Prayer in the Sayings Gospel Q

Edited by

Daniel A. Smith and Christoph Heil

Mohr Siebeck

Daniel A. Smith, born 1963; 2001 Ph.D. from the University of St. Michael's College, University of Toronto; 2004 Assistant Professor of New Testament Language and Literature, Huron University College; since 2018 Clark and Mary Wright Professor of New Testament Theology, Faculty of Theology, Huron University College, London, Canada.

Christoph Heil, born 1965; 1994 Dr. theol. from the University of Bonn; 2000 Habilitation from the University of Bamberg; since 2004 Professor for New Testament; since 2017 Dean of the Catholic Theological Faculty of the Karl-Franzens-University Graz.
orcid.org/0000-0002-3434-0674

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

Ursula Schattner-Rieser

This paper discusses the Jewish formulae in the Lord's Prayer (Matt 6:9–13; Luke 11:2–4; cf. Did 8:2) and analyzes its terminology, language and structure from a philological point of view. This analysis is carried out from the perspective of a scholar in Jewish studies, and not that of a scholar of early Christianity. Our main sources for the reconstruction of the Lord's Prayer, roughly contemporary to the Q Source, are the Dead Sea Scrolls, chiefly their Aramaic witnesses. Following some more general observations about prayer in the Second Temple Jewish context and the linguistic milieu of Jesus, the essay examines the Lord's Prayer petition by petition in proposed Aramaic versions which parallel the Greek texts of Matthew and Luke, surveying the parallel materials found in the Aramaic texts from Qumran and in the Targumim, and discussing their implications for our understanding of Jesus' Prayer.[1]

A. Prayers as Substitutes for Offerings

The biblical texts of pre-exilic times ignore the worship of public communal prayers, as a liturgical institution, apart from the sacrificial cult. Priests and Levites served as officiants, while the ordinary laypeople listened to the reciter and

[1] I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the organizers of the conference, Christoph Heil and Daniel A. Smith, for inviting me to present my research on the Lord's Prayer, Jesus' Prayer to the Lord in Heaven, in Aramaic. This essay is based in part on two earlier studies on Jewish Aramaic Prayer formulas and the Lord's Prayer: Ursula Schattner-Rieser, "Das Aramäische zur Zeit Jesu, 'ABBA!' und das Vaterunser: Reflexionen zur Muttersprache Jesu anhand der Texte von Qumran und der frühen Targumim," in *Jesus, Paulus und die Texte von Qumran*, ed. Jörg Frey and Enno Edzard Popkes with Sophie Tätweiler, WUNT II 390 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 81–144; Ursula Schattner-Rieser, "Emotions and Expressions of Emotion as a Didactic Guide as to How to Pray: *Bᵉrakhot* in the Aramaic Prayers of Qumran," in *Ancient Jewish Prayers and Emotions: Emotions Associated with Jewish Prayer in and around the Second Temple Period*, ed. Stefan C. Reif and Renate Egger-Wenzel, DCLS 26 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 273–96. I would also like to thank Daniel Smith for his detailed comments and suggestions that improved the quality of the present essay, and for correcting the English of the manuscript. Without his help this essay would not have been completed.

answered: Amen, amen, "it is true." Individual prayers, by contrast, are widely reported in the biblical writings since pre-exilic times.[2] Only in the latter part of the Second Temple era do we find fully formed liturgy, both in the temple area of Jerusalem[3] and in the synagogues.

From the beginning of the Babylonian Exile in 587 BCE, during a time when the Israelites had no temple, communal and personal prayers replaced sacrifices and temple offerings. The post-exilic prophets Hosea and Third Isaiah, as well as some Psalms, testify to the transformation of the cult towards its "intellectualization" by means of substitution.[4] Under the leadership of Ezra at the end of the fifth century BCE, the returning Exiles together with the common Judeans who had not been deported gathered together at a certain place in Jerusalem for the public recitation of the Torah – but apparently not in the temple. It might appear striking that Ezra, the priestly scribe, did not gather the people in the newly reconstructed Second Temple. The French scholar Maurice Liber summarized the phenomenon of cult and worship without temple in this way: "Il faut laisser au Temple ce qui est au Temple, à savoir le sacrifice; la prière sans sacrifice n'a point de place dans l'enceinte du Temple."[5] The innovation ("on peut dire la révolution") instituted by Ezra after the Exile consisted of a religious ceremony detached from the cult of sacrifices: "Désormais le culte de la prière ne sera pas lié à un lieu consacré."[6] Communal and personal prayer became the pillars of Jewish religious life, ensuring the survival of Judaism in times without a temple and its sacrificial cult. The cult that is known as the "offering of the lips" enabled the survival of the Jewish cult in times of Exile and Diaspora, and communal prayer served as a substitute for sacrifice. One distinctive feature is that prayer, in contrast with temple worship, does not require the ministry of a priestly staff, dressed in consecrated vestments with ornamentation. Besides communal prayer, there also developed during this period an increasing interest in personal prayer. The example of Daniel's daily prayers, set during the Babylonian Exile, proves the need of the individual to communicate with God by prayer and to believe in God's help and support in time of distress.[7]

Thanks to these practices that developed during the Exile, the members of a conservative Jewish sect that withdrew and exiled themselves in the Judean desert during the Seleucid Era, namely, the Qumran community (Yahad), could live and survive far from the temple in Jerusalem. Prayer and liturgy fulfilled

[2] Maurice Liber, "Sur les origines de la prière publique dans le judaïsme," AEPHE.R 42 (1932): 3–17.

[3] But apparently not in the temple itself (!): in Nehemiah 8–9 the public reading and liturgical ceremony took place somewhere in Jerusalem.

[4] In the Psalms, words of thanksgiving serve as a replacement for offerings, for example: Ps 50:5, 13–14; 51:17–19; 69:30–31. See further Isa 1:11–13, 17; Hos 3:4; 14:3; Jer 7:22.

[5] Liber, "Sur les origines," 8.

[6] Ibid., 8.

[7] See Dan 6:11; 9:3–21.

daily life in Qumran, but "without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fats of sacrifice" (4Q258 2 II, 5). This belief is common to both early Jewish and Christian traditions, despite some conceptual differences. In Jewish belief, the validity of this practice is limited to a period without a temple, but when the temple will be rebuilt again, the ancient cult with its bloody offerings on the temple mount will be reconstituted. In early Christianity, on the other hand, prayers and the offering of the lips (*Wortgottesdienst*) replace sacrifices definitively.

B. Individual Prayer: A Dialogue with God

From pre-exilic times, we are familiar with biblical reports of individual and spontaneous prayers. After the destruction of the temple, thus in a time where the Israelites had no temple, communal prayer and private prayer became the pillars of Jewish religious life, which ensured the survival of Judaism. Prayers, blessings and hymns became very important features of Second Temple literature. Within the Dead Sea Scrolls, there are many communal and individual prayers.[8] The community of pious Jews established in Qumran refused the legitimacy of the temple in Jerusalem, considering it an illegitimate cult of human origin. While the communal prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls serve a cultic function as a substitute for sacrifices (1QS IX, 5),[9] personal prayers are an appeal to God for intercession and assistance and serve as a bridge between the individual and God through direct contact. One innovation is that Qumran individual prayers developed and followed well-structured patterns for prayer and benediction formulae.[10]

C. The Importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls as Evidence for the Linguistic Situation at the Time of Jesus

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls between 1947 and 1956 provided us with a spectacular literary treasure and one of the most important sources for biblical studies; they provide a wealth of information about the linguistic situation in the Roman period and the turn of the era.

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[8] Judith H. Newman, *Praying by the Book: The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, EJL 14 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 5.

[9] Richard S. Sarason, "Communal Prayer at Qumran and among the Rabbis: Certainties and Uncertainties," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Esther G. Chazon with Ruth Clements and Avital Pinnik, STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 151–72, here 154.

[10] Schattner-Rieser, "Emotions," 277, 290–91.

Of the roughly 900 texts found at Qumran, about 750 are in Hebrew, 120 in Aramaic and 27 in Greek. The great number of Hebrew texts can be explained by the fact that the majority are biblical and sacred texts, as well as liturgical and mystical writings. The Aramaic texts, on the other hand, are generally not biblical texts, with the exception of fragments of the Book of Daniel. They are literary productions of parabiblical, apocryphal, and pseudepigraphical content.

The sectarian Hebrew texts of the Qumran group are written in a dialect quite different from classical biblical Hebrew. Whether the daily language of the community was Hebrew or Aramaic, which was the vernacular at Jesus' time, cannot be determined with any certainty. In any case, the everyday language of the community was certainly not Greek, as can be deduced from the small number of Greek texts, although some members obviously must have been skilled in Greek. The Qumran community itself was at least bilingual – Hebrew and Aramaic. There are more personal and individual prayers within the Dead Sea Scrolls than in the Bible. The various prayer formulae and genres, such as complaints, prayers of thanksgiving, blessings and praises, contemporaneous with Jesus' lifetime, can serve as an important connecting link between early Jewish personal prayer and what became the most important Christian Prayer, namely, the Lord's Prayer.

D. Aramaic Prayers from Qumran

In the 120 Aramaic texts from Qumran, we count about twenty personal prayers and benedictions[11] written in Imperial and Middle Aramaic.[12] No Aramaic text contains examples of communal prayers, and none of the prayers in the Aramaic Qumran texts contains sectarian elements.[13]

Emplotted in narrative contexts and embodied in family scenes, the prayers are presented as spontaneous expressions of individuals that open a dialogue with God.[14] This impression, however, is misleading. A closer look at the prayers

[11] See Schattner-Rieser, "Emotions," 278–279. Several prayers are only mentioned, but not given in full, such as the thanksgiving of Noah in 1QapGen ar XI, 12–14 and Abram's exorcism prayer on Pharoah's behalf in 1QapGen ar XI, 28–29.

[12] Ursula Schattner-Rieser, "L'apport de la philologie araméenne et l'interprétation des archaïsmes linguistiques pour la datation des textes araméens de Qumrân," in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran at Aix-en-Provence*, ed. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, STDJ 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 101–23.

[13] Three Aramaic texts (4QTobit, 4QTestament of Qahat and 4QVisions of Amram) contain dualistic elements that can easily be explained by Persian influence. See Schattner-Rieser, "Emotions," 277 n. 15.

[14] Such personal experiences are presented in the books of Tobit, the Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen ar) and the Enoch cycle. These prayers are similar to the Mesopotamian shu-ila prayers; see Annette Zgoll, "Der betende Mensch: Zur Anthropologie in Mesopotamien," in *Der Mensch im Alten Israel: Neue Forschungen zur alttestamentlichen Anthropologie*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Kathrin Liess, HBS 59 (Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 2009), 121–40.

shows that there is a fixed prayer tradition underlying them. They confirm the trend towards standardization of private Aramaic prayer and its formulae.

The Aramaic prayers of Qumran are therefore extremely important for understanding Jesus' personal prayer, that is, the Lord's Prayer. It should also be emphasized that the Aramaic prayers from Qumran also confirm the value and justification of the Aramaic language as an authorized language of prayer.

1. Aramaic as a Language for Prayer

Around the turn of the Common Era, the practice of personal prayer was not widespread and established. The temple was still in operation, and so cultic worship and liturgy still concentrated on sacrifices and burnt offerings, which were performed by Priests and Levites. In combination with the physical offerings, the priests also recited hymns, psalms and liturgical texts in Hebrew. In Qumran, however, the cult concentrated *only* on the word. Communal prayers and hymns were written in Hebrew, while personal prayers were given in Aramaic.

The rabbinic texts are ambiguous concerning the authorized language(s) for prayer. On the one hand, the sages forbid praying in Aramaic. The Gemara of Tractate Shabbat 12b states that one who is praying by himself should not pray in Aramaic, because it is borne up by angels *(melakhim)* who only understand Hebrew. However, the Gemara says that if a lone supplicant is praying beside or for weak and sick persons, he may pray in Aramaic, because the Divine Presence hovers above their head.[15] Others interpret this passage to mean that any language other than Hebrew can be used for prayer.[16] According to Mishna Berurah, "the angels know every language, but they are not bound to Aramaic, which is anathema to them." Furthermore, "women are permitted to pray in other languages," and it continues that "in the multitude even the Aramaic language is permitted."[17] The Tractate Soṭah also confirms the validity of the Aramaic language for prayer, because "the ministering angels are familiar with the Aramaic language" and that even "the Divine Voice was speaking in the Aramaic language" from heaven at the most important moments.[18] So, despite the fact that the rabbis preferred Hebrew, the holy tongue *(lāšôn haq-qōdeš)*, as the principal language for public worship, the use of Aramaic for personal petitionary prayer was accepted and practiced (b. Soṭah 32b–33a).

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[15] b. Šabb. 12b: "One should never petition for his needs in Aramaic; and R. Johanan said: When one petitions for his needs in Aramaic, the Ministering Angels do not heed him, for they do not understand Aramaic? An invalid is different, because the Divine Presence is with him." See also b. Soṭah 33a; Schattner-Rieser, "Emotions," 292.

[16] Mishna Berurah 101, subparagraphs 13–16.

[17] Mishna Berurah 101, subparagraphs 18–19.

[18] b. Soṭah 33a; m. Soṭah 7:1.

2. Towards Fixed Formulae for Prayers

The Aramaic prayers in general follow a common pattern in their structure from beginning to end. This is important to emphasize, when we examine Jesus' personal prayer before it became the official prayer of his disciples. The common structure is as follows:

- blessing *(B^{e}rikh)*[19] formula and address to God
- epithetical divine names instead of the Tetragrammaton
- God named Creator of all
- mention of God's Kingship
- second person-address
- *Q^{e}dushat ha-Shem* (optional)

According to the rabbinic halakah, it is said in the Talmudic tractate Berakhot (Blessings): a *b^{e}rakha* (blessing) that does not contain God's name or title, nor mention his kingship as a ruler of the universe, is not a valid one (b. Ber. 12a).[20]

The address in the second person is also characteristic for the *B^{e}rakhot* (blessings) of the late biblical and intertestamental literature.[21] The liturgical *b^{e}rakhah* is often expanded by words such as "according to your will," as in Tob 3:6 and in the Testament of Qahat. The Blessing is very similar to the Blessing of the Kedusha (sanctification of the name of God), which is the high point of the Amidah (Shemoneh Esreh[22]) that is itself the central prayer of the Jewish daily service.

Although the Lord's Prayer does not open with an explicit blessing formula, the first part of the prayer has almost all elements that a full *b^{e}rakha* must contain, from the invocation Abba to the second-person petitions: 1) the name of God, here Abba; 2) the sanctification of God's holy name; 3) the mention of God's kingship;[23] and 4) the petition for fulfillment of his will.[24]

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[19] Hereafter, *B^{e}rîkh*-formula: "Blessed are you."

[20] b. Ber. 12a: "This works out well according to Rav, who said: Any blessing that does not include mention of God's name is not considered a blessing, and since: Who creates light, includes God's name, it constitutes a complete, independent blessing. However, according to Rabbi Yoḥanan, who said: Any blessing that does not include mention of God's sovereignty, i. e., our God, King of the universe, is not considered a blessing …." See also b. Ber. 40b and 49a, which add the sanctification and grace after meals formulae.

[21] Esther Chazon, "Looking Back: What the Dead Sea Scrolls Teach Us About Biblical Blessings," in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Nora David, Kristin De Troyer, and Shani Tzoref, FRLANT 239 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 155–71, esp. 162 and 166.

[22] Also called Tefillah.

[23] See b. Ber. 12a and 46a; see further Joseph Heinemann, "Once again Melekh ha ʿOlam," *JJS* 15 (1964): 149–54.

[24] Cf. b. Ber. 40b: "Regarding blessings that do not conform to the formula instituted by the Sages, the Gemara relates that Binyamin the shepherd ate bread and afterward recited in Aramaic: Blessed is the Master of this bread. Rav said, He thereby fulfilled his obligation to recite a blessing. The Gemara objects: But didn't Rav himself say, Any blessing that does not con-

Moreover, thanks to the Matthean expansions, "your will be done" as well as the addition "in heaven and on earth" (Matt 6:10bc) – which encloses the whole universe – the Lord's Prayer includes all the elements that a full *B^{e}rakha* (praise and blessing formula) must include.

3. *The Name(s) of God in Aramaic Personal Prayers*[25]

In the Qumran Aramaic prayers and *b^{e}rikh* formulae we find many substitutes for God's name as King of the Worlds or Eternal King *(melek š^{e}mayya)*, as ruler *(šalliṭ)*, and sometimes as king, which is the standard form that the rabbis required for a liturgical blessing *(b^{e}rakhah)* and statutory prayers (b. Ber. 40b).

A common feature in the Aramaic prayers from the Dead Sea Scrolls is that there is never any mention of the holy name of God, the Tetragrammaton (YHWH), due to the high respect in which it was held. Instead, the Tetragrammaton is replaced by dots or other titles, such as: Great Name *(šēm rabbâ)*, Almighty God *(ʾEl ʿElyon)*, Lord of Heaven *(mārēʾ š^{e}mayya)*, Eternal Lord *(mārēʾ ʿālmâ* and *mārēʾ ʿālmayyâ)*; Celestial King *(melek š^{e}mayyâ)*; and Great Holy One *(qaddîša rabbâ)*.

E. The Lord's Prayer

The linguistic situation of Judaea during the time of Jesus was complex. Three languages were spoken: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek.[26] Hebrew was the language of the Scriptures and of liturgy; a later dialect of Hebrew was spoken by some people; Aramaic was the everyday language of most of the Jewish inhabitants; and Greek was the language of administration and communication with Gentiles, used by foreigners, merchants and the upper class of Jews. Although Greek was widespread among the Jews of the Judean society, the language of the synagogue was Hebrew and the Semitic idiom (Hebrew and Aramaic) influenced

tain mention of God's name is not considered a blessing? The Gemara emends the formula of his blessing. He said: Blessed is the All-Merciful, Master of this bread." See Joseph Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns*, SJ 9 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977), 157, 161, 180.

[25] Schattner-Rieser, "Das Aramäische zur Zeit Jesu," 98–100, 108–9.

[26] For a detailed discussion of the linguistic situation and the emergence of Greek, see Schattner-Rieser, "Das Aramäische zur Zeit Jesu," 83–87. See further Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Languages of Palestine in the First Century AD," *CBQ* 32 (1970): 501–31; J. N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the First Jewish Christians Have Known?*, NovTSup 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1968); Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2 Jh.s v. Chr.*, 3rd ed., WUNT 10 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1988 [1969]); Martin Hengel with Christoph Markschies, "Zum Problem der 'Hellenisierung' Judäas im 1. Jahrhundert nach Christus," in Hengel, *Judaica et Hellenistica: Kleine Schriften I*, WUNT 90 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 1–90; for the literary material, Pierre Grelot, "Sémitismes dans le Nouveau Testament," *DBSup* 12 (1991), col. 333–424, here 359.

the Greek used in Judaea and, consequently, Judean literary productions as well.[27] That means that the oral memorization is reflected in the Greek written tradition.[28] In an earlier study, I demonstrated that Jesus himself surely spoke and prayed in Aramaic.[29]

The prayer begins with the address: Father, or our Father who is in heaven, which is then followed by five petitions in the Lukan version, or seven petitions in the Matthean.

Luke 11:2–4	*Matthew 6:9–13*
Father	Our Father, who is in the heavens,
may your name be made holy;	may your name be made holy;
may your kingdom come;	may your kingdom come;
	may your will come to pass,
	as in heaven, also on earth.
Give us our bread that we need on that day;	Give us our bread that we need today;
and forgive us our sins,	and forgive us our debts,
for we also forgive everyone indebted to us;	as we also have forgiven those indebted to us;
and do not put us to the test.	and do not put us to the test,
	but deliver us from evil.

1. Introductory Remarks

The Lord's Prayer belongs to the literary genre of supplication. Except for the prayer's opening address (to God as Father), it consists exclusively of requests

[27] Grelot, "Sémitismes dans le Nouveau Testament," 359; Mireille Hadas-Lebel, "La connaissance du grec en milieu juif (III^{e} s. av.–VI^{e} s. ap. n. è.)," in *La Méditerranée d'une rive à l'autre: Culture classique et cultures périphérique*s, ed. André Laronde and Jean Leclan (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2007), 231–42.

[28] The French anthropologist and linguist Marcel Jousse studied the linguistic situation in Palestine using his excellent Greco-Latin and Hebrew-Aramaic knowledge as an instrument of discovery and understanding of the mechanisms of oral-style milieus in the time of Jesus. Jousse's study focussed on the oral period of the Gospels and the culture into which they were born. He demonstrates that the Gospels written in Greek are Hellenistic encodings of the Aramaic and Hebrew scriptures, which were memorised and orally transmitted up to Jesus' time. See Marcel Jousse, "Les outils gestuels de la mémoire dans le milieu ethnique palestinien: Le Formulisme araméen des récits évangéliques," *L'Ethnographie* 30 (1935): 1–20; "Le mimisme humain et l'anthropologie du langage," *RAnth* 46 (1936): 201–15; "Le bilatéralisme humain et l'anthropologie du langage," *RAnth* 50 (1940): 2–30; "Judâhen, Judéen, Judaïste dans le milieu ethnique palestinien," *L'Ethnographie* 38 (1940), 320; "Père, Fils et Paraclet dans le milieu ethnique palestinien," *L'Ethnographie* 39 (1941): 3–58; "Les formules targoumiques du Pater dans le milieu éthnique palestinien,", *L'éthnographie* 42 (1944): 1–52. Some of these essays are now collected in English translation: Marcel Jousse, *Memory, Memorization, and Memorizers: The Galilean Oral-Style Tradition and Its Traditionists*, ed., trans. Edgard Sienaert, Biblical Performance Criticism 15 (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2018).

[29] Schattner-Rieser, "Das Aramäische zur Zeit Jesu," 48–49.

or petitions in the imperative mood. The final doxology enriches the Matthean version of the prayer with elements of praise, although it is not found in the earliest witnesses to Matthew. The introductory formula is followed by two theocentric You-petitions and three anthropocentric We-petitions in the shorter Lukan version. Luke' version consists of five petitions in total, compared with seven in the longer version of Matthew. The first three are imperative-jussive forms in the third person (may be hallowed, may come, may be done), three imperatives (give, forgive, deliver) and a prohibition (do not introduce/bring). The three jussives are to be understood in a volitional or optative sense, expressing desire.

It is generally accepted that the shorter version of Luke represents the more original form of the Lord's Prayer. This corresponds to the usual opinion of the development of the Synoptic material, according to the Two Source Theory, or Two Document Hypothesis (2DH). Many proponents of the 2DH believe that Luke generally has followed the wording and order of the *Logienquelle* (Sayings Source Q) more closely than Matthew. In the specific case of the Lord's Prayer, however, this might not necessarily be the case, because the additional elements of Matthew take up formulations that are well documented in the papyri of the Jewish community of Elephantine (fifth century BCE), the Hebrew and Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran, the biblical writings, the Targumim, and other early Jewish literature.[30] Addressing God as the Father in heaven also corresponds to a well-known epithetical designation from the turn of the era; furthermore, as for the request for the coming of the Kingdom, this expectation – whether it refers to an eschatological kingdom or a spiritual kingdom – corresponds to early Jewish expectations in Palestine.

It seems almost certain that Jesus would have taught the Prayer to his earliest followers in Aramaic for several reasons. Aramaic, of course, was the common language of the non-elite people, like Jesus himself, among whom he travelled and taught. The thought and speech of Jesus himself would have been permeated by this living Hebrew-Aramaic Jewish tradition. Moreover, as we shall see, the Lord's Prayer itself in Aramaic would probably have been very easy to retain and repeat, thanks to its alliterations and final rhymes, which are genuine Aramaic linguistic features. Although there is no evidence of a written document in Aramaic of the "original Prayer," it is not only the linguistic assessment of the Greek versions of Matthew, Luke, and Q that leads me to this conclusion, but also the underlying Semitic textual evidence when one looks at the possible retroversion of the Greek segments of the prayer, compared with the parallels in the Septua-

[30] The addition "in heaven" or "of heaven" in association with the name of God is found since ancient times and also in pagan Aramaic inscriptions, becoming increasingly frequent in the Hellenistic-Roman period, as the Biblical-Aramaic and Qumranic Aramaic texts show. For a more detailed discussion, see Schattner-Rieser, "Das Aramäische zur Zeit Jesu," 110, and see also the epigraphic examples in Dirk Schwiderski, ed., *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, 2 vols., FSBP 2, 4 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 1:797.

gint.[31] By checking the address and the petition one by one, we can rediscover the underlying biblical Hebrew-Aramaic thought and expressions.

What I mean is that *the underlying biblical-Semitic formulations will remain even if one writes directly in Greek*.[32] Any native bilingual speaker can confirm that one can think in one language and transmit it in the syntax or linguistic character of another language. Although the Greek version of Jesus' prayer would have been intended to teach the prayer to a Greek audience, Aramaic speakers with minimal knowledge of Greek could also understand the Greek version because they would recognize the underlying expressions. Therefore, both Greek and Aramaic speakers could profit from the Lord's Prayer in Greek.

The consonantal text can be reconstructed from the Greek thanks to our knowledge of Qumran Aramaic. However, the pronunciation is not certain where the vowels of the pretonic syllables are concerned. The Aramaic words of the New Testament written in Greek confirm that those vowels were still pronounced in the time of Jesus and that they generally were not shortened to *sheva*, but the comparative corpus is small and we lack other Greek transcriptions in order to be sure of the exact pronunciation.

2. Aramaic Retroversions

Luke 11:2–4	*Luke (Aramaic)*	*Matt (Aramaic)*	*Matt 6:9–13*
Πάτερ	אבא	אבונא די בשמיא	Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς·
ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·	יתקדש שמך	יתקדש שמך	ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·
ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου	תאתי מלכותך	תאתי מלכותך	ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου
		תתעבד רעותך כבשמיא אף בארעא	γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς·
τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν·	לחמנא פתגם יום הב לנא יום ביומא[33]	לחמנא פתגם יום הב לנא יומא דנה	τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον·

[31] Parallels from the Septuagint are noted at the beginning of the discussion of each petition.

[32] See also Jan Joosten, "*Aramaic or Hebrew* behind the Greek Gospels?," *Analecta Bruxellensia* 9 (2004): 88–101.

[33] In my opinion the underlying oral Aramaic formulation is: הב לנא יום לחמנא פתגם יום ביומא "Give us our bread! The matter of a day for the day," which means the "daily portion for each day." This is for two reasons: first, the structure of the Prayer always starts with imperative/jussive forms and second, if we consider the underlying Hebrew/Aramaic biblical allusions,

Luke 11:2–4	*Luke (Aramaic)*	*Matt (Aramaic)*	*Matt 6:9–13*
καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν·	ושבק לנא חובינא כמא די אף אנחנא שבקין לכל חייבינא	ושבק לנא חובינא כמא די שבקנא לחייבינא	καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν·
καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν.	ואל תנסינא בנסיונא	ואל תנסינא בנסיונא	καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν,
		אלא פצינא מן באישא	ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

3. The Petitions with Commentary

There are then seven petitions. The first three requests are connected with the worship of God (for example, "Your name be made holy") and God's ways. The next four concern the needs of humankind – and gather together both physical and spiritual needs. In the discussions that follow, the Greek is given with an English translation, followed by a suggested Palestinian Aramaic (hereafter, PA) translation of Matthew and/or Luke, and then Aramaic and Septuagintal parallels respectively. The final set of parallels is included because the expressions of the Greek petitions in Matthew and Luke have important parallels in the Septuagint, which can be useful when considering the Aramaic renderings of those passages.

3.1. The Address to God as Father:[34] אבא *and* אבונא די בשמיא

Luke 11:2: Father
Gr.: Πάτερ
PA: *ʾabbâ*[35]
Parallels: Tg. Ps 89:27; Tg. Job 34:36; Tg. Sir 23:1, 4
LXX: Wisd 14:3; Sir 23:3; 23:4; Ps 113:11; Isa 64:7; 3 Macc 6:3, 8

Matt 6:9: Our Father who is in the heavens
Gr.: Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς

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the petition is composed of two parts, excerpts of two biblical verses, both in connection with Egypt, famine and God's donation of heavenly bread, namely Gen 47:15 (Give us bread!) and Exod 16:4 (the matter of a day for its day). As for the difference between Luke and Matthew, the Aramaic behind the Greek words τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν and σήμερον in the LXX *yom beyoma* or *yom beyome* and *yoma dena*. The corresponding Hebrew is *devar yom beyom(o)* and *ha-yom*. In any case, the expression "the matter of day on its day" is a fixed expression in Aramaic and/or Hebrew *(devar yom b^{e}yomo)* and is built with the word *yom* "day."

[34] For a more detailed overview of Jewish traditions concerning appellations of God, God as Father in prayers, Father as academic title, as well as the word "Abba" and the christological problem, see Schattner-Rieser, "Das Aramäische zur Zeit Jesu," 97–106.

[35] The doubling of the /b/-sound in *ʾabba* is analoguous to *ʾimma*, "Mother."

PA*: ʾaḇûnâ dî ḇišmayyâ*
Parallels: QA Tob 13:4; Tg. Isa 63:16; 64:7; Tg. Esth. II 3:3; etc.
LXX: Isa 63:16; Ps 88:27; 113:11(115:3); 1 Kgs 8:23; Eccl 5:1; Tob 5:17

The designation "Father" for God is rare in the Hebrew Bible, occurring only 17 times, with seven times as an address to "my/our God-Father."[36] It is a substitute for the Tetragrammaton, which was avoided out of respect, but it accumulated the sense of a paternalistic father, and also became a title for a "master" or "teacher."

In the Elephantine and Samaritan papyri of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, the Tetragrammaton and its derivatives are still written. However, it is replaced in later literature the third or second century BCE.[37] The Septuagint consequently uses various substitutes such as κύριος and θεός ("Lord" and "God"). We do not know precisely when and for what reason the Tetragrammaton was avoided and no longer pronounced.[38] The non-pronunciation of the holy name led to its replacement by substitutes and alternative titles, such as "the Name" *(ha-Shem)* and "my Lord/My lord" *(Adonai)*. The divine name became so sacred that it required special treatment and respect. In many biblical and non-biblical Hebrew manuscripts from Qumran, the Tetragrammaton is written in paleo-Hebrew script. This usage is also found in Old Greek Manuscripts. Thus it is not surprising that the holy name of God, YHWH, the Tetragrammaton, does not occur in any Aramaic manuscript of Qumran nor in the New Testament. Instead, many surrogates and substitutes replace it.

In the Persian period, from the fifth century BCE, titles such as "God of heaven" and "Lord of heaven" are frequent and common: they are found, for example, in the Elephantine Papyri as well as in the Aramaic sections of Daniel and Ezra and the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls, where we find *mrh šmyʾ* "Lord of heaven" (1QapGen ar II, 14), *šlṭn šmyʾ* "Ruler of Heaven" (4QEnGiants^{b} ar 2 II + 6–12(?), 16), and *mlk šmyʾ* "King of heaven" (1QapGen ar VII, 7; XII, 17).[39] In the apocryphal Book of Tobit, which is found in Qumran in four Aramaic and one Hebrew manuscripts, God is also referred to by epithetic circumlocutions such as "Great King," and in the Greek versions of the same book as the "King of Heaven" just as in biblical Aramaic (Tob 13:9, 13). In the Dead Sea Scrolls and intertestamental literature, God is pictured as surrounded by angels in his celestial kingdom,

[36] Schattner-Rieser, "Das Aramäische zur Zeit Jesu," 100–106, 108–11.

[37] Kristin De Troyer, "The Names of God, Their Pronunciation and Their Translation: A Digital Tour of Some of the Main Witnesses," *Lectio Difficilior* 2005/2, http://www.lectio.unibe.ch/05_2/troyer_names_of_god.htm; see further Martin Rösel, "The Reading and Translation of the Divine Name in the Masoretic Tradition and the Greek Pentateuch," *JSOT* 31 (2007): 411–28.

[38] An exception is the papyrus 4QpapLXXLev^{b} (4Q120), a manuscript of Leviticus in Greek in which God's name is written IAW, thus in its pronunciation IAO.

[39] See Schattner-Rieser, "Das Aramäische zur Zeit Jesu," 110; see also the epigraphic examples in Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, 1:797.

where he is sometimes also addressed as "Father." The expression "Father who is in heaven" became more and more frequent in the Targumim and Rabbinic literature.[40] The Matthean address "Our Father in Heaven," literally "in the heavens" (ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς), is considered by some Q-exegetes to be a secondary addition. But this addition is characteristic of the literature of post-exilic Judaism since the Persian period and is also well attested in the Aramaic epigraphical texts from Elephantine, in biblical and Qumran Aramaic.[41]

The Aramaic documents from Qumran prove that the pronouns "my" and "our" (e. g. אנובא "our father" in 4QTobit^{b} ar 4 I, 17) were still added to the nouns around Jesus' lifetime and not expressed by the status emphaticus. In the Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran (1QapGen ar II, 24), Methuselah addresses his father Enoch as "Oh my father, O my Lord/Master!" (*yāʾ ʾabī*, *yāʾ mārī*).[42] These examples contradict the thesis of Joachim Jeremias that "Abba" means "my (dear) father" or "daddy," and that the title connotes not only the relational aspects of caring, faithfulness and mercy, but also aspects of respect and instruction, which of course do not exclude connotations of love. As a matter of fact, the address "Abba" in the time of Jesus was still a pure vocative and a respectful form for "oh father!"[43]

Only the Middle Aramaic examples from inscriptions of the second century, for example the Bar Kochba letters, testify to the change in the linguistic usage of אבא / Abba and the loss of the emphatic meaning which tends toward the sense "my father." Only in the Targumim, of which Onkelos can be dated to the second or third century, אבא stands for the Hebrew-Masoretic אבי "my father."[44]

Jeremias's assertion that the title "father" does not appear before Jesus in Jewish prayer formulations[45] is clearly refuted by the studies of Angelika Strotmann, Christiane Zimmermann, and Georg Schelbert.[46]

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[40] Schattner-Rieser, "Das Aramäische zur Zeit Jesu," 109, based mainly on Georg Schelbert, *Abba Vater: Der literarische Befund vom Altaramäischen bis zu den späten Midrasch- und Haggada-Werken in Auseinandersetzung mit den Thesen von Joachim Jeremias*, SUNT 81 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 118–21.

[41] Already in the Aramaic papyri of the Jewish colony of Elephantine (5th century BCE), JHW (Jaho) is generally referred to as "JHW, God of Heaven" (אלה שמיא) and "Lord of Heaven" (מרא שמיא).

[42] See also Lutz Doering, "God as Father in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Divine Father: Religious and Philosophical Concepts of Divine Parenthood in Antiquity*, ed. Felix Albrecht and Reinhard Feldmeier, TBN 18 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 107–35.

[43] In Mk 5:41 *talitha* (*qum/qumi*) "girl (stand up)!" is a vocative, and no one would render this command as "my dear little girl, please get up."

[44] See Schelbert, *Abba Vater*, 96, and Ursula Schattner-Rieser, review of *Abba Vater*, by Georg Schelbert, *EC* 4 (2013): 141–47, here 144.

[45] Joachim Jeremias, *Abba: Studien zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Zeitgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 63.

[46] Angelika Strotmann, *Mein Vater bist du! (Sir 51,10): Zur Bedeutung der Vaterschaft Gottes in kanonischen und nichtkanonischen frühjüdischen Schriften*, FTS 39 (Frankfurt a. M.: Knecht, 1991); Georg Schelbert, "ABBA, Vater! Stand der Frage," *FZPhT* 40 (1993): 359–81; Christiane Zimmermann, *Die Namen des Vaters: Studien zu ausgewählten neutestamentlichen Gottesbezeichnungen vor ihrem frühjüdischen und paganen Sprachhorizont*, AGJU 69 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 52–64.

Despite the abundance of the father-language in the New Testament writings, the Aramaic transliteration "Abba" as a form of address is only documented three times (Mark 14:36; Gal 4:6; Rom 8:15), where the Greek translation ὁ πατήρ confirms that here there is a vocative *status emphaticus* for "Father" and not a child's "Papa," for which the Greek would be πάππας. In my opinion, both the Lukan and the Matthean forms of the Middle Ages are historically imaginable in this horizon: the earthly Jesus could have addressed his individual prayer to God with "Father," but the address of the disciples or the early Jesus-adherents could have been "Our Father." As God was often named with the addition "in heaven" at the time of Jesus, the Matthean address could well be traced back to a parallel original interpretation. In conclusion, it should also be noted that the Old Testament address of God mentioned in Isaiah 63:11–15 connects the Exodus motif with God-Father's salvation and forms therein a bridge to the Lord's Prayer. Moreover, in this prayer context God is not only addressed two times as "our Father" (and a third time in Isa 64:7), but the passage also contains a connection to the Exodus Redeemer typology, which itself is preceded by a reminder of salvation from bondage, a motif that runs like a red thread through the Lord's Prayer and which is also present in the request for bread and the petition against temptation.

The expression "Our Father in Heaven" became more and more common in the Targumim of the second century CE as well as in later rabbinic literature and prayers.

3.2. Hallowing God's Name

Luke 11:2; Matt 6:9: May your name be made holy.
Gr: ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου
PA: *yitkaddaš šᵉmāḵ*
Parallels: Tg. Lev 20:7; 29:23; Tg. Ezek 36:23; Tg. 2 Chron 6:26; 4Q196 [papTobᵃ ar] 6, 7; 18, 11 = QA Tob 3:11; 13:3; Tg. Ps 110:9; etc.
LXX: Dan 3:26, 52; Pr Azar 1:29; Ezek 36:23; Ps 144(145):1; 1 Chron 16:35; Tob 3:11

The Greek word in this petition can be translated as "sanctified" or "make holy" your name. The translation into Aramaic is not difficult. There are examples of it in the Hebrew Bible and its Aramaic Versions, the Targumim. In the Septuagint, ἁγιασθήτω is rendered by *yitqaddash* (יתקדש) in the Targums. In the Lord's Prayer, we have an Aorist passive third person singular imperative. The difficulty is in the meaning of the verb in Aramaic. In an earlier study, I offered a long and detailed analysis of the jussive *yitqaddash* which can be understood as a reflexive form or as the passive voice.[47] The problem with the Aramaic language is that it does not distinguish between the passive voice and the reflexive mood. It is the same form, with infixed /t/: יתקדש. Now the question is, what does it mean? What is the sense of that? Does the expression indicate that human persons can

[47] Schattner-Rieser, "Das Aramäische zur Zeit Jesu," 112–15.

add anything to the holiness of God's name? Or does it mean that God shows or demonstrates himself as holy? The mediopassive can indeed be used in a reflexive sense. Therefore, it might be that the petition can mean either "hallowed be thy name by us the people" or "set yourself apart and show yourself as to be the holy one."

In the Aramaic Prayers from the Dead Sea Scrolls, there is no evidence of Verbs in the Hithpael conjugation; instead, the internal passive *qetîl* from the root *brk* is used in combination with the adjective *qaddish*, for example: בריך שמיה קדישא "Blessed is his Name." The association of the adjective from *qdš* (קדשׁ) with the noun "name" (God) is also well documented in the Targumim: *qaddish shemâ* or *qaddish shemeh*/*shemakh* "holy is the name" or "holy is his/your name." The form *yitqaddash* exists, but it is rare in the Targums. As far as I know, even in the Hebrew Qumran texts there are only two examples of *yitqaddesh* (plus one more instance reconstructed).[48] In the early prayers and passages, the name of God is not "hallowed" but is already holy, as in: "Blessed be your holy name," in Greek εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον (Tob 3:11).[49]

3.3. The Kingship of God: תאתי מלכותך

Matt 6:10: May your kingdom come.
Gr: ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου
PA: *tēʾtē malḵûtāḵ*
Parallels: 4Q246; Dan 3:33; 4:34; 7:27; Tg. Onq. Gen 49:10
LXX: Ps 144(145):13; 1 Sam 13:14; 20:31; Dan 5:26

The request is composed of the third person feminine singular jussive (imperative) from the root *ʾth* (אתה), "come," and the feminine noun *malḵû* "kingdom" augmented with the second person masculine singular suffix pronoun "your." The imperfect *Peʿal* second person feminine singular *tʾth*, "she shall come," is attested in the Aramaic manuscript of Tobit from Qumran (4QTobit^{b} ar 5, 10). The termination of the imperative and jussive forms of the lamed-he verbs in the Qumran documents ends with yod. Therefore previous retroversions must be corrected.

A parallel passage to the New Testament conception of the heavenly kingdom of God and the request of the Lord's Prayer is found in the Aramaic text of the Son of God from Qumran (4Q246), where it says that a Savior, the "Son of God" (*brh dy ʾl*) and "Son of the Most High" (*br ʿlywn*) (Luke 1:33), whose kingdom will last forever, (*malḵutēh malḵût ʿālam*) and whose ways are truth and whose dominion is an eternal/everlasting reign (*šoltānēh šoltān ʿālam*) (cf. Exod 15:18). This passage seems to be inspired by Psalm 145, where it is quoted according to the Targum: *mlkwtk mlkwtʾ dkl ʿlmyʾ wšltnwtk bkl dr wdr*, "Your kingdom is

[48] ולוא יתקדש בימים ונהרות (1QS III, 4); יתקדש בכבוד (4Q504 3 II, 6).
[49] Septuaginta Text Family BA.

an everlasting kingdom, and your reign is from generation to generation" (Tg. Ps 145:13). This psalm also contains the praise of his name (Ps 145:1–2). In addition, we should also mention the Targum of Micah 4:8 which identifies the place where the kingdom of God will be established with the city of Jerusalem. The God-King motif (and the associated motif of the kingdom of God) is old and not specifically Jewish. It is common to the literature of the Ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible, and was probably used in its anthemic form, in the royal psalms, in the temple liturgy. However, the abstractions associated with the idea of the kingdom of God (1 Chron 17:14; Ps 103:19; etc.), *mamlāḵâ* (1 Chron 29:11) and *memšālâ* (Ps 103:22; 145:13; etc.) are first encountered in recent texts. In Qumran, this idea is well documented, especially in the Sabbath Songs. The kingdom of God appears several times in the apocalyptic passages of the Aramaic portions of the Book of Daniel (Dan 3:33; 4:34; 7:27). And in the Targumim of Gen 49:10, Ruth 1:1, and Qoh 7:24, the Messiah is called King and is interpreted in an eschatological manner. The place of the testamentary decree of Jacob to his son Judah is similar to the request of the Lord's Prayer: "until he comes, the king Messiah (of the house of Judah) to whom the Kingdom of kingdoms belongs *(dy yty mlkʾ mšyḥʾ ddydyh hyʾ mlkwtʾ)* and before whom all kingdoms of the nations will be placed" (Tg. Neof. Gen 49:10).

3.4. The will of God: תתעבד רעותך כבשמיא אף בארעא *(or* תתעבד רעותך בשמיא ובארעא*)*

Matt 6:10b: May your will be done, as in heaven, also on earth.
Gr: γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς
PA: *titʿaḇēd rᵉʿûtāḵ kᵉḇišmayyāʾ ʾaf bᵉʾarʿā*
Parallels: Ezra 7:18: "do it according to the will of your God *(krʿwt ʾlhkwm tʿbdwn)*"; 4Q198 (Tobᶜ ar) I, 5: "everything happens in its time" *(klʾ ytʿbd lzmnyhwn)*; Tg. Ps 135:6 *(kl dy ytrʿy ʿbd bšmyʾ wbʾrʿ)*; Tg. Isa 48:14; Tg. Ps 40:9; Tg. Ps 143:10
LXX: Ps 39(40):9; 134(135):6; 142(143):10; Isa 48:14; Odes 14:43; for "in heaven, also on earth," see: Deut 4:39; Dan 4:17; 6:28

The third request is common to Matthew and the Didache but is not found in the Lukan version. It is quite possible that it is original but had not been taken up in Luke for metrical reasons, as Philonenko suggests.[50] This liturgical formula is also found in the Jewish prayer Qaddish. It is worth mentioning that this petition in Matthew is built with the verb γενηθήτω from γίγνομαι/γίνομαι, "come to exist, to be, to become." More typically, similar ideas are expressed in the Septuagint with constructions from the verb ποιέω, "to cause to be, to make to be, to make," which in Aramaic is always rendered with the root *ʿbd* (עבד), "to make (to be)."

[50] Marc Philonenko, *Le Notre Père: De la prière de Jésus à la prière des disciples*, Bibliothèque des histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), 104.

The entire vocabulary of this request is attested in Biblical and Qumran Aramaic. The feminine noun רעו, "will" is found in 1Q20 XX, 23, 4Q545 4, 18, and in the Testament of Qahat (4Q542 1 I, 3): "because he is the eternal God, the master of all works, and the ruler of all things, to act on them according to his will *(lmʿbd bhwn lrʿwth)*." The corresponding Aramaic form of γενηθήτω is the feminine singular jussive Hithpael *ttʿbd*, "(it) is made to happen," which is attested in Aramaic Tobit (4Q198 [Tobᶜ ar] 1, 5): "everything happens in its time *(klʾ ytʿbd lzmnyhwn)*."[51] The Targums offer also exact parallels, built with *rʿw* "will," and *ʿbd*, "to do, make" (as in 1 Sam 13:14; 2 Kings 18:12; Isa 48:14), but never in the passive voice Hithpael. The expression "to act according to one's (God's) will" is well documented, as in Ps 143:10 ("teach me to do your will," *ʾlp yty lmyʿbd rʿwtk*), and Ps 40:9 ("to do your will *(lmʿbd rʿwtk)*, my God, I feel like it, and I carry your law in my heart" (Heb., *lʿśwt rṣwnk*). An especially close parallel to this request in Matthew's version of the prayer is a sentence in rabbinic Hebrew attributed to R. Eliezer: "When the Israelites do God's will, his name is great in the world, and if they do not, his name is desecrated in the world, as it were."[52] The additional idea of fulfillment occurring "in heaven as on earth" is well documented in the Targums. The comparative ὡς, "as well as" can be formulated in first century Aramaic on the basis of particles *k-*, *kmh d-* or *kdy* in connection with the affirmative particles *ʾaf* or *kēn*, which are well documented in Qumranic Aramaic. With respect to the phrase "as on earth," it may be noted that the Greek has never ἐν τῆς γῆς, but always ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (Lev 22:24 LXX), which corresponds to Aramaic בארעא *(bʾrʿ)* and is parallel to בשמיא *(bšmyʾ)*. The Matthean petition, then, brings the heavenly world "down" to earth, and agrees in its wording with the Targum to Ps 135:6: "all that the Lord willed, he did in in heaven, and on earth" *(kl dy ytrʿh YHWH ʿbd bsmyʾ wbʾrʿ)*.

3.5. The Bread Request: לחמנא פתגם יום הב לנא יומא דנה *or perhaps originally:* הב לנא לחמנא פתגם יום ביומא

Luke 11:3: Give us the bread we need on that day.
Gr: τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν
PA: *laḥmánā pitgām (sᵉḳôm) yôm/haḇ lánā yôm bᵉyômā* (or: *yômā denā)*
Parallels: Tg. Gen 47:15 *(hb lnʾ lḥmʾ)*; Tg. Exod 16:4, 15, 25 *(ptgm ywm bywmh)*; Tg. Esth. II 3:8 *(ʾlhʾ dšmyʾ … dyhb lnʾ lḥmʾ)*
LXX: Gen 47:15; Exod 16:4, 15; Isa 4:1

[51] The differences of the retranslations concern the particles of the phrase "as in heaven, so on earth," with the Greek element ὡς – καί (as in the request for debt forgiveness). The comparative particle "as" in Aramaic is *k-*, *kmh*, or *kwt* (similar to, for example, Tob or 1QapGen). In Targum Onqelos and Qumran one finds *kmh d (y) – kyn* for "as well as"; in Targum Neofiti one finds *hyk mh d- … kdn* (attested in the Targumim to Lev 8:34; 24:19–20).

[52] Mekhilta to Exod 15:2, quoted in Gustaf Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu: mit Berücksichtigung des nachkanonischen jüdischen Schrifttums und der aramäischen Sprache*, 2. Aufl. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1930), 318.

Matt 6:11: Give us the bread we need today.
Gr: τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον
PA: *laḥmánā pitgām (sᵉḳôm) yôm/haḇ lánā yômā dᵉnā*
Parallels: Tg. Neof. Exod 16:4; Tg. Ps.-J. Exod 16:13; 1Q20 XX, 30
LXX: in addition to those listed above, see also Exod 15:25 (σήμερον)

The first part, "Give us (our) bread that we need," is identical in Matthew and Luke, while the second part differs; but it might be that the two variants stem from a common Aramaic source which was more simply phrased, as for example: הב לנא לחמנא פתגם יום ביומא, "Give us our bread/food, according to its day by day necessity." The given word order in the Gospels is perhaps the result of a "(theological) reflection" with the aim that the bread petition, which connects the heavenly and earthly realms – because it comes from heaven down to earth – introduce the We-petitions, which concern humans and earthly things. All the requests begin with a verb, which is the general word order in Hebrew and Aramaic, but the request for bread starts with a noun. This is acceptable in both Semitic languages, but it adds emphasis to accentuate what is being requested (bread!): לחמנא פתגם יום הב לנא יומא דנה "Our bread – the matter of a day – give us for the/each day!" Compared with the word-order of the other petitions, one would expect the imperative before the rest: Give us bread!

The individual vocabulary items "bread," "give," "daily," "according to …" are completely documented in Qumran Aramaic as well *(lḥmʾ, yhb, ywm bywmʾ, ywmʾ dnh/dn, ptgm)*, and parallel phrases are found in the Targumim and in Qumran Hebrew. The root *yhb* "give" is well documented in Qumran Aramaic, including the imperative *hb* "give!" (1QapGen ar XXII, 19). The adverb "today" is in Qumran Aramaic *yômâ dᵉnâ* (ב[יומ]א דנא in 1QapGen ar XX, 30) or *yômâ dēn* (יומא דן in 1QapGen ar XX, 5) and has *bᵉyômâ hādēn* (see Tg. Neof. Gen 30:33) as a targumic equivalent.

Remarkable, and perhaps not accidental, is the fact that the search for the common vocabulary and expressions in the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint leads to episodes associated with the Exodus, where the Hebrews demanded bread from the Lord in times of famine and where it rained heavenly bread that saved the people.[53] A corresponding imperative for the request of the bread is found in Targums to Gen 47:15 where the hungry Egyptians turn to Joseph with the request, *hb lnʾ lḥmʾ* (Tg. Onq.): "Give us bread!"

The idea of the daily bread-ration is expressed in the *manna* episode from Exodus 16:

And the Lord said to Moses, Behold, I will cause bread to come down to you from heaven (Tg. Onq.: *lḥmʾ mn šmyʾ*), and the people shall go out and collect their daily portion for

[53] Similarly: "This is the bread which the LORD has given you for food (Tg. Onq.: *hwʾ lḥmʾ dyhb lkwn YWY lmykl*)" (Ex 16:29). A similar wording is found in the Targum Sheni to Esth 3:18: "We bless the God of heaven, who gives us bread and water" (לאלהא דשמיא מברכין דיהב לנא לחמא ומיא).

the day (LXX: τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν; Tg. Onq.: *pitgām yôm b^{e}yômēh*; Tg. Neof.: *s^{e}kôm yôm b^{e}yômēh*; Syriac: *sûnkon … ma^{ʾ}akûlto d^{e}yaumo b^{e}yaumo*) that I may put it to the test (Tg. Onq.: *b^{e}dîl da^{ʾ}anasenûn*; LXX: ὅπως πειράσω αὐτοὺς) whether they will walk in my law, or not. But if they prepare what they bring in on the sixth day, it will be twice as much as they would otherwise have collected day after day (LXX: τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν εἰς ἡμέραν; Tg. Onq.: *yôm yôm*; Tg. Ps.-J.: *yômâ w^{e}yômâ*; Syr: *d^{e}yaumo b^{e}yaumo*). (Exod 16:4–5)

The syntactic construction *pitgām*[54] + *yôm b^{e}yômēh*, found in almost all the Targums, is rendered by *s^{e}kôm yôm b^{e}yômēh/b^{e}yômâ* in Targum Neofiti and the Cairo Targum Fragments to Exod 5:13, 19; 16:4, 5, and Lev 23:37. It means literally, "the matter of each day on its day," that is, "the daily rate/total" or "the assigned part." The noun *s^{e}kom*,[55] which means "fixed number, amount, sum total, daily rate, one's assigned part/substance," corresponds to the Syriac *sunkono*, "the necessary, need" of the *Peshitta*.[56]

Only the word ἐπιούσιος seems at the first glance problematic. The etymology of the word is obscure. It occurs only in Luke 11:3 and Matt 6:11, and is composed either from ἐπ' + ἰέναι (as participle adjective: coming) or ἐπί + οὐσιος, ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν, or ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν οὐσία (being, substance, essence). In my opinion, ἐπιούσιος … τὸ καθ ἡμέραν represents the Hebrew Bible expression *pitgam ywm bywm^{ʾ}*, "(according to) the day by day necessary," where the meaning of the necessary thing/matter (Aram. *pitgam*) has merged with the meaning of "day by day, coming" (ἐπί + εἶναι, Aram. *ywm bywm^{ʾ}*) in one word.

This particular word order, which places the noun at the beginning, puts an emphasis on "our bread/food" and appears like a bridge between the celestial sphere and the earthly life, above all with the obvious association with the Exodus material in which the heavenly bread comes down to earth. By the way, *laḥmā* in Aramaic has a broader meaning than in Hebrew, and means not only "bread" but also "meal" and "food." The allusion to the heavenly bread of the Exodus story seems obvious and, in my opinion, it cannot be ignored for the reconstruction of the Lord's Prayer and should be taken into consideration philologically.

Oral tradition, linguistic reality, historical facts, and political expectations must also be taken in account. The interpretation of the miracle of the manna, which was expected again for the Messianic era and was believed to procure eternal life to the righteous in the world to come, is well represented in Jewish

[54] *Pitgam* covers a large semantic field and means "word, matter, thing, copy."

[55] See Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (London: Luzac & Co., 1903), 989; Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*, 1st ed. (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990), at http://cal.huc.edu/djpa.php?lemma=skwm+N. The feminine abstract noun of the same root, *skmw(t^{ʾ})*, means "destiny"; see Jacob Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil der rabbinischen Schrifttums*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Baumgärtner, 1867–68), 2:164, at http://cal.huc.edu/showlevy.php?page=2:164.

[56] See Matt 6:11 and 1 Cor 12:22.

rabbinic and apocryphal literature (e. g. Wisd 16:20–28; 2 Bar 29:3–8). As early as Deut 8:3, the heavenly bread "manna"[57] symbolizes the word of God, a word that awaited fulfillment.[58] On a purely textual and grammatical basis, the request for bread in Luke and Matthew combines elements from Gen 47:15 and Exod 16:4–5.[59]

To conclude, I offer one final linguistic observation about the Bread Petition. The Hebrew expression דבר יום ביומו "the matter of a day for its day; daily rate" (and its corresponding Aramaic expression פתגם יום ביומה/א or סכום יום ביומה/א) is, in the Septuagint as well as Luke 11:3, rendered by different constructions but always with ἡμέρα, thus: καθ᾽ ἡμέραν (Exod 5:13; Num 4:16; Lev 23:37; etc.); ἐξ ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν (Jer 52:34); τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν (Exod 16:4); ἡμέρας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ (Neh 12:47); but never with the adverb σήμερον, "today." This word translates the Hebrew *ha-yôm* and the Aramaic *yômʾ d^{e}nâ* יוֹמָא דין/יומא דנה)) (Gen 19:38), "this very day > to-day." The construction καθ᾽ ἡμέραν, "daily," is common in Luke (5x: 9:23; 11:3; 16:19; 19:47; 22:53) and Acts (6x: 2:46, 47; 3:2; 16:5; 17:11; 19:9), while it only appears once in Matthew (26:55) and Mark (14:49). The expression is Lukan, but it is also quite common in the Septuagint (e. g. Exod 16:5; Lev 23:37).

In good Aramaic and in conformity with the construction of the other petitions, one expects the imperative at the beginning of the sentence: *hb lnˀ lhmʾ ptgm ywm bywmˀ*. And this is indeed the case in Luke 11:3 in the Syriac versions: ܗܲܒ ܠܲܢ ܠܲܚܡܵܐ ܕ݂ܣܘܼܢܩܵܢܲܢ ܟܼܠܝܘܿܡ (Peshitta); ܘܗܒ ܠܢ ܠܚܡܐ ܐܡܝܢܐ ܕܟܠܝܘܡ (Old Syriac Sinaiticus and Curetonianus). The Syriac versions render ἐπιούσιος either with *sunkono* or *amino* "constant, constantly."[60] Luke 11:3: τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν *(lḥmnˀ)* τὸν ἐπιούσιον *(ptgm/skwm)* δίδου ἡμῖν *(hb lnˀ)* τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν *(ywmh dnh/ywmh dn)*.

3.6. *Forgiveness of debts/sins:* ושבק לנא חובינא כמא די אף אנחנא שבקנא לחיבינא

Luke 11:4: and forgive us our sins, for we also forgive everyone indebted to us
Gr: καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν·
PA: *ûš^{e}ḇuq lánâ ḥôḇênâ k^{e}mâ dî ˀaf ˀanaḥnâ šaḇ^{e}qîn l^{e}ḵol ḥayyāḇânâ*

Matt 6:12: and forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven those indebted to us
Gr: καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν

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57 *Manna* can be translated as "portion, rate" from the root m-n-h "to count."

58 Although I cannot agree with Carmignac that Hebrew was the language that Jesus spoke, his analysis and commentary on the Lord's Prayer, especially the Exodus manna-episode, contains very valuable material: see Jean Carmignac, *Recherches sur le "Notre Père"* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1969), 196–200.

59 In Greek thus: Δὸς ἡμῖν ἄρτους! (Gen 47:15) + ἄρτους (ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) … τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν/τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν (Exod 16:4–5).

60 The Syriac *ˀamîn* translates Hebrew *tamîd* (תמיד) "constant, daily practice," esp. (sub. קרבן) the daily burnt-offering (Num 28:3), and Aramiac *tadîr* (תדיר) "constant, regular; steadily," also for the "daily offering."

PA: *ûšᵉḇuq lánâ ḥôḇênâ kᵉmâ dî [ʾaf ʾanaḥnâ]*[61] *šᵉḇaqnâ lᵉḥayyāḇânâ*
Parallels: Tg. Num 14:19 *(šḇoq kᵊʿan lᵊḥoḇê…kᵊmâ dišᵊḇaqtâ)*; Tg. Exod 34:9 *(wtšbwq lḥwbynʾ)*; Tg. Isa 53:5 *(ḥwbnʾ yštbwq lnʾ)*; Tg. Isa 53:12; Tg. Ps 95:9; Tg. 2 Chron 6:26; Tg. Lev 5:26; Tg. Exod 32:32; 34:7, 9
LXX: for τὰς ἁμαρτίας etc.: Exod 34:9; Num 14:19; Ps 25(24):18; 3 Macc 2:19; for ἀφήκαμεν etc.: Exod 34:7

The vocabulary for the Aramaic retroversion of the fifth petition is completely attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls and early Targums: to forgive *(šbq)*,[62] debt *(ḥwb)*[63] and the debtor or guilty one (*ḥyyb*).[64] The verb *šbq* "leave, forgive," is well documented in the Targums and the Aramaic texts of Qumran and corresponds to Greek ἀφίημι. The root *šbq* in the sense of "leave (alone), abandon" also occurs in the transliterated form of ηλι ηλι λεμα σαβαχθανι (Matt 27:46; Ps 22[21]:2),[65] which is the Aramaic rendering of the psalm. The Greek variants ὀφειλήματα "debts" and ἁμαρτίαι "sins" can be represented by one and the same Aramaic word, namely *ḥôḇ* (חוב) or *ḥôḇah*, which means both "guilt" and "sin," and more generally any fault, but might stand also for a monetary debt.[66] The noun "guilt, fault" appears five times in the Aramaic texts of Qumran, of which three times it is in the masculine, *ḥôḇ* (חוב), and twice in the feminine, *ḥôḇah* (חובה).

The first part is identical in Matthew and Luke, and the corresponding Aramaic would be *ûšᵉḇuq lánâ ḥôḇênâ*. The construction with the dativus ethicus *lánâ* is not necessary, as the Targumic parallels confirm, but is well documented in Qumran Aramaic: for example, *wḥṭʾy šbq lh gzr*, "my sins exorcised an exorcist" (4Q242 1 III, 4); and *wšbq lhwn ḥṭʾhwn*, "and he released them their sin(s)" in the Qumran Targum to Job (11QTgJob XXXVIII, 3). Here, as in the Lord's Prayer, the subject is emphasized by the particle *l-* (*lhwn*) and repeated in the personal suffix-pronoun *ḥṭʾhwn*. Such a construction uses the preposition *l-* only once, which introduces the accusative addition of the verb *šbq*, although there are numerous reference points in the Targumim and all have the same structure. In Targum Onqelos to Exod 34:9, there is the perfect corresponding to the Lord's Prayer with the difference that instead of the imperative, there is an imperfect Qal second person masculine, and the subject is appended to the noun only as a suffix pronoun: *wtšbwq lḥwbnʾ* (וְתִשְׁבּוֹק לְחוֹבֵנָא) *wlḥṭʾnʾ*, "and release our guilt and our sins." The imperative is also well documented: *šbwq lḥwby* (ושבוק לחובי), "release my guilt" (Exod 10:17; Gen 50:17). Once again, there is a reference to the Exodus from Egypt in connection with the sin of the people and the golden calf:

[61] The addition *ʾaf ʾanaḥnâ* is not necessary with the Perfect and adds mainly an emphatic nuance.
[62] The root means also means "abandon, leave, leave alone, release, permit."
[63] Also "obligation, duty, sin."
[64] Also "sinner."
[65] Matthew translates this into Greek as follows: Θεέ μου θεέ μου, ἱνατί με ἐγκατέλιπες, "My God, my God, why have you abandoned me?" Mark 15:34 has ελωι ελωι λεμα σαβαχθανι.
[66] Contra Jeremias, *Abba*, 159.

"And now if you will forgive their sin *(šbqt lḥwbyhwn)*! If not, then blot me out of the book that you have written" (Tg. Onq. Exod 32:32).

The second part of the request is presented differently in Matthew and Luke, with regard to the morphology. Instead of the perfect ἀφήκαμεν (Aram. *šbqn*ʾ) "we have forgiven" in Matt 6:12, Luke has the present form ἀφίομεν (Aram. *šbqyn*) "we forgive." In light of the formulation of Targum Onqelos Num 14:19, the Matthean version *(k*ᵉ*mā dī šᵉḇaqnā lᵉḥayyābânā)* has strong support in the parallel materials and might represent a primitive wording in Aramaic. Luke's version might represent a different understanding of the verb which explains the rendering by the perfect *šbqn*ʾ. At the same time, this explanation is not very satisfactory, not even the explanation that it is a small spelling mistake for *šbqyn*, or a present with enclitic personal pronoun *šābᵉqīn-nan*. This form is a late phenomenon, common in Syriac but not documented in Palestinian Aramaic before 130 CE and first in a letter of the Jewish rebel Bar Kokhba.[67] The most appropriate parallel, which also serves as a template for our retranslation, can be found in Targum Onqelos Num 14:19: "Now, forgive the guilt *(šᵉḇoq kᵉʿan lᵉḥoḇê)* of this people according to your great goodness and as you have forgiven this people *(k*ᵉ*mā dišᵉḇaqtā lᵉʿammā)* from Egypt to here!"

3.7. And do not put us to the test: ואל תנסינא בנסיונא

Luke 11:4 and Matt 6:13: And do not put us to the test
Gr: καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν
PA: *wᵉʾal tᵉnassînâ bᵉnisyônâ*
Parallels: Tg. Onq. Exod 17:7; Tg. Ps 66:10; Tg. Neof. Gen 22:1 *(nsy … bnsywnyh)*; Tg. Sir 2:1
LXX: Exod 17:7; Deut 6:16

The expression "to trying/tempt someone" has the connotation of "to put someone to the test" (Hebrew/Aramaic, *nsy*; Greek. πειράζω, ἐκπειράζω), as can be seen in Deut 6:16 and Isa 7:12. To the Greek noun πειρασμός corresponds the Aramaic *nissayôn/nissyona* or *niseta*. It appears in the "temptation episode" of Massa and Meriba in Exod 17:7 and also in Sir 2:1 (εἰς πειρασμόν). The root *nsh*, "put to the test, try" is documented in various verb forms of Qumran texts, but perhaps by chance there is no instance of *nsywn* or *nsytʾ*, which are however common in the Targumim.

[67] For the use of the particles: in the LXX, Hebrew *kʾšr* is usually translated as καὶ γάρ, and in the Targumim again as *ʾarûm* (*ʾrw* in QA) or *ʾûf*; ὡς καί or καὶ ὡς in the Septuagint translates the Hebrew particles *k-* and *kʾšr*, which the Targumim translate with *k-* or *kmh*/*ʾd-* or *hykmh*, the latter variant sometimes passing the comparative "as-well as"; καί alone also renders the Hebrew *gam* and *ʾaf*. Since *dy* can in and of itself already have causal meaning, the following particles could be used in the Lord's Prayer *kmʾ*/*h dy* or *kdy*. The Lukan variant also requires the particle *ʾaf*, which is well documented in Qumran Aramaic, to achieve the comparative significance of the Greek with the past participle. See further Schattner-Rieser, "Das Aramäische zur Zeit Jesu," 127.

Influenced by the Greek εἰσενέγκῃς (from εἰσφέρω, "to bring into, to lead to"), various retroversions of the Lord's Prayer into Aramaic reconstructed the petition with the verb *ʿll* "enter, to bring in, to lead" (Jeremias, Kuhn, Grelot). Since Dalman, the petition has been rendered by *lâ* or *ʾal taʿelna(n)*.[68] But in the Hebrew Bible and the Targumim the verb *nsh*/*y* is constructed with an internal object *nisyônâ*, "to introduce into the sin."[69] The pair of words "in temptation" *(nsy bnsynʾ)* on which I base my retranslation, and which is formed with the preposition *b-* but is incorrectly translated as *l-* in other retroversions, is found in the Targumim to Gen 22:1 (except Tg. Neof.), in Targum Neofiti to Deut 33:8 *(dnsyth … bnsywnh)*, in the fragmentary tale of Exod 15:25, and in the Targum of Song 7:19. In the latter passage, the Genesis is referenced: "and I tempted Daniel *(wʾnsh)* to see whether he could withstand the temptation *(lmqm bnsywnʾ)*, as Abraham withstood the ten temptations."

One could emphasize "us" and insert the dativus ethicus *lánâ*: *wᵉʾal tᵉnassī lánā* (אל תנסי (נא) לנה), "and us, do not tempt us." But this is not a must. This wording is found in Tg. Esth. II 5:1 in connection with the temptation of Abraham, who offers his son Isaac. Again, in the Exodus narrative, we find "tempting" in a few matching passages associated with the verb נסי/נסה "try," for example in Targum Onqelos to Exod 20:20, where God "tests/tries" the people by the waters of Mara: "there he (the Lord) tried *(nsʾh)* it (the people of Israel)." Another passage in connection with the "waters of Massa and Meribah" is Exod 17:7: "because the Israelites had hassled there and had tried the LORD." Also in the Targums to Exod 16:4, the single verse that seems to have inspired Jesus' prayer in multiple ways, God tempted the people, putting them to the test: "Then said the LORD to Moses, Behold, I will cause bread to descend (LXX: "rain") to you from heaven, and the people shall go out and they shall gather what it takes for the day, that I may test them, whether they will walk according to my Torah (instruction) or not."

3.8. Request for salvation: אלא פצינא מן באישא

Matt 6:13: but deliver us from evil.
Gr: ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ
PA: *ʾellâ pᵉṣînâ min bᵉʾîšâ*
Parallels: 11QTgJob XIV, 6; 11QapGen ar XII, 11; Tg. Ps 119:153
LXX: Judg 10:15; Isa 25:4; Jer 15:21; 1 Macc 14:14

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[68] Although for this variant one relies only on a (not appropriate) reference in b. Ber. 60b, namely, *tbyʾny lʾ lydy ḥṭʾ*, "and do not bring me in the vicinity (literally in the hands) of sin."

[69] In the Bible, it is usually God who "tests" and tempts his people, such as in the account of the binding of Isaac and the testing of Abraham, concerning which Targum Neofiti to Gen 22:1 reads, "and the Lord put (*nsy*) Abraham to the test (*bnsywnh*)"; so also in the Targum to Ps 66:10, "You have tried our fathers." But it also happens that the people of God challenge and try their Lord.

The final sentence occurs only in Matt 6:13, and the retranslation itself is not difficult. The adversative particle ἀλλά has the similar sounding *ʾellâ* as an Aramaic equivalent. Which Aramaic verb may have been behind the Greek ῥύομαι "redeem, save" is not to be determined with certainty. In the Targumim there are three possible correspondences for ῥύομαι: *pṣy*, *prq* and *šyzb*. I found in the Aramaic of Qumran texts only *pṣy* and once the verb *šzyb* with the meaning "save, redeem," for example in the Qumran Targum to Job: "Behold, I have redeemed (*šzybt*) the wretched one" (11QTgJob XIV, 6). With the root *pṣy*, however, there are more pertinent parallels: *pṣyhy*, "he redeemed him" in 11QTgJob XVI, 1; XXIII 1; and *pṣʾhy mn ḥblʾ*, "he delivered him from evil" in 11QTgJob XVI, 1; *pṣʾ*, "he saved" in 1QapGen ar XXII, 11. Taking into account the frequency, as well as the probably intentional alliteration (labials *b/f*; sibilants *š/z*; *î*-sound/vowels), I prefer the root *pṣy* in the Lord's Prayer and would render the sentence with: *ʾellâ pᵉṣînâ min bᵉʾîšâ*.

F. Concluding Remarks

The Aramaic retroversion of the Lord's Prayer proposed here is based on the vocabulary and morphology of the Aramaic materials from Qumran and the formulations in the Palestinian Targumim that correspond to the Lord's Prayer. One might argue, in opposition to this proposal, that the Qumran texts do not constitute a homogeneous corpus and that literary Aramaic differs significantly from everyday language use; but one should not stress the difference too strongly, for written texts are always literary to a certain extent. The consonantal text offered in this essay (see also the Appendices) largely corresponds to the Aramaic *Urform*, which itself was based on the biblical text and Jewish thought of its time. Even in the case that the Lord's Prayer had been composed first in Greek, it is obvious from this study that for every 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.

As an Aramaist and Jewish Studies scholar, I discern in Jesus' prayer a skilled combination of Jewish formulae from the Bible and the apocalyptic thought of his period. I therefore agree with Matthew Black, who concluded from his study that "an Aramaic sayings-source or tradition lies behind the Synoptic Gospels," while conceding that "whether that source was written or oral it is not possible from the evidence to decide."[70] There is in my opinion much evidence in favour

[70] Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 271; see further ibid., 271–75.

of orally-transmitted sayings, originally of Aramaic provenance, which would conform with the Jewish tradition of learning and reciting by heart without the need of a written Aramaic text. And Simon Joseph is right when he says, "if there was once an Aramaic source, it is now, like Q itself, submerged in the Gospels"[71] – and they are in Greek.

There might have been numerous Greek-speaking foreigners, but the Jewish community and the milieu of Jesus and his peers were embedded in the Jewish traditions in Hebrew and Aramaic. Neither the epigraphic texts nor the Dead Sea Scrolls confirm the image of a Jewish Greek-speaking community in the land of Israel. For me, the question is not if the first written version of the Lord's Prayer was in Aramaic/Hebrew or in Greek. The issue is that each segment of the Prayer corresponds to well-known Jewish texts and formulae. The Prayer might have been written in Greek first – which was surely the case, for the written version was destined to reach a wide-spread public, Gentiles and not only Jews, who tended to stick closely to their ancestral languages: Hebrew and Aramaic. In my opinion, the written text was directly formulated in Greek and is not necessarily a translation of a written Aramaic original, but this is not to deny the Prayer's obvious Aramaic or Semitic origin. We can rightly assume that Jesus himself recited his personal prayer in Aramaic and that this Jewish-Aramaic background underlies the Greek-edited prayer of the Gospels.

Perhaps Jesus was one of the first "Rabbis" to promote the Aramaic vernacular language as an official language for prayer, which would have been in contrast with Pharisaic practice and the views of rabbinic Judaism. It seems that the Rabbis later tolerated the use of Aramaic for some "popular prayers," including the Qaddish (which is not is documented before the fourth century CE), when Aramaic transitioned from a popular language to a respected literary language. This is in conformity with the Mishna (m. Soṭah 7:1), which permitted any (vernacular) language for prayer. It is not impossible that the acceptance of Aramaic by the Rabbis had been influenced by the use of the early Jesus-followers.

The trilingual situation of Palestine in the time of Jesus is also reflected in the New Testament, quite vividly in Luke's account of Paul's appearance in Jerusalem (Acts 21–22). Paul speaks Greek with the Roman commander who arrests him in the temple (Acts 21:37), but he addresses himself in Aramaic to the people (Acts 21:40; 22:2; see also Acts 26:14), and the fact that he was a practicing Jew of Hebrew speech, managing Hebrew for cultic reasons, is self-evident to Luke and presumably also to be presupposed historically (see also Phil 3:5). Even for Jesus himself, at least some knowledge of Greek may probably be assumed, so that even a conversation in Greek with Pontius Pilate is not historically unthinkable. In the synagogue, Jesus probably read and prayed in Hebrew, but in everyday

[71] Simon J. Joseph, *Jesus, Q, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Judaic Approach to Q*, WUNT II 333 (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 57.

life and in his proclamation, he must have spoken Aramaic. In this respect, his teaching in Galilee and the Aramaisms preserved in the Synoptic Gospels in his sayings fit into the image of an Aramaic-speaking Galilee. Several studies have been devoted to this Aramaic background of the Greek writings of the New Testament, concerning linguistic phenomena ranging from lexical Aramaisms, to the transition from Aramaic to Greek, to Semitic syntax and traces of Aramaic (or even Semitic) language and expression underlying the Greek phrasings of the New Testament. Even if no New Testament texts are preserved in Aramaic and even if no such records existed at first, it is in my opinion quite clear that the Lord's Prayer in Greek was based on an Aramaic *Urform* – written or oral. This should be enough to explain some of the linguistic features paralleled in Qumran and Targumic Aramaic.

I cannot agree with those who claim that earliest post-Easter Christians lived and thought mainly in Greek, the common tongue of all Mediterranean cities, including Jerusalem.[72] How can one claim this? Pierre Grelot presented a different picture in his study of the Semitic background of the New Testament.[73] As an Aramaist, I would ask such scholars, when did Christianity then start for them? The earthly Jesus was a Jew who grew up in a Jewish context, knowing Hebrew and Aramaic. He and his followers were taught the holy texts in Hebrew and spoke in Aramaic. Greek was the language to communicate with foreigners for diplomatic and other purposes, thus it was the common language with non-indigenous persons. Although Jesus' sayings and teachings only survive in Greek, it should also come as no surprise that those sayings and teachings – including the Lord's Prayer – bear the indelible stamp of the language, thought patterns, and scriptural traditions of his Hebrew- and Aramaic-speaking milieu. With respect to the Lord's Prayer, I have shown in this essay the biblically rich traditions and expressions that lie behind the individual petitions. In what follows, a brief summary of these results and their implications is presented.[74]

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[72] Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 111, 120–152; idem, "Der vorchristliche Paulus," in *Paulus und das antike Judentum: Tübingen-Durham-Symposium im Gedenken an den 50. Todestag Adolf Schlatters (19. Mai 1938)*, ed. Martin Hengel and Ulrich Heckel, WUNT 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 177–293, here 257–58; idem, *Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians: Aspects of the Hellenization of Judaism in the Pre-Christian Period* (Philadephia: Fortress, 1980), 75; Heinz O. Guenther, "The Sayings Gospel Q and the Quest for Aramaic Sources: Rethinking Christian Origins," in *Early Christianity, Q and Jesus*, ed. John S. Kloppenborg with Leif E. Vaage, Semeia 55 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 41–76.

[73] Pierre Grelot, "Sémitismes dans la Bible grecque," *DBSup* 12 (1991), col. 333–424; idem, "L'arrière-plan araméen"; idem, "La quatrième demande du 'Pater' et son arrière-plan sémitique," *NTS* 25 (1978/79): 299–314. See also here the work of Marcel Jousse (for literature, see above, n. 28), and Hans Peter Rüger, "Die lexikalischen Aramaismen im Markusevangelium," in *Markus-Philologie: Historische, literargeschichtliche und stilistische Untersuchungen zum zweiten Evangelium*, ed. Hubert Cancik, WUNT 33 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984), 73–84.

[74] For a more detailed presentation of these results, see Schattner-Rieser, "Das Aramäische zur Zeit Jesu," 131–37. Recently, Jörg Frey based a study of the Lord's Prayer on my analysis and

a) Linguistically, it is worth pointing out that the vocabulary of the Lord's Prayer – with the exception of the root *nsy* ("tempt, test, examine")[75] – is thoroughly documented in the Palestinian Aramaic of the Qumran texts of Jesus' time (first century BCE – first century CE),[76] which clearly differs from the later Galilean dialect which Joachim Jeremias and Gustaf Dalman before him relied upon for their reconstructions of the Lord's Prayer in Aramaic. This assessment of the appropriate linguistic background of the Lord's prayer allows us to exclude once and for all the "daddy" interpretation of "Abba." It also allows us to confirm Karl Georg Kuhn's observations concerning the final rhyme and vowel assonance featured in the Lord's Prayer.[77] I would also add here that a retroversion based on Qumran and Targumic Aramaic shows a conspicuous consonantal alliteration in the We-requests.[78]

b) Despite its brevity, the Lord's Prayer is a highly structured and poetic masterpiece, distinct from other Jewish prayers because of its conciseness and expressiveness. It does not open with the *B^{e}rîkh*-formula "blessed are you," but the first section contains everything that a proper *B^{e}rakha* should contain: the divine name (here, Abba); the sanctification of the name; the mention of the divine reign;[79] and a petition for the completion of the divine will.[80] The second person address is characteristic of the late biblical and apocryphal *B^{e}rakhot* of early Jewish literature.[81] The first section therefore serves as an opening *B^{e}rakha* which leads to the actual topics, in the We-petitions. Uniquely, the Lord's Prayer combines both divine and human dimensions in a matter-of-fact way: God and human person, heaven and earth, promise and fulfilment, testing, debt, and remission of debt. A concluding formula is lacking in the Lukan version, in contrast with which the doxology of the Matthean version (not found in the earliest

results: see "Das Vaterunser im Horizont antik-jüdischen Betens unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Textfunde vom Toten Meer," in *Das Vaterunser in seinen antiken Kontexten: Zum Gedenken an Eduard Lohse*, ed. Florian Wilk, FRLANT 266 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 1–24.

[75] The root *nsy* ("tempt, test, put to the text, examine") is well documented in the Hebrew texts from Qumran, and its absence from the Aramaic Qumran materials is simply accidental.

[76] These texts were not composed in a homogeneous Aramaic and are, in part, copies of much older texts in Imperial Aramaic; nonetheless they show common characteristics and are representative of the later stages of the Imperial Aramaic phase. Developments in dialectic are initially found in later texts, such as 11QTgJob (1st c. BCE) und 1QapGen ar (1st c. BCE). Additionally, the consonantal text of Targum Onqelos belongs to this stratum, as well as the core elements of the Palestinian Targumim.

[77] Karl Georg Kuhn, *Achtzehngebet und Vaterunser und der Reim*, WUNT 1 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1950), 80.

[78] For specific details, see Schattner-Rieser, "Das Aramäische zur Zeit Jesu," 132.

[79] See b. Ber. 12a and 46a; see also Heinemann, "Once again Melekh ha ʿOlam."

[80] See b. Ber. 40b. The Matthean expansions, "Your will be done" and "as in heaven, so on earth," align the Lord's Prayer with a virtually standardized model for private prayers in rabbinic Judaism. See Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud*, 157, 161, 180.

[81] Chazon, "Looking Back," 162, 166.

witnesses to Matthew) presents a closing framework that corresponds to rabbinic liturgical practice.[82] That the prayer does not conclude with a doxology may be explained by its early non-liturgical use. The doxology could only be added after the personal prayer of Jesus had come to be used in a liturgical setting.

c) In terms of content, there is a remarkably strong affinity between the formulae of the Lord's Prayer and the Targumic formulae that reference the story of the Exodus (Exodus 15–17, especially Exod 16:4–5) as well as other passages that look back on the Exodus (e. g. Isaiah 63; Psalm 89; 1 Chronicles 29). References to the Exodus in the Lord's Prayer are strikingly obvious from the middle part on, especially in the petition for bread, as well as in the petition concerning testing.

d) Concerning the original form of the Lord's Prayer, one should probably differentiate between two versions, first, the personal prayer which Jesus himself recited, and second, the one which he taught his followers. This might explain why there are two forms of address in the Matthean and Lukan versions of the Prayer: Jesus himself would have addressed God as his Father, "Abba," while his followers would have addressed God as "our Father," while describing God as being "in heaven" was a very common, and ancient, addition to Semitic epithets. The expression "Father in heaven" is also a common phrase in rabbinic literature after 70 CE. It is worth noting, therefore, that there is nothing specifically Christian or Messianic in the wording of the Lord's Prayer: all the expressions and phrases which characterize the prayer can all be individually found verbatim in the Targumic texts. This indicates that the Prayer corresponds to a larger Jewish tradition in which the biblical materials were known (and recited) by heart. Every formulaic expression has significant connections to contemporary interpretations and ideas, such as the messianic expectation of salvation and hope of divine assistance during a time in which the Jewish population lived under Roman oppression. One difference from the Targumic prayer formulations consists in the use of emphatic personal pronouns, which are not required here but which are quite pronounced (as in "give us *our* bread," "deliver us from *our* sin").

e) The various retroversions into Aramaic are identical in the You-petitions, except for the feminine jussive form *t'ty* ("it [shall] come!"). My own retranslation differs from the older suggestions in the We-petitions, and resembles that of Pierre Grelot.[83] Like Grelot, I am convinced that the enigmatic ἐπιούσιος echoes the idiom *ptgm*[84] or *skwm ywm bywmh*[85] from Exodus 16:4. While he trans-

[82] This observation concerns a matter for further investigation. In the personal and daily Hebrew prayers from Qumran, both types of prayers can be observed (with an introductory or concluding formula) and anticipates the standardised Rabbinic traditional model: see Chazon, "Looking Back," 170–71.

[83] Grelot, "L'arrière-plan araméen," 546; idem, "La quatrième demande," 306.

[84] In this well-documented figure of speech, *ptgm* traditionally stands for the Hebrew *dbr*. Other than its basic meaning "word," it also describes the semantic Hebrew scope, namely:

lated ἐπιούσιος with *s*^{e}*kôm* (amount, ratio), following the Neofiti variant (Tg. Neof. Exod 16:4), without excluding *pitgām*, I prefer *pitgām* (found in Targum Onqelos), because *skwm,* in contrast to *ptgm,* is not attested in Qumran, and is found only in the later Aramaic of Targum Neofiti. The translation of the sins-forgiveness petition in the retroversions is identical, except for the particle "as." My choice for *kmh dy* is first based on the comparative usage in the Aramaic of Qumran, and the identical structure in Tg. Onq. Num 14:19 *(kmh dšbqt*^{ʾ} *l*^{ʿ}*mʾ)*.[86] Finally, following parallel Targumic usage, I formulate the sixth petition differently, because there is no evidence in the Jewish Rabbinic literature or the texts found in Qumran of the idea of being "led into temptation" expressed using a verb of action (like *ʿll*). Instead, one uses a common Semitic construction in which the verb and its internal object are formed from the same root.

The retroversion undertaken here and in my earlier study is a Palestinian-Aramaic version which can possibly be said to be close to the original oral form (*Urform*), but which we obviously cannot claim to be a precise representation of the original itself. Each and every such retroversion must remain hypothetical, and as long as we do not have the Aramaic original text, the Greek forms of the Prayer must remain essential. However, the retranslation is able to explain somewhat the differences between the Matthean and Lukan versions, without resolving every issue. The influence of the Old Testament on the New Testament is mediated mainly through its Greek version, the Septuagint. The Septuagint, with its Semitic substratum, whether it was Hebrew or Aramaic, "a fourni aux chrétiens des citations, prises en association avec celles du Nouveau Testament, comme fondement de leurs doctrines, pour l'expression de leur piété, pour les formes de leur piété." And we should not ignore, that "la Septante doit-elle être considérée comme une préparation à l'évangile."[87] The Septuagint is at the foundation of the "religious and cultural milieu" in which the New Testament and Early Church took shape and prospered; therefore, "New Testament Greek can be best analysed, interpreted, and understood when one is intimately familiar with [Septuagint Greek]."[88] One final remark: one should bear in mind that the biblical books were translated into Greek in Egypt to meet the needs of the Jewish community, which had adopted Aramaic as a spoken language from the fifth century BCE, before it began speaking Greek.[89]

"matter/thing, issue/affair/concern, ratio" and *ywm-bywmh* or *ywm bywmʾ* describes something which repeats itself, something mundane, meaning: "a thing, each on its said day/appointed day."

[85] Literally: "each thing/substance, on its (given) day (or daily)."

[86] Targum Neofiti and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan have, instead of *kmh d-*, the composite particle *hykmh d-*. In Qumranic Aramaic, *ʾyk*, "as," is found a few times, but not in the comparative construction *ʾyk kmhdy*, which corresponds to the targumic *hykmh d-*.

[87] Marguerite Harl, *La langue de Japhet: Qunize études sur la Septante et le grec des chrétiens* (Paris: Cerf, 1994), 268–69.

[88] Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), xli.

[89] Jan Joosten, "On Aramaising Renderings in the Septuagint," in *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic*

I cannot make any statement on the question of the Q Source as a whole, but where Jesus' Prayer is concerned, the differences between the two versions can be resolved with reference to a common origin, in the oral phase of the tradition, with the additions in Matthew being representative of Jewish thought in Jesus' time.

The result of the philological examination presented in this paper provides at least an idea of a possible original form of the Lord's Prayer and, as Pierre Grelot put it, "une idée rapprochante vaut mieux que rien."[90]

Appendices

1. The Disciples' Proto-Prayer[91]

אבא/אבונה [די בשמיא]	Father/Our Father [who is in the heavens]
יתקדש שמך	your name be made holy/holy is your name
תאתי מלכותך	your kingdom come;
[תתעבד רעותך בשמיא ובארעא]	[your will be done, on earth as in heaven.]
הב לנא לחמנא פתגם יום ביומא	Give us our daily bread;
ושבוק לחובינא	and forgive us our debts,
כמא די שבקנא לחיבינא	as we also have forgiven those indebted to us;
ואל תנסינא בנסיונא	do not test us with testing,
[אלא פצינא מן באישא]	[but deliver us from evil].

2. The Lord's Prayer Reconstructed according to Parallels from the Aramaic Texts of Qumran and from the Targumim[92]

	Aramaic Text	*Aramaic Parallel*	*Parallel in Context*
3.1	אַבָּא /אֲבוּנָא	Father! (Tg. Ps 89:27); Our Father![93] (Tg. Ps.-J. Jer 2:27);	You are my Father *(ʾabbâ ʾat)*, my God and the rock of my salvation! (Tg. Ps 89:27); Our Father! *(ʾaḇûnâ!)* (Tg. Ps.-J. Jer 2:27)

and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday, ed. M. F. J. Baasten and W. Th. van Peursen, OLA 118 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 587–600; idem, "The Septuagint as a Source of Information on Egyptian Aramaic in the Hellenistic Period," in *Aramaic in its Historical and Linguistic Setting*, ed. Holger Gzella and Margaretha L. Folmer, VOK 50 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 93–105; idem, "The Aramaic Background of the Seventy: Language, Culture and History," *BIOSCS* 43 (2010): 53–72; idem, "Des Targoumismes dans la Septante?," in *The Targums in the Light of Traditions of the Second Temple Period*, ed. Jan Joosten and Thierry Legrand, JSJ.S 167, (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 54–71.

[90] Grelot, "L'arrière-plan araméen," 554.

[91] Elements unique to Matthew are placed in square brackets.

[92] Note: this table does not represent a retroversion from the Greek text of the Gospels, but only collects together parallels mentioned earlier in this essay. The numbers in the first column indicate the section in which the petition is discussed, in Part E of the essay above.

[93] The threefold address "our Father" is from Isa 63:16; 64:7 MT.

	Aramaic Text	*Aramaic Parallel*	*Parallel in Context*
	אֲבוּנָא דִי בִשְׁמַיָּא	Our Father in heaven (Tg. Esth. II 1:2); Lord of heaven[94] (1QapGen ar XI, 12–13; XII, 17)	We praise the God of heaven, who gives us bread and water[95] (Tg. Esth. II 3:8); And I praised the Lord of heaven (1QapGen ar XI, 12–13)[96]
3.2	יִתְקַדַּשׁ שְׁמִי	May my name be hallowed / Prove my name holy / My name will be holy[97] (Tg. Lev 22:32)	And he sanctified his name *(wqdš šmh)* (Tg. Neof. Num 20:13); Do not defile my holy name *(šᵉmî qaddîšâ)*, that I may prove myself holy [or: that I may be sanctified] (ויתקדש שמי = *wᵉyitqaddaš šᵉmî*) among the Israelites; I the Lord am he who sanctifies you! (Tg. Lev 22:32)
	בְּרִיךְ שְׁמָךְ קַדִּישָׁא	Praised be your holy name! (Tob 3:11)	Your holy name be praised! *(bᵉrîḵ šᵉmāḵ qaddîšâ)* (4Q196 [papTobᵃ ar] 6, 7 = Tob 3:11); One praises your holy name (4Q196 [papTobᵃ ar] 18, 11 = Tob 13:3)
3.3	עַד דְּיֵיתֵי מְשִׁיחָא דְּדִילֵיהּ[98] הִיא מַלְכוּתָא	Until the King Messiah comes, and his kingdom! (Tg. Onq. Gen 49:10)	The scepter will not pass away from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, until the King Messiah comes, to whom belongs the kingdom, and whom the peoples will obey (Tg. Onq., Neof. Gen 49:10)
3.4	דִּי יִתְרְעֵי יְיָ עָבֵד בִּשְׁמַיָּא וּבְאַרְעָא	What corresponds to his will happens in heaven as on earth (Tg. Ps 135:6)	Tg. Ps 135:6: Everything that corresponds to the will of the Lord happens in heaven as on earth *(kol dî yitrᵉʿê ʿāḇed bišᵉmayyâ ûḇᵉʾarʿâ)*; We have not fulfilled (lit. done) the will of our Father in heaven (Tg. Esth. II 1:2); see also Tg. Isa. 48:14; Tg. Ps 40:9
	אַלֵּף יָתִי לְמֶעְבַּד רְעוּתָךְ	Teach me to do your will (Tg. Ps 143:10)	Tg. Ps 143:10: Teach me to do your will *(ʾallēf yātî lᵉmeʿbad rᵉʿûtāḵ)*, for you are my God! Your good spirit leads me to flat land.

[94] The expression "Lord of heaven" is common in biblical and epigraphic Jewish texts from the Persian Period. In the Aramaic papyri of the Jewish colony of Elephantine (5th c. BCE), JHW (Jaho) is generally referred to as "JHW, God of Heaven" (אלה שמיא) and "Lord of Heaven" (שמיא מרא).

[95] The passage refers to the Exodus from Egypt, in which God supplied his people with food and drink during the crossing of the desert, thus saving them from hunger and thirst.

[96] The expression "Lord of heaven" is common in biblical and epigraphic Jewish texts from the Persian Period. In the Aramaic papyri of the Jewish colony of Elephantine (5th c. BCE), JHW (Jaho) is generally referred to as "JHW, God of Heaven" (אלה שמיא) and "Lord of Heaven" (שמיא מרא).

[97] In Targum Neofiti one also finds *yhwwy qdyš*, [he] is holy.

[98] Targum Neofiti has the late form of the possessive particle *dyd-*: דידיה

	Aramaic Text	*Aramaic Parallel*	*Parallel in Context*
3.5	הַב לַנָא לַחְמָא!	Give us bread! (Tg. Onq. Gen 47:15)	And all the Egyptians came to Joseph, saying, Give us bread! *(haḇ lanâ laḥmâ)*, for why should be die before you? For our money is all gone (Tg. Onq. and Tg. Neof. Gen 47:15); We pray to the God of heaven, who gives us bread and water[99] (Tg. Esth. II 3:8)
	לַחְמָא מִן שְׁמַיָא פִּתְגַם יוֹם בְּיוֹמֵיהּ	(The bread of heaven), the daily necessities (Tg. Exod 16:4)	Thus said the LORD to Moses, Behold I will make it rain for you bread from heaven *(laḥmâ min šᵉmayyâ)*; then the people should go out and gather the daily necessities, every day *(pitgām*[100] *yôm bᵉyômēh)*, so that I can examine [or: test] them, whether they want to live by my law, or not (Tg. Onq., Neof. Exod 16:4, 15, 25)
3.6	וְתִשְׁבּוֹק לְחוֹבֵנָא שְׁבוֹק כְּעַן לְחוֹבֵי עַמָא הָדֵין	And forgive our sin (Tg. Exod 34:9) Just as you have forgiven this people (Tg. Onq. Num 14:19)	And he said: If I have found favour in your eyes, Lord, so let the Lord go in the midst of us. Although they are a stubborn people, yet forgive our guilt *(wᵉtišbôq lᵉḥôḇênâ)* and take possession of us (Tg. Onq. Exod 34:9); (And)[101] forgive now the guilt of this people *(ûšᵉḇoq lᵉḥôbê ʿammâ hādên)*, in keeping with your great goodness, and as you have forgiven this people from Egypt to here *(kᵉmâ dišᵉbaqtâ lᵉʿammâ hādên mimmiṣrayîm wᵉʿad kᵉʿan)* (Tg. Onq. and Tg. Neof. Num 14:19:[102]); see further Tg. Isa 53:5; Tg. 1 Kings 8:34; Tg. 2 Chron 6:26; Tg. Lev 5:26
3.7	לָא תְנַסּוּן קֳדָם יְיָ כְּמָא־דִי נַסֶתּוּן בְּנַסַיְתָא	Do not test the LORD … as you have (already) put him to the test (Tg. Onq. Deut 6:16)	You shall not put the LORD your God to the test [or: test, examine] *(lâ tᵉnassû)*, as you put him (in Massah) to the test [or in testing] *(kᵉmâ dinᵉsatûn bᵉnisitâ)* (Tg. Deut 6:16); So he called that place, "Testing" [MT: Massah and Meribah], because the Israelites quarreled there, and tested the LORD, and said: Is the Shekinah [presence] of God among us or not? (Tg. Exod 17:7); see also Tg. Ps 66:10

[99] See footnote 2 and the memory of the escape from Egypt and the Exodus.

[100] Instead of *pitgām*, which here is equivalent to "need, matter, thing," Tg. Neof. has *sᵉkôm*, "ration, lot" + *yôm bᵉyômēh*, everyday > literally "each to its day."

[101] The conjunction "and" is found in Targum Neofiti, but not in Targum Onqelos.

[102] Moses intervened on behalf of the rebellious, lamenting people at Kadesh.

	Aramaic Text	*Aramaic Parallel*	*Parallel in Context*
3.8	פְּצֵי יָתִי	Rescue me! (Tg. Ps 119[118]:153)	See my misery and rescue *(pᵉṣî yātî)*, for I have not forgotten your instruction! (Tg. Ps 119:153); In distress you called, and I rescued you *(pᵉṣît yātāk)*! (Tg. Ps 81:8)
	שֵׁיזֵבְנָא מִיַּד בַּעֲלֵי דְבָבָנָא	Deliver us out of the hand of our enemies! (Tg. 1 Sam 12:10)	And I rescue/deliver you from the hand of the wicked *(waʾašêzḇînnāḵ miy-yad maḇʾašîn)*, and rescue you from the clutches of those who do violence (Tg. Jer 15:21); Deliver me now from the hand of my brother! (Tg. Gen 32:12). We have sinned …. Only, deliver us this day! (Tg. Judg 10:15)