

# Prayer in the Sayings Gospel Q

Edited by  
DANIEL A. SMITH  
and CHRISTOPH HEIL

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament  
425*

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**Mohr Siebeck**

# Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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Daniel A. Smith and Christoph Heil

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## Table of Contents

*Daniel A. Smith and Christoph Heil*

Introduction ..... 1

*Irmtraud Fischer*

Mehr reden über das Gebet als Beten:

Eine Alttestamentlerin liest Gebetstexte in Q ..... 11

*Ursula Schattner-Rieser*

The Lord's Prayer in the Context of Jewish-Aramaic Prayer Traditions

in the Time of Jesus ..... 23

*Simon J. Joseph*

The Promise of Providence and the Problem of the *Parables*:

Revisiting Prayer in the Sayings Gospel Q ..... 57

*Karl-Heinrich Ostmeyer*

Beten für und gegen Feinde ..... 89

*Catherine Hezser*

Prayer in the Sayings Source Q and in Early Rabbinic Texts ..... 103

*Hildegard Scherer*

Gott und die Feinde: Traditionen und neutestamentliche Vernetzung

von Q 6,28 ..... 123

*Markus Tiwald*

Gebet und Gottesreich: Gebetstexte aus Q im Vergleich mit den

qumranischen Sabbatopferliedern ..... 141

*Michael Labahn*

Identitätsstiftung durch Jesu Gebet: Q 10,21–24, Jesus

und die Offenbarung an die Unmündigen ..... 157

*Giovanni B. Bazzana*

Praying to God and the Kingdom: Q's Lord's Prayer in Its Rhetorical

and Literary Context ..... 185

*John S. Kloppenborg*

The Lord's Prayer and Debt Recovery:  
Insights from Graeco-Egyptian Papyri ..... 201

*Thomas Klampfl*

Lukas 11,5–8: Freundschaft, Gastfreundschaft und ἀναίδεια ..... 219

*Niclas Förster*

Die lukanische Rezeption der Gebetstexte in Q im Kontext des  
frühen Judentums und Christentums ..... 243

*Daniel A. Smith*

The Influence of Q's Prayer Texts in Matthew ..... 261

List of Contributors ..... 283

Index of Ancient Sources ..... 285

Index of Authors ..... 305

Index of Subjects ..... 313

## Introduction

*Daniel A. Smith and Christoph Heil*

This volume publishes revised versions of papers originally presented at an international conference entitled “Gebet im Spruchevangelium Q/Prayer in the Sayings Gospel Q,” held March 23–25, 2017 at the Institut für Neutestamentliche Bibelwissenschaft, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Austria. The conference, organized by Christoph Heil (Graz) and Daniel Smith (London, Canada), was the culmination of a three-year major research project on the topic “Gottes Liebe und Gericht im Spruchevangelium Q – Rekonstruktion und Interpretation,” funded by the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung/Austrian Science Foundation (FWF project no. P 26844-G19). It brought together scholars from Germany and Austria, Belgium, Britain, Canada, and the United States, with a wide variety of specialties and methodological approaches within biblical and Jewish studies represented. Some essays by contributors who were not able to attend the conference in person are also included in this volume. One central issue addressed at the conference was whether, and to what extent, prayer receives a distinctive profile in Q, when compared with contemporary Jewish materials; some presenters also addressed questions of the historical, social and rhetorical meaning of Q texts related to prayer, or their early reception in Christian literature.

One might think, as many of the presenters observed, that there is not much related to prayer in the Sayings Gospel Q. Indeed, the list of relevant passages can be quickly summarized: foremost of all is, of course, the Lord’s Prayer (Q 11:2b–4), and the following commentary on the reliability of the Father to whom one prays (11:9–13); but there are also commands to pray, for one’s enemies (6:28) or for labourers to help with the harvest (10:2), Jesus’ own prayer of thanksgiving for the giving and restricting of revelation (10:21), and the devil’s offer of all the kingdoms of the world in exchange for Jesus’ worship (4:5–8).<sup>1</sup> This, how-

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<sup>1</sup> Conventionally, materials from the Sayings Gospel Q are cited in this volume according to their Lukan versification, without any assumption that Luke necessarily preserves the wording or order of Q more faithfully than Matthew in any given instance. Thus, “Q 10:21” refers to the original saying in Q behind Luke 10:21 and Matt 11:25–26. Although the reconstruction of Q is still a much-debated topic, many of the authors in the present volume will refer to the standard reconstruction: James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q*, Hermeneia Supplements (Minneapolis: Fortress; Leuven: Peeters, 2000).



ever, does not mean there is not much to say about prayer in Q. Although these texts are addressed by the contributors to this volume multiple times, they are examined from widely varying viewpoints, specialties, and methodological approaches; many of the contributors, after all, are not specifically “Q Scholars,” but bring their own expertise to bear on these texts. In addition, the careful reader will notice diverging perspectives on issues of central importance to the study of Q and the Synoptic Gospels, for example the place of composition and authorship of Q. This collection is especially rich for its strong emphasis on early Jewish texts and traditions related to prayer, as can be seen in the many references to the Qumran materials, early Jewish pseudepigrapha, and rabbinic texts. Three of the authors also examine papyrological materials from Judea and Egypt in order to illuminate their studies of long-standing questions, such as the nature of the “testing” (πειρασμός) mentioned in the Lord’s Prayer (Q 11:4), or the meaning of “shamelessness” (ἀναιδεια) in the Parable of the Friend at Midnight (Luke 11:5–8). Others use insights from the latest developments in narratology and reception history, for example. Thus, this collection represents an important contribution to the study of Q and also to the study of prayer in early Judaism and Christianity.

In the opening essay of the collection, “Mehr reden über das Gebet als Beten,” Old Testament Scholar Irmtraud Fischer (Institut für Alttestamentliche Bibelwissenschaft, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz) reads the prayer texts in Q from the perspective of reception history. Following a survey of different patterns of scriptural reception in the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish and Christian literature, Fischer observes that the New Testament writings receive and interpret scriptural traditions according to contemporary Jewish conventions of literary and theological reception. Fischer then turns to Q and its reception of biblical texts and themes related to prayer. She finds that certain approaches to prayer typical in the Hebrew Bible are found also in Q and in Matthean and Lukan uses of Q. For example, just as certain psalms and prayers in the Hebrew Bible are contextualized narratively, so too is Q’s Lord’s Prayer (Q 11:2b–4): although Matthew and Luke give the Prayer more specific narrative contexts, Q situates it in relation to Jesus’ wise instruction, not a specific occasion in Jesus’ life. The only direct-address prayers in Q are formulated in ways typical of the Hebrew Bible (Q 10:21–22; 10:2), with well-attested forms of address to God (as will also be seen in the following essay). In addition, certain prayers from the Hebrew Bible are found in the Temptation Story (Q 4:1–13), where they are no longer prayers per se, but instead serve an instructional purpose as “scripture.” Fischer argues that prayer is practically non-existent in Q, because the spirituality endorsed by the Sayings Gospel is less about the practices of piety and more about the praxis of everyday life.

Ursula Schattner-Rieser (Martin-Buber-Institut für Judaistik, Universität zu Köln) investigates the Aramaic foundations of the Lord’s Prayer (Q 11:2b–4;

Matt 6:9–13; Luke 11:2b–4) in her contribution, “The Lord’s Prayer in the Context of Jewish-Aramaic Prayer Traditions in the Time of Jesus.” Schattner-Rieser begins by assessing the relevance of the Aramaic Qumran materials for our understanding of prayer in early Judaism, and of the linguistic situation in Palestine at the time of Jesus. The Qumran materials provide evidence that prayer in Aramaic was acceptable, and also that there was a developing trend towards fixed formulae in prayers. Next, Schattner-Rieser presents an Aramaic retroversion of the Lord’s Prayer in its Matthean and Lukan forms, and gives a detailed petition-by-petition commentary on ancient Aramaic parallels. Even though our only certain texts are in Greek, translation (back) into Aramaic is made possible by the numerous formulaic and morphological correspondences to ancient Aramaic materials. Such a (re-)translation does not afford access to “the original Lord’s Prayer,” but to a possible primitive Aramaic *Urform*, illustrating how consistent the Prayer was to its Palestinian Jewish milieu. “For every [Greek] petition there is a clear underlying Jewish-Semitic background, one that could display both cross-linguistic influences (with Hebrew or Aramaic in the background), as well as cross-cultural influences in relation to the Jewish milieu, the biblical history, and the expectations of that time” (p. 46). This Semitic background is reflected in Septuagintal parallels as well. Schattner-Rieser finds the strongest correspondences to the individual petitions of the Lord’s Prayer in Aramaic materials that tell, re-tell, or evoke aspects of the Exodus story (especially Exod 16:4–5).

In his essay “The Promise of Providence and the Problem of the *Parables*: Revisiting Prayer in the Sayings Gospel Q,” Simon J. Joseph (University of California at Los Angeles) begins by exploring how Q recommends prayerful reliance on a providential and impartial Father-figure, who can address real-life needs such as lack of food and surplus of debt (e. g., Q 11:2b–4). Though Joseph agrees with other Q scholars that this seems to be “the earliest recoverable ... conceptualization of deity” in Q, he also observes that it stands juxtaposed with another, one focused on separation and judgment (p. 63). Since the writing known as the *Parables* (or *Similitudes*) of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71) represents a close and roughly contemporary approach to a divine mediator figure, called “the/that Son of Man,” under whose aegis judgment is executed on behalf of the oppressed, Joseph next examines the evidence for linkages between Q and this Enochic text. Scholarly consensus, which now dates the *Parables* of Enoch to around the turn of the era, holds that at several points this text has influenced the Synoptic Gospels. Joseph finds several interesting conceptual parallels between Q and the *Parables*, especially in the apocalyptic frameworks of the two documents, concluding that the *Parables* – though not slavishly copied by the author of Q – exerted a significant conceptual and narrative influence on Q in its secondary redaction. Finally, Joseph returns to the tension in Q between the providential view of an impartial God and the recurrent theme of judgment, investigating this tension

in microcosm in the Q Beatitudes (Q 6:20–23). Q’s “promise of providence,” Joseph concludes, came to be “narratively reset in the past and simultaneously postponed [apocalyptically]” until the coming of Jesus the Son of Man (p. 87).

Karl-Heinrich Ostmeyer (Institut für Evangelische Theologie, Technische Universität Dortmund) investigates the theme of “Beten für und gegen Feinde” in early Jewish texts, especially the Qumran Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20 = 1Qap-Gen ar), as a way to contextualize Jesus’ commands to love and pray for one’s enemies (Q 6:27–28). Ostmeyer notes that the significance of the prayer command is often overlooked, or diminished in relation to the command to love one’s enemies, but prayer was thought to involve a kind of eternal connection before God of the one who prays with the one on whose behalf they pray. One instance of prayer for an enemy is found in Genesis 20, when Abraham petitions God on behalf of Abimilech, whom he had deceived regarding Sarah (Gen 20:17). Although prayer is not mentioned in the parallel story involving the Pharaoh of Egypt (Gen 12:10–20), prayers both against Pharaoh and on his behalf are found in the version of the story told in the Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen ar XX, 12–16, 28–29), which Ostmeyer examines in detail. Like later rabbinic writings, the Genesis Apocryphon emphasizes the salvation-historical importance of this episode by heightening parallels to the Exodus story; it also includes an early instance of someone laying hands on the head of the one for whom prayer is being offered. Prayers against enemies, including pronouncements of woe, are common in the Hebrew Bible, early Jewish literature, and early Jesus traditions, but love of enemies – including prayer on their behalf – is not as unique to the instruction of Jesus as the author of Matthew indicates (Matt 5:43–44).

Next, Catherine Hezser (SOAS University of London) examines “Prayer in the Sayings Source Q and in Early Rabbinic Texts.” Hezser observes that Q, which depicts prayer as an integral part of Jesus’ teaching in relation to God and others, represents an “early branch of Jewish-Christianity”; therefore, a comparative analysis of prayer in Q and in early rabbinic writings will help us to refine our understanding of the group or groups originally connected with Q. The later interest in more formalized or ritualized aspects of prayer (for instance, prescribed timing and frequency) is noticeably absent from Q. Meanwhile, Hezser shows that there are some important similarities in how the Jesus of Q and the early Jewish charismatics described in the rabbinic writings (for example, Honi the Circle-Drawer) approach prayer as an individualized and direct appeal to God; the rabbinic authorities could appreciate Honi’s directness and success in prayer, even if they could not commend his “impertinence” (e. g. m. Ta’an. 3:8). Q and the rabbinic writings also share common motifs related to prayer: bowing or prostration (Q 4:8); praying for one’s enemies or persecutors (Q 6:28); prayer in relation to workers in a “harvest” (Q 10:2); prayer for release from debt (or sin) (Q 11:4); prayer for food (Q 11:3, 11–12). While rabbinic sources may not have advocated Q’s directness in prayer, based on the idea of God as Father and adher-

ents as children, both the similarities and differences to which Hezser draws our attention reveal that “we are dealing here with variant forms of ancient Jewish religiosity that could coexist and be practiced by some of the same people” (p. 122).

Hildegard Scherer (Theologische Hochschule Chur) also takes up the topic of prayer on behalf of one’s enemy in her contribution, entitled “Gott und die Feinde: Traditionen und neutestamentliche Vernetzung von Q 6,28.” Scherer begins by discussing questions of reconstruction of Q 6:27–28, noting that both the Matthean and Lukan forms of the saying preserve both horizontal (“love your enemies”) and vertical (“pray for those [persecuting] you”) dimensions. Although similar commands are found in Rom 12:9–21 and 1 Pet 3:8–19, neither of these passages support their paraenesis with reference to the teachings of Jesus and neither speaks of “loving” one’s enemy; Scherer, however, sees the influence of Jesus’ command to love the enemy in the paradoxical (even provoking) commands to bless and do good, and not only to avoid retaliation. Next, Scherer surveys the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish texts for the idea of praying for enemies, finding particularly close parallels to Q 6:28 in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (e. g. T. Jos. 18:2; T. Benj. 3:6). In order to give a broader picture of the literary contexts, Scherer also surveys the Synoptic Gospels for narrative or paraenetic material related to prayer or to the active engagement with enemies. In the end, the command to pray for one’s enemies – especially in connection with the command to show love to them (cf. Q 6:27, 29–30) – seems unique in the Synoptic tradition: although it is characteristic of Q in that it reflects attacks on the group and advises a paradoxical reaction to them, it probably was not a creation of the authors or tradents of Q.

Like other contributors to this volume, Markus Tiwald (Institut für Katholische Theologie, Universität Duisburg-Essen) also finds rich comparative material in the Qumran writings for the study of prayer in Q, in his essay “Gebet und Gottesreich: Gebetstexte aus Q im Vergleich mit den qumranischen Sabbatopferliedern.” Tiwald first observes that the expectation of the coming βασιλεία is Q’s “Motivationshorizont”: recent narratological studies of Q (by Michael Labahn and Arne Bork) show that the coming kingdom represents a kind of alternate reality, both in the present and the eschatological future, that determines how the reader is to act in light of it. Q’s concept of prayer cannot be understood apart from this. Tiwald next surveys the Q-passages that deal with prayer, and identifies the primary motifs which determine how prayer is conceived and approached in Q, namely the kingdom of God and the concept of God as a loving father. Probably composed in the first century BCE, the Qumran Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices are an important set of comparative texts for the study of prayer in Q, because they also show evidence of an imminent expectation of the divine realm, a view of God as caring father, and an intense interest in the holiness of God (also obvious in the Lord’s Prayer). However, there are also significant differences from Q – for example, the emphasis on purity, the focus on formal-

ized participation in the heavenly liturgy rather than on immediacy and “unverschämte Freiheit” (p. 146) in prayer, and a certain exclusivity in contrast with Q’s approach to “sinners” and outcasts. An appreciation of the similarities and differences helps us to situate Q within the pluriform Judaism of its time, but also to understand its distinctive aspects in relation to prayer.

In his essay entitled “Identitätsstiftung durch Jesu Gebet: Q 10,21–24, Jesus und die Offenbarung an die Unmündigen,” Michael Labahn (Theologische Fakultät, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) addresses the identity-forming narrative function of Jesus’ thanksgiving for revelation to children (Q 10:21, with vv. 22, 23–24). Labahn begins by discussing the reconstruction of Q 10:21–24, its place within the central section of Q (9:57–11:51), and redactional, compositional, and thematic issues. The opening verse (v. 21), which corresponds structurally to other Jewish prayers of thanksgiving, addresses God in relation to a third party – the “infants” (νήπιοι) – whose identity is thereby defined as those who have received divine revelation. Labahn understands these “infants” as the “non-elite,” whose access to the tradition was limited by their intellectual capacity, economic means, or social status; this subverts the traditional view, which restricted revelation to the wise, in that the wise and understanding are now denied access to “these things.” This prayer, with the following self-reflection (v. 22) and beatitude (vv. 23–24), is a significant component of Q’s narrative construction of meaning (“narrative Sinnbildung,” p. 174). Both the direct contrast with the elite and the diminutive description of the non-elite contribute to the identity-defining rhetoric of the passage. The affirmation of exclusive revelation of the Father by the Son (Q 10:22) validates both the message of Jesus and that of the Q people, both rejected by the wise and understanding. This makes the “infants” the “true elite” in Israel, as the closing beatitude affirms (vv. 23–24), while at the same time they participate in the relationship of Father and Son.

Giovanni B. Bazzana (Harvard Divinity School) also investigates the rhetorical function of Q’s prayer material in his essay, “Praying to God and the Kingdom: Q’s Lord’s Prayer in Its Rhetorical and Literary Context.” Bazzana takes the perspective, first advanced by John Kloppenborg and William Arnal, that Q was composed by sub-elite village scribes in Galilee. Useful comparative material for understanding Q’s compositional and ideological interests with respect to prayer may be found in Egyptian documentary papyri, from which Bazzana offers several examples to illustrate the composition of hymns and prayers by such sub-elite scribes; he also suggests that their capacity to write hymns – which probably should not be distinguished too carefully from prayers, neither as literary genres nor as religious practices – would have been due to their rhetorical training. Bazzana suggests that those who composed Q would also have possessed this competency, but he is also careful to insist that this result of his comparative exercise does not exclude the obvious influence of Jewish texts and traditions on the prayers of Q. Bazzana next analyzes the Lord’s Prayer in Q, with reference to

other ancient hymnic materials, as part of a larger hymnic section (Q 10:21–11:13) that follows the threefold structure prescribed for hymns in the rhetorical handbooks: invocation (Q 10:21a); argument (10:21b–24, which includes an authorization of the speaker’s inspired status); prayer (11:2b–4, with requests paralleled in many other ancient materials), with a brief closing argumentative elaboration on appropriate patterns of prayer (11:9–13). Bazzana thus demonstrates that whatever traditional resources were drawn upon in the Q material on prayer (e. g. Jewish texts and traditions, or memories of Jesus’ teaching), the village scribes proposed as the composers of the Sayings Gospel would have had the rhetorical skill and scribal competency to compose, shape and elaborate prayers.

Papyrological study also informs the contribution of John S. Kloppenborg (University of Toronto), “The Lord’s Prayer and Debt Recovery: Insights from Graeco-Egyptian Papyri.” Kloppenborg observes first of all that although *πειρασμός* in the Lord’s Prayer is often interpreted as eschatological testing or tribulation (as for example in Rev 3:10), especially in the Matthean version (Matt 6:13) where it is followed by a petition for rescue from “evil” (v. 13b), this reading has little to commend it in Luke or Q 11:4b. The word, which can be used for adverse circumstances related to war, disease, natural disaster, or aggression from others, typically derives its meaning from its context. Looking therefore to the preceding petition on debt relief (Q 11:4a), Kloppenborg examines papyrological material related to debt and debt release. Ancient Egyptian and Judean loan documents tend to share many similarities, which permits the use of relevant Egyptian papyri as comparative material for studying Q. These documents show many adverse circumstances related to debt for both lenders and borrowers, owing as much to the debt instruments themselves as to systemic inequity in the courts. Repayment was not always documented, which could lead to problems; debtors could be subject to arrest and all their possessions forfeit if they failed to repay the debt on time; extra-judicial responses were also common. Borrowing therefore put a person at risk of physical violence or financial ruin, and lending could be equally fraught. Kloppenborg concludes that “a petition not to be led into such a *πειρασμός* makes perfect sense in the context of a prayer that petitions the deity for subsistence and freedom from debt” (p. 218).

In the next essay, Thomas Klampfl (Rohrbach a. d. Lafnitz) examines “Lukas 11,5–8: Freundschaft, Gastfreundschaft und ἀναίδεια.” The Parable of the Friends at Midnight has sometimes been assigned to Q, located as it is by Luke between the Lord’s Prayer (Q 11:2b–4) and the sayings on asking, seeking, and knocking (Q 11:9–13). Klampfl begins with a historical survey of scholarship on the meaning of ἀναίδεια in Luke 11:8, finding that scholars take the word to denote ideas from persistence to invasiveness to impertinence to shamelessness, depending to a large degree on how they assess the dynamics (especially the social dynamics) in the parable. Very rich surveys of ancient materials useful for understanding both the root αἰδώς (“shame,” etc.) and ἀναίδεια follow next. Again, both terms

have a variety of possible translations into German (or English), but a significant factor is the ancient cultural sense of “honour” (τιμή), whether of gods or human persons, and the cooperative and competitive ways that honour is enacted. Klampfl also refers to four documentary papyri, in which ἀναΐδεια describes behaviour that is violent or aggressive. These surveys reveal that ἀναΐδεια must be understood as a relational term: it is used to indicate an action that either disregards the honour of another, or the honour of oneself (that is, not giving due regard to one’s own honour in the view of others). In Luke 11:8 it could either refer to the friend being asked for bread, who might be disregarding his obligation to his fellow, or to the friend who asks, who might be bringing shame on himself with his continuing appeal. In the end, Klampfl leaves open the question whether Luke 11:5–8 was originally in Q.

The final two essays of the collection deal with the reception of Q passages on prayer in Luke and Matthew, respectively. Niclas Förster (Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät, Universität Münster) offers a study of “Die lukianische Rezeption der Gebetstexte in Q im Kontext des frühen Judentums und Christentums.” Förster is aware that “identity formation” is a major interest in current studies on prayer (see also Michael Labahn’s essay in this volume), but a major result of his investigation relates to the way Luke adapts the Q prayer texts with respect to self-assurance (“Selbstvergewisserung”). Förster examines closely how Luke has altered the context and/or wording of the following prayer texts in Q: the devil’s request for Jesus’ προσκύνησις (Q/Luke 4:5–7) in the Temptation Story; the command to pray for those who mistreat and abuse (Q/Luke 6:28); the request for labourers for the harvest (Q/Luke 10:2); Jesus’ cry of praise and thanksgiving for revelation (Q/Luke 10:21); the Lord’s Prayer (Q/Luke 11:2–4); the instruction on asking, searching and knocking (Q/Luke 11:9–13). Förster concludes that a few general tendencies can be noticed: first, Jesus’ refusal of the devil’s offer shows that the overthrow of earthly powers remains in God’s hands alone; second, the disciples’ joy at the end of their missionary excursion shows that for Luke prayer is not magic but in fact subjects the demons to divine control; and third, a dominant theme in multiple passages asserts that those who pray to God may be certain that their requests are heard.

Finally, Daniel A. Smith (Huron University College) offers a contribution that analyzes “The Influence of Q’s Prayer Texts in Matthew.” Smith makes a case for the view that the Q material, including the material on prayer, is not simply received (i. e. incorporated with interpretive revisions) as inert content, but in fact exercises an influence on the concepts and composition of the author. After illustrating how Matthew sometimes uses Q as a source not only to copy and rearrange, but also to emulate, that is, to produce new, Q-inspired compositions, Smith tackles the influence on Matthew of two major Q sections on prayer (Q 10:21–22 in Matthew 11; Q 11:2b–4, 9–13 in Matthew 6–7). As Smith explains, Matthew disconnected Q 10:21–22 (with Q 10:13–15) from the Q Mission Speech

and used this material because of its thematic relevance to his Chapter 11; the identification of Jesus with Wisdom in Q 10:21–22 seems also to have inspired the creation of two new logia, namely Matt 11:28–30 and 28:18–20. Smith also analyzes Matthew’s use of Q 11:2b–4, 9–13; the author of Matthew also disconnects these for use separately in the Sermon on the Mount. These sayings may have inspired others elsewhere in Matthew (Matt 6:8; 18:19–20) and influenced the narration of the Gethsemane episode (Matt 26:39–42). Smith’s analysis confirms Alan Kirk’s view that the author of Matthew valued Q not only as a source of material but also as an authoritative text whose narrative and rhetorical shape was as influential to the new composition as was the Gospel of Mark.

The editors would like to thank the following people, whose help and cooperation ensured that the March 2017 conference “Gebet im Spruchevangelium Q/Prayer in the Sayings Gospel Q” ran smoothly: Thomas Klampfl and Elke Handl-Prutsch, and student assistants Franziska Almer, Raphael Bergmann, Johannes Neubauer, Theresa Ofner, Clemens-Karl Peyrer, Robert J. Thaler, Johanna Walcher, and Lukas Weissensteiner. As already noted, the conference was financed mainly by a substantial grant from the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung (FWF), which has generously supported research on the Sayings Gospel Q at the University of Graz. Further essential support for the conference was also provided by the following organizations: Land Steiermark; Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz; Katholisch-Theologische Fakultät der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz; Verein zur Förderung der Theologie der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz an der Katholisch-Theologischen Fakultät; Diözese Graz-Seckau; Österreichische Humanistische Gesellschaft für die Steiermark; and Stadt Graz. We are very grateful to these organizations for their generous sponsorship.

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One final note: the abbreviations used in this volume follow *The SBL Handbook of Style*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), or, where no abbreviation exists in *The SBL Handbook*, we follow Siegfried M. Schwertner, ed., *IATG<sup>3</sup> – Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014).





# Index of Ancient Sources

## Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

<i>Genesis</i>		3	13
1:28	13	5:13 LXX	42
3:16	16	7–12	96
3:29	60	8:4–9	131
5:24	66	8:24–27	131
5:28–15:4	95	9:27–33	131
10:2–31	250	10:16–19	131
12	97	10:17	43
12:1	94	12:29	98
12:2	94	12:35	99
12:4	94	15–17	50
12:10–20	4, 92–93, 95	15:9	125
12:10	94	15:18	37
12:13	92	15:25	45
12:16	99	16	40
12:17	93–96, 98	16:4–5	3, 41–42, 50
12:19	93	16:4–5 LXX	42
15	13	16:4	33, 50
18:1–21	223	16:4 LXX	39, 42
19:1–14	223	16:5	39
19:38	42	16:5 LXX	42
20	4, 93	16:15 LXX	39
20:6–7	93	16:25 LXX	40
20:6	93, 98–99	17:7	44–45, 208
20:7	92–93, 100	17:7 LXX	44
20:14	93	20:7	150
20:15	93	22:22–24	223
20:16	93	23:4–5	92
20:17–18	93	32:32	252
20:17	4, 93, 100, 131	33	273
24:12–14	17	33:12–13	273
25	95	34:7 LXX	43
26:6–11	92	34:9 LXX	43
32:10–13	17		
47:15 LXX	39, 42	<i>Leviticus</i>	
47:15	33, 42	7:34	149
50:17	43	19	124
		19:2	18
<i>Exodus</i>		19:34	223
1:7	13	22:24 LXX	39

22:32	150	<i>2 Kings</i>	
23:37 LXX	42	2	13
26:7–8	125	2:9	66
		6:18–23	91–92
<i>Numbers</i>		6:18–20	100
4:16 LXX	42	6:18	62, 91–92, 101
14:19 LXX	43	6:20	92, 131
16:28–35	100	6:23	92
28:3	42	14:25	13
28:9–10	264		
		<i>1 Chronicles</i>	
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		16:35 LXX	36
2	14	17:14	38
2:6	14	29	50
2:28	14	29:11	38
4:34	208		
4:39 LXX	38	<i>2 Chronicles</i>	
5:9	245	24:20–21	12
6:4–9	106, 109	24:22	138
6:4	106, 108, 115		
6:7	107, 109	<i>Ezra</i>	24
6:13	20, 245–46	7:18	38
6:16	20, 44, 208		
6:16 LXX	44	<i>Nehemiah</i>	
7:19	208	8–9	24
8:3	20–21, 42	12:47 LXX	42
8:10	120		
9:22	208	<i>Esther</i>	13
10:20	20, 245–46		
11:13–21	106, 109	<i>Job</i>	
15:1–3	205	Prologue	20
28:35	20	2:7	20
29:2	208	28:12–27	270
32:51	150	28:12–23	176
		28:13–14	172
<i>Judges</i>		28:21–22	172
10:15 LXX	45		
		<i>Psalms</i>	
<i>1 Samuel</i>		1:1	83
13:14 LXX	37	6:9	21
17:47–51	13	8:3 LXX	174
20:31 LXX	37	18:8 LXX	173
21:1–6	263	22	16
		22:4–6	12, 16
<i>1 Kings</i>		22(21):2	43
8:23 LXX	34	24:17	116
11	14	25(24):18 LXX	43
		32:1–2	83

34:1	130	<i>Proverbs</i>	61
34:13 LXX	130	1:7	18
35	131	1:20–25	172
35:12–15	130	1:22 LXX	168
36:7	117	1:24	18
39:3	99	1:28	18
39(40):9 LXX	38	1:29–30	172
39:10	99	1:32 LXX	168
40:9	39	8:22–26	79
41:1	83	8:36	172
50:5	24	9:4 LXX	168
50:13–14	24	22:17–24:22	69
50:23	149	23:25	111
51:1–2	17	25:11	100
51:17–19	24	25:21–22	62, 92
58:7–11	100	26:12 LXX	168
69:29	252		
69:30–31	24	<i>Ecclesiastes</i>	
83:10–18	100	5:1 LXX	34
88:27 LXX	34		
89	50	<i>Isaiah</i>	
91:11–12	20, 143	1:11–13	24
92:13	97–98	1:17	24
94:8	208	4:1 LXX	39
103:19	38	6:3	150
103:22	38	6:9–10	160
104:14	60	7:12	44
104:35	101	25:4 LXX	45
108:4 LXX	130	29:14	174
109:4–5	130	29:23	149
109:6–20	100	48:14 LXX	38
112:1	83	53:13	131
113:11(115:3) LXX	33–34	55–66	24
114:6 LXX	173	55:1–3	13
118:130 LXX	173	55:1–2	14
119:1–2	83	55:6	18
128:1–2	83	63	50
134(135):6 LXX	38	63:11–15	36
137:8–9	83	63:16 MT	19, 52, 59
139:16	252	63:16 LXX	34
142(143):10 LXX	38	64:7 MT	36, 52
143:10	39	64:7 LXX	33
144(145):1 LXX	36	64:8	59
144(145):13 LXX	37	65:1–2	18
145	37		
145:1–2	38	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
145:13	38	7:22	24
145:15–19	60	14:11	131

15:21 LXX	45	5:26 LXX	37
18:20	131	6:11	24
18:21–22	131	6:28 LXX	38
29:7	131	7	71–72, 80, 270–71
52:34 LXX	42	7:13–14	271
		7:13	74, 76, 79
<i>Ezekiel</i>		7:14 LXX	270–71
36:22–23	149	7:27	37–38
36:23 LXX	36	9:1–6	24
38:23	149	9:3–23	24
39:7	149	12:1	252
44:30	149		
		<i>Hosea</i>	24
<i>Daniel</i>	26	3:4	24
2:19–23	169	6:6	264
2:20–21 LXX	169–70	14:3	24
2:21	173		
2:23 LXX (Theodotion)	168	<i>Jonah</i>	13
3:26 LXX	36	1:2	14
3:33	37–38	2	13, 17
3:52 LXX	36	2:2	17
4:13	76	3	13
4:17	76		
4:17 LXX	38	<i>Malachi</i>	
4:23	76	3:23	13
4:34	37–38		

## Deuterocanonical Books

<i>Baruch</i>		4:9	125
3:1–4:4	176	4:15	125
3:3–4:4	181	13:36–39	204
3:32	270	14:14 LXX	45
4:4	181		
6:40–41	100	<i>2 Maccabees</i>	91, 138
		3:18–22	62, 91, 101
<i>Prayer of Azariah</i>		3:29	99–100
1:29 LXX	36	3:31	91
		3:32	91
<i>Judith</i>	13		
13:4–10	13	<i>Sirach</i>	
		1:4–9	176
<i>1 Maccabees</i>		1:6–9	270
1:1–9	117	2:1	44, 208
2:52	208	6:1	232
3:5	125	6:7	208

14:1-2	83	<i>Tobit</i>	26, 39
20:23	233	3:6	28
23:3 LXX	33	3:11	53
23:4	33	3:11 LXX	36-37
23:4 LXX	33	5:17 LXX	34
24	81	7:17	168
25:8-9	83	13:4	34, 59
27:5	208	13:9	34
27:7	208	13:13	34
33:1	208	13:14	83
44-49	12		
44:20	208	<i>Wisdom</i>	
50:16-21	121	8:4	270
51:1-30	160	9:1-18	270
51:1-2	143	14:3	33
51:1	168, 170, 272	16:20-28	42
51:17	170		

## New Testament

Q		6:27-49	86
3-7	163	6:27-36	275-76, 278
3:5	144	6:27-35	59, 62
3:7-8	80	6:27-28	4-5, 61, 84, 91, 101, 104, 116, 129, 136, 143, 145, 151
3:8	19, 84		5, 61, 89-90, 135, 145
3:9	63	6:27	127
3:17	63, 165	6:28-29	1, 4-5, 8, 18, 58, 61- 62, 85, 90, 101, 103, 123-39, 145
3:21-22	175	6:28	5, 136
4:1-13	2, 82, 165, 175	6:29-30	127, 129, 135, 145
4:1-3	20	6:29	61
4:4-8	103	6:31	61, 84
4:4	21, 143	6:32-34	85
4:5-8	1, 84, 114, 116	6:32	61, 116, 145, 151
4:5-7	8	6:35	204
4:5-6	153, 270	6:36-37	61, 205
4:5	164, 179	6:36	278
4:6	179, 271	6:37-41	61
4:8	4, 103, 114-15, 143	6:37-39	82
4:9-12	20	6:40	18, 63
4:11-12	143	6:49	281
6:20-23	4, 84	7	267
6:20-21	180	7:1-10	84
6:20	61	7:9	
6:22-23	82-86, 135-36, 180		
6:22	71, 82		
6:23	84-85		

7:18-38	81	11:2	61, 114, 175, 197, 205,
7:18-35	263, 266-67		279
7:19	267	11:3	4, 109, 119-20, 151,
7:22	61, 64, 84, 267		209
7:28	176-77	11:4	2, 4, 7, 59, 109, 118,
7:31-35	268		135, 151, 205, 209-
7:34	81-82, 267		10, 279
7:35	81-82, 176-77, 183,	11:5-13	239
	268	11:9-13	1, 7-9, 59, 61, 103-
9:57-11:51	6, 157, 162-63, 181		04, 143, 146, 175,
9:57-60	162, 165, 167		199-200, 209, 263,
9:57-58	81		273-80
9:58	71, 81-82, 85	11:9-12	135
9:61-62	162, 167	11:9-10	60, 113, 240
10	266	11:9	109, 144, 226
10:2-16	162, 167, 267	11:10	60
10:2	1, 2, 4, 8, 19, 103-04,	11:11-13	113
	109, 117, 136, 143	11:11-12	4, 120
10:3-12	182	11:11	61, 119
10:3	135, 182	11:12	119
10:5-9	266	11:13	59
10:5-6	145	11:14-52	163
10:7	151	11:14-20	144, 153
10:10-16	266	11:16	13-14
10:10-12	63, 182	11:18	144, 153
10:11-12	135, 175	11:20	148
10:12-15	266	11:21-22	144
10:13-24	163	11:21	153
10:13-15	8, 89, 100, 181	11:23-24	160
10:13	163	11:23	63
10:16	163, 266	11:29-35	13-14
10:21-11:13	7, 197-200	11:31-32	14-15, 263
10:21-24	6-7, 145, 148-49,	11:39-44	163, 176
	157-84, 266-67	11:46-48	163, 176
10:21-22	2, 8-9, 59, 263-74,	11:49-51	84, 135, 265, 272
	280	11:51	12, 63
10:21	1, 8, 19, 59, 103, 105,	12	277
	112-13, 135, 143, 146,	12:2-22:30	163
	154, 167-82, 197	12:2-3	84, 163, 182
10:22	178-79, 198	12:2	177
10:23-24	179-80, 263, 266-67	12:3-4	177
10:23	143	12:3	177
11	278	12:4	135
11:2-13	175	12:8-9	79-80
11:2-4	1-3, 7-9, 58, 61,	12:8	71
	103-04, 109, 135,	12:10	71, 90
	143, 199, 201, 263,	12:11	209
	273-80	12:12	135, 161

12:22-31	59-60, 156, 277	4:8	244
12:22	120	4:9	244
12:24	120	5	270
12:28	175	5:1-4	180
12:29-31	145-46	5:6	180
12:29-30	151	5:9	63
12:30	175, 277-78	5:10-12	125
12:39-40	79	5:10	136
12:40	71, 80	5:14	161
12:51	145	5:38-42	63, 275-76, 278
12:53	145	5:39-41	137
12:57-59	135	5:39	127, 136-37
12:58-59	217	5:43-44	4
12:58	217	5:43	89
13:18-19	84	5:44	18, 91, 101, 123-24,
13:20-21	84		129
13:21	142, 153	5:47	278
13:24	63	5:48	18
13:27	21	6-7	8, 273-80
13:30	84	6	195
13:34-35	65, 81, 84, 135, 149,	6:1-7:11	277-78
	153, 265	6:1-18	263, 275
14:11	84	6:1-5	17-18
14:16-18	61, 84	6:2-4	275
14:21	61	6:4	279
14:23	61	6:5-15	275
14:26	84	6:5-13	279
14:27	82	6:5-6	110, 136, 275-77
15:4-5	61	6:5	257
15:7	61	6:6	17, 279
15:8-10	61	6:7-15	276
16:18	84	6:7-8	136, 276-77
17:2	90, 100, 176-77	6:7	17, 257
17:3-4	61, 135	6:8	9, 17, 277-78
17:6	144	6:9-13	3, 17, 23, 30, 32-33,
17:20-21	144		58, 110, 263
17:22-30	79	6:9-10	201
17:23	71	6:9	33, 36, 110, 274, 279
17:26-27	80	6:10	29, 37-38, 136, 152,
17:30	80		279
17:33	84, 135	6:11	40-41
17:34-35	63	6:12	18, 42, 44, 202
22-31	146	6:13	7, 44-46, 136, 202,
22:28-30	145		209
		6:16-18	18, 275
<i>Matthew</i>		6:18	279
4:1-11	153	6:25-34	277
4:8-9	270	6:32	277-78



7:1-5	278	12:3-4	263
7:7-11	258, 263, 277	12:5-6	263
7:9	274	12:40	14
7:11	274	12:41-42	15, 263
7:12	12	13:10-17	270
8-9	266-68	13:10-15	263
8:1-4	267	13:13-15	161-62
8:5-13	267	13:16-17	159, 263, 266-67
9:1-8	267	13:16	161
9:9-13	267	13:17	162
9:14-17	267	13:25-26	161
9:36	273	13:27	161
9:37-38	117-18, 250	13:35	161
10-11	273, 281	13:39	209
10	266	13:44	161
10:1-4	267	13:52	280
10:5	267	14:1	161
10:7-16	250	16:14	13
10:23	125, 268	16:21	86
10:24-25	268	16:27	67
10:25	136	17:10-12	13
10:32	86	18:6	90, 100
11	8-9, 264-73, 280	18:17	278
11:1-19	263	18:19-20	9, 278-80
11:1	266-67	18:23-35	202, 218
11:2	267-69	19:28	67
11:3	267	21:12-13	136
11:5	267	21:13	107
11:7	269	21:15-16	176
11:12-14	268	21:15	174
11:13	12	21:16	174
11:14	13	21:19	136
11:16-19	268	21:43	268
11:19	267-69	22:34-40	278
11:20-27	263	23	135
11:20-24	89, 100, 160, 269	23:4	273
11:24	250	23:13-36	89, 100
11:25-30	160, 273	23:14	108
11:25-27	159, 263	23:34	125, 272
11:25-26	1	23:53	136
11:25	19, 269, 271-72	24-25	267
11:26	270	25:18	161
11:27	178, 264, 269-73	25:25	161
11:28-30	9, 159-60, 266, 272-73	25:31-46	202, 218
		25:31	67
11:28-29	272	25:41	209
12:1-8	263, 266	26:28	126
12:1	161	26:39-42	9, 280

26:39	279	13:12-13	134
26:41	279	13:18	134
26:42	137, 279	13:19	202
26:52	136	14:22	134
26:55	42	14:24	126
26:67-68	137	14:26	134
27:46	43	14:35-36	134
28	271	14:35	134
28:16-20	271	14:36	36, 279
28:18-20	9, 271	14:38	134, 279
28:18	270-72	14:39	134, 279
28:19-20	272	14:49	42
28:19	271	14:58	153
28:20	272	15:34	43, 134

*Mark*

1:12-13	153
1:35	134
2:1-12	267
2:13-17	267
2:18-22	267
2:23-28	263, 266
2:25-26	263
3:2	134
3:5	134
4:10-12	160, 263
4:12	266
4:17	134
5:41	35
6:41	134
6:46	134
8:6	134
8:35	134
9:29	134
9:37	173
9:42	90, 100, 173
10:15	173
10:25	173
11:15-19	153
11:17	107, 134
11:24	134
11:25	134-135, 279
12:1-9	134
12:28-34	278
12:40	108, 134
13:8	145
13:9	134
13:11	134

*Luke*

1:10	107, 137
1:13	137
1:20-22	100
1:32-35	77
1:33	37
1:47-55	137
1:64	137
1:68-78	137
1:74	137
2:1	245
2:28-32	137
2:37	137
2:38	137, 161
3:21	137
4:1-3	153
4:5-7	8
4:5	244-45
4:6	244, 248
4:7	244
4:8	243
4:14	247
4:29-30	137
6:12	137
6:20-21	180
6:24-26	89, 100
6:27-32	63
6:27-28	18, 123-24
6:27	90, 249
6:28	8, 123, 125, 138, 243,
	249
6:47	19
6:49	19

9:23	42	17:10	240
9:35	78	18:1-8	113, 241
9:51	249	18:1-7	137
9:52	250	18:1	224, 241
10:1	251	18:2-5	210
10:2	8, 117, 243, 249-51	18:6-8	241
10:9	251	18:10	107, 137
10:17-20	269	18:11-13	137
10:17	251	18:25-26	260
10:18-20	251	19:27	245
10:19	252	19:46	107
10:20	252	19:47	42
10:21-24	159, 253	20:19	161
10:21-22	243	20:20	245
10:21	1, 8, 161, 176, 243, 251-54, 269	21:22-23	90, 100
10:22	161, 178, 253	22:20	126
10:23	161	22:27	240
10:24	162	22:36	137
11:1-13	222	22:51	137
11:1-2	18	22:53	42
11:1	254-56, 259	23:2	247
11:2-4	3, 8, 18, 23, 30, 32- 33, 58, 110, 201, 243	23:7	245
11:2	33, 36, 110, 143	23:24	133
11:3	39, 41-42	23:33-34	137
11:4	7, 42, 44, 119	23:34	92, 101, 131, 133
11:5-13	18	23:35	78
11:5-8	2, 7, 8, 113, 219-41	23:46	137
11:8	7-8	24:30	137
11:9-13	8, 241, 243, 258-60	<i>John</i>	
11:12	274	1:34	78
11:13	240	2:19	153
11:20	180	4:20-24	154
11:50-51	138	12:31	144
12:11	209, 245	12:42	221
12:12	161	16:11	144
12:25-26	240	<i>Acts</i>	139
13:21	161	2:1-21	259
14:5	240	2:46	42
14:28	240	2:47	42
14:31	137, 240	3:1	107
14:33	240	3:2	42
15:4-6	240	4:8	260
15:7	240	4:24-30	259
16:16	12	4:30	260
16:19	42	4:31	259
17:7-9	240	7:60	92, 133

8:22	250	12:22	41
9:11	99	15:51	154
9:17	99, 101	16:22	87
9:18	99		
10:30	107	<i>Galatians</i>	
11:28	245	4:6	36
16:5	42	4:21-31	15
16:18	161, 252		
17:6	245, 247	<i>Philippians</i>	
17:7	247	2	195
17:11	42	3:5	47
19:9	42	4:3	252
19:11-12	252		
19:13	251	<i>1 Thessalonians</i>	
19:15	252	5:12-22	126
19:27	245		
21-22	47	<i>Hebrews</i>	
21:37	47	12:23	252
21:40	47	13:15	149
22:2	47		
22:13	161	<i>James</i>	
24:5	245, 247	1:13	206
26:14	47	1:14	207
28:8	99		
28:31	260	<i>1 Peter</i>	138
		3	126-27, 129
<i>Romans</i>		3:8-19	5, 126
8:15	36	3:9	126-28
11:25	154	3:14	84
12	126-27, 129	3:16	125, 127
12:9-21	5, 126	4:13-14	84
12:14	127		
12:17	126, 128	<i>Revelation</i>	
12:20	62, 127-28	3:5	252
		3:10	7, 202, 207
<i>1 Corinthians</i>		8:3	149
2:7	154	13:8	252
4:12	127	20:15	252
7:2	221	21:22	153

Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

<i>2 Baruch</i>		<i>1 Enoch</i>	26, 69, 72, 78
29:3-8	42	1-36	76, 79
70:2	144	1:1	69
		10:6-7	83

10:7	76	53:7	75
10:9	76	54:1-2	80
12:2-3	76	55:4	79
13:10	76	56:5-7	74
14:1	76	58:4	75
37-71	3, 57-87	60:10	75
37:2	80	61:5	65
38:1-2	81	61:8	67, 79
38:3	81	61:12-13	150
39:12-13	150	61:12	150
39:12	150	61:13	151
41:1	81	62	75
42	69, 81	62:2	67, 79
42:1-2	81	62:3	65, 79
45:3-4	65	62:5	75, 79-80
45:3	67, 79	62:7	75, 79
46:1	79	62:9	75, 79
46:2-4	75	62:11	75
46:2	79	62:13-15	82
46:3	75	62:13	65
46:4	75, 79	62:14	75, 79
46:8	82	62:15	82
47:1-2	75	63:1	65
47:1	74	63:11	75, 79
47:2	82	65:1-67:3	80
47:4	82	67:4-13	74
48:1	81	68:1	78
48:2-6	79	69:26-27	75
48:2	75, 79	69:26	75, 79
48:3	79	69:27	67, 75, 79
48:4	82	69:29	75, 79
48:6	79, 81	70:1	75, 79
48:7	79, 81-82	71:14	75, 79
48:8	65	71:17	75, 79
48:10	79	83-90	76, 79
49	78	90	74
49:1-4	79	96:1	67
49:3	81	106:2	78
50:1-5	82	106:10	78
50:22	67	108:12	67
51:1-3	79		
51:1	65	<i>2 Enoch</i>	
51:3-4	65	42:6-14	83
51:3	79, 81	52:1-5	83
51:5	65		
52:4	79	<i>4 Ezra</i>	72
52:7	65	4:28-29	144
53:2	79	9:17	144

<i>Jubilees</i>		<i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>	
13:11	95		129, 132, 139
23:19	145	<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>	
50:9	147	3:6	5, 132–33
<i>Letter of Aristeas</i>		3:8	132
227	130	4:2–3	132
<i>3 Maccabees</i>		5:5	132
2:19 LXX	43	<i>Testament of Joseph</i>	
6:3 LXX	33	3–9	133
6:8 LXX	33	3:3	133
<i>4 Maccabees</i>	138	3:7	133
<i>Odes</i>		4:8	133
14:43	38	7:4	133
<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>		8:1	133
5:10	60	10:1	133
<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>		11–16	133
1.175	238	17–18	133
2.33	238	17	132
8.184	238	18:2–4	133
		18:2	5, 90, 100, 132–33
		<i>Testament of Levi</i>	
		2:3 [19]	99

## Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Texts

1Q20 [1QapGen ar XX]	4, 94	1QapGen ar XIX, 23	95
1Q20 XX, 12–16	62, 93	1QapGen ar XX, 5	40
1Q20 XX, 23	39	1QapGen ar XX, 12–29	93
1Q20 XX, 30	40	1QapGen ar XX, 12–16	4, 94–99, 101
1Q26	154	1QapGen ar XX, 16–17	95
1QapGen	39	1QapGen ar XX, 18	96
1QapGen ar	26, 49	1QapGen ar XX, 21–22	100–101
1QapGen ar II, 14	34	1QapGen ar XX, 28–29	4, 99–101, 131
1QapGen ar II, 24	35	1QapGen ar XX, 29	99
1QapGen ar VII, 7	34	1QapGen ar XX, 30	40
1QapGen ar XI, 12–14	26	1QapGen ar XX, 32	99
1QapGen ar XI, 12–13	53	1QapGen ar XX, 33–XXI, 4	95
1QapGen ar XI, 28–29	26	1QapGen ar XXI, 23–24	94
1QapGen ar XII, 16.21	168	1QapGen ar XXII, 11	46
1QapGen ar XII, 17–34,	53	1QapGen ar XXII, 19	40
1QapGen ar XIX, 7–10	95	1QDM [1Q22] III, 5–7	205
1QapGen ar XIX, 10–XX, 32	95	1QH IV, 15	73
1QapGen ar XIX, 14–23	97	1QH X, 9	177

1QH XV, 26–33	269	4Q423	154
1QH XV, 26–27	169	4Q504 3 II, 6	37
1QM XII, 7–8	147	4Q504 VII, 4–5	73
1QpHab XII, 4	177	4Q525	85
1QS I, 9–10	89	4Q534–36	77
1QS I, 10	61	4Q534	77–79
1QS III, 4	37	4Q534 I, 7–9	78
1QS IV, 22–23	73	4Q542 1 I, 3	39
1QS IX, 5	25	4Q545 4, 18	39
1QS X, 17–21	61	4QEnGiants <sup>b</sup> ar 2 II	
4Q171	73	+ 6–12(?), 16	34
4Q174	73	4QInstruction	154
4Q174 III, 6–7	149	4QMess Ar = 4QNoah	77
4Q196 [papTob <sup>a</sup> ar] 18, 11		4QpapLxxLev <sup>b</sup> (4Q120)	34
= Tob 13:3	53	4QTestament of Qahat	26, 28
4Q196 [papTob <sup>a</sup> ar] 6, 7		4QTobit	26
= QA Tob 3:11	36, 53	4QTobit <sup>b</sup> ar 4 I, 17	35
4Q196, 18, 11 = QA Tob 13:3	36	4QTobit <sup>b</sup> ar 5, 10	37
4Q198 [Tob <sup>c</sup> ar] I, 5	38–39	4QVisions of Amram	26
4Q213a	99	11Q5	151
4Q242 1 III, 4	43	11Q5 XXXIV, 10–11	151
4Q243–245	76	11Q5 XXXVI, 9–16	150
4Q246	37, 76–77, 79	11Q5 XXXVI, 9–15	151
4Q258 2 II, 5	25	11Q13 II, 1–6 [11QMelch]	59
4Q400–407	146	11Q19 XLVI, 15	152
4Q400–405	147	11QapGen ar XII, 11	45
4Q400 2 VII	149	11QPs <sup>a</sup> XXIV, 10	206
4Q400 2,1–2	148	11QTgJob	49
4Q401 14 I,7	148	11QTgJob XIV, 6	45–46
4Q403	154	11QTgJob XVI, 1	46
4Q403 1 I, 30–39	148	11QTgJob XXIII 1	46
4Q403 1 II, 26	149	11QTgJob XXXVIII, 3	43
4Q403 1 II, 27	154	CD III, 20	73
4Q404	154	Book of Giants (4Q530)	76
4Q404 3+4+5	148	Genesis-Apokryphon	90, 93–94, 97–98
4Q405	154		
4Q405 23 II, 12	149	Rule of the Community	
4Q405 XI, 9	154	(1/4QS)	61
4Q415–418	154	War Scroll (1QM)	61

## Philo

Philo	109, 122	121–124	108
<i>Against Flaccus</i>		121	116
47:52	125	<i>Embassy to Gaius</i>	
52	125	213	125

<i>Life of Abraham</i>		<i>Life of Moses</i>	
95	95	2.199	125
96–98	95	<i>Questions on Exodus</i>	
<i>Life of Joseph</i>		2.11	61
71	125		

## Josephus

Josephus	108–09, 122	1.224	238
<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>		1.276	238
1.210	93, 101	1.616	238
4.212	107	2.135	61
4.40–50	100	2.139–140	61
9.56–57	101	2.147–149	152
14.22	111	2.152–153	61
14.24	101	2.174	61
16.27	125	2.197	61
17.6.5	74	2.427	118
<i>Jewish War</i>		2.567	61
1.13	125	4.307	129
1.33. 5. 657–58	74	<i>Life</i>	
		290–295	108

## Mishnah, Talmud, and Related Literature

Babylonian Talmud	112	m. 'Abot 2:16	118
b. 'Arak. 10b	101	m. 'Abot 3:2	279
b. Ber. 10a	101	m. Ber. 1:1–2	107
b. Ber. 12a	28, 49	m. Ber. 4:1	107
b. Ber. 29b	256	m. Ber. 4:4	121
b. Ber. 40b	28–29, 49	m. Ber. 6:1	120
b. Ber. 46a	28, 49	m. Ber. 6:3	120
b. Ber. 49a	28	m. Ber. 6:4–5	120
b. Ber. 60b	45, 206	m. Ma'as. 2:7	117
b. Šabb. 12b	27	m. Roš. Haš. 3:8	111
b. Sanh. 39b	101	m. Soṭah 7:1	27, 47
b. Soṭah 32b–33a	27	m. Soṭah 9:15	59, 111–12, 114
b. Soṭah 33a	27	m. Ta'an. 3:8	4, 110–12
b. Ta'an. 23a	113	m. Yoma 8:9	59, 111
b. Ta'an. 25b	112	t. Ber. 1:8	115
m. 'Abot	118	t. Pe'ah 4:8	119
m. 'Abot 2:7	173	Talmud Yerushalmi	116–17
m. 'Abot 2:15	118	y. B. Mes. 2:5, 8c	115–17



## Targumic Texts

Tg. Gen 22:1	45	Tg. Jer 15:21	55
Tg. Gen 32:12	55	Tg. Ezek 36:23	36
Tg. Gen 47:15	39–40	Tg. Micah 4:8	38
Tg. Gen 49:10	38	Tg. Sir 2:1	44
Tg. Exod 16:4	39, 45, 54	Tg. Sir 23:1	33
Tg. Exod 16:15	39	Tg. Sir 23:4	33
Tg. Exod 16:25	39	Tg. Onq. Gen 47:15	40, 54
Tg. Exod 17:7	54	Tg. Onq. Gen 49:10	37, 53
Tg. Exod 32:32	43	Tg. Onq. Exod 16:29	40
Tg. Exod 34:9	43, 54	Tg. Onq. Exod 16:4–5	40–41
Tg. Lev 5:26	43, 54	Tg. Onq. Exod 16:4	51, 54
Tg. Lev 8:34	39	Tg. Onq. Exod 16:15	54
Tg. Lev 20:7	36	Tg. Onq. Exod 16:25	54
Tg. Lev 22:32	53	Tg. Onq. Exod 17:7	44
Tg. Lev 24:19–20	39	Tg. Onq. Exod 20:20	45
Tg. Lev 29:23	36	Tg. Onq. Exod 32:32	44
Tg. Num 14:19	43	Tg. Onq. Exod 34:9	43, 54
Tg. Deut 6:16	54	Tg. Onq. Num 14:19	44, 51, 54
Tg. Judg 10:15	55	Tg. Onq. Deut 6:16	54
Tg. Ruth 1:1	38	Tg. Neof. Gen 22:1	44–45
Tg. 1 Sam 12:10	55	Tg. Neof. Gen 30:33	40
Tg. 1 Sam 13:14	39	Tg. Neof. Gen 47:15	54
Tg. 1 Kings 8:34	54	Tg. Neof. Gen 49:10	38, 53
Tg. 2 Kings 18:12	39	Tg. Neof. Exod 16:4–5	41
Tg. 2 Chron 6:26	36, 43, 54	Tg. Neof. Exod 16:15	54
Tg. Job 34:36	33	Tg. Neof. Exod 16:25	54
Tg. Ps 40:9	38, 53	Tg. Neof. Exod 16:4	40–41, 51, 54
Tg. Ps 66:10	44, 45, 54	Tg. Neof. Exod 16:5	41
Tg. Ps 81:8	55	Tg. Neof. Exod 5:13	41
Tg. Ps 89:27	33, 52	Tg. Neof. Exod 5:19	41
Tg. Ps 95:9	43	Tg. Neof. Lev 22:32	53
Tg. Ps 110:9	36	Tg. Neof. Lev 23:37	41
Tg. Ps 119:153	45, 55	Tg. Neof. Num 14:19	51, 54
Tg. Ps 119[118]:153	55	Tg. Neof. Num 20:13	53
Tg. Ps 135:6	38–39, 53	Tg. Neof. Deut 33:8	45
Tg. Ps 143:10	38, 53	Tg. Ps.-J. Exod 16:4–5	41
Tg. Ps 145:13	38	Tg. Ps.-J. Exod 16:13	40
Tg. Qoh 7:24	38	Tg. Ps.-J. Num 14:19	51
Tg. Song 7:19	45	Tg. Ps.-J. Jer 2:27	52
Tg. Isa 48:14	38–39, 53	Tg. Esth. II 1:2	53
Tg. Isa 53:5	54	Tg. Esth. II 3:3	34
Tg. Isa 53:5	43	Tg. Esth. II 3:8	39, 53–54
Tg. Isa 53:12	43	Tg. Esth. II 3:18	40
Tg. Isa 63:16	34	Tg. Esth. II 5:1	45
Tg. Isa 64:7	34	Cairo Tg. Exod 16:4	41

Cairo Tg. Exod 16:5	41	Cairo Tg. Exod 5:19	41
Cairo Tg. Exod 5:13	41	Cairo Tg. Lev 23:37	41

## Other Rabbinic Works

Amoraic Midrashim	116	Lev. Rab. 27:1	116
Genesis (Bereschit) Rabbah	98	Mekhilta to Exod 15:2	39
Gen. Rab. 33:1	116	Midrasch Sifre Devarim 306	150
Gen. Rab. 41 to Gen 12:17	95, 98	Midrasch Tanchuma, Lekh 5	96
Gen. Rab. 45 to Gen 16:1	99	Mishna Berurah 101	27
Gen. Rab. 52 to Gen 20:17	93	Pirque R. El. 26	98

## Apostolic Fathers

<i>Didache</i>	38, 110, 274	10:6	87
8:1–2	201		
8:2	23	<i>Shepherd of Hermas</i>	
8:3	144	Mandate 9.1.7	207

## New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>	69	69	84
68:1	85	86	69, 81, 84

## Classical and Ancient Christian Writings

<i>Acts of Crispina</i>		Aristoteles	
1.3–4	115	<i>Eth. nic.</i> 8.1–9.12	231
2.1	115	<i>Rhet.</i> 2. 4. 22–23	231
2.4	115	<i>Rhet.</i> 2.5 1383a18	208
		<i>Rhet.</i> 2.5 1383a29	208
Aelius Aristides	194, 198	<i>Rhet.</i> 1384a 18	229
<i>Speeches</i> 37.1	199		
		<i>In Arist. Rhet.</i>	
Appian		103.9	208
<i>Bell. civ.</i> 2.48	204		
		Augustine	
Apuleius		<i>Civ.</i> 4.4	117
<i>Metam.</i> 11.25,5	198		
		Cassius Dio	
		62.5.2	246

- |                                      |         |                              |               |
|--------------------------------------|---------|------------------------------|---------------|
| Cicero                               |         | Homer                        |               |
| <i>De Amicitia</i>                   | 231     | <i>Iliad</i>                 |               |
| <i>Amic.</i> 16.57                   | 226     | 1.149                        | 234           |
| <i>Div.</i> 2.149                    | 252     | 1.158                        | 234           |
|                                      |         | 3.172                        | 231           |
| Cleanthes                            |         | 5.787                        | 229           |
| <i>Hymn to Zeus</i>                  | 197     | 7.93                         | 228           |
|                                      |         | 9.372                        | 234           |
| Codex Iustinianus                    |         | 9.640                        | 231           |
| 7.71.4                               | 204     | 22.104–107                   | 229           |
| 8.13.3                               | 215     | <i>Odyssey</i>               |               |
|                                      |         | 2.64–66                      | 229           |
| Curtius Rufus                        |         | 9.266–71                     | 230           |
| <i>Hist. Alex. Magn.</i> 9. 8. 12–30 | 117     | 14.37–38                     | 230           |
|                                      |         | 14.386–89                    | 230           |
| Didymus the Blind                    |         | 17.347                       | 230           |
| <i>Comm. Ps.</i> 22–26:10            | 206     | 17.449                       | 230, 241      |
|                                      |         | 17.483–87                    | 230–31        |
| Dioscurides                          |         | 19.332–34                    | 230           |
| <i>Materia medica</i> 5              | 209     | <i>Hymni Hom.</i>            |               |
|                                      |         | 156                          | 234           |
| Epictetus                            |         | 172–73, 381–82               | 234–35        |
| <i>Diatr.</i> 1. 16. 15–21           | 199–200 |                              |               |
| <i>Diatr.</i> 2.22                   | 231     | Isokrates                    |               |
|                                      |         | <i>Demon.</i> 1.16           | 232           |
| Euripides                            |         | <i>Demon. (Or. 1),</i> 24–26 | 231           |
| <i>Alc.</i> 658–661                  | 235     |                              |               |
| <i>Alc.</i> 694                      | 235     | Lucian                       |               |
| <i>Alc.</i> 727                      | 235     | <i>Toxaris</i>               | 231           |
| <i>Alc.</i> 728                      | 235     |                              |               |
| <i>Frag.</i> 457                     | 229     | Marcus Aurelius              |               |
| <i>Herc. fur.</i> 1199–1201          | 229     | 8.51.2                       | 129           |
|                                      |         |                              |               |
| Gellius                              |         | Menander of Laodicea         | 193, 194, 199 |
| <i>Noctes Atticae</i> 1.3; 17.5      | 231     | Fragment 257 K               | 236           |
|                                      |         |                              |               |
| Harpokration of Alexandria           |         | Origen                       |               |
| <i>Cyranides</i> 1.21                | 208     | <i>Or.</i> 27.7              | 203           |
|                                      |         | <i>Or.</i> 29.11             | 206           |
| Herodotus                            |         |                              |               |
| <i>Hist.</i> 6.59                    | 204     | Pausanias                    |               |
|                                      |         | <i>Descr.</i> 1.28.5         | 235           |
| Hesiod                               |         |                              |               |
| <i>Works and Days</i>                |         | Plato                        |               |
| 324                                  | 234     | <i>Lysis</i>                 | 231           |
| 326–334                              | 234     | <i>Phaedrus</i>              | 231           |
| 351–362                              | 234     |                              |               |

<i>Symposium</i>	231	<i>Nero 16.2</i>	252
Plutarchus		Tertullian	
<i>Alc. 3,1</i>	125	<i>Apol. 30.4</i>	195
<i>Amic. mult.</i>	231	<i>Bapt. 20.2</i>	206
<i>Flam. 18</i>	125	<i>Or. 8.1</i>	206
<i>Mor. 48E–74E</i>	231	Theon	192–93, 194
<i>Quest. Conv. 1,4</i>	125		
Ptolemaeus Ascalonius	208	Valerius Maximus	
<i>De differentia vocabulorum</i> Σ146	209	<i>Facta et dicta 4.7</i>	231
Quintillian	193	Xenophon	
<i>Sentences of Sextus</i>		<i>Mem. 2.3</i>	231
213	129	<i>Mem. 2.3.9</i>	231
Suetonius		<i>Mem. 2.4–6</i>	231
<i>Jul. 42.2</i>	204	<i>Mem. 11</i>	231
		<i>Mem. 12</i>	232
		<i>Mem. 14</i>	232

## Papyri and Inscriptions

BGU IV 1050.17	214	BGU IV 1145.38	214
BGU IV 1051.23	214	BGU IV 1146.22	214
BGU IV 1052.19	214	BGU IV 1147.20	214
BGU IV 1054.12	214	BGU IV 1148	211–12, 217
BGU IV 1055.34–35	214	BGU IV 1150.21	214
BGU IV 1056.19–20	214	BGU IV 1156.22	214
BGU IV 1057.13, 29	214	BGU IV 1161.22	214
BGU IV 1099.19	214	BGU IV 1175.10	214
BGU IV 1101.13	214	BGU IV 2044.25	214
BGU IV 1115.33	214	C. Ord.Ptol. 53	203
BGU IV 1116.29	214	CPapGr I 10.24	214
BGU IV 1117.36	214	CPapGr I 4.42	214
BGU IV 1118.48	214	CPapGr I 5.127.38	214
BGU IV 1121.37	214	CPapGr I 6.21	214
BGU IV 1122.24–25	214	CPapGr I 9.19	214
BGU IV 1122.27	214	CPapGr I 13.25	214
BGU IV 1127.26	214	FD 2,78	193
BGU IV 1131.56	214	ID 1497	193
BGU IV 1133.17	214	IG XII(5) 812	193
BGU IV 1134.17	214	IGR 4 1587	193
BGU IV 1136.7	214	P75	249
BGU IV 1143.27	214	P. Cair.Zen. II 59179	212
BGU IV 1144.16	214	P. Col. VIII 209	216

P. Col.Zen. II 83	213	P. Oxy. XIV	
P. Enteux. 65	212	1639.18-20	214
P. Flor. I 61	213	P. Oxy. XVII 2137.35	214
P. Gr. 1179	190	P. Oxy. XLIX 3564	212
P. Hal. 1.115-117	214	P. Oxy. LV 3800.34	214
P. Hal. 1.238-241	215	P. Ross.Georg. I 11	189-90
P. Köln VII 313, 24-25	203	P. Würzb. 4	215
P. Mich. V 245, 47	215	P. Würzb. 6	211
P. Mur. 18	210	P. Yale inv. 19	203
P. Mur. 18.24, 62	214	PGM 17b	191
P. Mur. 114	210	PSI 1482	198
P. Oxy. 11 1380	191, 197	PSI 15 1482	190
P. Oxy. 11 1381	191-92	PSI I 120	187
P. Oxy. II 270.47	214	PSI I 85	187
P. Oxy. III 496.16	214	PSI V 496.21	214
P. Oxy. IV 729.21	214	SB 6, 9105	226, 236, 238
P. Oxy. VI 902	213	SB 6, 9184	236-38
P. Oxy. VIII 1127	214	SB 6, 9421	226-38
P. Oxy. X 1224, 2.1	130	SB 6, 9458	226-38
P. Oxy. XII 902	216	SB 8, 9899	203
P. Oxy. XII 1471	212-14	SB 5224.20	203

## Index of Authors

- Abegg, M. 78  
Adair-Toteff, C. 114  
Ådna, J. 149  
Albrecht, F. 35  
Allinson, F. G. 236  
Allison, D. C. 202  
Allison, D. C., Jr. 58–59, 73, 84, 111, 129–31,  
203, 264, 268–71, 273, 276–77, 279  
Almer, F. 9  
Amundsen, L. 237  
Anderson, S. D. 274  
Andrejevs, O. 59, 65, 81  
Arangio Ruiz, V. 214  
Arnal, W. E. 6, 57, 60, 63, 84–85, 87, 185–  
86, 189, 262  
Arx, U. von 249  
Asgeirsson, J. M. 20, 59, 61, 124, 157  
Assmann, A. 158  
Aune, D. E. 106, 272  
Ausfeld, K. 201  
Austin, M. M. 117  
Avermarie, F. 152  
Avery-Peck, A. J. 110  
Ayo, N. 119
- Baasten M. F. J. 51  
Bagnall, R. S. 211  
Balz, H. 124, 126  
Barns, J. 236  
Barth, G. 267  
Bauckham, R. 70, 108  
Bauer, W. 62, 168, 233  
Baumbach, G. 245  
Bautsch, R. J. 106  
Bazzana, G. B. 6, 57, 59, 103, 185, 187, 189,  
200, 203–05, 226, 238  
Beard, M. 115  
Becker, A. H. 118  
Becker, J. 62, 73, 90, 132  
Beer, G. 173  
Beilby, J. K. 73
- Bell, S. 204  
Bendemann, R. von 239  
Benoit, P. 210  
Berger, A. 214  
Berger, K. 95, 145  
Bergmann, R. 9  
Berthelot, K. 26, 77  
Bertram, G. 168  
Betz, H. D. 89, 240, 275–77, 280  
Beyer, K. 96–97, 99  
Bieringer, R. 111, 152, 239  
Bilde, P. 63  
Billerbeck, P. 89, 92  
Black, M. 46, 70, 78  
Boak, A. E. R. 237  
Boccaccini, G. 65–66, 74–76, 79, 82  
Bock, D. L. 74  
Böhlemann, P. 256  
Bokser, B. M. 113  
Bolkestein, H. 234  
Bons, E. 77, 170  
Bork, A. 5, 142, 155  
Bornkamm, G. 160, 254, 267, 275, 277–78  
Børresen, K. E. 16  
Bovon, F. 125, 128–29, 132–33, 161–62,  
165–66, 168, 174, 176, 180, 224, 243, 253,  
258–59  
Boyarin, D. 75  
Brandon, S. G. F. 118  
Bremer, J. M. 194  
Brock, A. G. 166  
Brooke, G. J. 74  
Brown, R. E. 58, 202, 205  
Bruner, F. D. 118  
Bultmann, R. 64, 66–67, 70–71, 89, 171  
Bunge, M. J. 111  
Burkett, D. 79, 104  
Buschor, E. 229  
Busse, U. 20, 153  
Butting, K. 13

- Cairns, D. L. 228–31, 234–35  
 Cameron, R. 67, 265  
 Camponovo, O. 147  
 Cancik, H. 48  
 Caquot, A. 74  
 Carlini, A. 190  
 Carlson, S. C. 104  
 Carmignac, J. 42, 77  
 Carruth, S. 274  
 Carter, W. 274  
 Casey, P. M. 70  
 Catchpole, D. R. 58–59, 73, 84–86  
 Charlesworth, J. H. 74, 149, 188, 201  
 Chaumont, M.-L. 246  
 Chazon, E. G. 25, 28, 49–50, 58, 78  
 Chester, A. 77  
 Christ, F. 160, 171, 178  
 Clements, R. 25  
 Collins, J. J. 65, 73, 76–77, 79  
 Colpe, C. 70, 79  
 Conzelmann, H. 70–71, 253  
 Cook, E. 78  
 Cordoni, C. 13  
 Cotter, W. 272  
 Criscuolo, L. 186  
 Criscuolo, U. 190  
 Cromhout, M. 57  
 Crossan, J. D. 111  
 Crossley, J. G. 188  
 Crump, D. M. 133, 137–38, 243
- Dalby, A. 119  
 Dalman, G. 39, 45, 49  
 D'Angelo, M. R. 197  
 Danker 233  
 David, N. 28  
 Davies, W. D. 58, 129–31, 202–03, 264,  
 268–71, 273, 276–77, 279  
 de Boer, M. C. 76  
 de Certeau, M. 11  
 Deißmann, A. 100  
 de Jonge, M. 99, 132  
 Dekkers, E. 206  
 Denaux, A. 172, 178–79, 265  
 Dennert, B. C. 104  
 DeSilva, D. A. 132  
 De Troyer, K. 20, 28, 34, 59, 61, 124, 157  
 Deutsch, C. M. 272–73
- de Vos, J. C. 257  
 Dibelius, M. 160, 170  
 Dietrich, J. 232  
 Diggle, J. 235  
 Dimant, D. 74  
 Dinkler, E. 57  
 Doeker, A. 58, 244  
 Doering, L. 35  
 Dormeyer, D. 162  
 Douglas, R. C. 62  
 Downie, J. 198  
 Draper, J. A. 104, 274  
 Dunn, J. D. G. 73, 76  
 Dupont, J. 246  
 Dupont-Sommer, A. 77
- Ebenbauer, P. 58, 244  
 Ebner, M. 61, 124, 127–28, 137, 225–26  
 Eckey, W. 128, 132, 137–38, 260  
 Eckstein, F. 235  
 Eddy, P. R. 73  
 Egger-Wenzel, R. 23  
 Ehrlich, U. 115  
 Eisele, W. 129–30  
 Eitrem, S. 237  
 Elbogen, I. 121  
 Ernst, J. 160, 168, 172, 253  
 Euler, A. 128  
 Evans, C. A. 76–78, 113  
 Evans, C. F. 250
- Falk, D. K. 108  
 Feldkämper, L. 243  
 Feldmeier, R. 35, 197  
 Fiedler, P. 90, 91, 128, 177  
 Fischer, I. 2, 11–13, 15, 19–20, 92  
 Fisher, N. R. E. 235–36  
 Fitzmyer, J. A. 29, 77–78, 206, 222, 249–50,  
 252–53  
 Fleddermann, H. T. 84, 160–64, 239, 264–  
 66  
 Fleischer, E. 106  
 Flint, P. W. 76  
 Flusser, D. 77, 246  
 Förster, N. 8, 200, 243, 245, 247, 256–60  
 Folmer, M. L. 52  
 Foster, P. 12, 14, 19

- Frankemölle, H. 62, 125, 169, 173–74, 176, 181  
 Freese, J. H. 229  
 Frenschkowski, M. 59, 157  
 Fretheim, T. E. 111  
 Frey, J. 11, 23, 48, 158  
 Fridrichsen, A. 221  
 Friese, H. 158  
 Fuchs, A. 248  
 Fuks, A. 214  
 Fuller, R. H. 70, 206  
 Furley, W. D. 189, 194  
  
 Gadamer, H. G. 261  
 Gärtner, B. 73  
 García Martínez, F. 77–79, 269  
 Garland, D. E. 251  
 Garsky, A. 274  
 Gass, E. 13  
 Genova, C. 121  
 Gerhards, A. 58, 244  
 Geyer, F. 246  
 Giebel, M. 226  
 Giordan, G. 114, 121  
 Gnilka, J. 160–62  
 Goergen, D. J. 70  
 Goff, M. 64  
 Goh, M. 233  
 Goldsmith, D. 59  
 Goodblatt, D. M. 106  
 Gordley, M. E. 194  
 Gorges-Braunwarth, S. 18  
 Graf, F. 128  
 Green, J. B. 255  
 Greeven, H. 60  
 Grelot, P. 29–30, 45, 48, 50, 52, 77  
 Groh, D. E. 70  
 Gronewald, M. 206  
 Grundmann, W. 89, 91–92  
 Guenther, H. O. 48  
 Gundry, R. H. 206, 264, 269–71, 273, 279  
 Gutekunst, K. 9  
 Gzella, H. 52  
  
 Hadas-Lebel, M. 30, 74  
 Häfner, G. 267  
 Hagner, D. A. 202, 206  
 Hahn, F. 160, 171, 178  
  
 Hallikainen, O. 58, 63  
 Hammer, R. 112  
 Hampe, R. 229  
 Hampel, V. 73  
 Handl-Prutsch, E. 9  
 Hanhart, R. 232  
 Hannah, D. D. 79  
 Hansen, I. L. 204  
 Hanson, J. A. 198  
 Harb, G. 158  
 Harding, M. 201  
 Hare, D. R. A. 72  
 Harl, M. 51  
 Hartin, P. J. 57  
 Hase, K. von 265  
 Heckel, U. 48  
 Heichelheim, F. 214  
 Heil, C. 1, 11, 15, 20–21, 23, 57, 142, 157–59, 161, 167, 171, 174, 176–77, 182, 265  
 Heil, M. 246  
 Heinemann, J. 28–29, 49, 256  
 Held, H. J. 267  
 Hengel, M. 29, 48, 78, 87, 147  
 Herrmann, J. 214  
 Herzog, W. R. 223–24, 228  
 Hezser, C. 4–5, 103, 109, 116  
 Hieke, T. 19–20  
 Hochholzer, M. 124, 128, 136  
 Hock, R. F. 192  
 Hölscher, T. 204  
 Hoffman, L. A. 105  
 Hoffmann, P. 1, 15, 61, 68–69, 81, 85, 103, 142, 144, 159, 161, 163, 165, 168, 171–72, 175–76, 179–80, 239, 247, 264–66  
 Hollander, H. W. 132  
 Holmås, G. O. 256  
 Holmén, T. 63, 73  
 Holtzmann, H. J. 259  
 Homolka, W. 150  
 Horsley, R. A. 104, 182  
 Hossfeld, F.-L. 130  
 Howes, L. 64, 72  
 Hurtado, L. W. 72, 79  
 Hvalvik, R. 58, 244, 256  
  
 Instone-Brewer, D. 107  
  
 Jackson-McCabe, M. 57



- Jacobi, C. 126–29, 171  
 Jacobson, A. D. 58, 81, 85, 166, 176, 265–67  
 Janowski, B. 26  
 Jaritz, I. M. 9  
 Jassen, A. P. 61  
 Jastrow, M. 41  
 Jefford, C. N. 274  
 Jeremias, J. 35, 43, 45, 49, 58, 202, 205–06, 221–22, 225, 239, 247, 255, 274,  
 Jewett, R. 70  
 Johnson, A. F. 222  
 Johnson-DeBaufre, M. 188  
 Jones, W. H. S. 235  
 Joosten, J. 32, 51–52  
 Joseph, S. J. 3, 47, 57, 59, 75, 78, 83, 103–04, 177  
 Jousse, M. 30, 48  
 Jülicher, A. 220–21  
 Justnes, Å 77  
 Juusola, H. 61
- Kaimakes, D. V. 208  
 Kalimi, I. 12  
 Karrer, M. 170, 232  
 Katz, S. T. 105  
 Kearns, R. 70  
 Keil, B. 199  
 Kelly, B. 212  
 Kelly, H. A. 247  
 Kertelge, K. 62, 125  
 Kiley, M. 106, 193, 201  
 Kim, S. 76  
 Kimelman, R. 106  
 Kirk, A. 9, 58–59, 71, 86, 240, 262–68, 270, 272–78, 280–81  
 Klaiber, W. 89, 92  
 Klampfl, T. 7–9, 219, 239–40  
 Klassen, W. 62, 83  
 Klein, A. 170  
 Klein, H. 125, 161, 165, 171, 225, 249, 254, 258  
 Klinghardt, M. 193  
 Kloppenborg, J. S. 1, 6–7, 48, 57–60, 62–64, 67–72, 81, 83–86, 103–04, 157, 166, 177, 182, 185–86, 192, 199, 201, 205, 207, 212, 263–67, 269–70, 272  
 Knibb, M. A. 72, 74–75, 79  
 Koester, H. 69–71  
 Konradt, M. 89, 91, 125, 128, 132, 137, 149–50, 268–71, 276  
 Konstan, D. 231  
 Krammer, I. 233  
 Kratz, R. G. 13  
 Kraus, H.-J. 17  
 Kraus, T. J. 130  
 Kraus, W. 158, 170, 232  
 Krentz, E. 193  
 Kreplin, M. 73  
 Krieger, K.-S. 157  
 Krüger, T. 13  
 Kuhn, H.-W. 62, 125, 130, 132  
 Kuhn, K. G. 45, 49  
 Kuttner, A. L. 204  
 Kvanvig, H. S. 65, 80  
 Laato, A. 76
- Labahn, M. 5–6, 8, 129, 142, 157–58, 162, 164, 166, 171, 175–77  
 Lachs, S. T. 119  
 Lagrange, M.-J. 206  
 Lang, M. 129  
 Lange, A. 94–95, 154  
 Langer, G. 13  
 Lapide, P. 131  
 Laronde, A. 30  
 Laulainen, J. 61  
 Leclan, J. 30  
 Legasse, S. 168, 173  
 Legrand, T. 52  
 Lehmann-Haupt, F. 246  
 Lehnardt, A. 150  
 Leonhard, C. 256  
 Leonhardt, J. 108  
 Leuenberger, M. 16  
 Levine, A.-J. 111  
 Levine, L. I. 106  
 Levinson, B. M. 12  
 Levy, J. 41  
 Ley-Hutton, C. 232  
 Liber, M. 24  
 Liddell-Scott 233  
 Liebengood, K. D. 205  
 Liess, K. 26  
 Lindars, B. 70  
 Lindemann, A. 58, 60, 64, 72, 103–04, 205  
 Lohmeyer, E. 58, 90–91

- Loman, P. 193  
 Longenecker, B. W. 205  
 Longenecker, R. N. 254  
 Lührmann, D. 62–63, 67, 86, 160, 266  
 Luomanen, P. 103  
 Luz, U. 17, 121, 128, 135–37, 144, 160–61, 167,  
 169, 205–07, 257, 261–64, 267–69, 271,  
 273–77, 279–80  
  
 MacDonald, N. 119  
 Magnani, A. 191–92  
 Magness, J. 152–53  
 Mahnke, H. 246–47  
 Maier, C. M. 15  
 Maier, J. 94, 146–47, 149, 169  
 Majer, M. 246  
 Marchant, E. C. 232  
 Marcus, J. 279  
 Marksches, C. 29, 130  
 Marshall, I. H. 76, 250–52  
 Marshall, J. W. 205  
 Marti, K. 173  
 Mason, S. 107  
 Matthews, S. 131, 133, 137–38  
 Mauss, M. 110  
 McNamara, M. 111  
 Mealand, D. L. 60  
 Mearns, C. L. 70  
 Meier, J. P. 58, 271  
 Merklein, H. 141, 171, 180  
 Merz, A. 63, 86, 152  
 Meßner, R. 149  
 Meuter, N. 158  
 Meyer, E. 235  
 Meyer, M. W. 59, 61, 124, 157  
 Meyers, E. M. 106  
 Meyers, M. W. 20  
 Michel, A. 20  
 Milik, J. T. 76  
 Millett, P. 234  
 Minear, P. S. 59  
 Montanari, F. 233  
 Montefiore, C. G. 60  
 Morano Rodriguez, C. 16  
 Morgenthaler, R. 245–46  
 Morray-Jones, C. R. A. 64–65  
 Moule, C. F. D. 207  
 Mournet, T. C. 104  
  
 Müller, M. 72  
 Müller, P. 168, 173, 176  
 Müller, U. 79  
 Muraoka, T. 51  
 Myllykoski, M. 68  
  
 Naether, F. 192  
 Nauck, A. 229  
 Neubauer, J. 9  
 Neugebauer, F. 248  
 Newman, J. H. 25, 58, 100  
 Nickelsburg, G. W. E. 65, 75, 79–81  
 Nicklas, T. 12, 121  
 Niederwimmer, K. 257  
 Niehr, H. 19  
 Nijman, M. 203  
 Nissen, A. 63  
 Nixon, C. E. V. 115  
 Nogosseck, L. 171  
 Nolland, J. 60, 206  
 Norden, E. 160–61, 273  
 Norlin, G. 232  
  
 Oakman, D. E. 104, 110, 118, 210  
 Oates, J. F. 214  
 Ofner, T. 9  
 Ogilvie, R. M. 201  
 Oldfather, W. A. 200  
 O’Neil, E. N. 192  
 Osten-Sacken, P. von der 110  
 Ostmeyer, K.-H. 4, 62, 89, 130–31, 133, 171,  
 174  
 Ott, W. 243, 258–59  
 Oudshoorn, J. G. 210  
 Owen, P. L. 72, 79  
  
 Palmieri, V. 209  
 Palva, H. 61  
 Pao, D. W. 166  
 Pearson, B. A. 64, 73  
 Penner, J. 106–07  
 Perrin, N. 71  
 Pesch, R. 68  
 Peterson, J. 104  
 Peyrer, C.-K. 9  
 Philonenko, M. 38, 255–56  
 Pickering, W. S. F. 110  
 Pinnik, A. 25

- Piper, J. 62, 116  
 Piper, R. A. 57–60, 62, 68, 71, 81, 86, 175–  
     76, 199  
 Plasberg, O. 191  
 Poirier, J. C. 104  
 Pokorny, P. 245  
 Popkes, E. E. 23  
 Porter, S. E. 63, 73, 76  
 Powell, M. A. 110  
 Preiswerk, R. 232  
 Price, S. R. F. 195  
 Prinzivalli, E. 16  
 Puech, É. 77
- Race, W. H. 194  
 Radday, Y. T. 93  
 Radl, W. 125, 130, 132  
 Räsänen, H. 113, 270  
 Rahlfs, A. 232  
 Rakel, C. 13  
 Ratzinger, J. 254  
 Rau, E. 197  
 Reibnitz, B. von 231  
 Reichardt, M. 20, 153  
 Reif, S. C. 23, 106  
 Reinmuth, E. 158  
 Reiser, M. 86  
 Reiterer, F. V. 232–33  
 Rengstorf, K. H. 255  
 Renn, J. 158  
 Riaud, J. 74  
 Riches, J. 60  
 Ricoeur, P. 158  
 Roberts Gaventa, B. 111  
 Robinson, J. M. 1, 57, 59, 64, 69–71, 83–84,  
     103, 166, 264–67, 271, 277  
 Rösel, M. 34  
 Rollens, S. E. 185, 211  
 Rosenblum, J. D. 119  
 Roth, D. T. 162  
 Rowland, C. 64–65  
 Rubenstein, J. L. 111, 113  
 Rüger, H. P. 48  
 Rupé, H. 228
- Safrai, S. 120  
 Safrai, Z. 119–20  
 Sanders, J. A. 206
- Sandnes, K. O. 58, 244, 256  
 Sarason, R. S. 25  
 Saß, G. 152  
 Sato, M. 84, 157  
 Saylor Rodgers, B. 115  
 Schattner-Rieser, U. 2–3, 23, 25–27, 29–31,  
     33–36, 44, 48–49, 57, 97, 274  
 Schelbert, G. 35  
 Scherer, H. 5, 123, 129  
 Schiffman, L. H. 76–77, 149, 152  
 Schlegel, J. 158  
 Schlier, H. 260  
 Schmauch, W. 90  
 Schmid, K. 12–13  
 Schmidt, T. E. 76  
 Schnackenburg, R. 68  
 Schneemelcher, W. 67  
 Schneider, G. 160–61, 165, 167, 171, 178–79,  
     247, 249, 259  
 Schnelle, U. 129, 157–58  
 Schönberger, O. 234  
 Schreiber, S. 79  
 Schroeder, C. 233  
 Schröter, J. 73, 130, 171  
 Schubert, P. 192  
 Schürmann, H. 68, 85–86, 164, 176, 222,  
     249, 259  
 Schulz, S. 161–62, 166, 170–71  
 Schur, W. 246  
 Schwartz, G. 72  
 Schweizer, E. 91, 202–03, 249  
 Schwemer, A. M. 147–48, 152–54  
 Schwertner, S. M. 9  
 Schwiderski, D. 31, 34  
 Seek, G. A. 229  
 Seeley, D. 85  
 Seitz, O. J. F. 62  
 Senior, D. P. 267, 273, 276  
 Sevenster, J. N. 29  
 Sharbaugh, P. 272–73  
 Shinan, A. 105  
 Sienaert, E. 30  
 Silva, M. 76  
 Smith, D. A. 1, 8–9, 23, 57, 65–66, 82, 87,  
     158, 261–62, 267, 272, 276, 279  
 Smith, M. H. 73  
 Snodgrass, K. 224  
 Snyder, G. F. 83

- Söding, T. 167  
 Sokoloff, M. 41  
 Sokolon, M. K. 231  
 Sollama, R. 61  
 Sorabji, R. 207  
 Spicq, C. 124  
 Stählin, G. 231  
 Stanton, G. 272  
 Starcky, J. 77  
 Steck, O. H. 84  
 Stegemann, E. W. 110  
 Stegemann, H. 94  
 Stegemann, W. 110  
 Stemberger, G. 96, 98  
 Stern, M. 214  
 Stökl Ben Ezra, D. 26, 77, 79, 147  
 Stone, M. E. 78, 132  
 Stoneman, R. 115  
 Stowers, S. 274  
 Straub, J. 158  
 Strawn, B. A. 111  
 Strotmann, A. 19, 35  
 Stuckenbruck, L. T. 65–66, 75–76, 78  
 Suggs, M. J. 272  
 Sugranyes de Franch, R. 217  
 Swartley, W. M. 62  
 Syreeni, K. 270  
  
 Tabory, J. 120  
 Tätweiler, S. 23  
 Talmon, S. 58  
 Taubenschlag, R. 213–14  
 Tcherikover, V. 214  
 Telford, W. R. 60  
 Thaler, R. J. 9  
 Theisohn, J. 66, 79  
 Theissen, G. 63, 86, 152, 163  
 Theobald, M. 20, 153  
 Thissen, H.-J. 192  
 Thom, J. C. 197  
 Thornton, C.-J. 87  
 Tiwald, M. 5, 57, 59, 142, 146, 152–53, 157,  
 163, 178, 187  
 Todd, O. J. 232  
 Tödt, H. E. 67–68, 71, 86  
 Tomson, P. 274  
 Tov, E. 152  
 Treu, K. 231  
  
 Tropper, A. 118  
 Tuckett, C. M. 12, 57, 60, 69, 71–72, 81, 83–  
 84, 86, 166, 181  
 Tukasi, E. O. 58  
 Tzoref, S. 28  
  
 Uhlig, S. 150  
 Uro, R. 68, 176, 181, 266  
  
 Vaage, L. E. 48, 64, 72, 85  
 Van Belle, G. 239  
 VanderKam, J. C. 65, 75, 78–81, 152  
 van de Sandt, H. 273  
 van der Horst, P. W. 100, 108, 116  
 van Eck, E. 227–28  
 van Henten, J. W. 91  
 Vanoni, G. 19  
 van Peursen, W. Th. 51  
 Van Segbroeck, F. 68  
 van Unnik, W. C. 62  
 Veijola, T. 270  
 Verheyden, J. 57, 239, 265, 272  
 Verhoogt, A. 186  
 Vermes, G. 70, 110  
 Versnel, H. S. 201  
 Vielhauer, P. 67–71  
 Vogel, M. 256  
 Volkmann, H. 246  
 Vonach, A. 149  
  
 Waddell, J. A. 73  
 Waetjen, H. C. 225  
 Walcher, J. 9  
 Walck, L. W. 66, 75, 80–83  
 Wanke, J. 165, 179  
 Warren, D. H. 166  
 Webb, R. L. 263  
 Weber, M. 114, 122  
 Weder, H. 180  
 Wehnert, J. 110  
 Weiss, J. 58  
 Weissensteiner, L. 9  
 Welles, C. B. 238  
 Wellhausen, J. 247, 255  
 Wellmann, M. 209  
 Wenger, L. 214  
 Wengst, K. 152  
 Werman, C. 78

- Westermann, C. 92  
Whitlock Blundell, M. 231  
Widengren, G. 246  
Wiefel, W. 89, 254  
Wilcken, U. 215  
Wilckens, U. 69, 161, 165, 177-78  
Wilk, F. 11, 104, 110, 197  
Wilke, A. F. 131  
Wise, M. O. 74, 78  
Witherington, B. 113  
Wolter, M. 125-26, 131, 133, 137, 161, 165,  
169-70, 172, 177, 182, 225  
Woodhead, L. 114, 121  
Worp, K. A. 203  
Worth, R. H., Jr. 131  
Wright, N. T. 254  
Wünsche, A. 93, 98  
  
Xeravits, G. 12  
  
Yarbro Collins, A. 73, 240, 279  
Yoshiko Reed, A. 118  
Youngquist, L. E. 267  
Youtie, H. C. 237  
  
Zahn, T. 249, 256  
Zamfir, K. 121  
Zeitlin, S. 106  
Zeller, D. 57, 66, 123, 125, 128, 132, 165, 179-  
82, 247  
Zenger, E. 130  
Zgoll, A. 26  
Zimmermann, C. 35  
Zimmermann, R. 163, 250-51  
Zucker, F. 214  
Zumbo, A. 190  
Zumstein, J. 166

## Subject Index

- Abba – *see also* God, as father 28, 33, 35–36, 49–50, 52, 279
- Abraham 4, 17, 19, 26, 45, 92–101, 131, 208, 223
- ἀγάπη; *see also* love 124, 130
- almsgiving 17, 173, 263, 275–76, 278
- Amidah 28, 105–06, 108–09, 112, 115, 121–22
- αἰδώς – *see also* shame 7, 219, 228–31, 235
- ἀναιδέια – *see also* shamelessness 2, 7–8, 219–41
- apocalypticism
- expectation, imminent (*Naherwartung*) 5, 31, 46, 65–71, 73, 76, 79–80, 85–87, 89, 144–45, 164, 173, 182, 206
  - in the Lord's Prayer 201–03, 205
  - in Q 3–5, 64, 82, 141–42, 145, 147–49, 155, 185, 198
  - and testing 207, 209, 218
- Apollo 193, 233–34, 260
- Aramaic (language) 2–3, 23–55, 70, 73–74, 77, 94, 96, 104, 150, 171, 188, 210, 274
- retroversion into 3, 31–32, 43, 45–46, 49–52
- Asclepius 191–92
- associations, voluntary or private 190, 193, 215, 216
- Athena 199
- assumption 11, 13, 65, 66
- βασίλεια – *see also* kingdom of God 5, 32, 37, 135, 141–42, 144–46, 149, 153, 164, 171, 173, 179, 183, 202–05, 245, 266, 268
- beatitudes 4, 6, 62, 83–85, 136, 160–61, 164, 166, 174–75, 178–81, 184, 275, 278
- B<sup>r</sup>akhot (blessing formulae) 28–29, 49, 106
- bread, request for 8, 30, 32–33, 36, 39–40, 42, 50, 52–54, 110, 119–21, 135, 151, 202, 209, 223, 257–58
- borrowing – *see also* lending/loan 7, 205, 210–11
- bureaucracy, ancient 185
- children – *see also* revelation, to children
- attitude in prayer 145–46, 151, 156, 171, 173
  - Jesus' followers as 5, 175–76
  - parent/child metaphor – *see also* God, as father 105, 111–13, 120–22, 145–46, 151, 155, 167–68, 171, 173, 258–59, 278
  - of Wisdom 176, 183
- courts 7, 209–13, 215, 217
- debt – *see also* forgiveness, of debt
- default on 7, 210–11, 213–14
  - instruments (contracts) 7, 118, 204, 209–13, 216
  - relief, or release from 4, 7, 49, 59, 109–10, 118–19, 121, 151, 199, 202–05, 210, 218
  - recovery, or repayment 7, 118, 201–18
- devil – *see also* Satan 1, 8, 20, 103, 114, 116, 121, 143, 164, 206, 244–48, 251–52, 270
- Dionysus 189–90, 193
- Egypt/Egyptian 2, 4, 6–7, 33, 40, 43–44, 51, 53–54, 92–98, 108, 186–88, 191–93, 197, 200–01, 204, 209–10
- Elijah 13, 66, 268
- Elisha 91–92, 101, 131
- emulation 264, 272
- enemies
- blessing of 99, 127–28, 139
  - hatred for 61, 89–90
  - love of 4–5, 18, 61–62, 89–92, 101, 104–05, 116, 123–30, 132, 135–39, 145, 249, 275
  - prayer for 1, 4–5, 61–62, 89–101, 123, 129–35, 139, 143, 145, 249
- Enoch/Enochic 3, 26, 35, 57, 65–70, 73, 75–76, 78–80, 95, 205
- ἐπιούσιος 41–42, 50–51, 203
- exile, Babylonian 14, 24, 131
- Ezra 24, 34

- fasting 18, 130, 263, 275–76
- forgiveness
- of debt 30, 39, 42–44, 52, 119, 135, 204–05, 209
  - of guilt 43–44, 54
  - of sins 30, 42–44, 51, 54, 59, 121, 135, 146, 151, 153, 275
- friends, friendship 7–8, 18, 208, 219–41, 258
- Galilee/Galilean 6, 48–49, 59, 89, 103, 119, 121, 153, 161, 163, 185–86, 226–27, 247, 265, 269
- God – *see also* judgment, God/Jesus as judge
- as father – *see also* Abba 1, 3–5, 19, 30–31, 33–36, 50, 52–53, 59–61, 63, 86, 105, 111–14, 121–22, 145–46, 151, 153, 156, 164–75, 177–79, 183, 197–98, 253–54, 258–59, 264–65, 268–74, 277–79
  - holiness of 5, 35, 37, 135, 149–53
  - kingdom of – *see* kingdom of God
  - name of – *see* name, divine
  - as sovereign 28–29, 37–39, 59, 95, 112, 141–42, 144–47, 164, 169, 173–75, 177, 180, 204
- Gentiles 29, 47, 80, 82, 103, 145, 151, 248, 250–51, 257, 278
- Grace After Meals 28, 119–20
- Greek (language) 3, 23, 26, 29–34, 36–37, 39, 42–48, 51, 103–04, 119, 123, 150, 161, 168, 171, 188, 191, 201, 207, 210, 217, 271
- guilds 215–16
- halakha/halachic 18, 28, 115, 137, 264
- heaven/heavenly 16, 19, 23, 27, 29–31, 33, 35–42, 45, 49–50, 52–54, 66–67, 69, 73, 75–76, 79, 81, 83–85, 87, 111, 112–14, 143, 145–48, 150–52, 154, 162, 164–65, 167–69, 172, 175, 177, 179, 197, 206, 230, 251–53, 259, 260, 264, 268, 271, 274, 278–79
- Hebrew (language) 3, 26–27, 29–51, 150
- Hermes 190–91, 234
- Honi the circle-drawer 4, 110–14, 121–22
- honour – *see also* shame 8, 125, 223, 225–35, 238, 240–41
- hospitality 7, 219–41
- hymns 6–7, 27, 108, 116, 146, 151, 188–200, 234
- distinction from prayers 6, 192–200
- hypocrites 257, 275, 276
- θλιψις 202, 205
- identity construction 6, 8, 157–84, 243–44
- International Q Project (IQP) 103, 264, 268, 271, 274–75
- Isis 191, 194, 197–98
- Israel/Israelites 6, 12, 16, 20, 24–25, 53–54, 82, 92, 96, 98, 111, 129, 142, 148–49, 162, 166, 171, 174–75, 177, 179–84, 223, 268
- land of 47, 92, 105, 120
  - twelve tribes of 145
- Jerusalem 24–25, 38, 47–48, 75, 91, 103, 109, 118, 120, 147, 149, 154, 223, 250
- Jesus – *see also* judgment, God/Jesus as judge
- crucifixion/death of 78, 87, 138–39, 255, 259
  - historical 31, 36, 47, 62–64, 68, 72–73, 86, 168, 187–88, 227
  - instruction of 2, 4, 5, 7, 18, 31–32, 61–62, 89, 91, 104, 110, 112–14, 116, 136, 146, 249, 254, 272, 279
  - and prayer – *see also* Lord's Prayer 1, 6, 8, 18–19, 23, 27–28, 31–32, 35–36, 45–47, 50, 52, 58, 103–05, 109–10, 113–14, 120, 122, 133–34, 137–38, 141–44, 157–84, 253–56, 258–59, 263, 279
  - as Son 19, 77, 111, 113, 121–22, 162, 164–65, 174–75, 177–79, 182, 198, 254, 258–59
  - as Son of Man/Son of Humankind 3–4, 64–76, 78–83, 85–87, 268
  - temptation of 2, 8, 19–20, 114–16, 143–44, 163–65, 179, 244–48, 270
- John the Baptist 64, 80, 193, 255, 263, 266–67
- Jonah 13–15
- Joseph 13, 40, 54, 132–33
- Jubilee 145, 205
- Judea/Judean 2, 7, 24, 29–30, 74, 103, 208, 210, 275
- judgment
- in court 210, 212–13, 216–17

- God/Jesus as judge 3, 61, 63-65, 71-72, 75, 79-87, 95, 127, 135, 144, 175, 202, 218, 268
- kingdom of God - *see also* βασιλεία 5, 30-31, 34, 37-38, 52-53, 59-60, 68, 80, 90-91, 114, 141-56, 169-74, 177-178, 180, 183, 205, 218, 226-27
- law - *see also* Torah
  - Ptolemaic 214, 217
  - Roman 214, 217
- lending/loan - *see also* borrowing 7, 205, 210-18, 223
- Lord's Prayer - *see also* Jesus, and prayer 1-3, 5-8, 11, 17-18, 23-55, 58-59, 104, 109-10, 114, 118-20, 122, 135-36, 143-44, 146, 148-52, 185-218, 254-58, 263, 273-80
- love - *see* enemies, love of; neighbours, love of; *see also* ἀγαπάω
- magic 8, 191, 201, 252, 260
- mission/missionaries 8, 82, 87, 103, 109, 118, 142, 144-45, 151, 162-63, 165, 167, 182, 249-52, 260, 263, 265-69, 272-74
- Moses 40, 45, 54, 100, 107, 273
- name, divine - *see also* Tetragrammaton 19, 28-29, 31, 34-35, 37, 49, 53, 135, 149-51, 153, 197, 201
- neighbours
  - love of 63, 89, 124, 275, 278
- Noah 26, 66, 77-78, 80, 95
- nonviolence - *see also* violence 61-62, 128
- parables 2-3, 7, 57-87, 113, 117-18, 134, 141-42, 160, 202, 219, 221-22, 225-28, 239-41, 258, 263, 266-68, 272, 275
- paraenesis 5, 123, 126-29, 134-37
- patronage 216, 223, 227
- Paul 47, 73-74, 99, 103, 127-29, 138-39, 247, 252, 260
- πειρασμός, *see also* temptation/testing 2, 7, 33, 44, 202, 205-18, 279
- persecution 5, 18, 61, 82, 84-87, 90, 92, 99, 116-17, 125, 134, 136, 143, 145, 151, 178, 202, 249, 252, 259, 268
- Pharaoh 4, 93-99, 101, 131
- Pharisees 47, 89, 107-08, 112, 122, 163, 176, 221, 273-74
- πονηρός 33, 45, 132, 209, 218
- Poseidon 193
- prayer
  - communal 18, 23-27, 105, 109, 255
  - composition of 6, 28, 30, 32, 49, 163-69, 178, 188-93, 195, 197, 199-201, 263, 273-77
  - for enemies, *see* enemies, prayer for
  - formulae 2-3, 23, 25-29, 31, 35, 38, 46-47, 49-50, 105-07, 109-10, 119, 122, 196-97, 255
  - as genre - *see also* hymns 6, 26, 30, 58, 191, 194-96
  - individual (personal) 3-4, 16, 18, 24-29, 36, 47-50, 105-06, 109-10, 114, 202
  - intercession 25, 90-91, 93, 99, 130-31, 133-34, 139, 249
  - invocation 7, 28, 190, 197, 201
  - languages 23, 27, 29, 31-32, 45-51, 122
  - at meals - *see also* Grace After Meals 28, 119-20, 134
  - petitions 3, 7, 19, 23, 27, 30-33, 36-40, 42-43, 45-46, 48, 48-51, 58-59, 121, 126, 128, 134-38, 201-05, 204, 207, 210, 218, 221-22, 224-27, 241, 249-51, 255, 257-60, 273, 274, 279
  - praise 19, 26, 31, 58, 95, 99, 108, 116, 120, 134-35, 137, 148-50, 253
  - supplication 18, 21, 30, 59, 94-95, 121, 134-35, 251, 257
  - thanksgiving 1, 6, 26, 58-59, 121, 134, 158, 165, 167-71, 174, 177, 180, 183-84, 198, 263
  - times of 105, 107-09, 122
- progymnasmata 192, 200
- proseuchē (place of prayer) 107-08
- προσεύχεται 58, 61, 124, 130
- προσκυνέω/προσκύνησις 8, 179, 245-46
- prostration 4, 114-15, 245-46, 248
- purity 5, 94, 152-53, 224
- Q community 4, 67, 70-71, 85, 104, 122, 142-43, 145, 157, 163, 179
- Qaddish 28, 38, 47, 150-51
- Qumran community 24-25, 76, 90, 147



- reciprocity 18, 174, 178, 202, 223, 227–28, 241, 276
- redaction
- Lukan 137, 193, 200, 239–41, 244–45, 251, 257, 259–60
  - Matthean 127, 136, 138, 203, 268, 271, 273–75
  - of Q 3, 6, 63, 68–70, 72, 84–86, 139, 163, 166–67, 176, 265–68
- resurrection 65–66, 259, 270, 272
- revelation 1, 6, 8, 87, 157–84, 191, 198, 253, 263–64, 266, 268–71, 273
- to children 6, 145–46, 154, 157–84, 164, 168, 173–75, 177, 197, 253, 264, 268–69
- ritual 4, 105–06, 109, 115, 122, 152, 156, 158, 183, 190, 193, 245, 276–77
- Sabbath 5, 38, 112, 119, 141–56, 263
- sacrifice 5, 23–25, 27, 107–09, 115, 122, 149, 198
- Sarah 4, 15, 92–99
- Satan – *see also* devil 20, 80, 143–44, 153, 164, 179, 244–46, 251–52, 260, 268
- scribes 19, 24, 75, 80, 103, 108–09, 112, 122, 174, 216, 272, 280
- village 6–7, 103, 185–90, 192–93, 196, 200, 226
- shame – *see also* αἰδώς; honour 7, 8, 127, 222, 224–25, 227–33
- shamelessness – *see also* ἀναίδεια 2, 7, 219–22, 224–27, 233–41
- Shema Yisrael 20, 105–09, 115, 122
- Shemoneh Esreh 28, 105
- sins, forgiveness of – *see* forgiveness, of sins
- Solomon 15
- Son of Man/Son of Humankind – *see* Jesus, as Son of Man
- Sondergut* (special material)
- Lukan 137, 258
  - Matthean 136, 276–77, 280
- synagogues 24, 29, 47, 108, 110, 125, 135
- taxes, taxation 59, 203, 216, 236
- Tefillah 28, 105, 107
- Temple (Jerusalem) 24–25, 27, 74, 103, 106, 109, 147, 149, 153–54
- temptation/testing – *see also* πειρασμός 2, 36, 44–45, 49–52, 54, 134–35, 151, 202, 206–10, 217–18, 279
- Temptation of Jesus, *see* Jesus, Temptation of
- Tetragrammaton (divine name); *see also* name, divine 28–29, 34
- Torah 12, 18–20, 24, 45, 64, 81, 109, 112, 118, 137, 223–24, 245, 270, 276, 279
- violence – *see also* nonviolence 7, 15, 55, 61, 63, 92, 95, 97, 125, 135–37, 226, 238, 245, 249
- Wisdom/Sophia, personification of 9, 64–65, 69, 75, 79–81, 83, 265, 268–70, 272–73
- woes 4, 89, 100, 135, 159, 162–63, 165, 175–76, 265–68
- worship 1, 23–24, 27, 33, 115, 121, 190, 246, 274
- Zeus 189, 190, 193, 197, 230



