, 155.

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; Borge 1946, 197; Luz 1985, 384n.10. Borge 1946, 195 describes in his article, how some fishermen by the Sea of Galilee got snakes with their lines.

3. Analysis

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 ἀγαθὰ 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 ἀγαθὰ, 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.

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reproduction of the promise with the premise that the praying man has faith (Mk 11:24⁷³²; 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.⁷³³ Especially in this connection it is good to mention the parables, which begin with the rhetorical question "Which of you ..."⁷³⁴ 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).⁷³⁵ 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.

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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 *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, Τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἐν οὐδενὶ δύναται
ἐξελεθεῖν 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, ..." 4Q*Against 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).

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whole story (vv. 23-24). Indeed, the whole story functions in the Gospel of Mark as a teaching about faith.⁷⁴⁰ Thus, in the Markan account, it is the lack of both faith and prayer, which caused the disciples to fail.⁷⁴¹ The connection between prayer and faith is also more generally a specific Markan emphasis,⁷⁴² and it is attested also in a redactional composition in Mk 11:22-25.⁷⁴³ 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.⁷⁴⁴ 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,⁷⁴⁵ and T. SÖDING points out that a house as a background and also the private teaching of disciples are specific Markan features.⁷⁴⁶

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.

⁷⁴⁰ Söding 1987, 456-457; Crump 1992, 129.

⁷⁴¹ 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.

⁷⁴² 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.

⁷⁴³ Gundry 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.

⁷⁴⁴ 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.

⁷⁴⁵ Pesch 1977, 84.

⁷⁴⁶ Söding 1987, 461. So also Anderson 1976, 231.

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3.2.2. Mark 11:12-25

*Composition.*⁷⁴⁷ Mk 11:12-25 forms a unity in the Markan composition.⁷⁴⁸ 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,⁷⁴⁹ 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.⁷⁵⁰ 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.⁷⁵¹ 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.⁷⁵² 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.⁷⁵³ In fact, every verse seems to include an independent logion, which Mark⁷⁵⁴ has joined together with redactional additions (διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν in v. 24, καὶ in v. 25).⁷⁵⁵ 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.

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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 οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ πεποιήκατε αὐτὸν σπήλαιον ληστῶν.

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.⁷⁵⁶ 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.

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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.⁷⁵⁷ 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 2:19.⁷⁵⁸ There are, nevertheless, even scholars who argue that the saying is original within the passage. For example, R. GUNDRY 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.⁷⁵⁹ 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.⁷⁶⁰ 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.⁷⁶¹

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,⁷⁶² presupposes a saying. Namely, it is stated that the chief priests and the teachers of law *heard, ἤκουσαν*.⁷⁶³ 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 GUNDRY, that the Markan introduction to the saying does not imply that the whole saying would be Markan.⁷⁶⁴ Mark can very well have worked up the original text with slight alterations. Fourth, the

⁷⁵⁷ Gnilka 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.

⁷⁵⁹ Gundry 1992, 643-644. See also Pesch 1977, 191 and Evans 2001, 174-175.

⁷⁶⁰ Holmén 2001a, 310-311.

⁷⁶¹ Holmén 2001a, 311.

⁷⁶² Gnilka 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.

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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.⁷⁶⁵ Thus, Jesus' symbolic action⁷⁶⁶ proclaimed an end of the whole Temple establishment.⁷⁶⁷

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.⁷⁶⁸ In our case it makes good sense to

⁷⁶⁵See 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.

⁷⁶⁸ See Berger 1977, 95-96. Cf. Hillels rule 7: an interpretation of a word or a passage derived from its context; Ellis 1991, 87-91.132. See also Laaksonen 2002, 40-41.

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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.

⁷⁷³ Brooks 1991, 185; Evans 1997, 440.

⁷⁷⁴ See Wright 1996, 421.

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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,⁷⁷⁵ but the context of the quotation from Isa 56 makes this kind of interpretation improbable.⁷⁷⁶ 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.⁷⁷⁷ 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.

⁷⁷⁶ Gnllka 1979, 129. Against Grundmann 1977, 312.

⁷⁷⁷ Watts 1987, 249-250.

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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.⁷⁷⁸

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.⁷⁷⁹

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 *par excellence*.⁷⁸⁰

*Authenticity.*⁷⁸¹ 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.⁷⁸²

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

⁷⁷⁸ See pp. 41-42.

⁷⁷⁹ See Chilton 1984, 17-18.

⁷⁸⁰ See ch. 2.2.1.

⁷⁸¹ 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.

⁷⁸² See Wright 1996, 424-425 and Holmén 2001a, 327.

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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.⁷⁸³ 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).⁷⁸⁴

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 13:2⁷⁸⁵ and Mk 14:58.⁷⁸⁶

We have already noted that the saying probably is an original part of the passage.⁷⁸⁷ 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.⁷⁸⁸ 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,⁷⁸⁹ 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.⁷⁹⁰ 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.

⁷⁸⁹ E.g. Schweizer 1968, 131 and Grundmann 1977, 310.

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

⁷⁹¹Mann 1986, 449. The same error is made by Sanders 1985,66, who is here dependent on Harvey 1982, 132.

⁷⁹²Holmén 2001a, 327. So also Evans 2001, 169. See even Chilton 1996, 93.

⁷⁹³Also e.g. Betz 1997, 467 and Ådna 1999, 469-470 consider the saying in v. 17 as Jesus’ authentic explanation of his prophetic actions in the Temple.

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.⁷⁹⁴ The following λέγω ὑμῖν is probably redactional as well, and is, further, influenced by v. 23 (ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν).⁷⁹⁵ The word προσεύχεσθε is, in fact, superfluous and probably a redactional explanation of the word αἰτεῖσθε.⁷⁹⁶ 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.⁷⁹⁷ 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-form⁷⁹⁸ and is, thus, dependent on it.⁷⁹⁹ Thus we will not deal with Mk 11:24 as a source for the teaching of the historical Jesus.

⁷⁹⁴ Evans 2001, 191.

⁷⁹⁵ Evans 2001, 190.

⁷⁹⁶ Crossan 1988, 124; Goldsmith 1989, 260; Evans 2001, 191.

⁷⁹⁷ Crossan 1988, 124; Goldsmith 1989, 260, Evans 2001, 192.

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.

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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,⁸⁰⁰ connects to the preceding verse, on the basis of the catchword *προσεύχομαι*, with a simple *καί*.⁸⁰¹ Thus the saying we will analyze runs:

25 ὅταν στήκετε προσευχόμενοι, ἀφίετε εἴ τι ἔχετε κατά τινος, ἵνα καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀφήῃ ὑμῖν τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν.

Some scholars suggest that this logion might be a later gloss to the Markan text on the grounds of Mt 6:14.⁸⁰² 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 6:15.⁸⁰³ 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. 25.⁸⁰⁴ 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 11:25.⁸⁰⁵ As regards the 'Matthean' epithet,

⁸⁰⁰ Gnlika suggests that the composition in vv. 23-25 consists of three originally independent sayings, which were composed together already before Mark; Gnlika 1979, 133. Likewise e.g. Söding 1987, 323 and Evans 2001, 192-194.

⁸⁰¹ Söding 1987, 323.

⁸⁰² Lane 1974, 410-411. So also Mann 1986, 454. Mann's argumentation is based on his overarching hypothesis that Mark is dependent on Matthew and Luke, and this passage fits very well into his theory.

⁸⁰³ εἴ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀφίετε οὐδὲ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀφήσει τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν. This gloss is attested e.g. in manuscripts A, C, D, and Θ.

⁸⁰⁴ Just because of the non-existence of manuscripts without v. 25 and because of the textual evidence for that v. 26 is a gloss Evans sees it improbable that also v. 25 would be a gloss; Evans 2001, 193.

⁸⁰⁵ Gundry 1992, 677.

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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.⁸⁰⁶ 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 εἰ τι ἔχετε κατά τινος, Ben Sira has ἀδίκημα τῷ πλησίον σου. Both use the word ἀφίημι 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.

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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.⁸⁰⁷ 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.*⁸⁰⁸ 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.⁸⁰⁹

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 Gnlika 1979, 135; Gundry 1992, 655. See also Söding 1987, 338-339.

⁸⁰⁸ Authenticity is suggested by e.g. Pesch 1977, 207; Gnlika 1979, 135.

⁸⁰⁹ Pesch 1977, 207.

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 ἄσπασμους ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς **39** καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις, **40^a** οἱ κατεσθίοντες τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν ^bκαὶ προφάσει μακρὰ προσευχόμενοι· οὗτοι 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 (ἄσπασμους, πρωτοκαθεδρίας, πρωτοκλισίας).⁸¹⁰ 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 ... οὗτοι, 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 Gnlika 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.

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and v. 40c together, while the οὔτοι refers to οἱ. 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).⁸¹³ It would mean that v. 40 has originally been a separate tradition.⁸¹⁴

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.⁸¹⁵ 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.⁸¹⁶ 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,⁸¹⁷ a dative form of the word πρόφασις. Thus we will now have a look at the meaning of the very word and its use in some ancient Greek texts.

The word πρόφασις 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.⁸¹⁸ In that case the word can be found with its opposite counterpart ἀλήθεια,⁸¹⁹ which refers to the real motive.⁸²⁰

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 Liddell-Scott.

⁸¹⁹ See e.g. Phil 1:18: “The important thing is that in every way, whether from false motives or true (εἴτε προφάσει εἴτε ἀληθεία), Christ is preached.”

⁸²⁰ So, for example, in Thuc 6:33.2, where the word πρόφασιν refers to the Athenians’ falsely alleged motive to help the Eggestaeans and to restore Leontini, and the word ἀληθὲς to their real motive to conquer Sicily and Syracuse.

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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 (τῆς μὲν οικειότητος 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. GUNDRY 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 *pretence* 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.

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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 *προφάσει*, ‘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 *προφάσει* 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 (*μὲν ... δὲ*; Thuc 3:86.4)

⁸²⁵ Gundry 1992, 728.

⁸²⁶ See e.g. Bauer 1988, which gives ‘zum Schein’ as a possible translation for *προφάσει*, 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.

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or lexical (ἀλήθεια; 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 necessarily 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"⁸³¹ 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. GUNDRY interpret the charge against long prayers as an independent clause, referring to ostentatious prayer.⁸³² 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.⁸³³ 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.⁸³⁴

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 οἱ ... οὗτοι 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 Gnilka 1979, 173: "... zum Schein beten sie lange."

⁸³² Grundmann 1977, 344; Gnilka 1979, 174-175; Gundry 1992, 728. So also Wiefel 1988, 346 and Kremer 1988, 200.

⁸³³ Evans 2001, 279. Likewise Fitzmyer 1985, 1319.

⁸³⁴ Derrett 1972, 5-8. Fleddermann 1982, 61-62; Mann 1986, 492.

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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 TMs) 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 *καὶ*. 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.

⁸³⁶ Derrett 1972, 1-9. Derrett's suggestion is supported by Witherington III 1987, 17 and Marshall 2001, 126.

⁸³⁷ See Gundry 1993, 727.

⁸³⁸ See Fitzmyer 1985, 1318-1319 and Gundry 1993, 727.

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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 *πρόφασις*. 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 expenses.

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.

⁸⁴⁰ Gundry 1993, 727-728.

⁸⁴¹ Gnilka 1979, 175. So also Green 1997, 727.

⁸⁴² Witherington III 1987, 17.

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have been intercessory prayers for the benefactresses or blessings in connection with meals at the widows' houses.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.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

⁸⁴³ About the blessings see Heinemann 1977, 113-122 and Zahavy 1987, 99-107. See also p. 57.

⁸⁴⁴ TMos is probably written in Hebrew in 1st century C.E. Palestine; Priest 1983, 920-921.

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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.*⁸⁴⁵ 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.⁸⁴⁶ 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.⁸⁴⁷ 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. Gnlika 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.

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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.

3.3. 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. 7-15⁸⁴⁸. 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.⁸⁴⁹

Second, v. 1 is probably a redactional introduction by Matthew.⁸⁵⁰ Its vocabulary, which is distinctive for him (ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πατήρ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, μισθός) 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 11:25.⁸⁵¹

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 Matthew⁸⁵² or someone before him⁸⁵³? Nevertheless, this question does not have any significance for our study.

⁸⁴⁸ Schniewind 1968, 75; Zeller 1977, 71; Dietzfelbinger 1984, 184; Davies & Allison 1988, 573; Syreeni 1994, 524; Betz 1995, 330; Wick 1998, 332-333 True, Betz takes v. 1 as an original part of the cultic didache, Betz 1995, 349. See n. 850 below.

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; Gnlika 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.

⁸⁵² Schnackenburg 1985, 62; Luz, 1985, 318; Gnlika 1986, 208.

⁸⁵³ Betz 1975, 446; Betz 1995, 349.

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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 ἐστῶτες προσεύχεσθαι, ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν. 6 σὺ δὲ ὅταν προσεύχη, εἰσελθε εἰς τὸ ταμεῖόν σου καὶ κλείσας τὴν θύραν σου πρόσευξαι τῷ πατρὶ 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.⁸⁵⁴ 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:⁸⁵⁵

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 (περ) 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.

⁸⁵⁵ For a more detailed analysis of the structure see Betz 1975, 447-448 and Wick 1998, 334-335.

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.⁸⁵⁶ 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,⁸⁵⁷ 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.⁸⁵⁸ 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'.⁸⁵⁹ Thus, we note that the text contains non-Matthean features, which indicate the existence of an underlying pre-Matthean tradition.⁸⁶⁰ On the other hand, the text includes several words that are characteristic for Matthew.⁸⁶¹ This seems to indicate that the present Greek text-form goes

⁸⁵⁶ Zeller 1977, 72; Luz 2002, 419.

⁸⁵⁷ Zeller 1977, 72; Gnlika 1986, 201; Davies & Allison 1988, 574; Luz 2002, 419.

⁸⁵⁸ See Strecker 1984, 107.

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.

⁸⁶⁰ See Syreeni 1994, 524.

⁸⁶¹ Gnlika 1986, 201. Gnlika lists the following words as favored by Matthew: προσέχω, δικαιοσύνη, ἔμπροσθεν, ὑποκριτής, ἀπέχω, ἀποδίδωμι, συναγωγή in plural, μισθός and ὄπωψ. 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.⁸⁶²

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.⁸⁶³ 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 + ὥσπερ in v. 2; οὐκ + indicative + ὡς in v. 5; μη + imperative + ὡς in v. 16). Second, even the construction, with which the audience is addressed, is slightly different in all the parts (σοῦ δὲ + participle in v. 3; σὺ δὲ ὅταν + subjunctive in v. 6; σὺ δὲ + 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 - ἀφανίζω and the construction ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν) 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' reward⁸⁶⁴ (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 πατήρ 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 ὑποκριταί, ὅτι φιλοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς γωνίαις τῶν πλατειῶν ἐστῶτες προσεύχεσθαι, ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· σὺ δὲ ὅταν προσεύχη, εἰσελθε εἰς τὸ ταμεῖόν σου καὶ κλείσας τὴν θύραν σου πρόσευξαι τῷ πατρὶ 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 ὑποκριταί, 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.

⁸⁶⁶ Guelich 1982, 281; Syreeni 1994, 525.

⁸⁶⁷ See ch. 2.2.1. and 2.2.3.

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not against *what* or *how* or *where* the hypocrites pray but against *why* they pray.⁸⁶⁸ Prayer, which should be an expression of the most intimate relationship with God, had become an endeavor of religious boasting for some people.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* (ὄπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις)”.⁸⁷⁰ The hypocrites are accused that their motive for prayer was not to speak to God but to get admiration from others.⁸⁷¹

The instruction of right prayer must be seen as an exaggerated opposite, as clear as possible, to the hypocritical way of praying.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 רַחֵץ, 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 ταμιεῖον, 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.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).⁸⁷⁴

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.

⁸⁶⁹ Manson 1949, 166.

⁸⁷⁰ Gerhardsson 1996, 78.

⁸⁷¹ Davies & Allison 1988, 585.

⁸⁷² Grundmann 1971, 196; Syreeni 1994, 525.

⁸⁷³ LXX uses the word ταμιεῖον, which most often is a translation from the Hebrew רַחֵץ.

⁸⁷⁴ See also 1Kgs 1:15; 2Kgs 6:12; 9:2; 11:2.

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We, thus, note that *ταμειῶν* is a room where a person can be alone without anybody disturbing or even seeing one.⁸⁷⁵ There, in the solitude, one can talk solely to God, and that is real prayer.⁸⁷⁶ 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.⁸⁷⁷ 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.⁸⁷⁸ It is worth to note that already in the Hebrew Bible / LXX the word *ταμειῶν* resp. *דַּרְכָּן* 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,⁸⁷⁹ 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.⁸⁸⁰ 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:⁸⁸¹ Jerusalem, the Temple or heaven.⁸⁸² 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.⁸⁸³ Underlying this practice is a conception of God whose presence is connected to specific places.⁸⁸⁴ Compared with the early Jewish thinking about the importance of the Temple or some other specific

⁸⁷⁵ In ordinary Palestinian buildings the word *ταμειῶν* meant the only room, which could be locked. Further, the room was dark without any windows; Guelich 1982, 281; Lachs 1987, 116.

⁸⁷⁶ Schniewind 1968, 78; Guelich 1982, 281; Schweizer 1986, 90; Davies & Allison 1988, 586; Gerhardsson 1996, 78; Luz 2002, 425.

⁸⁷⁷ Strecker 1984, 108.

⁸⁷⁸ Manson 1949, 166; Marshall 2001, 117. Against Betz 1995, 362-363 and Philonenko 2002, 10. Philonenko suggests that Jesus is here in agreement with an Essene, anti-pharisaic practice.

⁸⁷⁹ Manson 1949, 166; Kingsbury 1987, 141; Davies & Allison 1988, 585-586.

⁸⁸⁰ Betz 1995, 362.

⁸⁸¹ Herrmann 1935, 790; Albertz 1984, 35. See Dowd 1988, 45-51.

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.

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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 (ταμειῖον) 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:

Mt 6:6

εἰσελθε εἰς τὸ ταμειῖον
σου καὶ κλείσας τὴν θύραν
σου πρόσευξαι τῷ πατρὶ σου

TJos 3:3

εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸ ταμειῖον
προσευχόμενῃ κυρίῳ

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 Gnllka 1986, 209 and Fenske 1997, 260.

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with the word φαίλω. 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 (ἐφαινόμην) 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 (διὰ τὸν 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 Jesuanic.

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.”

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reconstructed form of the saying, which would argue against its authenticity.⁸⁸⁹

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.⁸⁹⁰

3.3.1.2. The Saying against Heathen-like Prayer (Mt 6:7-8)

7 Προσευχόμενοι δὲ μὴ βατταλογήσητε ὡς περ οἱ ἔθνη, οἱ δοκοῦσιν γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθήσονται. 8^a μὴ οὖν ὁμοιωθῆτε αὐτοῖς· ἵδιεν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὃν χρεῖαν ἔχετε πρὸ τοῦ ὑμᾶς αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν.

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:⁸⁹¹

1. An introduction of the action (προσευχόμενοι; v. 7)
2. A warning, not to follow the example of the gentiles (μὴ βατταλογήσητε ὡς περ οἱ ἔθνη; 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.⁸⁹² It is obvious that originally Mt 6:7-8 was not connected to the Lord's Prayer.⁸⁹³

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.

⁸⁹¹ See Wick 1998, 337-338.

⁸⁹² Gnlika 1986, 208. See also Guelich 1982, 282. Mell 1994, 154-155 suggests that Matthew would criticize the synagogal 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.

and non-Matthean.⁸⁹⁴ 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 πολυλογία αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθήσονται), whereas v. 8 is about the unnecessary to *inform God* about one's needs (οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὧν χρείαν ἔχετε)
2. The warning in v. 8 not to imitate the heathen (μὴ οὖν ὁμοιωθῆτε αὐτοῖς) is superfluous, because the warning is stated already in v. 7 (μὴ βατταλογῆσητε ὥσπερ οἱ ἐθνικοί).
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.⁸⁹⁵ 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 βατταλογῆσητε ὥσπερ οἱ ἐθνικοί,
δοκοῦσιν γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογία αὐτῶν
εἰσακουσθήσονται.

The word βατταλογεῖν 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.⁸⁹⁶ The etymology of the word is unclear, and scholars have given several proposals to solve the problem.⁸⁹⁷ The most probable solution, in my opinion, is that the word

⁸⁹⁴ Luz 2002, 430.

⁸⁹⁵ Gnlika 1986, 208. Zeller suggests that vv. 7b-8a would be a secondary addition, and thus the original tradition would have been: "Προσευχόμενοι δὲ μὴ βατταλογῆσητε ὥσπερ οἱ ἐθνικοί, οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὧν χρείαν ἔχετε πρὸ τοῦ ὑμᾶς αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν." 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.

comes from an Aramaic word ܠܘܒ, which means ‘idle, useless’.⁸⁹⁸ The other proposal that is presented as a possibility is the Greek word for ‘stammering’, βατταριζέιν.⁸⁹⁹ 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 βατταριζέιν itself denotes a special way of speaking (‘to stammer’), the addition λογιέιν would be superfluous.⁹⁰⁰ Thus the most natural explanation for the attestation of the word βατταλογέιν here is that it comes from an Aramaic expression ܠܘܒܘܪܘܢܐ.⁹⁰¹ 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.⁹⁰² 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.⁹⁰³ 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.⁹⁰⁴

Thus we conclude that the tradition has originally been Aramaic and thus probably comes from Palestine, possibly even from Galilee.⁹⁰⁵

Interpretation. The questions, which arise concerning the meaning of the saying, are: First, what is the βατταλογέιν 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

⁸⁹⁸ Hill 1981, 134; Gnllka 1986, 209.

⁸⁹⁹ Grundmann 1971, 198; Luz 1985, 330. Strecker 1984, 109 remains unsure.

⁹⁰⁰ Gnllka 1986, 209.

⁹⁰¹ Bauer 1988.

⁹⁰² Betz 1975, 452.

⁹⁰³ Sanders 2002, 36; Chancey 2002, 182.

⁹⁰⁴ Noack 1980, 20.

⁹⁰⁵ Grundmann 1971, 197.

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letter-constructions.⁹⁰⁶ The so-called Greek Magical Papyri give good examples of this kind of prayer.⁹⁰⁷ As HANS-DIETER BETZ points out in the introduction to the *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.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.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).⁹¹⁰ Unfortunately, this text is difficult to date.⁹¹¹ However, it gives us evidence

⁹⁰⁶ Manson 1949, 166-167; Grundmann 1971, 198; Hill 1981, 133; Guelich 1982, 283, 307; Strecker 1984, 109; Gnlika 1986, 210; Schweizer 1986, 91; Davies & Allison 1988, 588; Blomberg 1992, 118; Luz 2002, 430.

⁹⁰⁷ *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (1986) gives plenty of striking examples.

⁹⁰⁸ Betz 1986, xli-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.

⁹⁰⁹ Schweizer 1986, 91.

⁹¹⁰ See also LadJac 2:18-21; p. 106 above.

⁹¹¹ Charlesworth 1985, 715 dates the text to 1st to 4th century C.E.

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that this kind of syncretism did gain ground in early Jewish prayer life in the antiquity.⁹¹²

Father of (the) Patria[rch]s, Father of al[l] (things), [Fathe]r of (the) powe[rs] of the co[sm]os; Cr[e]ato[r of al]l[...] Creator of the angels and arcang[e]ll[s], the C[r]eator of (the) re[deeming] nam[es]; ...O Father of powe[r]s altogether... God Abaoth, Abrathiaoth, [Sa]ba[oth, A]donai, astra...The L[or]d of all (things)...The Lord God of the Hebrews, Epa[g]ael, ...of whom (is) [the] everlasting power, [Elo]el, Souel (PrJac 1-2,4a,9,13).

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.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 βατταλογεῖν.

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.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.

*Authenticity.*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

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.

⁹¹³ See Heinemann 1978, 85.

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.

⁹¹⁵ Luz 2002, 430 suggests that the contents of the saying might originate from Jesus. Gnlika 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 ausserordentliche geistige Nähe zu Jesus konstatieren.”)

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respect the saying may be considered dissimilar to early Christianity. Second, the idea that one must not 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,⁹¹⁶ 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.⁹¹⁷ 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,⁹¹⁸ and it can be divided into two parts, which have a similar construction.⁹¹⁹ 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.⁹²⁰ Thus, we will consider

⁹¹⁶ Zeller 1977, 135.

⁹¹⁷ See p. 105.

⁹¹⁸ Maisch 1991, 240-243.

⁹¹⁹ Pesch 1966, 15. About the theme of the composition see Gnlika 1988, 119-120.

⁹²⁰ About the redactional composition see Pesch 1966, 36-37 and Maisch 1991, 247-248. See also Flusser 1988, 516.

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the saying in vv. 19-20 an independent logion,⁹²¹ which comes from Matthew's special material.

19 Πάλιν [ἀμήν]⁹²² λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐὰν δύο συμφωνήσωσιν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς περὶ παντός πράγματος οὐδὲν ἐὰν αἰτήσωνται, γενήσεται αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς. **20** οὐδὲν γάρ εἰσιν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἕμὸν 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.

v. 19

- i) δύο
- ii) συμφωνήσωσιν
- iii) γενήσεται αὐτοῖς
παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου
τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς

v. 20

- δύο ἢ τρεῖς
συνηγμένοι
ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν

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 ἀμήν is to be omitted because of text critical reasons.

⁹²³ E.g. Pesch 1966, 43; Sievers 1981, 175 and Schnackenburg 1987, 173-174. See also Luz 1997, 40.

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In its present form the saying is clearly post-Easter, since the idea of the presence of Jesus refers to the risen Lord.⁹²⁴ 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 בְּשֵׁם , which, for its part, would be a technical term meaning ‘for the sake of’.⁹²⁵ 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.⁹²⁶ 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.⁹²⁷ 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 28:20.⁹²⁸ 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 εἶμι μεθ’ αὐτῶν, as in Mt 1:23 and 28:20, but we have here ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν instead.⁹²⁹ 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

⁹²⁴ Schniewind 1968, 200; Grundmann 1971, 420; Pesch 1988, 236; Luz 1997, 41; Wick 1998, 344.

⁹²⁵ Flusser 1988, 516-517.

⁹²⁶ E.g. Gundry 1994, 369.

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; Scnackenburg 1987, 174; Gnllka 1988, 140; Pokorný 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.

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tradition, which Matthew has adapted and placed within the context,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 them⁹³¹ and thus gain the pre-Matthean tradition of the saying, which would have been as follows:

λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐὰν δύο συμφωνήσωσιν ἐξ ὑμῶν περὶ παντός πράγματος οὐδὲν ἐὰν αἰτήσωνται, γενήσεται αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου. οὐ γάρ εἰσιν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἕμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἶμι 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 responds, or Father who is with those who come together. Further, the expression *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.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 *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, Shekinah⁹³³, 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.⁹³⁴ Thus the original form of the saying was christianized by replacing the Shekinah with the risen Lord.

⁹³⁰ E.g. Pesch 1988, 241-242; Gnilka 1988, 136; Luz 1997, 40; Pokorný 1999, 481. See also Schnackenburg 1987, 174.

⁹³¹ Regarding the expression ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς see Pesch 1988, 242.

⁹³² See Pokorný 1999, 479.

⁹³³ I use here the term Shekinah maybe a little anachronistically, for it is not clear, whether it was used already on the 1st 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.

⁹³⁴ See Grundmann 1971, 420-421; Gnilka 1988, 140; Pokorný 1999, 480.

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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.⁹³⁵ 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.⁹³⁶ Furthermore it has been suggested that in the christianized saying the presence of Jesus would have replaced the Torah of the Rabbinic saying.⁹³⁷ 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.

⁹³⁶ E.g. Goulder 1974, 401; Schnackenburg 1987, 174; Gnilka 1988, 136.

⁹³⁷ Pesch 1966, 44.

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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 God⁹⁴¹ 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:

Mk 9:1
ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰσὶν
τινες ὧδε τῶν ἐστηκότων
οἵτινες οὐ μὴ γεύσονται

Mt 16:28
ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰσὶν
τινες τῶν ὧδε ἐστῶτων
οἵτινες οὐ μὴ γεύσονται

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.

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θανάτου ἕως ἂν ἴδωσιν
τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ
ἐληλυθῆσαν ἐν δυνάμει. —————> θανάτου ἕως ἂν ἴδωσιν
τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ἐρχόμενον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ
αὐτοῦ.

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).⁹⁴³

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.⁹⁴⁴ 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:⁹⁴⁵

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.

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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 is 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 successful 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.

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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.

3.4. 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 αὐτούς, Τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔξει φίλον καὶ πορεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίου καὶ εἴπη αὐτῷ, Φίλε, χρῆσόν μοι τρεῖς ἄρτους, 6 ἐπειδὴ φίλος μου παρεγένετο ἐξ ὁδοῦ πρὸς με καὶ οὐκ ἔχω ὃ παραθήσω αὐτῷ· 7 ἀκαίριος ἔσωθεν ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπη, Μὴ μοι κόπους πάρεχε· ἤδη ἡ θύρα κέκλεισται καὶ τὰ παιδία μου μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὴν κοίτην εἰσίν· οὐ δύναμαι ἀναστὰς δοῦναί σοι. 8^a λέγω ὑμῖν, ^bεἰ καὶ οὐ δώσει αὐτῷ ἀναστὰς ^cδιὰ τὸ εἶναι φίλον αὐτοῦ, διὰ γε τὴν ἀναίδειαν αὐτοῦ ^dεγερεθεὶς 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 ἀναίδεια refer to, the

⁹⁵² Waetjen 2001, 705.

⁹⁵³ See Catchpole 1983, 407-408.

⁹⁵⁴ Jeremias 1984, 157 states that this parable is almost "ein Doppelgleichnis zu dem vom ungerechten Richter." Likewise Plummer 1922, 298; Fitzmyer 1985, 910 and Crump 1992, 131-134 interpret 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.

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petitioner⁹⁵⁶ or the petitioned?⁹⁵⁷ Fourth, what is the meaning of the noun ἀναίδεα? The basic meaning of it is ‘shamelessness’. Could the word in our context, nevertheless, have a positive connotation, like ‘to avoid shame’⁹⁵⁸, or ‘want of shame’ in the meaning of ‘confidence’⁹⁵⁹? Further, does the word suggest persistence?⁹⁶⁰ Fifth, how is the similarity between this parable and Lk 11:11-13 to be explained?⁹⁶¹ Sixth, there is an overarching and for our study crucial question: Does the parable focus on the petitioner or the petitioned⁹⁶², i.e. is this a parable of persistent prayer or of certainty of God’s response?⁹⁶³

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.⁹⁶⁴ 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

⁹⁵⁶ E.g. Berger 1973, 34; Schneider 1977, 259; Derrett 1978, 82-83, n. 2; Fitzmyer 1985, 912; Blomberg 1990, 276; Bovon 1996, 150; Snodgrass 1997, 509; Marshall 2001, 121.

⁹⁵⁷ E.g. Marshall 1978, 465; Scott 1990, 89-90; Nolland 1993, 624. Jeremias 1984, 157-158 remains unsure. Neither does Crump 1992, 131 make a decision between the alternatives.

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 αὐτοῦ is a cryptic reference to the shamelessness of the petitioned, which would be revealed if he refused the request of help.

⁹⁵⁹ Derrett 1978, 83-85.

⁹⁶⁰ E.g. Catchpole 1983, 409-411; Fitzmyer 1985, 912. See Snodgrass 1997, 511-512 about the discussion.

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.

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and hospitality⁹⁶⁵ 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 (μή μοι κόπους παρέχε, 11:7; διὰ 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 (ὕπωπιάζω, 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.⁹⁶⁶ 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 ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔξει φίλον 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,⁹⁶⁷ while the widow comes repeatedly to the judge in the Parable of the Unjust 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.

⁹⁶⁵ Bovon 1996, 148. “Die Pflichten der Freundschaft und die Gesetze der Gastfreundschaft kommen hier zusammen.”

⁹⁶⁶ About the differences see Dellling 1962, 2-4.

⁹⁶⁷ Derrett 1978, 79; Catchpole 1983, 413.

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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 ἀναίδεια 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 ἀναίδεια 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 ...";⁹⁶⁸ 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 18:5.⁹⁶⁹ 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:

11:8bcd

- i) εἰ καὶ⁹⁷⁰ οὐ δώσει αὐτῷ
ἀναστάς διὰ τὸ
εἶναι φίλον αὐτοῦ,
- ii) διὰ γε⁹⁷¹
- iii) τὴν ἀναίδειαν
- iv) αὐτοῦ
- v) ἐγεῖρθεις δώσει αὐτῷ
ὅσων ᾠρήξει.

18:4b-5

- i) εἰ καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὐ
φοβοῦμαι οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπον
ἐντρέπομαι,
- ii) διὰ γε
- iii) τὸ παρέχειν μοι κόπον
- iv) τὴν χήραν ταύτην
- v) ἐκδικήσω αὐτήν

⁹⁶⁸ Greeven 1982, 238-245.250-251. Greeven discusses following parables: Mt 7:9-11 / Lk 11:11-13; Mt 12:11-12 / 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 εἰ 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.

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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

⁹⁷² See Catchpole 1983, 410.

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.

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bread.⁹⁷⁴ Thus, the scholars, who advocate the thesis that *αναίδεια* refers to the petitioner, suggest that the noun may have a positive connotation signifying boldness or persistence.⁹⁷⁵ These suggestions do not, however, get any support from the Greek text material.

Those who, for their part, are of the opinion that *αναίδεια* 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 αναίδεια*. 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.⁹⁷⁶ 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’⁹⁷⁷ 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.⁹⁷⁸ 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 clause); and an apodosis (v. 7).⁹⁷⁹ Even the awkward variation between the future (ἐξεί, πορεύσεται) and the subjunctive (εἴπη 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.

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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 μή μοι κόπους πάρεχε. 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 ἐπειδη 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 παραγίνομαι 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 Lukan 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 *qal 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 τῆς ἐξ ὑμῶν: “Wir stehen hier also ‘in unmittelbarer Nähe der ipsissima verba Domini’”.

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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 Ἐλεγεν δὲ παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ δεῖν πάντοτε προσεύχεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ ἐγκακεῖν, 2 λέγων, Κριτὴς τις ἦν ἐν τινὶ πόλει τὸν θεὸν μὴ φοβούμενος καὶ ἄνθρωπον μὴ ἐντρέπόμενος. 3 χήρα δὲ ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγουσα, Ἐκδίκησόν με ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου μου. 4 καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐπὶ χρόνον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, Εἰ καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὐ φοβοῦμαι οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπον ἐντρέπομαι, 5 διὰ γε τὸ παρέχειν μοι κόπον τὴν χήραν ταύτην ἐκδικήσω αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τέλος ἐρχομένη ὑπωπιάζῃ με. 6^a Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος, ^bἈκούσατε τί ὁ κριτὴς τῆς ἀδικίας λέγει. 7^a ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν

⁹⁹³ Jeremias 1984, 92. Against von Stemm 1997, 585 and Tan 2000, 286.298.

αὐτοῦ τῶν βοῶντων αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, ἔκαι μακροθυμεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς; 8^a λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει. ἔπλην ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐλθὼν ἄρα εὐρήσει τὴν πίστιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς;

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.⁹⁹⁴ Then we will discuss the probable Lukan characteristics in the parable.

The introductory v. 1 is generally deemed as redactional⁹⁹⁵ 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.⁹⁹⁶ 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.⁹⁹⁷

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.⁹⁹⁸ Nevertheless, many have also suggested the unity of vv. 2-8.⁹⁹⁹

⁹⁹⁴ About the discussion see e.g. Dellling 1962, 1; Catchpole 1977, 81-82; Marshall 1978, 670; Hicks 1991, 209-213.

⁹⁹⁵ Plummer 1922, 411; Bultmann 1931, 209; Dellling 1962, 1, 5-6; Schneider 1977, 360; Linnemann 1978, 130; Weder 1978, 267-268; Jeremias 1984, 156; Fitzmyer 1985, 1176; Scott 1990, 176; Hicks 1991, 209; Crump 1992, 131-132; Nolland 1993, 866-867; Dumoulin 1999, 171; Bovon 2001, 188.

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.¹⁰⁰⁰ Second, the explanatory verses are strongly separated from the parable proper by the clause *εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος* in v. 6.¹⁰⁰¹ It can be stated against this argument that the clause mentioned above may very well be a redactional means to underline the following phrase.¹⁰⁰² Third, an explanatory clause is lacking from the parallel parable in Lk 11:5-8.¹⁰⁰³ 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 *ἐκλεκτοί* is not found in the authentic sayings of Jesus, but is generally used in Christianity.¹⁰⁰⁴ 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. 7.¹⁰⁰⁵ 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 (*ἐκδικέω* 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,

the text: vv. 7b-8 are Lukan, v. 7a comes from tradition and v. 6 is the most archaic commentary of the parable, and it originates probably from a Christian prophet. The parable itself may be an authentic saying of Jesus. See Reid 2002, 290.

⁹⁹⁹ E.g. Delling 1961, 25; Marshall 1978, 670-671; Jeremias 1984, 155-157; Witherington III 1987, 36; Blomberg 1990, 274; Hicks 1991, 209.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Delling 1962, 4; Jeremias 1984, 155; Hicks 1991, 212. See also Fitzmyer 1985, 1176.

¹⁰⁰¹ Linnemann 1978, 186 n.14. Linnemann discusses here the authenticity of the parable, but she states that the questions of authenticity and unity of the passage belong inseparably together.

¹⁰⁰² Hicks 1991, 210-211.

¹⁰⁰³ Bultmann 1931, 189.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Linnemann 1978, 186 n.14. Here the matter is again the authenticity, but it has consequences on the question of unity as well.

¹⁰⁰⁵ See Hicks 1991, 211-212.

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then the Son of Man.¹⁰⁰⁶ Verse 8b also introduces altogether new ideas, which are not attested in vv. 2-8a,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.¹⁰⁰⁸ Finally, the sentence seems to presuppose a delayed parousia,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.¹⁰¹⁰ It has been argued further that an Aramaic background of the sentence suggests a pre-Lukan and a Palestinian origin,¹⁰¹¹ which, nevertheless, does not prove that the sentence would be authentic or even an original part of the parable.¹⁰¹²

I think it 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.¹⁰¹³ Nevertheless, this does not necessarily 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

¹⁰⁰⁶ Linnemann 1978, 187 n.17.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Nolland 1993, 870. See also Bovon 2001, 188.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Linnemann 1978, 187 n.17.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Fitzmyer 1985, 1177; Bovon 2001, 188.

¹⁰¹⁰ Delling 1962, 22 and following him Blomberg 1990, 273. See also Marshall 1978, 676 and Bailey 1983b, 137. Linnemann 1978, 187 n. 17 considers this argument too constrained.

¹⁰¹¹ Jeremias 1984, 155.

¹⁰¹² See Linnemann 1978, 187-188 n.17.

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.

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widow is expressed mainly by the tense of the verb. The imperfect tense of the verb (ἤρχετο) indicates repeated or continuous activity¹⁰¹⁴ 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,¹⁰¹⁵ the Judge¹⁰¹⁶ or the Widow¹⁰¹⁷? 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?¹⁰¹⁸ 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

¹⁰¹⁴ Linnemann 1978, 127. 184 n.6; Jeremias 1984, 153; Fitzmyer 1985, 1179; Freed 1987, 45; Scott 1990, 187; Bovon 2001, 191. Bornemann – Risch 1978, § 208, 2.

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.

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God.¹⁰¹⁹ 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.¹⁰²⁰ 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.¹⁰²¹ There are many similarities between these two passages.¹⁰²² 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.¹⁰²³ Sixth, in both the word *μακροθυμέω* appears as an activity of God.¹⁰²⁴

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 22.¹⁰²⁵ The following table clarifies the points of contact between Lk 18:7 and Ps 22:

Lk 18:7

i) And will not God bring about justice

Ps 22:1,3,24

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.

¹⁰¹⁹ Schneider 1975, 72; Jeremias 1984, 156.

¹⁰²⁰ Manson 1949, 305.

¹⁰²¹ E.g. Manson 1949, 305-306; Bailey 1983b, 127-128; Witherington III 1987, 37 (Witherington III suggests that the Ben Sira -allusion is secondarily made by Luke); Evans 1990, 636; Nolland 1993, 865-866; Green 1997, 638; Dumoulin 1999, 169.

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.

¹⁰²⁴ Dumoulin 1999, 175; Nolland 1993, 866.

¹⁰²⁵ See also Ps 88.

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ii) for his chosen ones	A psalm of David
iii) τῶν βοώντων αὐτῷ	אקרא יהי אלהי
	ὁ θεός μου κεκραξομαι
iv) ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός	הלילה... מן
	ἡμέρας καὶ ... νυκτός

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.¹⁰²⁶ 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 βοάω is an apt translation of the Hebrew אקרא.

iv) It is worth noting, that of the five occurrences of the expression 'day and night' in Lk/Acts, Luke has νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν three times¹⁰²⁷, i.e. 'night' is mentioned before 'day', and twice ἡμέρας (τε) καὶ νυκτός¹⁰²⁸. 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.¹⁰²⁹ 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.¹⁰³⁰ 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.

¹⁰²⁸ Lk 18:7; Acts 9:24.

¹⁰²⁹ See Marshall 2001, 122-123.

¹⁰³⁰ Weaver 2002, 318.

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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 *ἐκλεκτοί* 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 Εἶπεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τινὰς τοὺς πεπειθότας ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὅτι εἰσὶν δίκαιοι καὶ ἐξουθενούντας τοὺς λοιποὺς τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην· 10 Ἄνθρωποι δύο ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν προσεύξασθαι, ὁ εἰς Φαρισαῖος καὶ ὁ ἕτερος τελώνης. 11 ὁ Φαρισαῖος σταθεὶς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ταῦτα προσήχετο, Ὁ θεός, εὐχαριστῶ σοι ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι ὡσπερ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἄρπαγες, ἄδικοι, μοιχοί, ἢ καὶ ὡς οὗτος ὁ τελώνης· 12 νηστεύω δις τοῦ σαββάτου, ἀποδεκατῶ πάντα ὅσα κτῶμαι. 13 ὁ δὲ τελώνης μακρόθεν

¹⁰³¹ Manson 1949, 305.

¹⁰³² E.g. Weder 1978, 272 and Bailey 1983b, 130 argue for authenticity. Bovon 2001, 189 is somewhat unsure. Linnemann 1978, 128 considers the parable inauthentic.

ἔστως οὐκ ἤθελεν οὐδὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπάραι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀλλ' ἔτυπεν τὸ στήθος αὐτοῦ λέγων, Ὁ θεός, ἰλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. 14^a λέγω ὑμῖν, κατέβη οὗτος δεδικαιωμένος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ παρ' ἐκείνου· ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ταπεινῶν ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται.

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

¹⁰³³ Bultmann 1931, 208-209; Schneider 1977, 363; Schnider 1980, 44; Fitzmyer 1985, 1183; Scott 1990, 93; Downing 1992a, 96; Nolland 1993, 874; Holmgren 1994, 252; Kilgallen 1998, 71; Bovon 2001, 204.; Holmén 2001a, 119-120. Linnemann 1978, 70 suggests that v. 9 is pre-Lukan but still secondary. Schottroff 1973, 457-460 argues that v. 9 might originally belong to the parable.

¹⁰³⁴ Scott 1990, 93; Farris 1997, 23 n.1; Kilgallen 1998, 74.

¹⁰³⁵ Bovon 2001, 204. Differently Downing 1992a, 96-97.

¹⁰³⁶ Manson 1947, 312; Jeremias 1984, 106.

¹⁰³⁷ Bultmann 1931, 193; Schneider 1977, 363; Linnemann 1978, 69-70; Schnider 1980, 44; Scott 1990, 93; Downing 1992, 96; Nolland 1993, 874; Bovon 2001, 204. See also Fitzmyer 1985, 1183. Blomberg 1990, 257-258 suggests that v. 14b might originally belong to the parable. Likewise Schottroff 1973, 457 and Kilgallen 1998, 71.

¹⁰³⁸ Jeremias 1984, 139. Jeremias argues that both linguistic characteristics – he refers especially to the asyndeton in vv. 11, 12 and 14 – and contents suggest a Palestinian provenance. Holmén 2001a, 119. See also Marshall 1978, 678; Schnider 1980, 55. Differently Goulder 1989, 667-669, who argues that the whole parable is a creation of Luke.

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,¹⁰⁴⁰ 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.¹⁰⁴¹

There have been attempts to solve the problem by suggesting that the character of the Pharisee,¹⁰⁴² or even both the Pharisee and the tax collector,¹⁰⁴³ are to be considered as caricatures. In the first case the tax collector would be a positive example,¹⁰⁴⁴ and in the latter case both characters would serve as negative examples.¹⁰⁴⁵ 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.¹⁰⁴⁶ The Pharisee stands¹⁰⁴⁷ while praying, which is not an ostentatious, but a customary posture of prayer.¹⁰⁴⁸ His standing is further defined with expression πρὸς ἑαυτὸν,¹⁰⁴⁹ which probably renders an Aramaic reflexive,¹⁰⁵⁰ and emphasizes the action.¹⁰⁵¹

¹⁰⁴⁰ Verse 14a can be regarded either as a real comparative or as a Semitic expression, which would mean that the Pharisee was not righteous at all.

¹⁰⁴¹ About the discussion see e.g. Schneider 1980, 42-43.

¹⁰⁴² Schottroff 1973, 448-452; Evans 1990, 641; Bovon 2001, 209-210.

¹⁰⁴³ Downing 1992a, 81. 96; Holmgren 1994, 253.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Schottroff 1973, 453-455.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Downing 1992, 98; Holmgren 1994, 259-260.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Jeremias 1984, 139; Tan 2000, 290. See also Evans 1990, 642 and Green 1997, 646. Likewise Bailey 1983b, 145-147 understands the community worship during the morning or evening sacrifice as a scenery for the story.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Schottroff 1973, 449 suggests that the word σταθεῖς would be superfluous, if the description was not meant to be a caricature. The standing position during the prayer is, however, also mentioned in Mk 11:25, and there in such a context, which is surely not a caricature.

¹⁰⁴⁸ See Marshall 1978, 679. See ch. 2.2.3.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Some scholars, e.g. Fitzmyer 1985, 1186; Goulder 1989, 669; Nolland 1993, 874; von Stemm 1997, 584, suggest that the expression would define the word προσηύχeto, and likewise some manuscripts have the words of the sentence in the order ὁ Φαρισαῖος σταθεῖς ταῦτα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν προσηύχeto. Also several translations prefer this interpretation, e.g. the NIV, NASB, KJV, NKJV, RSV and DARBY. Nevertheless, the expression is to be understood as a definition to the word σταθεῖς, because it functions in the parable as a counterpart to the word μακρόθεν,

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Formally the prayer of the Pharisee is a general Jewish thanksgiving.¹⁰⁵² The simple address ‘God’ is frequently attested in early Jewish prayers.¹⁰⁵³ The opening phrase εὐχαριστῶ σοι ὅτι renders the Hebrew formula כִּי אֲדַוְּךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, which occurs repeatedly especially in the *Hodayot*.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 26:8-14¹⁰⁵⁵ and some late Rabbinic texts¹⁰⁵⁶ could be mentioned in this connection, but especially some hymns in the *Hodayot* and a prayer *halakah* in tBer 6:18. We will first bring out three examples from the *Hodayot*. First, 1QH^a xv:34-35¹⁰⁵⁷ 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 1 QH^a 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.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Jeremias 1984, 139.

¹⁰⁵¹ Jeremias 1984, 139. Jeremias paraphrases the sentence: “er stellte sich sichtbar hin und sprach folgendes Gebet.”

¹⁰⁵² Scott 1990, 95.

¹⁰⁵³ See ch. 2.3.3.

¹⁰⁵⁴ See p. 77. Cf. also Jn 11:41. Fitzmyer 1985, 1186.

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.

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.

¹⁰⁵⁷ See Holmén 2001a, 120.

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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 QH^a 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:

¹⁰⁵⁸ Schneider 1977, 364; Schnider 1980, 48; Bailey 1983b, 150; Fitzmyer 1985, 1187; Nolland 1993, 874; Holmén 2001a, 119, 124.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Manson 1949, 310; Linnemann 1978, 64-66; Scott 1990, 96; Farris 1997, 26-29. See also Nolland 1993, 876 and Kilgallen 1998, 70-71.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Schneider 1977, 365; Marshall 1978, 680; Jeremias 1984, 140; Scott 1990, 96; Nolland 1993, 877; von Stemm 1997, 585.

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

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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,

Manasseh serves in the Hebrew Bible almost like an archetype of a wicked man,¹⁰⁶² 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.¹⁰⁶³ 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.¹⁰⁶⁴

It seems likely that both figures of the parable serve as archetypes, one is pious and the other a sinner,¹⁰⁶⁵ and thus the astonishing point of the parable, in the minds of the audience, is in v. 14a.¹⁰⁶⁶ 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 Schneider 1980, 49.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Manson 1949, 310; Holmén 2001a, 124.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Jeremias 1984, 143; Blomberg 1990, 256..

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the acquired order of precedence upside down.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.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.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.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.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.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.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Linnemann 1978, 69, Scott 1990, 97; Nolland 1993, 874-875; Farris 1997, 30.

¹⁰⁶⁸ See Fitzmyer 1985, 1184.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Schneider 1977, 363. See also Holmén 2001a, 126.

¹⁰⁷⁰ See ch. 2.2.2. and 2.2.3., and about the daily sacrifice the excursus on pp. 58-60.

¹⁰⁷¹ Scott 1990, 97.

¹⁰⁷² Schneider 1980, 51. Cf. Balentine 1993a, 48-50, who discusses prayer as a means for building character portraits in Hebrew narrative.

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*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

¹⁰⁷³ For the authenticity argue e.g. Marshall 1978, 678; Nolland 1993, 874; Bovon 2001, 205 and Holmén 2001, 126. Inauthenticity is suggested by e.g. Schottroff 1973, 453-453 and Goulder 1989, 667-669.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Goulder 1989, 667-669.

¹⁰⁷⁵ The verb μετανοέω occurs twice in Q, twice in Mk, twice in Matthew's and seven times in Luke's special material. The noun 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.

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gospels.¹⁰⁷⁶ 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, GOULDER 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,¹⁰⁷⁷ 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-

¹⁰⁷⁶ See e.g. Crump 1992, Fenske 1997, 278-281 and Taussig 1999, 39-41.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Schottruff 1973, 453-454.

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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).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.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.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Holmén 2001a, 126.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Holmén 2001a, 126.

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4. Jesus' Teaching on Prayer. Synthesis.

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.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Cf. Cullmann 1995, 18-19. See also Chilton 1996, 100.

¹⁰⁸¹ See Sanders 1985, 76.

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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'

¹⁰⁸² See Fenske 1997, 263-264.

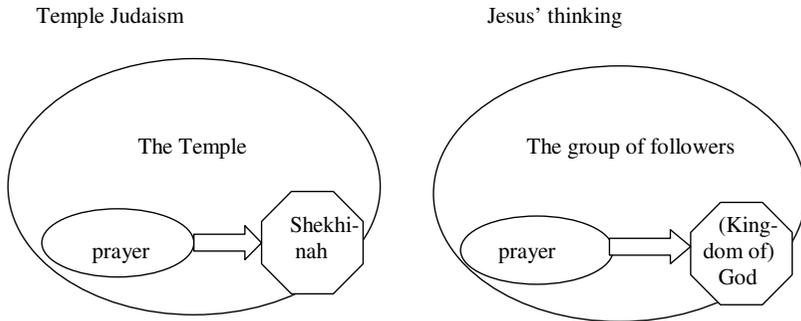
¹⁰⁸³ See p. 45.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Sanders 1985, 61; Evans 1995, 367; Wright 1996, 334; Holmén 2001a, 301. See also Ådna 1999, 470.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Sanders 1985, 73-74.

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thinking.¹⁰⁸⁶ 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:



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.

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over meals. It is also probable that he himself and his followers observed these times. Jesus had nothing against that.¹⁰⁸⁷ 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.¹⁰⁸⁸ 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

¹⁰⁸⁷ See Fenske 1997, 264 and Marshall 2001, 116.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Niederwimmer 1998, 134.

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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.¹⁰⁸⁹ 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.¹⁰⁹⁰ 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).¹⁰⁹¹

4.2. Prayer Texts

Genre. It is somewhat striking that Jesus' teaching on prayer concentrates exclusively on petitionary prayer,¹⁰⁹² 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.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Knoch 1982, 82; Soares-Prabhu 1990, 33.

¹⁰⁹¹ See p. 61.

¹⁰⁹² Von Campenhausen 1977, 158; Gnilka 1990, 239.

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I think it is most probable that both Jesus and his followers simply observed the contemporary practices as regards praise.¹⁰⁹³ 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.¹⁰⁹⁴ 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.

¹⁰⁹³ Cullmann 1995, 29.

¹⁰⁹⁴ See p. 28-29.

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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.¹⁰⁹⁵ 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.¹⁰⁹⁶ 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,¹⁰⁹⁷ 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.

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Third, 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.

¹¹⁰⁰ Gnlika 1990, 239; Stolle 1991, 310.

¹¹⁰¹ See p. 31.

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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,

¹¹⁰² See ch. 2.5.1.

¹¹⁰³ Von Campenhausen 1977, 161. See also Fenske 1997, 266.

¹¹⁰⁴ So also Jeremias 1971, 187.

¹¹⁰⁵ Cf. Soares-Prabhu 1990, 37. Against Cullmann 1995, 19-21.31.

¹¹⁰⁶ See also TGad 6:3-7 and TZeb 5:3. Nevertheless, as DiLella 1987, 364 correctly notes, these passages may be Christian interpolations.

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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."¹¹⁰⁷

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.

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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*.¹¹⁰⁸ 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.¹¹⁰⁹

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

¹¹⁰⁸ See Soares-Prabhu 1990, 33.

¹¹⁰⁹ Fenske 1997, 265.

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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

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situation".¹¹¹⁰ 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 Temple¹¹¹¹ 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.¹¹¹²

We find, nevertheless, one feature, which is characteristic for institutionalized prayer, in Jesus' teaching on prayer, namely a fixed prayer text.¹¹¹³ 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 Ådna 1999, 472, who suggests that Jesus was willing to offer himself and thus replace the sacrificial cult.

¹¹¹³ See p. 109.

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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 12:22-31.¹¹¹⁴ 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.¹¹¹⁵ The statements about God's pre-knowledge must not 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:¹¹¹⁶

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.

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.

¹¹¹⁹ Meier 2001, 207-208.

¹¹²⁰ Cf. ch. 2.3.2. above.

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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 ὀνόματί 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.

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disciples cannot themselves address God as 'Father', but the same effect is achieved by praying to God in Jesus' name.¹¹²³

¹¹²³ Cf. Stolle 1991, 308. See also von Campenhausen 1977, 164. 168.

5. Summary

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. Hebrew Verbs and Nouns Denoting Prayer

Table 1: Hebrew verbs denoting prayer

word	basic meaning	passages where attested, e.g.
בקש ¹¹²⁴	to search	2Sam 12:16; Ezra 8:21,23; Dan 9:3
צעק / זעק ¹¹²⁵	to shout	Ex 2:23; Judg 3:9. 15; 4:3; Ps 34:17; Isa 30:19; Jer 11:11; Lam 3:8
קרא ¹¹²⁶	to call	Gen 4:26; 21:33; Ex 19:3; Judg 16:28; 2Sam 22:4. 7; Isa 12:4; Ps 3:5.
אמר	to speak	Gen 24:12; 32:10; Ex 32:31; 2Sam 15:31
עתר ¹¹²⁷	to pray	Gen 25:21; Ex 8:4-5,25-28; 10:18; Judg 13:8; Job 22:27; 33:26
דרש ¹¹²⁸	to seek, ask	Gen 25:22; Deut 4:29; Isa 8:19; 31:1; 55:6; 58:2; Jer 21:2; Ps 34:5
שאל	to ask	Josh 9:14; 1Sam 10:22; 23:2; 30:8; Isa 30:1-2; Ps 122:6
פלל (hitp.) ¹¹²⁹	to judge; to pray (hitp.)	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
פגע	to meet; to intercede (hif)	Isa 53:12 (hif); Jer 27:18 (qal)
חנן (hitp.)	to have mercy; to seek mercy (hitp)	Deut 3:23; 1Kgs 8:33,47,59; Ps 30:9; 142:2
חלה (piel)	to be weak; to implore (piel)	Ex 32:11; 1Kgs 13:6; 2Kgs 13:4; Zech 8:21-22; 2Chr 33:12
הלל (piel)	to shine; to praise (piel)	Isa 62:9; Jer 20:13; Joel 2:26; Ps 22:23-24; 69:31; 106:1; Ezra 3:11
ברך	to bless	Ex 18:10; Judg 5:2; Ps 16:7; 18:47; 63:5; Dan 6:11

¹¹²⁴ Wagner 1973, 765.

¹¹²⁵ Hasel 1977, 637.

¹¹²⁶ Hossfeld & Kindl 1993, 122-125. Hossfeld & Kindl suggest that the construction יהוה בשם קרא belongs originally to a cultic context. Further they state that קרא is used mostly, but not only, in laments.

¹¹²⁷ Gerstenberger 1989, 489-491. Gerstenberger suggests a cultic context.

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.

Appendix

Table 2: Hebrew nouns denoting prayer

word	basic meaning	passages where attested, e.g.
קול	the voice, plea	Num 21:3; Jer 3:21; Ps 116:1
תחנונים	supplication	Jer 3:21; 31:9; Zech 12:10; Ps 28:2,6; 31:23; 86:6; 116:1; Dan 9:3; 2Chr 6:21
תחנה	(plea for) mercy	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
תפלה	supplication, hymn	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
רנה	rejoicing, lamentation	1Kgs 8:28; Jer 7:16; 11:14; 14:12; Ps 17:1; 42:4; 2Chr 20:22

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	The Anchor Bible Dictionary
AsJT	Asia Journal of Theology
BHH	Biblich-historisches Handwörterbuch
BN	Biblische Notizen
Bib	Biblica
Bib.Int	Biblical Interpretation. A Journal of Contemporary Approaches.
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblische Kommentar Altes Testaments
BThZ	Berliner Theologischen Zeitschrift
BZ N.F.	Biblische Zeitschrift Neue Folge
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica. New Testament Series
Darby	Darby Translation
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
Echter	Die Neue Echter Bibel
EKK	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ErFor	Erträge der Forschung
EuA	Erbe und Auftrag
ExWNT	Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
FzB	Forschung zur Bibel
Forum	Foundations & Facets Forum
Forum NS.	Foundations & Facets Forum. New Series
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GFC	Garland Folklore Casebooks
Herder	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
Hermeneia	Hermeneia - A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
ICC	The International Critical Commentary on the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament
Int	Interpretation. A Journal of Bible and Theology
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JBL.MS	Journal of Biblical Literature, Monograph Series
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series

Abbreviations

JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series
JTS.N.S.	Journal of Theological Studies. New Series
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KD	Kerygma und Dogma
KJV	King James Version
Loeb	The Loeb Classical Library
LuThK	Lutherische Theologie und Kirche
NAC	The New American Commentary
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCBC	The New Century Bible Commentary
NICNT	The New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIV	New International Version
NKJV	New King James Version
NLT	New Living Translation
NovT	Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTD	Neues Testament Deutsch
NTS	New Testament Studies
ÖTNT	Ökumenischer Taschenkommentar zum Neuen Testament
RB	Revue Biblique
RevQ	Revue de Qumran
ResQ	Restoration Quarterly
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SBL diss	Society of Biblical Literature. Dissertation Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SJ	Studia Judaica. Forschung zur Wissenschaft des Judentums
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies. Monograph Series
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
ThB	Theologische Beiträge
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
TPI.NTC	Trinity Press International. New Testament Commentaries
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
TWAT	Theologischer Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament
TWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
WBC	World Biblical Commentary
WdF	Wege der Forschung
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament.
YLT	Young's Literal Translation
ZNT	Zeitschrift für Neues Testament
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

Abbreviations

ZThK Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

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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.