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1981

# The Prayer of Jesus in Matthew

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# The Prayer of Jesus in Matthew\*

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Two forms of Jesus' Prayer (=JP) are transmitted in the Gospels, Matt 6,9-13 and Luke 11,2-4. This fact raises questions<sup>1</sup> as to the original composition of JP and as to the historical process of its dual transmission. The Lukan shorter version seems to be original, since liturgical texts tend to grow with time.<sup>2</sup> The Matthean longer version appears to have preserved the original wording and the Semitic poetic balance.<sup>3</sup> The liturgical development is credited to the oral transmission of JP in two separate churches<sup>4</sup>, or even to the redactional work of Matthew expanding on Mark<sup>5</sup>. However, JP in either form was originally transmitted as "lectio brevior" to be used by his followers. The knowledge of JP and the privilege of using it were reserved for the full members of the church only.<sup>6</sup> No author would have dared to produce additional brief petitions or to make alterations in JP on his own.

The differences in the form and its intended usage must be first seen in light of composition criticism. The particular location in the Gospel, as governed by the structural presentation of the surrounding material, is to be examined in view of the redactional arrangement, given stresses, added comments and the specific terminology of the writer. Thus, the particular orientation, purpose and meaning of JP can be determined for each Gospel. The compositional evaluation must take into account the total tradition on prayer as it appears in Matthew and in Luke-Acts respectively.<sup>7</sup> This is to be considered in relation to the liturgical practice of the early church<sup>8</sup> and in view of Jewish prayer in the Temple and in the synagogue.<sup>9</sup> The results of this investigation are to be separated from the study of JP itself. Its meaning<sup>10</sup> can be only understood in

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\*This article is presented in honor and recognition of Msgr. Oesterreicher's relentless intercessory effort in behalf of the Jewish people and the state of Israel. His writings and lectures over the past years and his vision of Jewish-Christian scholarly cooperation in the development of a graduate program at Seton Hall University are lasting contributions to a period of understanding between Jews and Christians initiated in our time. Let his Hebrew name be the acknowledgement that he is a person whom "God has graced" (*Yo-Hanan*).

relation to other reliable teachings of Jesus and in the context of Jewish practice.

JP appears to have been transmitted prior to the composition of the Gospel in two ways. 1) JP like other teachings of Jesus, in particular the parables, were viewed as Scriptures to be interpreted.<sup>11</sup> The Gospel writers record not only JP but also its commentary in the form of a derived lesson (Matt 6,14.15) or in the form of juxtaposition to parables illustrating particular meaning (Luke 11,5-13). It would be incorrect to argue that the writer composed both JP and its commentary. 2) JP appears to govern the redactional arrangement of other sections in Matthew. This clearly demonstrates that his circle was already acquainted with its particular petitions. For Matthew is consciously employing them as a guide to the composition of his Gospel. The Lukan shorter form preserves with slight variations petitions identical to the Matthean text. It appears to be an early reliable Palestinian tradition, which Luke would not attempt to alter. Why then were two forms of JP transmitted as sacred texts, i.e. as Scriptures to be interpreted, during the Apostolic period? This article reexamines both the Matthean understanding of JP as reflected in his composition and the meaning of "Pater Noster" as a teaching of Jesus. It also distinguishes between the two forms as originally transmitted. However, the Lukan version in the context of his composition deserves a separate study.

Matthew presents JP of seven brief petitions in a section on the Jewish pietistic triad of almsgiving, prayer and fasting (6,1-18). This section which appears in the Sermon on the Mount as a redacted collection of Jesus' teachings,<sup>12</sup> is introduced with an admonition: "Beware of practicing your piety before men in order to be seen by them, for then you will have no reward from your Father who is in heaven." It then enumerates the acts of piety in three similarly structured paragraphs that reiterate the admonitory phrases. The three paragraphs speak of "when you give alms" (2-4), "when you pray" (5-6) and "when you fast" (16-18). They repeat the caution: "As the hypocrites . . . that they may be praised/seen by men. Amen, I say to you, that they have their reward." They offer the contrasting advice: "But when you give alms/pray/fast . . . do so in secret and your Father who sees in secret will reward you." Matthew employs here the homiletic admonitory form, which usually refers to heavenly reward and punishment. It was a common theological appeal made by the rabbinic and Christian preachers as reprovers of the community. Thus, elsewhere in the Gospels Matthew concludes with similar admonitory forms.<sup>13</sup>

In this section the homiletic stress on reward and punishment brings into question the public Jewish pietistic acts which seek God's favor in

time of distress. The community is summoned to give alms, to fast and to stand praying in the synagogues or in the town-square (Matt 6,5 the corners of *plateia* = *rehobh*, M. Ta'anit 2,1). The public display of penitential acts is solicited by the religious teachers during a period of national calamity, especially at the time of drought affecting the agrarian society. The proscribed acts on a fast day as referred to in Matt 6,17 (no washing nor rubbing with oil) were occasioned by a period of drought extending into the mid-third month of Fall (M. Ta'anit 1,6). This was the practice before the Destruction to gather in the Temple or locally in the town-square and synagogue. It remained the practice for the latter after the Destruction. Two centuries later R. Elazar ben Pedath captures its meaning with a summary statement.<sup>14</sup> "Three things cancel out the harsh decree and they are prayer, almsgiving and repentance." He bases all three on God's response in a vision to Solomon following his prayer (2Chr 7,13-14). "When I shut up the heavens and there is no rain. . . and My people, who are called by My name humble themselves, pray (i.e. prayer) and seek My Face (i.e. the righteous act of charity, in view of Ps 17,15) and turn away from their wicked ways (i.e. repentance). Then I will hear from heaven." This addition in Chronicles to 2Kgs 9,2 indeed reflects the scribal understanding of the practice during the Second Temple period.

At such calamitous occasions; trumpets were sounded and the elders conducted the service (M. Ta'anit 2,1.2.5). In the Matthean section, they are the scribes and Pharisees who are called hypocrites (compare 6,1 with 5,20). Matthew did not develop this section in opposition to a Jamnian revised agenda of pietistic practice.<sup>15</sup> Matthew is preserving redactionally Jesus' response to public demonstration of piety in time of distress. This teaching relates to the common knowledge of public Jewish practice during and after the time of Jesus.<sup>16</sup> Thus, Jesus taught that your alms should be in secret, alluding to Prov 21,14: "Alms in secret avert anger." The stress is on averting evil judgment. Jesus taught also that the prayer should be in private, alluding to Isa 26,20: "Go my people, enter into your storeroom (LXX and Matt 6,5 : *tamieion*), shut your door . . . until the anger of the Lord has passed away." The stress is again on averting the evil judgment. Jesus taught that public fast should not become simply an act of bodily abstinence. He alluded to Isa 58,5, the admonitory lesson preached on such occasions.<sup>17</sup> "Is such the fast that I choose . . . to bow down the head like a rush and to spread sackcloth and ashes?" In contrast to these overt penitential actions, Isaiah depicts in the following verses the proper acts of righteousness. These are feeding the hungry, welcoming the oppressed stranger, clothing the naked (v 7) and visiting those who are in chains (including

the sick, v 6). Matthew cites them in the scene of the Judgment Day, attributed to Jesus (25,42.43). In the performance of these altruistic actions, Matthew understands Jesus' demand for sincere pietistic expression as seeking closeness to God (Isa 58,2c; for Matt 25,40.45: an identity with Jesus). Thus, the admonitory introduction of Matt 6,1 refers to "practicing your piety (*dikaïosynē*=*ṣedaqah*)" in view of Isa 58,2: "As a people (*goy*; Matt 6,7 *ethnikos*, included the Jewish community) who practiced righteousness (*ṣedaqah*)." Matthew opens the section with an allusion to Isa 58,2 and he closes with a lesson on fasting, which echoes verse 5 of Isa 58. He reserves the reference to verses 6-7 for the last long discourse of his Gospel. For the reference is repeated redactionally (25,35-39.42-44) in the apocalyptic teaching of Jesus on final reward and punishment.

JP is attached to the homiletic paragraph on prayer. This section provides the public Jewish practice in time of distress as background. For Matthew wishes to introduce the abbreviated JP in contrast to the longest liturgical service held on communal fast days. The public Jewish prayer included six petitions with respective Scriptural readings, following "Redeemer of Israel", in the daily Eighteen Benedictions.<sup>18</sup> The twenty-four petitions were recited in the Temple or locally in the town-square by religious officials. The additional petitions make also an appeal to God, "who hearkens to prayer". This formula, which echoes Ps 65,3, became the liturgical seal for public and private intercession. It is already reflected in the appeal which Solomon repeated to God in the First Temple that in time of distress, public prayer and private supplication will be heard in heaven (1Kgs 8,30.32.34.36.39.43). Similarly it is found in the Levitical prayer to God in the Second Temple during a period of national fast (Neh 9,27.28). In both cases it is an appeal to God's mercy. For it captures the ultimate expression of faith for the one who prays. It is heartfelt speech before God, whose Presence is addressed and whose mercy is sought.

*Tefillah* in biblical Hebrew means intercession,<sup>19</sup> to plead a case before the merciful Judge in heaven for the sake of the community. Thus, the Middle Section of the daily *Tefillah* consists of collective petitions for existential and eschatological needs. It converts the singular to the plural, in conformity with the "We" petitions, when citing Ps 119,153 for "Redeemer of Israel" and Jer 17,14 for "Healer of the Sick". This Middle Section concluded with an appeal: "Hearken, O Lord our God, to the voice of our prayers for you are merciful and compassionate. Blessed are you the Lord who hearkens to prayer" (the Palestinian recension). The private petitions of the High Priest, following the public reading on the Day of Atonement, conclude with: "Supplication and entreaty before

you in behalf of your people Israel who need to be redeemed. Blessed is the Lord who hearkens to prayer" (MYoma 7.1; bYoma 70b and bSotah 41a). Both private and collective *Tefillah* have the same liturgical seal.

#### *The Lengthy and Abbreviated Communal Prayers*

During the Second Temple period in addition to the special communal fast days, there were daily gatherings in the synagogue or in the town-square for a public liturgical service.<sup>20</sup> Communal fast days were proclaimed by the religious teachers in time of distress only. Yet, every day of a particular week, the townpeople would also gather to witness a liturgical service conducted by the members of the *Ma'amad*. They were the religious lay delegates of the community on their way to the Temple to be present during the sacrificial and prayer service. They acted as the community's intercessors before God's Presence in the Temple. Thus they fasted during the week: "on Monday in behalf of sea voyagers; on Tuesday in behalf of those who travel in the desert (the caravans); on Wednesday in behalf of infants that croup may not attack them; on Thursday in behalf of pregnant women that should not miscarry and in behalf of nursing mothers that their children should not die" (jTa'anit 4,4;68b and bTa'anit 27b). Each day they read a selection from the Story of Creation, referring to God's providential care of his work on the particular day (MTa'anit 4,2 and above, compare Sopherim 17,4). They offered the *Tefillah* in which the Middle Section concluded with the clause: "The Lord who hearkens to prayer."

Every day at the sacrificial service of the Temple, the Levitical choir chanted a given Psalm (MTamid 7,4; see the explanation of R. Aqiba in bRosh Hashanah 31a) and the priests offered the intercessory petition for God's acceptance of the service (bTa'anit 27b). This petition ended with: "You alone shall we serve in awe," echoing Deut 6,13. This text is cited by Jesus in the Temptation Story, while Q preserves the liturgical phraseology "alone". It is also used by the Tannaim as Scriptural basis for the inclusion of prayer along with or without sacrifices in the service before God<sup>21</sup> (Sifre to Deut 11,13 in view of Midrash Hagadol to Deut 6,13). For it was the practice in the Second Temple to offer intercessory prayer and private supplications at the time of sacrifice (e.g. Luke 1,10). In response to prayer in the Temple the priestly petition for the service reads: "Accept in favor, O Lord our God, your people Israel and their prayers and may daily the (sacrificial) service of your people Israel be acceptable in favor before you." The prayer service of the synagogal *Ma'amad* and the priestly liturgy for the Daily Offering and the Festivals gave rise to the liturgical structure of the synagogue after the Destruc-

tion.<sup>22</sup> Their combined petitions were arranged and edited in Jamnia as the daily Eighteen Benedictions corresponding to the times of sacrifices in the pre-Destruction days. Their essential structure preserved the wording of the Second Temple period.<sup>23</sup> Jamnia reserved the Middle Section for the weekdays only and its liturgical seal, "who hearkens to prayer", for private supplication and fast days,<sup>24</sup> as it was the practice in pre-Destruction days. Three times daily the synagogal community offered Tefillah of the Ma'amad and the priests as intercession for those who are in distress or are threatened by it.<sup>25</sup>

This is the historical background for public lengthy Jewish prayer known from the time of Jesus to the time of Matthew. The communal fast days fell on Mondays and Thursdays (MTa'anit; 2,9); whereas the private fasts of the Ma'amad lasted from Monday to Thursday. On both occasions the Tefillah was offered to the "Lord who hearkens to prayer." This relationship between fasting and public prayer is the background to the Didache's section<sup>26</sup> on fasting not on Monday and Thursday and on praying the abbreviated JP in the Matthew form with a communal doxology. Like Matthew, it views JP in light of public Jewish prayer in time of distress (fast days) and for those in distress (daily). Curiously, the Tiberian Amora Yoḥanan of the Third Century, who was acquainted with the Nazareans of Galilee, offers the reason for the Ma'amad not fasting on Sunday: "So they will not say while we (the Christians) celebrate, they (the Jews) are fasting" (bTa'anit 27<sup>b</sup> and Sopherim 17,4, ed Higger 300 n 22). For the tradition of the lay Ma'amad and priestly watches were kept alive liturgically, and Yoḥanan produces an explanation elicited by the Jewish-Christian conflict. Only after the Bar Kochba period, the conflict with Jewish-Christians gave rise to the inclusion of "Nazareans" in the Jamnian malediction against *Minim*, the heretics of the Jewish community. The Genizah text of the later centuries adds "Noṣerim" to "Minim", and the Patristic heretical lists preserve this distinction between "Minim" in pre-Bar Kochba days (Justin, Dialogue 80: *Genistai*) and "Noṣerim" of the Third Century (Epiphanius, Panarion 29.1, Compare Jerome, Epistle to Augustine; Commentary to Isa 2, 18; 49,7;52,4).

Matthew transmits JP as an abbreviated form of ecclesiastical intercession in time of distress. This is developed in the introductory comments to JP. "Do not use stammering (*batto-*) phrases as the Gentiles do, for they think that they will be heard for their many words" (6,7). This appears as the first explanation, pointing to the cacophonous litany of the crowds,<sup>27</sup> who repeat the cry: "Answer us", in time of distress. The stammering manner of collective shouts reflects disorder, lack of confidence or even scruple. Likewise the frenzied Gentile crowds in

worship were seen by Jews and Christians in Syria. The Gentiles were participating in mystery cultic service with its mytho-dramatic forms of purgation and jubilation.<sup>28</sup> The abbreviated form of JP is offered in contrast. The Christian community is to pray in harmony and in order, displaying confidence and unity in their appeal to God. Matthew's particular stress on no hypocrisy but purity of the heart (5,8) and integrity (5,48) supports this observation. A contemporary pious teacher, Hanina beñ Dosa,<sup>29</sup> noted for his efficacious intercession, related that only such prayer spoken in a non-stammering manner ("shegurah bephyw" in contrast to "megamgem") is acceptable to God (MBerakhot 5,5 and the story in bBer 34<sup>b</sup>). Thus, R. Aqiba maintains that the Jamnian standardized Eighteen Benedictions can only be said if spoken in a nonstammering manner; otherwise an abbreviated form should be recited (MBer 4,3).

The second introductory comment to JP states: "For your Father knows what you require before you ask him" (6,8). The object-clause reads alliteratively in Aramaic: "debha'ithun qadam debha'ithun." Significantly, "debha'ithun" can be translated as what "you require" or "you ask" as well as "you pray". For speech before God points to a faith in the Omniscient One, who searches the human heart and is cognizant of its needs. God alone knows the sincere act of repentance and prayer of the community in time of distress. Thus, the Palestinian Targum to Exod 2,25 renders "God knows" (the plight and the cry of Israel in bondage) as "The repentance that (Israel) did in secret, for no one knew of his fellow's (act of repentance), was known to him". (Compare Mekhilta to Exod 19,2). Matthew prefaces the second explanation to JP as Scriptural support for the efficacy of abbreviated prayer. He alludes to Isa 65,24a: "Before they call (Targum: pray) I will answer them (Targum: receive their prayer)." The later Christian homiletic work (2Clem 15) refers to the second half of this verse: "While they are yet speaking I will hear," as an exhortation to pray with confidence to God. He conflates it with Isa 58,9a: "I will say behold I am," the prospect of God's Presence at time of prayer and fasting (2Clem 15,4 thinks of Jesus' Presence; so Apostolic Constitutions 7.38: "The Lord be with you upon earth" in response to the entreaty of "You receive the prayers of your people", 7.37). Like Matthew, the homilist relates the proper performance of the pietistic triad of almsgiving, prayer and fasting (2Clem 16,4).

Matthew introduces JP with an allusion to Isa 65,24. This is significant in light of the rabbinic use of the Isaiah verse as a demonstration for the efficacy of brief prayer. "There is a prayer that even before one utters it, it is answered," citing Isa 65,24 (Deut Rabba 2,10 to 4,8; the reading of

Yalqut Simeoni to Isa 65,24; 509). It is compared with the brief intercession of Moses (Num 12,13) which averted God's judgment (Sifre ad loc. and Midrash Prov 4;27b). The example of Moses became the practice of the Righteous in formulating brief Tefillah (Mekhilta Simeon to Exod 15,25). It also prompted R. Eliezer of the First Century to question the sincere intent of the one who abbreviated his prayer in public in order "that they will say: He is a disciple of the Sages" (idem, omitted in bBerakhot 34a). Similarly Jesus criticized those who pray in order to be seen by men. For Jesus, like the Sages, as well as the Righteous and the Prophets before them, also lived a life of intercessory prayer in healing and in solitude (the Synoptic tradition). The prayers of Jesus preserved in the Gospels reflect his use of brief forms. JP as transmitted in both Gospels consists of brief intercessory petitions. However, the liturgical intent for the followers is different. In Matthew JP is intended for the community and in Luke for the apostles. The difference between the communal prayer (*Tefillah*=*proseuchē*) and the private supplication (*Tahanun*=*deēsis*) will be reflected in their respective forms. The meaning and usage of "brief prayer" (*Tefillah Qeṣarah*) for the community and for the individuals must be first discussed.

The biblical orientation for *Tefillah Qeṣarah* is reflected in the Isaiah verse (65,24). Prayer can be a continual human exercise in seeking closeness to God's Presence.<sup>30</sup> God, however, is always ready to respond to sincere appeal in moments of despair. Total reliance on God's mercy in the expression of humility and love is the sincere attitude of the one who prays. He relates to God as a son or as a servant in doing his will. The Prophets and the Psalmists,<sup>31</sup> who lived a life of prayer in closeness with God, assumed such an attitude.<sup>32</sup> They related to God affectively and they expressed theopatically their desire before him. At the same time they stressed purity of the heart and the purity of action in daily life. For they themselves were deeply affected by the needs and the misdeeds of the community. They approached God in behalf of the people as a defense attorney arguing his case before the heavenly court.<sup>33</sup> In pathos of altruistic love they interceded for the salvation of the community, which has rejected and even persecuted them.<sup>34</sup> The Righteous or the Pious in the later period adopted the life style of the Prophets and the Psalmists. They were known for their life of prayer and efficacious intercession. This was the life style of John the Baptist and James the brother of Jesus (Eusebius, *Historia Eccl* 2.23), who were called the Righteous (Mk 6,20 and Eusebius ad loc. respectively.) Also among the early rabbis, before and after the Destruction, there were the Righteous or the Pious who lived a life of intercessory prayer. They are mentioned in the *Tefillah*, the petition on the Righteous. The Christian

community was acquainted with the prayer life of the Baptist's disciples and the Pharisees (Lk 5,33). It promoted the same among their own members (Acts 1,14; 2,42; Col 5,2; 1Thess 5,16, 1Tim 2,1; Jam 4,13; 1Pet 4,7). It, therefore, treasured as efficacious prayer the particular brief petitions of Jesus. For Jesus, who was called "*ho dikaios*"<sup>35</sup> (Acts 3,14; Peter; 22,14; Ananias; Jam 5,6), remained in the mind of his Jewish believers even greater than all the Prophets.<sup>36</sup>

Two types of brief forms of *Tefillah* are described by R. Joshua the Levite, who was acquainted with the Temple liturgy.<sup>37</sup> He transmits a private brief supplication, which begins and ends with the phraseology of the last private petition of the High Priest on the Day of Atonement (Mberakhot 4,4). This intercessory form (which is also alluded to in Rom 9,1) is to be said on the road in the face of danger. In addition, R. Joshua speaks of the abbreviated form of the communal Eighteen Benedictions (ibid. 4,3). Both brief forms, for the community and the individual on the road, conclude with the seal, "who hearkens to prayer". Curiously, the Palestinian Talmud (Ber 4,4; 8a) preserves the reference to supplication in the end of the seal, corresponding to the opening phrase of the High Priest's petition. Different formulations of "Brief Prayer" are ascribed to the early Tannaim, who adopted and echoed the supplications of the Temple period.<sup>38</sup> This indicates the desire among the rabbis to preserve the private supplications as used efficaciously and taught by the different teachers. However, only two slightly different Palestinian versions of the communal "Abbreviated Prayer" are transmitted.<sup>39</sup> One version preserves the seals of the Eighteen Benedictions. The other version, which is called by its initial word, "*Habhinenu*", is also transmitted by the early Babylonian academy of Samuel in a modified form of the Middle Section's petitions, which corresponds to the seals. This dual transmission reflects a history of the standard "*Tefillah Qeṣarah*".

During the Second Temple period a longer form of public prayer and a corresponding abridgement were in use. The hymns of thanksgiving were chanted responsively on the Festivals,<sup>40</sup> as a longer form of Hallel (Pss 113-118). Correspondingly, a litanic abbreviation of a second shorter version<sup>41</sup> of Hallel (Ps 135) was recited in the Temple (Ps 136, called the Great Hallel). At the behest of the Levitical invitation<sup>42</sup>: "Give thanks to the Lord who (=ki) is good," the crowds repeated the refrain: "For his mercy endures forever." This commonly known liturgical appeal to God who is good prompts Jesus to respond that the appellative "good" is reserved for God alone (Mark 10, 18; Luke 18, 19).

Ben Sira too preserves an abbreviated form of Thanksgiving (appended to ch 51). It echoes the seals of praise and eschatological petitions of the Eighteen Benedictions and the seals of the High Priest's

petitions.<sup>43</sup> In addition, Ben Sira transmits brief intercessory petitions in seeking God's Presence and his mercy (36, 12-19). It opens (36, 1) with the appeal, "Save us," and concludes (v 22) with: "You hearken to the prayer of your servant." This is an abbreviated communal Tefillah preserved by Ben Sira of the Second Century B.C.E. Thus, it also includes brief formulations, which echo the later edited Benediction following the Scriptural reading in the synagogue (vv 20,21, compare Sopherim 13,8. 10). Scriptural reading in public was introduced in the period of the Scribes (Neh 8,1-9,3) and it was continued during the Second Temple period (Acts 15,21). The practice was maintained after the Destruction with its particular Festival and Sabbath cycles.<sup>44</sup>

Another abbreviated form of the communal Tefillah appears in the First Letter of 2 Macc 1,24-29. It was recited by the priests, as the custom prevailed later, for the acceptance of the sacrifice (v 26). It closes with the brief phraseology of the eschatological petitions of the Eighteen Benedictions, and it opens with a list of God's appellatives as found in the first petitions of the Tefillah. Psalm 103 too opens with brief existential petitions of the Eighteen Benedictions. It enumerates God's merciful acts with a penitential appeal (vv 12b,13) to "remove our iniquities from us" and to "love those who revere him like a Father." "Father" becomes a significant popular address to God in intercession and repentance.<sup>45</sup> Ben Sira reserves the address for private supplication "to be delivered from evil" in time of distress (51,10). "Yea, I cried: You are my Father (Hebrew: 'Abhi)." It echoes the collective lament of Deutero-Isaiah (63,16; 64,7): "For you are our Father (Hebrew: 'Abhinu)." The Targum renders the address in light of the above cited Ps 103,13 reading 'Abba. The meaning of Jesus' address "Father" will be discussed at the end.

The Palestinian and the Babylonian abbreviated versions of the communal Tefillah contain the Isaiah proof text (65,24). However, a different Scriptural insertion appears in connection with private brief supplication (jBerakhot 4,4; 8b: Tefillah of the Others). It cites Ps 28,6: "Blessed is the Lord for he hearkens to the voice of my supplication." The text refers to the brief petition in verse 9: "O save your people." This form was said by the High Priest as the concluding private petition and likewise transmitted as *Tefillah Qesarah* by the Levite R. Joshua. Thus, the later homilist suggests that this verse was the last intercessory Benediction recited by Moses before his death (Pesiqta de R. Kahana on Deut 33,1, ed Buber 198b).

The two different Scriptural proof texts as introduced later into the brief prayers<sup>46</sup> reflect the rabbinic distinction between the two forms. These relate to two different prayer settings, one for the community and the other for the individual. Luke employs in particular the term "*deesis*"

(supplication).<sup>47</sup> He preserves the Psalm text in the angel's reply to Zechariah's private supplication. "Your *deesis* has been heard" (1,13). Matthew, however, alludes to the Isaiah verse in his introductory comment to JP. Thus the form of JP is presented in Luke to the disciples on the road (11,1-2); whereas JP in Matthew appears in the sermon addressed to the crowds as well as to the disciples (5,1;7,28).

Matthew in his introduction to JP is thinking implicitly of the Jewish model of lengthy prayers, while explicitly he refers to the Gentiles (also 6,32). He reveals a knowledge of the Jewish public service, which he subjects to Jesus' criticism. However, he does not fault their practice of offering abbreviated prayers. On one hand, the Matthean tradition promotes a mission to the Gentiles within a Jewish-Christian church (24,14;28,19). On the other hand, Matthew still preserves the contrast of Gentiles and the tax-collectors, i.e. the wicked of the community (5,46-47: read "Gentiles"; 18,17) with the people of God who are the lost sheep of Israel (10,6;15,24). This reflects a common biblical orientation for Matthew's circle and the Jewish community. The former adopts the liturgical and homiletic forms of the latter, while protesting the Scribal interpretation of the Pharisees. The early church indeed felt free to adopt the Jewish liturgy of the synagogue and the Temple, as evidence clearly shows.<sup>48</sup> In shifting from "hypocrites", i.e. the scribes and the Pharisees, to "Gentiles", Matthew suggests, as he explicitly states in 23,2, that their liturgical tradition should not be criticized but only their practice. A similar tendency appears in the Didache, which employs the Jewish prayer at mealtime christologically for the Eucharist while criticizing their practice.

Matthew in his first introductory comment also alludes to Isa 1,15b: "Even though you make many prayers, I will not listen." The first half of the verse is rendered in the Targum with reference to the priestly prayer in the Temple. For "I (God) will cause my Presence to be removed from you." This Prophetic indictment is addressed to the religious teachers and the priests, whose acts are compared to those of Sodom and Gomorrah (v 10; compare Matt 10,15;11,22,24). Matthew is thinking of his contemporary generation of Jews who witnessed the destruction of the Second Temple. The Jewish community has experienced the removal of God's Presence from the Temple.<sup>49</sup> The religious crisis was effected by "this (the present) evil generation", according to Matt 12,46. The cause offered in Isaiah is: "Your hands are full of blood". This is developed explicitly in Matt 23,29-39 with the historical reference to the actions of Zealots during the war with Rome.

Matthew presents JP with a lesson derived from the petition for Forgiveness (6,14-15). The same lesson is attached to another teaching of

Jesus, the parable of the unmerciful servant (18,23-43). The parable refers to remittance of debts, the Matthean phraseology in the petition for forgiveness. For "hobhyn" in Aramaic also means sins (Luke 11,4). The parable also preserves the penitent's appeal: "Lord, have patience with me and I will pay you all" (Matt 18,29). The first half of the petition refers to God's attribute of patience, as recorded in Exod 34,6. This text became the standard model for penitential address to God.<sup>50</sup> Thus, God responds in the parable: "You have mercy on your fellow servant as I have mercy on you." It echoes the prospect of God's grace in Exod 33, 19 with the meaning<sup>51</sup>: "I will have mercy on the one who shows mercy." This lesson is employed by early Jewish interpreters.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, God's act of grace as pronounced by the priests (Num 11,6), is also understood to mean: "He will give you (sympathetic) knowledge (*da'ath*) so that you will show mercy to one another" (Sifre Zuta, ad loc.). For the same is reflected in the arrangement of the petition for "*da'ath*" prior to the petitions for "Repentance" and "Forgiveness" in the daily Tefillah. Thus, R. Elazar ben Azariah of Jamnia taught: "Transpersonal matters will be forgiven to you but not interpersonal matters until you reconcile your friend" (Sifra to Lev 15,30; the Palestinian Targum refers to penitential confession, which included the above petitions). The same teaching is advanced by Jesus fifty years earlier.

Matthew attached the lesson of forgiveness to JP in order to underscore the significance of purity of action in addition to purity of the heart (no hypocrisy) at the time of prayer. For prayer is an expression of *agapē* in a transpersonal relationship. It cannot be sincere unless *agapē* is likewise reflected in the interpersonal realm. This association between worship and ethics was taught emphatically by the Prophets. Yet many of the worshiping community did not conduct themselves accordingly, as indicated in Ben-Sira's exhortation (28,2). The second half of the penitent's petition in Matt 18,29 reflects the common practice of making payment to God in the form of sin or votive offering.<sup>53</sup> In protest Jesus taught, according to Matt 5,23-24: "First be reconciled to your brother and then come and offer your gift (=sacrifice)." The Jamnian teachers also saw the need to legislate the same rule in post-Destruction days (MYoma 8,9). Apparently Jesus, as Ben Sira before him and the Tannaim later, sought to discourage insincere acts of repentance by the people in the Temple and in the synagogue respectively.

Matthew too promotes this understanding for his Church in the curious arrangement of Jesus' teaching on prayer for those who persecute you under the commandment of "love your neighbor" (5,43-44).<sup>54</sup> One would expect that the example of altruistic love should be depicted

in terms of interpersonal acts such as lending. For prayer is the service of the heart, the expression of love for God. It appears that Matthew is thinking of intercession as indicated in Pater Noster's shift to the collective in the last four petitions. Thus, no one can offer intercessory prayer unless he is free of ill feelings toward his fellowman. The test for purity of the heart before God can only be measured by the purity of action in the interpersonal realm. This becomes the Matthean lesson of perfection (5,48), which is juxtaposed to the section on communal prayer. JP can only be recited with a pure heart and in consequence of pure action: the lesson on forgiveness (6,14.15).

The Matthean stress on "beware of hypocrisy" highlights the proper usage of JP. Moreover, the Matthean form of JP preserves the acrostic: "ꝛeSHMoR MiHoNePH" (I shall protect from hypocrisy). It was the practice to transmit liturgical texts acrostically as a mnemonic device.<sup>55</sup> Each initial letter of a substantive, i.e. the second word, in the petitions forms the acrostic. It begins with "Our Father" and avoids the last substantive which refers to "Evil" (see Appendix). In contrast to Luke, the Matthean form of JP is an intercession for the distressed community living in an evil-infested world. Therefore, it opens with a collective address to the Father, "who is in heaven" (so Isa 63,15: "Look down from heaven", v16: "You are our Father"). It includes a third petition, an expression of hope for the fulfillment of God's will on earth. It ends with a plea for deliverance from evil. For the earthly community seeks presently a release from the evil residing in the heart (Matt 15,19) which is implanted by the Satan in the world (13,39). This last appeal conforms to the acrostic theme of the Matthean JP, God's response (compare Ps 12,8 in view of 3). The community recites JP in Aramaic as reflected in the dual meaning of remit/forgive and debt/sin in the fifth petition. For the community in prayer is taught to offer its petitions in the vernacular (later in Greek). In response to their prayer, God's blessing as pronounced by the priests in Hebrew only (MSotah 7,2 in contrast to prayer, 7,1) governs the acrostic. "God will bless you and protect you" (Num 6,24). Matthew's circle preserved in the Hebrew acrostic the particular blessing of God's protection. For the priestly Benediction was also interpreted by the Essenes and the Rabbis with reference to protection from evil or demons (1QS 2,3; Targum, Sifre, Midrash Hagadol to Num 6,24).

The Matthean descriptive expression, "Father who is in heaven", is replaced by Luke with the "Most High" (6,35=Matt 5,45) and the "angels of God" (12,9-10=Matt 10,32-33). This suggests that the Matthean address, as found in Jewish liturgical sources (prayers, homilies

and Targum),<sup>56</sup> was understood correctly in terms of God's transcendence. The providential Father exists duratively in a separate realm as the "Most High", whose Presence is enjoyed by the angelic *familia* in heaven. Like Israel, the Christian community is cognizant of the providential Presence in their history, while affirming a faith in the durative existence of the Wholly Other. In the expanded form of prayer on God's Holiness (*Qedushah*), the Jewish community responsively declares God's holiness and his kingship, in connection with the angelic proclamation of Trishagion (Isa 6,3; compare Rev 4,8).<sup>57</sup> The community on earth joins the heavenly community in the collective experience of prayer, attesting to God's numinous Otherness and to his providential Presence. Yet, the community on earth is aware that although God's will is fulfilled by the heavenly *familia*, it has not yet become the universal human expression. Thus, Matthew transmits the petitions of God's holiness and his kingship in connection with: "Your will be done, as in heaven so on earth."

Matthew also compares God in the Temple, whose Presence is enjoyed by the earthly community, with God on his throne in heaven, whose Presence is enjoyed by the angelic hosts (23,21-22). In addition, he refers to this correspondence in connection with Apostolic and ecclesiastical authority: "Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven" (16,19; 18,18). This authority is given to the earthly community in legislative and liturgical matters, due to God's Presence in their midst (18,19-20).<sup>58</sup> Peter is designated by Jesus as the one to whom "my Father who is in heaven has revealed this (the messiahship of Jesus)" (16,17). This is the fulfillment of Jesus' Thanksgiving to God "who has revealed these to the babes" (11,25). Thus, Peter's christological affirmation: "You are the Messiah the Son of the Living God," became the basis for christological reformulation of Jewish liturgy.<sup>59</sup>

Matthew's JP ends with a plea for deliverance from evil. The community awaits the final event of universal redemption from evil residing in the human "heart of stone".<sup>60</sup> This prophetic prospect relates the elimination of evil in the heart with the act of God hallowing his name in the end-time (Ezek 36,23-27). Then God's will will be done on earth and his name will be acknowledged universally (Zech 14,9). Meanwhile the community must learn to live in the pursuance of this hope (universal mission) without demanding God's intervention (Matt 26,53 only). Only in the end-time will God send out his angelic hosts to save the worshiping community (the elect) from the final cataclysm (24,31). Thus, the four collective petitions of Matthew's JP relate to the existential needs of the worshiping community. It seeks daily bread, forgiveness of sins and deliverance from trial and from the evil residing in the world.

#### *The Redaction of Matthew*

The ecclesiastical JP of Matthew is indeed an epitome of Jesus' teachings in the sense that it coheres with his other sayings. This would indicate that the wording of the petitions was original to Jesus. However, it is necessary to preclude the possibility of redaction by Matthew. This can be demonstrated from the way Matthew redacts Q material as well as his own early tradition in three sections of the Gospel. In all three JP governs the arrangement of the material. In one place (4,3-10), Jesus' Scriptural replies to the Satan are governed by JP. It offers a "Vorgesichte" for the Christian community in prayer at the time of trial. For it concludes with the Scriptural reference to serve God, which was interpreted to include communal prayer (the service of the heart). The other two places (6,25-34; 23,9-33) relate the teachings of Jesus respectively as recommendation and as repudiation of contrasting religious practice. The former alludes to given petitions of JP, and it is introduced with a reference to serve God only (6,24). The latter arranges the "Woes" in the sequence of JP's petitions. These are prefaced with the reference to the liturgical address, "Father who is in heaven" (23,9).

a) Temptation Story (Q): Matthew arranges the three episodes differently than Luke. The latter offers the order of the last two in light of the Scriptural sequence cited by Jesus (Deut 6,13.16). Matthew deliberately reverses the order in conformity with JP's existential petitions. The first Scriptural reply of Jesus refers to "bread", the second to "trial" while the third introduces the denunciation: "Begone Satan!" Similarly Jesus silences Peter (Matt 16,23=Mark 8,33) who questions the messianic purpose of his master's ministry. In both cases, Jesus perceives the evil thoughts of the bearer and commands his departure. For Jesus has the authority, according to Matt 12,25-28, to perceive the evil thoughts of a person and to command the departure of the Satan. Thus, Peter's intention is questioned, "for your thoughts are not with God" and the Satan's temptation is rejected, "for . . . him (God) alone shall you serve." The latter is also the liturgical phraseology of Deut 6,13, recited by the priests in the Temple for the acceptance of the service. Jesus employs it as a repudiation of magical use of prayer associated with the worship of Satan. Likewise, the converts of the Christian community are asked to foresake in time of trial their former custom of using long and tedious magical formulas (Matt 6,7; examples in C. K. Barrett, *New Testament Background*, New York; Harper and Row, 1961 p 29-35). Instead, the worshiping community can only plead for deliverance from evil thoughts.

Luke does not mention "Begone Satan!" as he does not transmit the last petition. For his form of JP is intended for the apostles who share in

Jesus' victory over the world of evil, symbolized by the Fall of Satan (Luke 10,18). Significantly this introductory background to Lukan JP preserves the same Psalm text quoted by the Satan. Psalm 91 was recited as a Scriptural poem of exorcism (*Shir shel pega'im*; compare the Qumran Psalms ed Sanders, Col 27,10, mistranslated p 87); to repel the evil spirits and to invite God's protection (Midrash Ps 91,1; bShebhu'oth 15b; jSabbath 6,2;8b). In Luke's Temptation Story, Jesus has conquered the Satan and the Psalm reference: "He will give his angels charge to protect you", has been realized. Thus, Luke does not need to mention in the conclusion: "And the angels ministered to him." The apostles who are sent to the seventy nations of the biblical world (10,1.17 in view of Gen 10: the seventy nations) receive authority to exorcise the demons. Jesus transfers this authority with a reference to the Psalm of exorcism (91,13.10.12b): "You will tread on (the lion and) the serpent, (the young lion) and the basilisk (Luke 10,9a:scorpion) . . . no evil shall befall you and no demon (Targum, Luke 10,9b: power of the enemy) . . . nor shall you stumble because of the evil inclination" (Targum, Luke 17,1.2). The signs accompany the apostles on the road for the Spirit of God is upon them (see the longer ending of Mark 16,17.18). Thus, Luke relates that Peter and John, who are filled with the Spirit to exorcise and to heal, can confidently say: "Is it right before God to listen to you rather than to listen to God?" (Acts 4,19). In apostolic life the prospects expressed in the two Matthean petitions (one closes the "You" petitions; the other the "We" petitions) have been actualized. They have been delivered from evil and their missionary life is a continual expression of doing God's will on earth.

As an apostolic JP, Luke included originally an appropriate petition, which was preserved by Marcion and in given manuscripts (162,170) as well as recorded by Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus the Confessor.<sup>61</sup> It reads: "Let the Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us". The distinctive reading of Codex Bezae anticipates the wording of this petition ("upon us let come"). For the petition for the Holy Spirit appeared in lieu of the petition for the Kingdom (except Marcion). Luke offers this petition obliquely in a section following the account of JP. It appears as a lesson on prayer (11,13). "How much more will heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to those who ask him!" The lesson is inferred from the parable of a son asking his father for food. In a Galilean town, Greek and Aramaic words were common speech forms. A human father may hear his son making the sound *PTR*. The form "*paṭira*" in Aramaic denotes flat bread but its Greek homonym "*petra*" means rock. The father will immediately perceive the intention of his small child and he will not be confused by the similarity of speech sounds.<sup>62</sup> The gift of the Holy Spirit

is given to the apostles so they too can intuit the intentions of others and respond wisely (Luke 12,11.12). This gift was promised by Jesus to his disciples, according to Luke (24,49; Acts, 1,4.5.8). Its public manifestation in form of glossolalia was climaxed by Peter's preaching on the intended meaning of God's promise (Acts 2). Thus, the inclusion of the petition for the Holy Spirit is consonant with the guiding prayer for the apostles on the road. Jesus invites his disciples to call upon *Abba*, i.e. to share in Jesus' closeness to God (Rom 8,15.16; Gal 4,6.7). They already enjoy the Presence of God in doing his will. The Kingdom of God is within them (Luke 17,21, compare Matt 18,20) but attention is directed to the Spirit (compare John's Supper Discourse).

b) The Sermon on the Mount (Q): the section on communal prayer and pietistic acts is followed by a triad of sayings on storing heavenly treasures (6,19-21: through the act of charity, jPe<sup>2</sup>ah 1,1;15b); on sound eye (6,22-23: no covetousness, MAboth 2,9 in view of Aboth de R. Nathan II 30) and on serving one Master (6,24: repudiating Mammon). These teachings point to the proper religious orientation for the worshipping community. It is to become a community of "the poor in spirit" (5,5). To such a community in prayer the following section is addressed. It opens with a pericope on anxiety (6,25-31) and ends with lessons echoing the phraseology of JP. Verse 32 refers to the "heavenly Father". Verse 33 speaks of seeking (i.e. praying for) "his Kingdom" and "his righteousness". The latter is understood in the sense of "doing God's will" (3,15). Similarly Ps 40,9-10: "To do God's will" is "to announce righteousness before a vast assembly". Verse 43 refers to the petition for bread of "tomorrow . . . for today."

These liturgical lessons are given in contrast to the Gentiles' manner of praying. This obliquely suggests the way the Jewish community prays. It first begins the entreaty of the Middle Section with the existential petitions (*Da'ath*, Repentance, Forgiveness, Redemption, Healing and Blessing of the Seasons) and then it concludes with the eschatological petitions (Ingathering, Judgment, Defeat of Evil, Maintenance of the Righteous and the combined petition for Rebuilding Jerusalem and the Davidic Kingdom). According to Matthew, the uniqueness of JP lies in the order of the petitions. "First seek his Kingdom and his Righteousness and all these (the existential needs, beginning with 'Bread for tomorrow') be yours." This is the shift in JP from the eschatological petitions addressing "You", to the collective petitions for existential needs. The community orients itself eschatologically in prayer and lives accordingly. It lives in anticipation of the Parousia (Matt 10,23; 15,28; 24,42.44) while proclaiming the Kingdom (10,7) and doing God's will (7,21;12,50). It expresses *agapē* in providing

the daily needs (24,45), in forgiving sins (18,22-35) and for some in not entering into trials (19,12). The first petition and the last petition are reflected in Matthew's exhortation for the members to pursue good works (5,16) and to avoid obstacles (18,7) respectively.<sup>63</sup>

c) Woes against the Scribes and the Pharisees (Q and Matt only): Matthean arrangement of the "Woes" is governed by all the petitions of JP. It addresses the hypocrites as in the Sermon's section on communal prayer. Thus, it opens (23,2-8) with a parallel indictment of their practice to be seen by men, enumerating in particular the pietistic acts. As interpreters and preachers of the Torah, the scribes sit on the *Kathedra* of Moses, the place of honor in the synagogue. They are greeted as rabbis (teachers) in the market place, where court sessions and public liturgical services were held. The Matthew introduces (v 9) the reference to JP's address to God. This address is reserved only for "one Father who is in heaven"<sup>64</sup>. Correspondingly, Matthew relates that there is only one leader for the Christian community,<sup>65</sup> namely Christ. This reflects the employment of a baptismal formula for non-Gentile members, which referred to Christ (Acts 8,16: Samaritans; 10,48: semi-proselytes; 19,5: Baptist's followers; 22,16: Paul). Paul employs the priestly Benediction as an epistolary salutation: "Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus the Messiah" (Rom 1,7). For he too was familiar with the Matthean lesson of correspondence: "To us (there is) one God the Father . . . and one Lord Jesus Christ" (1Cor 8,6). For only he who was baptized to receive the Holy Spirit can say: 'Lord Jesus' (12,3). Eventually the formula evolved into a trinitarian form<sup>66</sup> for the baptism of the Gentile members (Matt 28,19). Thus, Matthew is thinking of the Jewish converts in offering criticism of the Pharisaic practice. The polemical discourse is governed by Pater Noster, the prayer taught to the baptized members.

Matthew continues with the lesson on service as a reflection of humility (23,11-12). He employs the principle of "imitatio Christi" (10,25a): to serve even as Jesus served unto death (20,27-28). The poor in spirit is praised (5,3) since he follows in the way of Jesus, the lowly in heart (11,28). "Whoever humbles himself like a child, he is the greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven" (18,4). For, "He who is the Small One (i.e. Jesus)<sup>67</sup> in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than he (John)" (11,11). However, the stress on humility before God in the teaching of Jesus alludes to Isa 57,15. "Thus says the Highest (Targum: *Rama*)<sup>68</sup> who dwells in heaven (JP: Father who is in heaven) whose name is holy (JP: hallowed be thy name) who dwells (Targum, 1QIsa) in the highest (Targum: *barama*)<sup>68</sup> and holy (place) as well as with the contrite and the lowly in heart." God's name is hallowed among the lowly in heart. For

his exaltation is found in the expression of humbleness (bMegillah 31a and Yelammedenu cited in Yalqut Makhir to Isa 57,15). Thus, Matthew repeats the lesson on service in connection with the example of Jesus' death as that of the humble Suffering Servant (20,27-28 in view of Isa 53,12c). For martyrdom (drinking the cup) is seen as an act of hallowing God's name.<sup>69</sup> Matthew, therefore, arranges the lesson on service following the saying on one leader in conformity with the sequence of the address and the first petition.

The list of seven "Woes", omitting v 14 (not found in BSDΛΘ), follows the order of the last six petitions with the separation between two-beat stichs of the third petition. This is a significant arrangement in light of the proper delivery of JP's Aramaic stichs (see Appendix). The address plus the first three petitions make five two-beat stichs. These are followed by three five-beat stichs, which are strung together with the copulative "*ve (kai)*." The last stich is constructed as two petitions with the conjunction "*ella*". This poetic structure indicates how the community recited the "Pater Noster" in Aramaic. First, they intoned two-beat unstrung cries with a stress on the last beat in the middle three petitions: the appeal to you (*-akh*). This stress is already reflected in the opening cry: "our Father". At the same time, the worshipers are guided by the eschatological orientation of JP, which is expressed by "in heaven" in the first and last stichs. With the cry "as on earth", reflecting their existential situation, the community alternates to a *Qinah* (Lament) rhythm. They recite the last three stichs in a measured form (2+3; 3+2; 2+3), repeating the sound "*na-n*" (we). This signifies the collective appeal for existential needs. They end with a lament: "Deliver us from evil," the evil affecting the community on earth.

First "Woe" (23,13) reads: "You shut the Kingdom of Heaven . . . neither you enter (*eiselthein*) nor allow others to enter. "In contrast, the Christian's call is: "Your Kingdom come" (JP: *eltheto* and Kerygma 10,7: *engiken*).

Second "Woe" (23,15) reads: "You traverse sea and land to make a single proselyte." The Pharisaic proselytizing effort was seen as doing God's will on earth (Ps 40,9-10). In contrast, the spreading of the *Besorah* (good news) among the Gentiles is promoted in Matthew (24,14;26,13) without the imposition of a heavy yoke (11,30; Acts 15,10). Thus, "Your will be done."

Third "Woe" (23,16-22) ends with a lesson on correspondence, God's Presence in a punctual sense dwells on earth in the Temple. This corresponds to the durative existence of God in heaven. There God's Presence on the Throne is enjoyed continuously by the entire worshipping angelic community. This is a significant principle governing the

teachings of Jesus on the Kingdom.<sup>70</sup> On one hand, the Kingdom is described as a future manifestation of God's durative Presence as it exists extratemporally in heaven. On the other hand, the Kingdom is proclaimed as a present reality, the punctual manifestation of God's Presence. The Christian community has become the new Temple on earth,<sup>71</sup> which seeks the joy of God's Presence for all in the appeal: "As in heaven so on earth."

Fourth "Woe" (23,23-24) points to the strict observance of tithing in the Pharisaic Levitical practice (15,20). Thus, the community prays with no reservation: "Give us our bread." Matthew may have also in mind the play on the word *MeHaR* (for tomorrow) in the petition (Gospel according to the Hebrews and Matt 6,34) and the transposed letters *HoMeR* (weightier matter) in the "Woe".

Fifth "Woe" (23,25-26) refers to the strict observance of the law of purity in the Pharisaic association. God's act of atonement is described metaphorically in the Bible as cleansing (Lev 16,30; Ezek 36,25 etc.). The "Woe" teaches that the external act of cleansing is ineffective as long as one is not cleansed internally. Matthew reads "*dakke*" (cleanse) in contrast to Lk 11,41 "*zakke*" (give alms).<sup>72</sup> For Matthew, cleansing means the elimination of extortion and rapacity, the evil ways affecting the interpersonal relationship. Likewise, the collective petition for Forgiveness is governed by the sincere act of reconciliation in the interpersonal realm.

Sixth "Woe" (23,27-28) depicts the Scribes and Pharisees metaphorically as sepulchers. They appear righteous but within they are full of hypocrisy and lawlessness. The Matthean denunciation of hypocrisy has become the test for righteous life in the Christian community. For the hypocritical intentions of the newcomers, the evil thoughts in the heart (Acts 5,4;8,22), were seen as "tempting the Spirit of God" (5,9). Thus the community prays: "Do not lead us into trial."

Seventh "Woe" (23,29-33) appears as an indictment against the last generation of the Scribes and Pharisees at the time of the destruction of the Second Temple. The fraternal war was intensified by the Idumeans at the call of the Zealots in year 67/68 (Josephus, *Bellum* 4.5). They were the followers of the Shammaitic Pharisees.<sup>73</sup> Their actions led to bloodshed in the city and the Temple. Zechariah the son of Berachiah was led to a mock trial and executed by the Zealots in the Temple (*Bellum* 4.5.4). This defiant act is explicitly mentioned by Matthew<sup>74</sup> in his sequel to the last "Woe" (23,34-35). The final "Woe", therefore, concludes with the admonition: "How shall you escape the judgment of Gehenna?" In contrast, the Christian community prays: "Deliver us

from evil". "Evil" is a multifaceted word connoting also divine judgment. This was especially the case for the Jerusalem church, which at the behest of an oracle in response to prayer, departed from Jerusalem in the face of imminent catastrophe (Eusebius, *Hist Eccl* 3.5.3.).

Matthew has composed his Gospel in view of the apocalyptic events that befell the Jewish people as witnessed by the Jerusalem church. He refers to the events in a closing apocalyptic statement: "Amen, I say to you *all these* will come upon *this* generation" (23,36 in view of 22,7). This comment introduces God's lament for the city and the desolated Temple,<sup>75</sup> as transmitted by Jesus (23,37-38=Luke 13,34-35). For Matthew, God's Presence has been removed from his people who committed bloodshed. The same reason is offered for the *Silluq* (Removal) from the generation of Menasseh prior to the destruction of the First Temple (2Kgs 21,12-15 in light of v 16. See *Tosefta Yoma* 1,10 and *Cant Zuṭa* 5, ed Buber 31). Thus God laments: "How often would I have gathered your children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings." For God alone provides protection and care for his children in the City of Peace, as he did for the Mosaic generation in the Wilderness (Deut 32,10.12). God's lament ends in a promise: "You will not see me (the manifestation of God's Presence at time of pilgrimage to the Temple; Exod 23,17;34,23) until you say: "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord" (the greeting of peace to the pilgrims; Ps 118,26;129,8). For God's Presence, an expression of his love, can only be experienced in the Temple by the pilgrims who relate in love and peace to the inhabitants.<sup>76</sup> However, at time of fraternal war causing the desolation of the Holy Place (Matt 24,15), the Christian community in Jerusalem is instructed to pray that their escape may not be in the winter. To which Matthew adds "nor on the Sabbath" (24,20). In light of the reference to a season, Sabbath connotes here the Sabbatical year, which occurred in 68/69 C.E.<sup>77</sup> It is possible to date the departure of the Jerusalem church to Pella in Summer 68. The opportunity for escape from Jerusalem was still available (*Bellum* 4.6.3). Until then the church, following the example of James the Righteous Intercessor (Eusebius, *Hist Eccl* 2.28), saw itself as a holy community in prayer averting the evil decree (3.5.3).<sup>78</sup>

Matthew has composed the Gospel in Syria a decade or so after the Fall of Jerusalem. His work reflects Scribal criticism and interpretation (13,52: new and old), which he most probably shared with the Jerusalem church, whose members were familiar with the teachings of the scribes,<sup>79</sup> and the practice of the Pharisaic association. The indictment of the generation of the War and the criticism of the Shammaitic school<sup>80</sup> were transmitted to Matthew's circle by knowledgeable members of the

Jerusalem church who developed them along the lines of Jesus' teaching. Thus, Matthew's Sermon as well as the Epistle of James and the Didache emanate from a similar Jewish-Christian circle.

Matthew did not, however, compose his Gospel as a polemical response to the Jamnian academy established after 70. This can be refuted on two grounds. 1) Matthew's circle could not have direct access to the Academy's discussion unless the latter's members had joined his church or the Jerusalem church has restored intimate contacts with Jamnia. Both possibilities are ruled out for lack of evidence. The Jewish community in Diaspora only gradually became acquainted and then adopted the revised agenda of the Jamnian Academy. 2) The Jamnian community was not threatened by Christianity, as assumed in contemporary studies (see n.15). Moreover, the Tannaim have developed their interpretation in the Hillelitic manner, which did converge independently upon formulations similar to those taught by Jesus.<sup>81</sup>

Matthew has transmitted the Jesus tradition as developed in the Palestinian church. He composed his work as a result of the apocalyptic events affecting his generation at the time of the Destruction. Matthew sought to preserve what his circle accepted as the authentic meaning of Jesus' didactic and messianic ministry. In their view it was confirmed by the apocalyptic events of their day. Matthew transmits JP as brief intercessory petitions to be recited by the community in time of distress. As an ecclesiastical prayer, it eventually concluded with the Temple's doxological refrain<sup>82</sup> (1Chr 29,11): "For yours is the power and the glory for ever" (Did 8,2). In Christian practice "Pater Noster" was used three times daily in lieu of the Jewish Tefillah. For the early Christian community lived in an atmosphere of persecution and distress. JP was offered by the community as an affective expression of fellowship with the angelic *familia* in doing God's will and in seeking God's Presence collectively for the fulfillment of their needs.

#### *The Meaning of Pater Noster*

The significance of "Pater Noster" can be determined by the way it offers an epitomized form of petitions which embrace the totality of human relational attitudes. In accordance with the address to the Father, the first three petitions reflect a relationship between the person who prays and God. The transpersonal and eschatological attitude affects the person's existential petitions with reference to three human relationships. 1) The subpersonal relationship (the person and nature) gives rise to material possession and egoistic control. The fourth petition expresses temperance in living by Jesus' teaching on the removal of material anxieties (Matt 6,25-35). 2) The interpersonal relationship can breed ill

feelings and all forms of human evil. The petition for Forgiveness comes to eliminate such tensions by the anticipatory human action of forgiveness. This conforms to Jesus' teaching on precautionary measures in interpersonal matters (5,21-48). 3) The intrapersonal relationship (the person and himself) becomes an internal struggle between the good and evil inclinations in overcoming trials. The petition on Temptation linked to the plea for deliverance from evil recognizes the complexity of personal growth which is in need of guidance from beyond the human order. This corresponds to the Matthean lesson derived from the parable of father and son. It states that only "your Father who is in heaven can give good (eliminating the evil) to them that ask (pray to) him" (7,11).

Jesus employs the address "Abba" (Father) in prayer. In Matthew's JP, the community members are instructed to lift their hearts collectively to "our Father". Yet in the private supplication of Jesus, the address is to "Abba" only (Matt 26,39.42: "Abhi"; Mark 14,36: "Abba" = Luke 22, 42 and 23,34.46). This direct appeal to "Abba" is reserved by Luke for the apostles on the road. They are instructed to pray a different form of JP in response to their request, noting that the disciples of John offer supplication as taught by their Master (11,1 in view of 5,33: "make *deësis*"). In light of the original substitute second petition for the Holy Spirit, it reads: "Abba, let your name be hallowed. Let your spirit of holiness come upon us and cleanse us. Your (Marcion) bread for tomorrow give us each day. And remit (=forgive: *shebhoq*) us our sins; for we also remit all who are indebted to us. And do not allow (*tishboq*, Marcion) us to be led into trial." This form preserves the Aramaic phrases, "Abba" and "Shebhoq" with its dual meaning of remit (=forgive) and allow. It also maintains the balance in the last two petitions with "*ushebhoq*" and "*wela tishboq*."

The acrostic formed by the initial letters of the Lukan JP refers to the Father's promise of pouring out the Spirit (Luke 24,49; Acts 1,5). Abba (Father), Shebhoq (your name), Qadisha (holiness), Mehar (for tomorrow), Hobhyanan (our sins) and Nisyona (trial) spell out acrostically eSHaQem Hen (I will baptize them with grace). This eschatological promise is described in Joel 3,1: "I will pour out my Spirit" (Acts 2,17) and Zech 12,10: "I will pour out . . . a spirit of grace". The latter is a promise in response to supplication following the mourning period for the First Born, the Messiah.<sup>83</sup> This account offers the Prophetic background for the early Christian understanding of the events following the crucifixion. The acrostic in Hebrew recalls the priestly Benediction: "God will shine his Face upon you and give you grace" (Num 6,25). This response of God at the time of prayer in the Temple was interpreted by the Essenes and the rabbis with reference to the Holy

Spirit or illumination.<sup>84</sup> The Lukan stress on the reception of the Spirit and on the apostles' prophetic mission is the context for said form of JP.

Paul too indicates the significance of the address "'Abba" in prayer. He specifically mentions the address with reference to those who received the Spirit being able to cry "'Abba" (Gal 4,6; Rom 8,15). In light of intercessory prayer in his private life,<sup>85</sup> Paul repeats jointly or separately the priestly Benediction of God, "will give you grace" and "give you peace", in his epistolary greeting and farewell. For the gift of the Spirit has become a personal blessing for Paul (1Cor 2,13; 7,25.40; 15,8; 2Cor 1,11; 12,1.8.9; Gal 1,15-16; 1Thess 1,4,4,8). Paul wishes to share with the community the joy of God's grace which has so affected his apostolic life. Paul seems to be acquainted with the private petition of the apostolic JP (Rom 5,5). "The love of God has been poured out in our hearts (in view of 5,1: the grace in which we stand) by the Holy Spirit which was given to us."

Paul appears to be familiar as well with the ecclesiastical JP of Matthew. He depicts God's new covenant with the Christian community as: "I shall be unto them a Father and you shall be unto me sons and daughters" (2Cor 6,18). This covenantal formula is rooted in the liturgical experience of the community,<sup>86</sup> in their appeal to "Our Father". Paul attaches the formula to Isa 52,11.12b, which is preceded by the *evangelion*: "The Kingdom of God has manifested" (v 7, Targum) and is followed by the hymn of the Suffering Servant (52,13-53,12). The deliberate choice of the Prophetic text in connection with the new covenantal formula is significant for it is juxtaposed to Lev 26,11-12. The latter refers to the formula for God's covenant with Israel. It is prefaced with the promise of God's Presence in the Temple (Sifra ad loc.). The Essene Temple Scroll 29,7-10 utilizes the Levitical text with reference to the earthly and heavenly Temples, an apocalyptic view shared by the Christians (Rev 21,22). Paul, however, calls the Christian community the Temple of the living God (2Cor 6,16; 1Cor 3,9.16). For God's Presence through Christ, in accordance with Pauline thought, now dwells among the believers in Jesus. Thus, Paul appeals to the Christian community to intercede in prayer for his deliverance from evil persons (2Thess 3,1.2; Rom 15,30-31).

Paul cites the concluding petition of Matthew's JP: "*rhyesthai apo ton ponērou*." He attaches a particular meaning to the word "evil", since it is a multifaceted expression that lends to several interpretations. He similarly refers to said petition in connection with the ecclesiastical supplication or thanksgiving to the Father (1Cor 1,10-11; Col 1,12-13). It appears then that in citing the last petition, a particular form of JP is meant. Paul refers to the ecclesiastical JP. However, the Synoptic

reference to pray that "you may not enter into trial" (Mark 14,38 parallels) is addressed to the disciples only. For it is the last petition of the Lukan apostolic JP. To the Thessalonians' prayer, Paul offers in response the opening priestly Benediction: "The Lord will protect you from evil" (2 Thess 3,3). This is the formula that governs the acrostic of Matthew's JP; while the priestly Benediction of God's grace is used in connection with Lukan JP (Rom 5,5).

Clement of Rome too indicates the significance of the communal appeal to "'Abba" during a penitential service (1Clem 8,2.3). It opens with a citation of Ezek 33,11.12 similar to the conclusion of *Ne'illah's* confessional service (bYoma 87b; see Amram's text in 'Abodath Israel ed Baer, 437). It concludes with an appeal, "to return with all your hearts and say: Father." This may refer either to the litanic cry:<sup>87</sup> "Answer us/Have mercy on us/Save us, Father" or to the recitation of "Pater Noster". Clement, a contemporary of Matthew, also refers to Isa 26,20: "Enter into your storeroom" (50,4=Matt 6,6) in his exhortation to pray for God's mercy. For only sincere penitential prayer, through the expression of altruistic love and humblemindedness (1Clem 13,2-4), can result in the forgiveness of sins. Clement,<sup>88</sup> who has preserved other ecclesiastical prayers, reflects lessons similar to Matthew while not quoting his Gospel. He probably was acquainted with the ecclesiastical JP, but he was reluctant to cite it.

Jesus employed the address "'Abba" with reverential and relational meaning. This dual meaning must be seen first in light of its usage in Tefillah said in time of distress. It was the common Jewish practice on fast days during the penitential service for the people to cry the litany:<sup>89</sup> "Answer us, our Father, answer us". After the Destruction, R. Aqiba follows his teacher R. Eliezer's recitation of the twenty-four petitions on a fast day with the litanic appeal: "Our Father, our King; you are our Father!" (bTa'anit 25b; R. Hanan'el's text and see the litany in Amram Siddur). This form of address did not originate with R. Aqiba. He simply used the spontaneous litanic form in lieu of the standard lengthy petitions. For the address to "our Father" was used in time of distress (Exod Rabba 46 to 34,1) as found in the Prophetic supplication (Isa 63,16; 64,7).

Before the Destruction, the humble grandson of Onias the Circle Maker (bTa'anit 23b; dated in light of jTa'anit 66d) is said to have heard the cry of school children in time of drought: "'Abba, 'Abba give us rain!" He spontaneously offered an intercessory appeal: "Master of the Universe! Do for the sake of these (children) who can not distinguish between 'Abba who gives rains and 'Abba who does not give rain." This does not mean that the address "Abba" was used only in charismatic

Hasidean circles.<sup>90</sup> Rather, the children's use of 'Abba elicited the spontaneous prayer of Onias' grandson. This reflects the type of religious instruction received in the schools prior to the Destruction.<sup>91</sup> The teachers would substitute 'Abba, or similar expression, for God while reciting the Scriptures and prayers in deference to God's name. The children were instructed to pray in the style of the commoners,<sup>92</sup> utilizing brief petitions and substitute terms for God. Onias' grandson was met by the children reciting the liturgical lesson taught by their teacher. In this instance, they recited the brief entreaty for rain ("Give rain"), which was used during the rainy season (M. Berakhot 5,2; Ta'anit 1,2). Since school children's recitation was seen as a divine omen,<sup>93</sup> their cry "'Abba" prompted the brief intercession. For Onias' grandson was also addressed in the community as "'Abba", an honorific title given to a philanthropic person.<sup>94</sup> He, therefore, employed the brief intercession: "Do for the sake of innocent school children" (see the litany in Amram's Siddur). He worded it as an appeal to 'Abba who gives rain in sympathy with the innocent cry of the children.

Jesus employed reverential circumlocutions for God's name in his prayer and teachings.<sup>95</sup> According to Matt 5,34-35 and 23,21-22 Jesus instructs not to use related appellatives (Heaven, Earth, Jerusalem, Temple) in oath formulas in order "not to take God's name in vain" (Exod 20,9). "'Abba", therefore, is employed by Jesus in prayer when not citing Scriptures (so Mark 15,34=Matt 27,46; citing Ps 22) as a reverential address in God's Presence. It is not a unique speech form of Jesus, for it was used in public preaching and penitential prayer (see n.56). Thus, the homilist R. Isaac of the Third Century comments, in light of its usage, on Jer 3,19: "You should revere me as sons and call me your Father; for it says: "'Abhi (=Aramaic 'Abba) you should call me" (Exod Rabba 32,5 to 23,20). However, 'Abba in the prayer of Jesus does reflect the particular way he related to God. In Jewish life, an adult in reverence for his natural father did not call him by name. He instead used the address 'Abba.<sup>96</sup> The Tannaitic midrash, which compares the reverence for God with the reverence for a human father (Sifra to Lev 19:3), is rooted in the common religious practice of not calling either by name. Jesus' ministry reflects a deep sense of loving service in the Presence of God. He follows the example of the Prophets who defended the honor of the Father as well as that of his son, Israel (Mekhilta to Exod 12,1; Aboth de Rabbi Nathan II 47). The Prophets were willing to face persecution by their people and even to sacrifice themselves in their behalf. Similarly Jesus was willing to face persecution and even to die for the sins of Israel. His closeness to God, who commissioned him to save the sinners among his people (Mark 2,17 parallels; Luke 19,10; Matt

1,21;15,24), is also reflected in his reverential humble attitude before God's Presence.

Once Jesus used the substitute form 'Abba for God's name, he reserved this address exclusively for the heavenly Father. "Do not call any one on earth 'Abba" (23,9). Similarly, he instructs not to use the term "good", the liturgical attribute of God, even for himself (Mark 10,18=Luke 18,19). Thus, Jesus enjoins both the community and the apostles to address God as 'Abba, by not invoking his name but by linking the reverential address to the petition: "Hallowed be your name" (JP in Matt and in Luke). In a similar way, the Jewish liturgical setting of reading the Scriptures gave rise to the recitation of the *Qaddish* following the public preaching.<sup>97</sup> *Qaddish* is a reverential petition used in response to hearing God's name spoken during the Reading. It opens with: "Magnified and hallowed be your name" and closes with the communal response: "Let his great name be blessed from eternity to eternity." The refrain in Aramaic was used in the Temple as a doxological response upon hearing God's name pronounced by the High Priest.

The first meaning of the address 'Abba comes to reflect on part of the person who prays a sense of reverence and humbleness before God's Presence. The second meaning reflects the particular relationship one seeks from God in prayer. It is significant that the address "our Father" is found only in penitential petitions and supplications of Jewish liturgy. As an example, the first three penitential petitions of the Middle Section are worded with an appeal to "Abhinu". "Grace us, O our Father (with sympathetic knowledge (*da'ath*) from you;" "Cause us to return, O our Father, unto your Torah;" "Forgive us, our Father, for we have sinned." The theological principle governing the liturgical address is that God's actions are viewed in a dual way,<sup>98</sup> in terms of judgment (*din*) and in terms of love (*rahamim*). The first form, as understood by the rabbis, is expressed biblically by the name 'Elohim (also means "judges") and the second by *YaHWeH* (which expresses his pathos duratively). In liturgy<sup>99</sup> the biblical address *YaHWeH*, 'Elohim was used in pre-Destruction time, corresponding to the reverential forms 'Abba, *Melekh* (king) used as descriptive circumlocutions. The distressed community addresses *YaHWeH* as "our Father" in seeking his love and mercy to forgive their sins at time of judgment (see n.46). Jesus, like the Prophets of old, addressed 'Abba in his prayer as an appeal to God's love at time of judgment.<sup>100</sup> Thus, both forms of JP make the appeal to 'Abba. The community or the apostles intercede for Fatherly forgiveness of sins and for Fatherly protection in time of trial.

Jesus has taught his followers to use the address 'Abba as a sincere expression of humility before God and as complete reliance on his love.

Corresponding to the human biological experience, the father engenders the human species while he remains apart during the period of gestation. God likewise causes and maintains the human reality, while he exists as a numinous Other in the history of human evolution. This imagery of God evokes in the heart of the one who prays a deep sense of creaturehood and humility before the Wholly Other. Yet at the same time, in addressing the Father as "You", one senses the nearness of the providential Presence. In sympathy with divine love, he opens his dialogue of prayer, a dialogue of human hope and divine promise. He petitions for existential needs that concern not only himself but mankind as well.

## NOTES

1. For a review and discussion of the different scholarly questions, opinions and studies, see Jean Carmignac, *Recherches sur le Notre Père* (Paris: Letouzey 1969). He offers an artificial Hebrew translation of JP on p 396. The apparent Aramaic in the fifth petition indicate that JP was not transmitted in Hebrew. For such prayers were recited also in the vernacular.
2. A. Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy* (tr. London: Mowbray, 1958) establishes laws governing liturgical tendencies. J. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus* (tr. Naperville: Allenson 1967) p 89 accepts conclusively the principle for the evolution of forms. See the valuable criticism of J. Heinemann, *Prayer in the Period of the Tannaim and Amoraim* (Heb. Jerusalem, 1966) p 131 especially with regard to Jewish liturgy and the principle of evolution. There are examples of Psalms that were transmitted as longer and as shorter recensions of the Temple Hallel.
3. See K. G. Kuhn, *Achtzehngebet und Vaterunser und der Reim* (Tübingen, 1950) and compare J. Jeremias, *Prayers*, p 90-92.
4. See F. H. Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (Cambridge, 1898) and Gordon J. Bahr, "The Use of the Lord's Prayer in the Primitive Church," *JBL* 84 (1965) p 153-159. There is also disagreement on whether the two versions of JP relate to Q or are to be credited to M and L. J. Jeremias, *Prayers* p 88 distinguishes between the two in terms of the audience, Matthew to Jewish-Christians and Luke to Gentile-Christians.
5. M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, (London: SPCK 1974) p 296-300. He advanced the argument in *JTS* 14 (1963) p 32-45. Compare the attempt by S. van Tilborg, "A Form Criticism of the Lord's Prayer," *NovTest* 14 (1972) 94-105. W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge University Press, 1966) p 4f advances the thesis that Matt adapted the Lukan JP for his church. He further argues for an anti-Jamnian redaction. However, one cannot impose upon the results of redactional criticism a pre-understanding of the intent and meaning without submitting the Jewish sources to similar criticism. See J. Neusner's comments in *Greeks, Jews and Christians* (W. D. Davies Festschrift), Leiden: Brill 1977 p 89-111.
6. T. W. Manson, "The Lord's Prayer," *BJRL* 38 (1956) p 99-113; 436-448, offers a history of the liturgical usage of the Pater Noster.

7. For Luke, see Louis Monloubou, *La prière selon Saint Luc*, (Paris: Cerf 1976). J. Jeremias does not examine the total liturgical background for each JP and thus his conclusion on the differences is *ex cathedra*. I hold the position that the two versions are indeed two different forms, an ecclesiastical JP in Matthew and an apostolic JP in Luke. I do not share the view that Jesus simply spoke it twice (so Origen). The disciples did not forget what they were taught but instead transmitted two prayers that contained similar petitions. The difficulty arose in the transmission which eventually brought the Lukan JP into conformity with the familiar communal Pater Noster.

8. See with caution F. Hahn, *The Worship of the Early Church* (tr. Philadelphia: Fortress 1976); Gerhard Delling, *Worship in the New Testament* (tr. Philadelphia: Westminster 1962) and J. Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame University Press 1956). Compare the examples in A. Hamman (ed), *Early Christian Prayers* (tr. Chicago: Regnery, 1961).

9. On Jewish liturgy consult J. J. Petuchowski (ed). *Contributions to the Scientific Study of Jewish Liturgy* (New York: Ktav 1970); I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (rep. Hildesheim, 1962) and J. Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns* (New York: de Gruyter 1977). See also *The Lord's Prayer and the Jewish Liturgy* ed M. Brocke, J. J. Petuchowski and W. Stolz (tr. New York: Seabury 1978), which reviews different facets of Jewish liturgy and JP. To this collection Msgr. Oesterreicher contributed a discussion of 'Abba (p 119-136). For a recent examination, consult *Compendium Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum: The Jewish People in the First Century* ed S. Safrai and M. Stern (Philadelphia: Fortress 1976) II ch. 15-18.

10. See H. Schürmann, *Prayer with Christ* (tr. Montreal: Palm 1964) and consult the eschatological interpretation advanced by E. Lohmeyer, *Our Father: An Introduction to the Lord's Prayer* (tr. New York: Harper and Row 1965); J. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus* (London: SCM 1967 ch. 3 appeared as *The Lord's Prayer*, Philadelphia: Fortress 1964) and Raymond E. Brown, *New Testament Essays* (Garden City: Doubleday 1968) p 275-320. Consult discriminately Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament I* (Matt 6,1-17); IV. 1 Excurses 6-12 and contrast the evaluation in Israel Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels* (rep. New York, 1967).

11. This is a significant criterion for judging the original sayings of Jesus which was not employed by J. Jeremias. Unfortunately the latter's use of the questionable criterion of dissimilarity served N. Perrin in determining the reliable tradition in *Rediscovering the Teachings of Jesus* (New York: Harper and Row 1967). See A. Finkel, "Midrash and the Synoptic Gospels: An Introductory Abstract," *SBL 1977 Seminar Papers* ed. Paul J. Achtemeier (Missoula, Scholars Press). Consult the interpretative development in Robert L. Simpson, *The Interpretations of Prayer in the Early Church* (Philadelphia: Westminster 1965) ch. 2.

12. See W. D. Davies, *Sermon*. He is wrong in assuming (p 90) that the Jamnian Judaism is the true background for the Gospel. However, his thesis holds true for the later Syriac composition of *Didascalia Apostolorum* ed. R. Hugh Connolly (Oxford, 1929). It is a work written after the publication of the Mishnah (*Deuteropsis*) which is explicitly criticized.

13. Matt 7,23, citing Ps 119,113 (Luke 13,27 cites Ps 6,9); Matt 16,27, citing Ps 62,13; Matt 8,12; 13,42.50; 22,13; 24,51; 25,30, alluding to Ps 112, 10; Matt 13,42; 25,46, referring to Dan 12,3 and 2. respectively. Similar forms in citing the

Scriptures appear in the homiletic perorations of Pesiqtas, Tanhumas and Rabbith.

14. JTa'anith, 2,1; 65<sup>b</sup> and Gen Rabba 44 (ed Theodor-Albeck p 434). It is proper to view the saying of Simeon the Just on the theocratic principles of Torah, Service and Acts of Love (Mishnah Aboth 1,2) as background to the redactional concern of Matt. It similarly governs the arrangement of three pericopes in Luke, which links the commissioning of the seven apostles with JP. Luke 10.25-28 quotes the recitation of *Shema*<sup>c</sup>, the liturgical service in the Temple (Mishnah Tamid 5,1). 10,29-37 depicts in a parable the works of love and 10,38-42 refers to hearing the word of Jesus, i.e. the Torah. However it is incorrect to argue for reinterpretation of the three-fold pillars by R. Johanan at Jamnia (so J. Goldin, PAAJR 27, 1958 and J. Neusner, *A Life of Yohanan ben Zakkai* Leiden: Brill second edition, 1970, ch. 7). During the Temple period the service included prayer as attested by the Temple liturgy and the acts of piety were even known to the proselyte Munbaz of Adiabene (Tosefta Pe'ah 4, 18 and the definition in 19).

15. Against W. D. Davies, *Sermon*. Consult P. Schaefer, "Die sogenannte Synode von Jabne," *Judaica* (1975) p 54-64; 116-124 and A. Finkel, "Yavneh's Liturgy and Early Christianity" (to be published by the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 1980).

16. See Compendium II ch. 17 and J. Heinemann, *Prayer*, ch. 5.

17. Compare the same lesson in Tosefta Ta'anith 1,8 and jTalmud 2,1 (65a) and see the other types of admonition (Mishnah 2,1 and bTalmud 16a).

18. See Mishnah Ta'anith 2,1-5; Tosefta 1,9-13; bTa'anith 16b, preserving the Temple liturgy for the fast which included the doxology. For the later poetic development in Geniza texts, see A. Marmorstein, "The Amidah of the Public Fast Days", *Contributions* (ed Petuchowski) p 449-454.

19. See Sheldon H. Blank, *Jeremiah: Man and Prophet*, (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College 1961) p 234-239 on the terms *paga*<sup>c</sup> and *palal*. The presentation of a case in the court does affect the form of prayer, see J. Heinemann, *Prayer*, ch. 8. Thus, Luke 18,1-8 presents the parable on praying with reference to an appeal before the judge.

20. On the Ma'amad and its influence on the synagogue institution, see Zeitlin, PAAJR 2 (1930-31) and compare the proposed setting for "Alenu" prayer in Heinemann, *Prayer*, p 174. For a handy reference on the traditions consult E. Levy, *Yesodoth Hatefillah* (Tel Aviv, 1961).

21. See M. Greenberg, "On the Refinement of the Conception of Prayer in Hebrew Scriptures," *Association for Jewish Studies Review* 1(1976) p 57-92.

22. See J. Heinemann, *Prayer*, ch. 9.

23. See L. Finkelstein, "The Development of the Amidah" *Contributions* (ed. Petuchowski) p 91-177. However one cannot argue for the original unified version, see J. Heinemann, *Prayer*, ch. 2.

24. So bAbodah Zarah 7b (Naḥum the Median). Thus, the Middle Section, with its petitions for existential and eschatological needs, ends in "hearken to prayer", jBerakhoth 2,4; 4d. The same seal is used for the petition of private fast, ibid 72. For this reason the Middle Section is omitted on the Sabbath and Festivals; see J. Mann, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, (New York: rep. Ktav 1971) II (ed I. Sonne) Heb Section p 110.

25. BSanhedrin 44b (R. Elazar). Compare J. Mann, *The Bible I* Heb Section p 294 (R. Johanan). On the significance of intercession by the individual or the community in time of distress, see Mekhilta to Exod 22,22.

26. Ch. 8. Contra J. Jeremias, *Prayers* p 84, that this impression is false. Lukan petition for the Holy Spirit is not only a baptismal prayer. This plea appears in the liturgy for ordination in *Hippolytus* ed G. Dix (Apostolic Constitutions, Book 8,5.18) as the appeal for forgiveness and deliverance from the snare of the Satan. The petitions of Pater Noster appear for the baptized (Book 8,8). For the Jewish liturgical and catechetical background to the Didache, see G. Alon, *Studies in Jewish History* (Heb Tel Aviv, 1957) I p 274-294.

27. On litany see F. Heiler, *Prayer* (tr New York; Oxford University Press, 1958) chs 2,3,11 and J. Heinemann, *Prayer*, ch. 6.

28. See F. Heiler, *Prayer*, ch. 3 and S. Angus, *The Mystery Religions* (rep. New York: Dover 1975).

29. See G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew* (New York; MacMillan 1973) p 72-80; A Büchler, *Types of Jewish Palestinian Piety* (New York: Ktav rep.) and G. B. Sarfatti, "Pious Men, Men of Deed and the Early Prophets," *Tarbiz* 26 (1956-7) p 126-153.

30. R. Eliezer's dictum: "One who makes his Tefillah *Qebha*<sup>c</sup>, his prayer is not supplication" (Mberakhoth 4,4). *Qebha*<sup>c</sup> means at fixed times, so Mber. 4,1 and compare jBer 1,5 (3b). For the other meanings see bBer 29<sup>b</sup> and J. Petuchowski, *Understanding Jewish Prayer* (New York: Ktav 1972) ch. 1.

31. In the Prophets, see A.J. Heschel, *The Prophets* (New York, Harper and Row 1962); A. Neher, *The Prophetic Existence* (South Brunswick N.J., A.S. Barnes 1969) and Gerhard von Rad, *The Message of the Prophets* (New York, 1962). On the Psalmists, see H. Ringgren, *The Faith of the Psalmists* (London, 1963) and Leopold Sabourin, *The Psalms* (New York, Alba House 1970).

32. As servant before God, e.g. Jer 7,25; 44,4 and Ps 116,16 etc.; as son, a designation for Israel (Exod 4,22; Deut 14,1) and in particular the king (the Royal Psalms). A prophet was called "Son of Adam (Man)," Ezek 2,1 (Dan 8,17); for he depicts God in the semblance of Man, Ezek 1,26 (Dan 7,9). Thus, the Targum does not translate "Adam". Contra G. Vermes, *Jesus*, ch.7 who cites the examples for "Bar Nesha," an Aramaic circumlocution, which has nothing to do with the honorific title. The Righteous intercessor assumed the attitude of servant before God (Samuel the Small: bTa'anit 25<sup>b</sup>; Hanina ben Dosa: bBerakhoth 34b) and as a son (Onias: bTa'anit 23a).

33. See n. 19. For the example of Moses, see Assumptio Mosis 11 and Exod Rabba 43 to 32,11 on Ps 106,23. The heavenly court appears in the vision of Micaiah (1Kgs 22,19) and the prologue to Job (2,1).

34. Mekhilta to Ex 1,1; Lev Rabba 10,2 ed Margolioth, p 197 and Yalqut Simeoni to Jonah 1,3 & 550. Thus, the only sin of Moses at the Waters of Contention (Num 20,10-13) is attributed by the Rabbis to his angry use of the affront: "moros" (idiot) per "morim". See Midrash Hagadol to Num 20,10 and compare the strict teaching of Jesus in Matt 5,22.

35. The current studies on christology usually omit this significant designation. A future comparative study with early Jewish sources should include the meaning of "Saddiq's" intercessory life and his effect on God's Presence, as well as the religious response to the "silluq" (death) of the Righteous. The "Righteous," or in a related religious context, the "Pious," do not belong simply to anti-ritual charismatic groups (so Vermes).

36. So the Synoptic depiction of Transfiguration. Jesus is proclaimed by the heavenly voice to be a prophet (Mk 9,7, parallels, citing Deut 18,15) and he appears alongside Moses and Elijah, the former and future great prophets of Israel. The tradition echoes the Jewish-Christian view, which is also preserved in the Gospel according to the Hebrews at Matt 3,16 (Jerome, Commentary to

Isaiah 11,2) and in the Gospel according to Thomas, logion 52, referring to 24 prophets as the 24 books of the Jewish canon (so Apocalypse Ezra 12,45).

37. Tosefta Sukkah 4,5 an acquaintance with the Temple service and liturgy; Sifre to Num 18,3: a member of the Levitical choir.

38. Tosefta Berakhot 3,7: Both R. Jose and R. Elazar ben Zadok preserve the brief formulas used on a fast day. Others preserve a brief formula for prayer at mealtime. See the notes of S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Kipheshutah* p 33,34. He also indicates the later Palestinian tradition on combining the two brief forms of Tefillah ascribed to R. Joshua.

39. One version appears in the explanation of the liturgical arrangement by R. Joshua ben Levi; jBerakhoth 2,4; 4d. Compare the text in M. Margoloth, *Hilkhoth Eres Israel* (Jerusalem, 1973) p 144 bottom. The other version called "Habhinenu" appears in jBer 4,3, 8a. The later poetic version from the Genizah appears in J. Mann, "Genizah Fragments of the Palestinian Order of the Service" *Contributions* (ed Petuchowski) p 419-420. See also A.M. Haberman, *Tefilloth Me'en Shemoneh 'Esreh* (Berlin, 1933). The two versions are reflected in the two opinions of Rab and Samuel of the Babylonian academies (jBer 4,3; 8a). See also "Habhinenu" in *Encyclopedia Talmudith* ed Zevin (Tel Aviv, 1957) Vol 8 p 220-230.

40. The reading of Hallel on the festivals is mentioned in Mishnah Pesahim 5,7; 'Arakhin 2,3; b'Arakhin 10a. The manner of recitation is described in Tosefta Sotah 6,2,3; see Lieberman's notes p 668 and refer to I. Elbogen, "Studies in Jewish Liturgy" *Contributions* (ed Petuchowski) p 6-7.

41. *The Qumran Psalms* ed J. Sanders, cols 14,7-16,6, preserve the shorter form and the litanic abbreviation with a conclusion of Ps. 118,15.16.8.9. Its apparent use as in the Temple appears in the following Ps 145, called Hallel (bBerakhot 4b; bSabbath 118b), with the doxological refrain. Sopherim 18,25 designates Ps 135 for the first day of Passover and Ps 136 for the last day: the later Synagogue practice.

42. This is already reflected in 1Chr 16,41 (23,30); 2Chr 5,13; 7,3.6; 29,26-28: "Hymnos" of God (also called the Great Hallel in bPesahim 118a to Mishnah 10,7) accompanied by the flute.

43. See M.Z. Segal, *Sepher Ben Sira Hashalem* (Jerusalem, 1958) p 356-357.

44. On the distinction between the pre-Destruction septennial cycle and the post-Destruction triennial cycle, see A. Finkel, *The Pharisees and the Teacher of Nazareth* (Leiden: Brill 1974) p 143-149. J. Heinemann, "The Triennial Lectionary Cycle," *JewishSt* 19 (1968) p 41-48, demonstrates from the liturgical poetry of Yannai in connection with the Sabbath lections that there was no fixed Palestinian cycle. However, all the texts follow more or less the triennial cycle. They mention "dew" in the Second Petition with the exception of Gen 44,18; Exod 12,29 (ed M. Zulai p 64, 89). Similarly the poetic texts that relate to the Festival cycle preserve "dew" for all with the exception of the first day of Passover (262) and the special Sabbath of Sheqalim (325), which belong to the rainy season. It is apparent that "dew" was mentioned throughout the year and "rain" was added for the winter. Thus, the Genizah Text of the Tefillah mentions "dew" in the second petition but refers to "rain" in the ninth petition (see Schechter, "Genizah Specimens" in *Contributions* ed. Petuchowski p 375-376). Yet Petuchowski in his introduction to *Contributions* p 21 accepts Heinemann's argument as overwhelming (sic!).

45. Relate Midrash to Ps 121,1 to Exod Rabba 46, 3 to 34,1 on Isa 64,16. The former describes the Judgment Day, as the time Israel lifts their eyes to their

Father in Heaven, saying: "You are our Father." The latter refers to the address, "Our Father", in time of distress with a parable on the nobleman's greeting to the Emperor's Assessor: "Cheirie, Mari Abhi!" God is likewise greeted as *Mari* or *Abhi*. Compare the popular use of "Abhi" by the sinner in the parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15,18. 21) as an address to God.

46. jBerakhoth 4,3;8a, for "Habhinenu." The same in the additional petition to "hearken to prayer" for private fast (see Abodath Israel, 98) in contrast to public fast, which is inserted at "Redeemer of Israel." For the latter, the included verse is Ps 107,6, or 28, the hymnic phrase for time of distress as used during the public prayer of the twenty-four petitions.

47. Luke 2,37 (widow) = 1Tim 5,5; Luke 5,33 (John's disciples and the Pharisees); 21,36 (the disciples) = Eph 6,18; 1Tim 2,1; Luke 22,32 (Jesus) = Heb 5,7. Luke in particular uses "deesis" and "deomai."

48. See Eric Werner, *The Sacred Bridge* (New York: Columbia 1970). K. Kohler, "The Origin and Composition of the Eighteen Benedictions," *Contributions* (ed Petuchowski) p. 75-90 has indicated the relationship of Christian liturgy to Jewish prayer, as found in Apostolic Constitutions, Book VII ch 33-38. He mistakenly identified it with Essene prayer of the Sabbath. In reality, the text preserves a long version of the first three petitions of the Tefillah ending with brief formulations of the eschatological petitions (33-35). It continues in 37-38 with other references to the eschatological petitions and the final three petitions of the Tefillah as a long version. The Sabbath long petitions is given in ch 36. Thus, it offers a long version of the first and last three petitions as the frame for both daily prayer and the Sabbath liturgy.

49. A. Finkel, *The Evaluation of God's Presence and His Absence in History* (to be published by the Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies at Seton Hall University). It is based on papers presented at the AAR consultation on "Theology of Catastrophe," Dec. 1977; Nov. 1978.

50. BRosh Hashanah 17b and see *Torah Shelemah* (ed M. Kasher) XXII p 58 notes. These "thirteen attributes" of mercy reappear partially in Prophetic and Psalm texts. Compare their significance in Rom 2,4; 1 Clement 53,4 and the midrash of Apoc. Ezra (IV Esdras) 5,132-138.

51. The implied reading of "Yahon" and "Yerahem," so Midrash Prov. 11:27. Similarly the interpretation is rendered for Deut. 13:18 (Sifre and Tosefta Baba Qama 9,30). The other meaning of Exod 33,19, as cited in Rom 9,15, refers to theodicy, see *Torah Shelemah* XXII p 37.

52. Testament Zebulun 8,3; Pal Targum to Lev 22,27 prior to the condemnation by the Palestinian Amora R. Jose, jBerakhot 5,3; 9c and Sabbath 151b.

53. The Deuteronomic reference to payment of vows (23,22) is quoted by Matt 5,33 with reference to the practice of designating the offering in the name of God or His appellatives (Mishnah Zebahim 4,6). "Tashlumim" (payment) is used rabbinically for bringing the required sacrifices (Sifra to Lev 23,41).

54. Jesus reads the commandment: "Show love (=do good; Luke 6,27.35) to your enemy (Ro'akha in lieu of the Masoretic Re'akha) as (you wish others would do) to you (Matt 7,12; Luke 6,31). Jesus upheld the inalterability of the script (Matt 5,18) but allows for interpretative revocalization of the text. It aims at the Essene interpretative exclusion of the "Sons of Darkness" (including the Jews), 1QS 1,4. 10. It also responds to the Pharisaic exclusion of the Samaritans (the semi-proselytes), Sifra Lev 19,18 and b Baba Meši'a 111b, according to Yalqut Simeoni reading to Lev 19,13; 408. The latter's interpretation is contrasted in Jesus' parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 11,36.37).

55. See "Acrostics" by Nahum M. Sarna and Yehudah A. Klausner, *Encyclopedia Judaica* I p 229-231. Aside from the alphabetical arrangement, there are thematic acrostics in Psalms: 2,1-10 *LeYaNa'Y We'iSHTW* (To Jannaeus and his wife, the nuptial occasion in Maccabean times); 11: *BeKHY* ("cry"); 14 (not the Elohist 53): *'aYeH HaSHeM* ("Where is the Name = God?": the Nabhal's question); 15: *MeHoLeL WeNoKHeL* (one who boasts and is deceitful); 26: *LeBH Kol SHo'aLaY'a'oR* (I curse the intention of all who seek me); 100:1-3 *Ha'uBHoDaH* (the [Todah] Service); 110: *LeSHiMe'oN 'aMeN* (To Simeon Amen; at the time of installation of Simeon the Hasmonean in 140 B.C.E.; 1Macc 14,27). These acrostics reveal how the editors of the Psalms arranged the earlier hymns in light of their later usages.

56. See A. Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God* (rep. New York, 1968) and E. E. Urbach, *The Sages* (Heb Jerusalem: 1969) ch. 4. J. Jeremias does not include in his study the reference to "Abba" in early rabbinic parables nor all the examples in the Palestinian Targums. (Both relate to Synagogue readings). He also failed (through his students) to check the manuscripts and the Midrashic anthologies preserving old sources (e.g. Midrash Hagadol), as well as *Selihoth* prayers.

57. See D. Flusser, "Sanktus und Gloria," *Festschrift for O. Michel* (Leiden: Brill 1963).

58. Compare Mishnah Aboth 3,6 (see J. Siever's article). Ps 82 was recited on Tuesday in the Temple. Verse 1 points to God's Presence in the 'edah, the gathering of at least ten for public prayer (Deut Rabba to 28,1 ed Lieberman p 108 in view of bBerakhot 21<sup>b</sup> on Num 14,27: 'edah). It also points to God's Presence among the judges, who are called "elohim" (Mekhilta to Exod 20,24). Jesus used the Psalm in defense of his ministry (John 10,34-38). The Gospel according to Thomas, logion 30 reads "where there are three gods," meaning the judges (compare *Didascalia* ed. Connolly p 93).

59. Curiously, a later Jewish Midrash refers to Peter's liturgical composition of "Nishmath" (text in Abodath Israel, p 206-208 notes). See Aggadatha de Simeon Kepha in *Beth Hamidrash* ed A. Jellinek V, VI. On the development, see J. Jungmann, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayers* (tr. New York: Alba House 1965).

60. Contra W. D. Davies, *Torah in the Messianic Age* (JBL Monograph Series 7, 1952). See P. Schaefer, "Die Torah der messianischen Zeit," *ZNW* 65 (1974) p 24-42. In addition, all the references to a new Torah or to its abrogation are understood rabbinically in the context of Ezekiel's prospect (11,19; 36,26). Once the evil inclination is eliminated, given commandments become inapplicable. Compare the redefinition for all the commandments in 2Cor 3,3-6. Consult the refutation in 'Ozar Wikkuhim ed J. D. Eisenstein (rep. Israel, 1969) p 215,216, Yeshu'oth Meshiho by I. Abarbanel (Karlsruhe, 1828) and David Kimhi's comments to Isa 12,3; Jer 31,30.

61. Recently defended by R. Leaney, "The Lucan Text of the Lord's Prayer," *Nov Test* 1(1956) p 103-111.

62. On the Galilean dialect of Aramaic see Eduard Y. Kutscher, *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies* (Jerusalem, 1977). Compare G. Vermes, *Jesus*, p 52-54 and M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon, third edition 1967). The phenomenon of *Mischsprache* (Greek, Latin and Hebrew terms incorporated into Aramaic vernacular) in Galilee, as attested to in the Palestinian texts, was not fully explored by the above. The glossolalia indicates that the

Galileans, who were noted for their peculiar pronunciation (Mark 14,70 = Matt 26,73), could hear and understand different tongues (Acts 2,7-11). These are Persian, Aramaic, Greek, Latin and Arabic. In addition to the similar sound for flat bread and rock, the fish and the snake are also mentioned. They represent either the similar Greek forms *ichtys* and *echis* (Mekhilta to Exod 15,22) or the Greek *aphyē* (sardine) bHullin 66a, and the Hebrew 'eph'eh (Isa 30,6) or the Galilean form 'awya (Gen Rabba 26 to 6,4).

63. The Baraita (bYoma 86a) depicts good works that elicit public praise for God as an act of endearing or sanctifying God's name, in view of Isa 49,3 (see Tanhuma to 19,2 ed Buber p 72). The evil inclination is called obstacle (Isa 57,4; bSukkah 52b while God calls it evil, Gen 8,21). Its removal is related to Ezekiel's prospect (36,26); see Num Rabba to 10,2. The obstacle is defined as hypocrisy (Tosefta Yoma 4,12).

64. This phrase can be explained in light of the legend on the liturgical use of *Shema* in the synagogue. Jacob before his death has exhorted his twelve sons to "hear God of Israel who is your Father in heaven." It reads "el" as God in lieu of the preposition "to" in Gen 49,2b (see Gen Rabba ad loc., ed Theodor-Albeck p 1252 notes). The twelve sons replied: "Hear O Israel—our (natural) father: the Lord is our God, the Lord is one" (Pal Targum to Deut 6,4). 65. *Kathēgētēs* is in Aramaic *Medabrana* (compare the salutation in bSanhedrin 14a). Matthew's stress on oneness with reference to God and Jesus is a repudiation of dualistic heresy and christological division, respectively. Compare Sifre to Deut 6,4 on undivided faith in one God and b.Sanhedrin 8a on no communal division on leadership.

66. See Harry A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964) I ch 7.

67. See O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (tr. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963) p 32 notes.

68. "Hosanna in the highest" is rendered in Aramaic *barrama* (Jerome, Letter to Damasus 20 on Matt 21,9). *Bar-Rama* connotes "the Son of the Highest" (compare Luke 1,32), which satisfies the parallel to "Hosanna the Son of David" in Matthew. The two christological appeals sandwich the liturgical salutation to the pilgrims (Ps 118,26) or later to members in the church, the new Temple. Compare the enactment of greeting in God's name, Mishnah Berakhot 9,5. Similar to it is the greeting of peace (Luke 10,5) in Christian life. Peace is an appellative for God.

69. Sifra to Lev 22:32; bSanhedrin 74a. The public service of hallowing God's name is also derived from the same verse, bMegillah 23b.

70. See N. Perrin, *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Westminster 1963) which reviews and evaluates the contemporary discussion on the realized, proleptic and futuristic eschatology. The governing principle of correspondence in Apocalyptic thought and experience is not explored fully nor adequately employed in the discussion.

71. See Bertil Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament* (Cambridge University Press 1965). His evaluation of the New Testament material is valuable. However, his comparative study with Qumran is inadequate. See Y. Yadin, *Temple Scroll* (Heb Jerusalem, 1977) I p 144 notes. Contra J. Neusner in *Judaica* 21 (1972) p 318 rep. *Early Rabbinic Judaism* (Leiden: Brill 1975) ch.2.

72. Already noticed by J. Wellhausen, see G. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* (rep. Darmstadt, 1965) p 50.

73. See J.N. Epstein, *Introduction to the Tannaitic Literature* (Heb Jerusalem, 1957) p 746 (Sifre Zuṭa).

74. On the rabbinic response, see L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia; JPSA 1959) IV p 304 V p 396 and S. H. Blank, "The Death of Zechariah in Rabbinic Literature", *HUCA* 12/13(1937/38) p 327-346. Both relate the event to the death of the prophet in the First Temple. Yet the rabbis have interpreted the event as described by Josephus in relation to the past, a homiletic tendency affecting the description of catastrophic events. The Zealots' bloodshed that caused the removal of God's Presence in the Second Temple is described historically in Cant. Zuṭa to 8,14. See S. Liebermann, *Greek and Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (Heb Jerusalem, 1962) p 138-146.

75. A rabbinic version of God's lament for his children is recorded in bBerakhot 3<sup>a</sup> (R. Eliezer of the First Century). Compare Echa Rabba (ed Buber) 9,15. 25.

76. God's Presence is the expression of love, see Cant Rabbā to 3,10 on "appiryon" as the Temple inlaid with love. Compare Pesiqta (ed M. Ish Shalom) p 22a. On the experience of "homonoia" see E.E. Urbach, *Sages*, ch. 3; 43. Thus, God's relationship to the pilgrims is described as a "Father who dwells among his children" (Exod Rabba 34, to 25,10.8 and Midrash Hagadol, ad loc.).

77. The Temple was destroyed in Summer of 70, a post-Sabbatical year (Seder Olam Rabba 30). Consult B. Z. Wacholder, *Essays in Jewish Chronology and Chronography*. (New York: Ktav 1976), who fixes the date as 69/70.

78. Eusebius preserves the religious view of the church: "When holy men desert the city, the judgment of God will overtake them (in the city)," in view of Abraham's appeal to God, Gen. 18,24-32 (Gen Rabba to 18,32; Pirke de R. Eliezer 25). In addition, Eusebius offers a later Christian view on the punishment: "For all their crimes against Christ and his apostles". He ends with a malediction: "Let all the generation of the wicked be utterly blotted out from among men". Compare the wording of the Jewish malediction in the Tefillah, as it appeared in Eusebius time: "Let the Nazareans and the *minim* (= the doers of evil, other recensions) . . . be utterly blotted out from the book of life".

79. A significant example is the midrash of the Scribe on *Shema*<sup>c</sup> (Mark 12,33-34). The scribe interprets love for God and the neighbor as greater than sacrifices, citing Hos 6,6. *Hesed* expresses love for neighbor and *da'ath* love for God. Matthew employs Hos 6,6 as Scriptural support for the teaching of Jesus on table-fellowship with the sinners (9,13) and healing on the Sabbath (12,7). Hos 6,6 was likewise used by R. Johanan of Jamnia (Aboth de R. Nathan I 4; II 8). This was not a revolutionary discovery (sic!) as claimed by J. Goldin, which misled J. Neusner, *Yohanan*, p 193. The common liturgical lesson of the pre-Destruction scribe was already known to Mark. Compare Pal Targum to Gen 35,8 and Deut 34,6, enumerating the acts of piety in *imitatio Dei* (see Pirke de R. Eliezer 12). Contra J. Neusner, *Development of a Legend* (Leiden: Brill 1970) p 114.

80. A. Finkel, *The Pharisees*, p 134-143. This would clearly show that Matthew's detailed knowledge of the Pharisaic practice was prior to the Hillelitic revision of the Halakhah at Jamnia. Compare the recent studies of E. Levine, "The Sabbath Controversy According to Matthew" (arguing for a pre-70 setting of the Omer controversy) and J. Neusner, "First Cleanse the Inside" (pointing to the Shammaic practice) in *N.T.S.* 22 (1976). The latter does not acknowledge

my work. In his conclusion, he is not able to explain this phenomenon satisfactorily; contra his thesis in *Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees* (Leiden, 1971).

81. The example of healing on the Sabbath (Mekhilta to 31,12) and the stress on love for the person, the Hillelitic teaching (Aboth 1,12). Thus, transpersonal commandment is set aside by interpersonal commandment in a conflict situation (so the criticism of the priestly practice pre-70, Tosefta Yoma 1,12). Jesus similarly debates with the Pharisees of his day: 1) Saving a life on the Sabbath (Mark 3,4 parallels); 2) Acts of piety cannot be set aside due to pollution caused by a seemingly dead person (Luke 10, 30-35: the priest and the Levite cross over to the other side); 3) Support for parents cannot be cancelled by declaring the food items sacred (Mark 7,9-13 = Matt 15,3-9: "You transgress the (interpersonal) commandment of God for the sake of your tradition" (on making vows in transpersonal matters). Jesus himself is not a Hillelite but he appears to interpret the Scriptures in their spirit. His messianic consciousness cannot be simply determined by a particular religious personality.

82. On the doxology see E. Werner, *Bridge*, ch 9; J. Heinemann, *Prayer*, p 85-85.

83. The text is cited by John 19,37 (the Scriptural sign for Jesus' messianic death) and by Matt 24,30, the sign for the coming of the Son of Man (so Rev 1,7). Thus, both aspects of Jesus' advent are interpreted by this Prophetic verse. The text was likewise used by the later rabbinic apocalypticists with reference to the dead Messiah, the Son of Joseph (bSukkah 52a). The "grace" referred to in the verse is connected with the priestly Benediction on God's grace, i.e. the reintroduction of prophecy (printed Tanhuma to Num 6,25).

84. See 1QS 2,3: "eternal *da'ath*"; 1QSb 2,24: "the Holy Spirit (= 1,5: "*da'ath* of the Holy") and Sifre to Num 6,25: "Light of the Presence (= the Face)", i.e. illumination (*zyw*). Most significantly, the transmission of the lections recited by the Levites in the Temple at the Sabbath additional sacrificial service is governed by an acrostic (bRosh Hashana 31a; jMegillah 3,8; 74a; Sopherim 12,7). The initial letters of Deut 31,1. 7. 19. 36 form *HaZYW LeKHa*, i.e. ("God's) illumination unto you (singular)."

85. See Gordon P. Wiles, *Paul's Intercessory Prayers* (Cambridge University Press 1974).

86. Originally the covenantal formula: "I am unto you . . . and you are unto me. . ." expresses a nuptial declaration (Hos 2, 20 in view of 2,4, see Elephantine marriage certificate, ed Kraeling 2,3,4). The Prophets depict matrimonially the relationship between God and Israel (e.g. Ezek 16; see A. Neher, op. cit., part III,2). For the earthly community, the nuptial union with God was experienced liturgically and ritualistically in the Temple. Thus, Canticles (the songs of the lover and his beloved) were interpreted allegorically in the first Centuries (so Cant Rabba; Pesiqta Rabbati 5; Pesiqta de R. Kahana 1, compare Origen's Commentary). The homilist preserves the covenantal formula as an expression of God's declaration (Exod Rabba to 25,8): "You are my sheep/vineyard/sons and I am your Shepherd/Keeper/Father," or as the community's response (Cant Rabba to 2,16): "He is unto me a God/ a Father/ a Shepherd/ a Keeper and I am unto Him a nation/ a son/ sheep/ vineyard". Thus, the liturgical recitation of *Shema*<sup>c</sup> is offered as an example of this covenantal experience (idem and Sifre to Deut 33,26). See also K. Ruby's article.

87. The litanic cry *eleison* is preserved in early Christian liturgy. Correspondingly the litanic appeals to Jesus are transmitted in the Gospels as "save"

(Matt 8,25; 14,30; 21,9. 15) "help" (15,25) "have mercy" (Mark 10,47-48 parallels).

88. The prayers appear in chs 24, 27, 29, 53, 59, 60, 64. Clement preserves lessons on the proper orientation in prayer similar to Matt: on repentance 8; on righteousness 9; on humble-mindedness 13, 17, 56; on peacefulness 15; on purity and integrity 21, 23; on reconciliation 48; on prayer 50 and on deliverance from evil 51.

89. The litanies are preserved alphabetically in Amram's Siddur with the appeal to "our Father." The repeated cries appear as "Hosanna" (the liturgy for Tabernacle Festival); "Answer us" (prayer for the fast day); "Do for the sake" and "our Father, our King" (as above).

90. Contra D. Flusser, *Jesus* (tr New York 1969) p 95 and G. Vermes, *Jesus*, ch 8, 4. J. Jeremias, *Prayer*, p 35-48 distinguishes between "our Father" and "my Father" of 'Abba. This is nothing but a distinction between the collective address and the substitute form for God's name, as used by individuals.

91. On religious education in the schools, see S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archæologie* (rep Hildesheim, 1966) III, 12 and *Compendium*, II ch. 19.

92. The prayer of the commoners is brief without even referring to God (Tosefta Berakhot 4,45; see S. Liebermann's notes). However, the substitute terms of "Raḥmana" (Merciful One) or "Mara" (Master) and "Hamaqom" (the Place) were also used (bBer. 40b).

93. See the examples in A. Finkel, *The Pharisees*, p 110. The particular significance attached to child's recitation is mentioned by Matt 21,15-16, citing Ps 8,2 (read *Yisarta* = you are praised in song, in view of 1Chr 15,22). The Tannaim employ this verse to illustrate the innocent children's recitation of the Song at the Sea as a perception of God's Presence (Tosefta Sotah 6, 4.5 and Mekhilta to Exod 5,1).

94. So Onias' cousin, Hilqiyah, is called 'Abba (bMakkoth 24a) and see Y. Heilprin, *Seder Hadoroth* (rep. Jerusalem, 1956) on Onias' grandson who was called the meek. 'Abba denotes patron or communal administrator. Compare Matt 23,9 on the use of the honorific title *Abba* in the community (examples in Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar* I p 918).

95. See J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology* (tr. New York: Scribners 1971) p 9-14, 179 and compare the liturgical use in Martin McNamara, *Targum and Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1968) ch 9, 12. See A. Marmorstein, *Rabbinic Doctrine*, on the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton.

96. BKiddushin 31b. See Gerald Blidstein, *Honor Thy Father and Mother* (New York: Ktav 1976).

97. See David de Sola Pool, *The Kaddish* (New York 3rd ed, 1964) and J. Heinemann, *Prayer*, p 163f.

98. See S. Schechter, *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (rep. New York: Schocken 1961) ch 2. M. Kadushin, *The Rabbinic Mind* (New York: Bloch, third edition 1972) ch 4, 2. E.E. Urbach, *Sages*, ch 15.4.

99. The employment of YHWH, ELOHIM in prayer is discussed and used as a criterion for judgment of pre-Destruction forms of prayer. See L. Finkelstein, "Development of Amidah" *Contributions* (ed. Petuchowski). J. Heinemann, *Prayer*, p 120 indicates that JP addresses God as Father as well as King in the petition for the Kingdom, as both conceptions appear in Jewish liturgy. However, he also maintains that "Pater Noster" is a private prayer, since it does not contain the name in the address nor a praise formulation. Jesus indeed offers his

private brief prayer for the community to pray: Since Jesus made it available, according to Matthew's redaction, for the time of distress. It addresses "You" as the petition for rain in Jewish practice. There is no evidence, however, for the time of Jesus that individuals prayed the Eighteen Benedictions, but there is evidence that these were recited publicly in a briefer version. Furthermore, the private petitions of the teachers became a part of the communal liturgy.

100. Pesiqta de R. Kahana 4, 36b, bSukkah 14a; Midrash Tannaim to Deut 3,24.