

# Prayer in the Sayings Gospel Q

Edited by  
DANIEL A. SMITH  
and CHRISTOPH HEIL

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament  
425*

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**Mohr Siebeck**

# Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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Daniel A. Smith and Christoph Heil

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## Introduction

*Daniel A. Smith and Christoph Heil*

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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





# Index of Ancient Sources

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