

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

PAUL'S COMPLEX MINISTRY AND ITS INTERCESSORY ASPECTS

The inquiry that follows will be concerned with the communal worship and private prayers of the early Christian church. In particular we shall consider the intercessory prayer passages in Paul's epistles.¹ The question will be asked as to what these reveal about the apostle's intercessory ministry, and what he expected in the way of intercessions from the churches to whom he was writing. Were his frequent claims to be praying continually for his readers merely epistolary clichés, polite exaggerations to be expected in an ancient letter? Were his requests for their prayers merely incidental afterthoughts, quite secondary to his main intent in writing?

Our investigations will be focused upon the practical ministry of the apostle Paul as a central figure in the New Testament, whose vibrant letters may be expected to reveal much about the hidden springs of prayer behind his own apostolic life and the life of the early Christian community. To extend our purview to the intercessory prayers throughout the New Testament would broaden our understanding of the early church as a whole, but preclude the detailed attention needed to arrive at solidly based conclusions. So we shall restrict ourselves to the prayers in Paul's epistles. What do these reveal about his own image of his apostleship, especially with regard to the purpose and strategy of his mission, and his relationship with the members of his churches? What part did these prayers of supplication for others actually play in his ministry and among those to whom he ministered?

To assess Paul's practice and teaching about intercessory

¹ We shall concentrate our attention on the generally recognized Pauline epistles: Romans, I and II Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, I Thessalonians, and Philemon. Occasional references to Ephesians, Colossians, and II Thessalonians may be included for comparison; they will be enclosed in square brackets to distinguish them. But to enter into the rich derivatory prayer material of the deutero-Pauline epistles would extend the length of this volume unduly.

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prayer requires an awareness of the many-sided nature of his apostleship. As we cannot here enter into a detailed investigation of this broader question, we must take for granted that he viewed his function and mission in many dimensions. Yet it may be helpful at the outset to identify some of the principal areas of his apostolic activity so as to place his intercessory function rightly among them.

Of course there will always be the danger of forcing an artificial set of rôles upon him. In fact, there are few signs that his mission was shaped or restricted by any preconceived blueprint of official functions.² Rather, he rings the changes continually between various phases of his ministry – spiritual, ecclesiastical, and personal – and between his responsibility to God and to his fellow believers. We find an unstudied and flexible overlapping of such different aspects of his ministry as the pastoral and the priestly; ecclesiastical responsibility and a more personal concern; a mood of affectionate anxiety and an official interest; a bond of love and a bond of authority. To remember this will aid us in seeing the intercessory side of his apostleship not so much as a separate function, but in organic relation with all the other phases.

It should be noted first that his dynamic ministry involved a triangular relationship between God (known in Christ and through the Holy Spirit), himself as commissioned apostle, and the churches for which he was responsible (whose members had been called by God for salvation in Christ). A primary aspect of this relationship was his never-to-be-forgotten commission to preach the gospel – to spread to the Gentiles the 'good news'

¹ For reference to the vast literature about ἀπόστολος and Paul as apostle, see K. H. Rengstorf, TWNT, 1, 438-44; also E. M. Kredel, 'Der Apostelbegriff in der neueren Exegese,' Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie, 78 (1956), 169-93; 257-305. See also H. Windisch, Paulus und Christus: Ein biblisch-religionsgeschichtlicher Vergleich (Leipzig, 1934); G. Sass, Apostelamt und Kirche; eine theologisch-exegetische untersuchung des paulinischen apostelbegriffs (München, 1939); A. J. Fridrichsen, The Apostle and his Message, E.Tr. (Uppsala, 1947); H. Frhr. von Campenhausen, 'Der urchristliche Apostelbegriff,' Studia Theologica, 1 (1947), 96-130; E. Käsemann, Die Legitimität des Apostels: Eine Untersuchung zu II Korinther 10-13 (Darmstadt, 1956); J. Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, E.Tr. (London, 1959); G. Klein, Die Zwölf Apostel (Göttingen, 1961); W. Schmithals, The Office of Apostle in the Early Church, E.Tr. (Nashville, 1969).

² Schmithals, p. 21, n. 7.



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of God's saving action in Christ. It was from the risen Christ himself that he believed he had received this good news initially; to its dissemination he must be wholly dedicated; and by its light and power he must be guided and strengthened in his total ministry. How, then, did he attempt to carry out this task?

Among the practical aspects of his apostolate we may note for our purpose certain elements that existed in unresolved tension with each other. First, there was his restless drive toward missionary outreach, coupled with a sensitive awareness of his unfinished pastoral responsibility. Clearly Paul regarded himself as a pioneer missionary preacher to the Gentiles, pressing on to cover the whole known world before the 'End.' Furthermore, his mission to the Gentiles was shaped and intensified by a heightened understanding of the eschatological age in which he had been set apart as a special agent. For this he had been commissioned, and such must be his primary task. Yet supplementing this urgent pioneering phase, and not wholly reconciled with it, was the continuing pastoral phase of his ministry the God-given task of preparing his young churches more fully for the parousia. The epistles as a whole, and their paraenetic sections in particular, witness to Paul's unrelieved concern before God for the growth and stability of the churches he had planted. His unremitting efforts to go back and visit them personally underline this concern. It is a remarkable fact that for Paul a commission to preach to all the Gentiles² included also pastoral responsibility for each and every Gentile church with which he had been in touch.3

Related to this overwhelming double burden are the signs that he wanted his churches to grow rapidly toward maturity and to become less dependent on his pastoral care. Constantly he is giving thanks for the continuing victories of his converts, praying that they increase in the graces of faith, hope, and love, and urging them to take their full share in the wider life of the whole church. His intercessory prayers seem to be closely related to a longing for the maturity of his churches, as the scope of his own mission extended.

A second area involved the tension between his clear sense of

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<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 49, n. 3.
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² Rom. 1: 13-15, 11: 13, 15: 16-23, 16: 24; Gal. 2: 2, 8f.; I Thess. 2: 16.

⁸ II Cor. 11: 28.



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apostolic responsibility, and his warmly personal feelings toward his churches and his fellow believers. Over and again in his letters we find his apostolic consciousness becoming transfused either by a glow of affection, or by a revulsion of hurt personal feelings. So we are warned against any purely ecclesiastical understanding of his apostolic function. His intercessions might be colored both by his official and by his personal attitudes.

A third area included the tension between his exercise of apostolic authority, and his dedication to humble service and to sharing the tribulations of his fellow believers. He believed himself to have been 'approved' and commissioned as an apostle with responsibility for preaching, teaching, warning, exhorting, guiding, and if necessary, disciplining the churches. Yet he understood this God-appointed and God-maintained authority to be most truly expressed in the lowliness and loving self-giving that had been demonstrated in the obedience of Jesus Christ. The apostle must voluntarily refrain as far as possible from exercising his rights; for he, too, must give himself in lowly service and share in the common tribulations and persecutions of the last days. Here again the mood of Paul's intercessions might be affected.

The last area to be mentioned involves one more pair of related functions – that of the missionary-pastor and that of the priestly-intercessor. Here we approach the side of Paul's ministry to which his practice of intercessory prayer more directly belongs. Signs are present throughout the letters that he believed himself appointed a mediator between God and the churches in his care, 1 charged with the priestly responsibility of

¹ This is described in both juridical and sacrificial or cultic imagery, the most conspicuous examples of the latter being Rom. 15: 15f. and Phil. 2: 17 (λειτουργός, -ία); see also λατρεύειν in Rom. 1: 9; δοῦλος in Rom. 1: 1, Gal. 1: 10, Phil. 1: 1, II Cor. 4: 5; παριστάνειν in II Cor. 11: 2 [Col. 1: 28]; lερουργεῖν in Rom. 15: 16.

For discussions of Paul as mediator or intercessor, see O. Schmitz, Die Opferanschauung des späteren Judentums; und die Opferanssagen des Neuen Testament (Tübingen, 1910), pp. 213-37; Sass, p. 90; N. A. Dahl, 'Paulus som Föresprakere' (Paul as Intercessor), Svensk Theologisk Kvartalskrift, 18 (1942), 173-82; K. Weiss, 'Paulus - Priester der christl. Kultgemeinde,' TLZ, 79 (1954), 355-63; K. H. Schelkle, Jüngerschaft und Apostelamt: Eine historische Untersuchung (Freiburg, 1957); Munck, p. 50, n. 3.

The background concept of intercessor, or 'parakletos,' was examined by N. Johansson, Parakletoi: Vorstellungen von Fürsprechern für die Menschen vor



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presenting them blameless to God at the parousia.¹ The indications are sufficiently clear and frequent to reveal a deep intercessory sense lying behind all his preaching, teaching, prophesying, and pastoral work, adding new dimensions of meaning and urgency. While such mediation was clearly only one aspect of his complex apostolate, yet it seemed to lie near the heart of his self-understanding, a basic consequence of the intercessory act of God in Christ, an extension of the intercessory ministry of the exalted Christ² and of the indwelling Spirit.³

In the intercessory prayer passages themselves, then, we shall hope to find striking evidence about this self-understanding on the part of the apostle. By studying the passages we may discover how important intercessory prayers were within the letters themselves, what their exact significance was as a part of Paul's ministry and of his total apostolic strategy, how fully they were representative of a widespread practice of intercessions among his churches.⁴

Gott... (Lund, 1940), and O. Betz, Der Paraklet: Fürsprecher im häretischen Spätjudentum, im Johannes-Evangelium und in neu gefundenen gnostischen Schriften (Leiden, 1963); see also H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash, 4 vols (München, 1922–8), 11, 560–2; J. Behm, 'παράκλητος,' TWNT, v, 798–812; G. Johnston, The Spirit-Paraclete in the Gospel of John, SNTSM, 12 (Cambridge, 1970), espec. p. 80 and the literature cited there.

- ¹ See e.g., I Thess. 2: 19f., 3: 9-11, 5: 23f., Rom. 15: 16f., II Cor. 1: 14, 11: 2, Phil. 2: 16 [Col. 1: 28f.].
 - ² Rom. 8: 34.
 - ³ Rom. 8: 15f., 23, 26f., Gal. 4: 6.
- ⁴ Although we shall emphasize Paul's sense of his own special vocation on behalf of others, we shall also note his urging of others to join with him in continual intercessions.



CHAPTER 2

INTERCESSORY PRAYER MATERIAL IN PAUL'S LETTERS

SOME METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

When we begin to examine those passages in the Pauline epistles which refer to intercessory prayer, we confront some difficult problems. How may we recognize and select the prayer material? The more we study it, the more elusive it seems to become. So we are compelled from the start to inquire what identifying criteria of form, content, and function may be used to isolate the passages. Furthermore, can we really hope to measure their true significance? For they must be interpreted in the light of the ancient letter-writing style which many of them share, and the liturgical conventions which they seem to borrow. Yet against such formal restrictions of Paul's style must be weighed the dynamic elements of his positive spontaneity and sincerity. How far did he give to each passage a living function in relation to the main purposes of the letter and the particular epistolary situation for which he was writing? In other words, what is the real weight of these passages as evidence for Paul's use of intercessory prayer? It is to such questions that the following chapters will be addressed.

At the outset we must consider an obvious difficulty in identifying and interpreting the intercessory passages, namely that we are dealing not with liturgical texts but with letters. The canons of ancient letter style² prohibit the inclusion of any prayer directly addressed to God.³ It is always the reader who

- ¹ For a complete listing of the various types of prayer material in the Pauline epistles, see Appendixes I, II, III.
- ² See Francis Xavier J. Exler, 'The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter; a Study in Greek Epistolography' (Diss., Catholic University of America, 1923); various other studies of ancient letter style will be cited in the pages that follow.
- ³ Cf. G. Harder, Paulus und das Gebet, Neutestamentliche Forschungen (Gütersloh, 1936), p. 1; P. Schubert, Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgivings (Berlin, 1939), p. 37; E. Orphal, Das Paulusgebet; psychologischexegetische untersuchung des Paulus-gebetslebens auf grund seiner selbstzeugnisse (Gotha, 1933), pp. 1ff.



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is being addressed, and references to God or to any other third party must occur in the third person. Thus the intercessory prayers must be introduced obliquely if at all, either by recasting direct prayers into 'wish-prayers' that mention God in the third person but are addressed formally to the readers:

Now may our God and Father himself, and our Lord Jesus, direct our way to you; and may the Lord make you increase and abound in love.... (I Thess. 3: 11f.),

or by 'prayer-reports' that claim to describe the prayers of the writer:

For God is my witness...that without ceasing I mention you always in my prayers, asking that somehow by God's will I may now at last succeed in coming to you. (Rom. 1: 9f.)

In these circumstances the primary prayer material may be expected to be indirect in form and limited in range and quantity. It is, however, amplified by further passages in which the apostle appeals to his readers to offer intercessions, or to pray regularly. For example,

I appeal to you, brethren, by our Lord Jesus Christ and by the love of the Spirit, to strive together with me in your prayers to God on my behalf, that I may be delivered.... (Rom. 15: 30f.)

Have no anxiety about anything, but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known to God. (Phil. 4: 6)²

Various subtle questions of interpretation result. In the first place it is difficult and perhaps arbitrary to define too narrowly the exact boundaries of some of the prayer material. For instance, the transition from the Pauline thanksgiving period,

¹ Orphal goes so far as to suggest that such a prayer-report as that in I Thess. 1: 2f. began as a personal prayer and was then recast, at the time of the writing of the letter, into the plural and the third person letter style; pp. 43f.

The names 'wish-prayers' and 'prayer-reports' are chosen for convenience and will be used consistently in our analysis. 'Wish-prayer' is suggested by the frequently used German term 'Gebetswunsch.' See Harder, p. 25. 'Prayer-report,' which translates 'Gebetsbericht,' is derived from the usage of Harder (p. 26) and other scholars. For the variety of terms used to describe the 'wish-prayers,' see R. Jewett, 'The Form and Function of the Homiletic Benediction,' ATR, 51 (1969), 18f.

² In addition are the few passages where Paul writes of the intercession of the Holy Spirit and the risen Christ.



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which often included assurances of intercessory prayers for the readers, has been found difficult to demarcate with precision. For example, in the thanksgiving section in I Thessalonians the report of his constant thanksgiving and prayers for the readers (1: 2f.) merges at the phrase εἰδότες, ἀδελφοί into a general account of their situation (1: 4ff.).¹ We shall discover that a general mood of prayer so pervaded and lay near the surface of the letters, that the apostle could turn easily from expositional or other material into a more direct prayer form, and vice versa.²

It would be to err in the other direction, however, were we to include too large an amount of material within the category of prayer, simply on the basis that much of the epistles may be readily transposed into prayer. This seems to be done by Orphal and others, but it scarcely offers a sound method of investigation.³ Thus, as far as the nature of the letters permits, we may attempt to maintain at all times a real though not too sharp distinction between the prayer passages and the other types of material. Only on this basis may well-grounded and reliable conclusions be drawn.

¹ See below, pp. 162ff. Schubert, p. 31, suggested that one regular mark of the transition from the thanksgiving to the body of the letter might be a paraenetic καθώς, as in Rom. 1: 13, I Cor. 1: 6, II Cor. 1: 5 [Eph. 1: 4], Phil. 1: 7 [Col. 1: 6, twice, and 7], I Thess. 1: 5, 2: 13 [II Thess. 1: 3]. J. T. Sanders, however, has argued for a more formally structured and recognizable transition: 'The Transition from Opening Epistolary Thanksgiving to Body in the Letters of the Pauline Corpus,' $\mathcal{J}BL$, 81 (1962), 348–62. See also J. L. White, 'Introductory Formulae in the Body of the Pauline Letter,' $\mathcal{J}BL$, 90 (1971), 91–7.

R. W. Funk, Language, Hermeneutics, and Word of God (New York, 1966), pp. 263ff., points the way towards a more complete formal analysis of the whole epistles. It is possible that a delineation of the various types of prayer material and their sequence in each letter may contribute towards this understanding. For references to previous form-critical studies in the epistles, see B. Rigaux, Saint Paul et ses lettres, Studia Neotestamentica; Subsidia II (1962), 163-99; P. Feine, J. Behm, W. G. Kümmel, Introduction to the New Testament, E.Tr., 14th rev. edn (Nashville, 1965), p. 176; J. C. Hurd, Jr, The Origin of I Corinthians (New York, 1965), p. 4, n. 4. See also C. J. Bjerkelund, Parakalô: Form, Funktion und Sinn der parakalô-Sätze in der paulinischen Briefen (Oslo, 1967).

² Cf. J. A. Bain, *The Prayers of the Apostle Paul* (London, n.d. [1937?]). See also D. J. Warneck, *Paulus im Lichte der heutige Heidenmission* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 36-40; cited in Orphal, pp. 140-2. Also W. Bieder, 'Gebetswirklichkeit und Gebetsmöglichkeit bei Paulus,' *TZ*, IV (1948), 22.

³ See Orphal, *passim*, and Harder's criticism of Orphal's too loose method of selection and demarcation, p. 200.



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In the second place there arises the problem of rightly interpreting and penetrating the full meaning of prayer passages which are recast with the reader in mind rather than directly addressed to God. Yet in spite of this apparent distortion, they have the advantage of being first-hand reports of the apostle's prayers, as against the second-hand reports of his prayers in Acts, or of the prayers of Jesus in the gospel accounts.¹ In another way, too, it has been thought that the prayers in the Pauline corpus would lend themselves to ready understanding. If it could be assumed that they were prepared for reading to a church community assembled for worship, then they would have been carefully composed by the apostle as semi-public prayers for use on a liturgical occasion.²

During the past fifty years there has been a move beyond the too simple view that Paul's letters were 'unliterary letters as distinguished from literary epistles.' We may note the special injunction that I Thessalonians should be read 'to all the brethren' (5: 27), and that each of the epistles is addressed to one or more churches. They are, then, 'on the way to becoming literary texts with an official character.' True, it was

¹ A. Hamman, La Prière. I. Le Nouveau Testament (Tournai, 1959), p. 246. ² O. Michel, Der Brief an die Römer, Meyer's Kommentar (Göttingen,

1955), p. 324.

- ³ A. Deissmann's characterization: Paul, E.Tr. (London, 1911), p. 9. See an early objection in P. Wendland, Die Urchristlichen Literaturformen, HzNT (Tübingen, 1912), pp. 344f. See also W. G. Doty, 'The Classification of Epistolary Literature,' Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 31 (1969), 183-99.
- ⁴ For a similar instruction in contemporary Jewish usage, see Bar. 1: 14, 'And you shall read this book which we are sending you, to make your confession in the house of the Lord on the days of the feasts and at appointed seasons.' Cf. Syr. Bar. 86: 1-3, 'When therefore ye receive this my epistle, read it in your congregations with care. And meditate thereon, above all on the days of your fasts.' R. H. Charles, ed., The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, 2 vols, 11 (Oxford, 1913), 526.

⁵ Colossians is to be read by the Colossian church and then exchanged for a letter to the church at Laodicea (4: 16).

⁶ Feine-Behm-Kümmel, p. 177. C. J. Bjerkelund, in 'Stilen i de paulinske formaningssetninger' (The Style of the Pauline Exhortation-Clauses), Norsk Teologisk Tiddskrift, 61 (1960), 193-217, argues that Paul's letters are official communications, illuminated by royal letters in Hellenistic inscriptions. Cf. U. Wickert, 'Der Philemonbrief-Privatbrief oder apostolisches Schreiben?' ZNW, 52 (1961), 230-8. C. B. Welles, Royal Correspondence of the Hellenistic Period (New Haven, 1934); Hurd, pp. 3-5; Funk, p. 252; see also the literature cited below, p. 48, n. 2.



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questioned by Walter Bauer whether every letter could be read in toto before the assembled church where unbelievers might be present. But it is now generally agreed that the reading of the apostolic letters was itself an important component of the semi-public worship, perhaps followed immediately by the eucharist. For this reason it is rightly claimed that the prayer passages, even though indirect in form, will repay the most careful analysis and study.

Another type of problem must now be mentioned, namely that the vast and complex background which must illuminate our investigation remains relatively unexplored. To identify the intercessory passages correctly and to assess their true significance requires us to take full account of intercessory prayers used throughout the varied milieux to which Paul the Hellenistic Jew belonged. All previous and contemporary examples in liturgical texts, in letters, and in general literature, would have to be identified and analyzed. But no such comprehensive and systematic research has yet been undertaken, and to do so

- ¹ W. Bauer, Der Wortgottesdienst der Ältesten Christen (Tübingen, 1930), p. 62f. He thinks that Gal. and II Cor. would be unsuitable for this. Only excerpts would be read to the whole fellowship. Harnack's attractive but not generally accepted proposal that the two Thess. letters were written to separate segments of the church at Thessalonica (Gentile and Jewish) would not deny the use of these letters at church assemblies. The first epistle would be read to the whole group, the second to the Jewish segment alone. A. Harnack, 'Das Problem des Zweiten Thessalonicherbriefs,' Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 31 (1910), 560–78.
- ² R. Seeberg, Aus Religion und Geschichte (1906), pp. 118ff.; H. Lietzmann, Mass and Lord's Supper, E.Tr. (Leiden, 1953–); K. M. Hofmann, Philema Hagion (Gütersloh, 1938); G. Bornkamm, 'Das Anathema in der urchristlichen Abendmahlsliturgie,' TLZ (1950), 227–30; O. Cullmann, Early Christian Worship, E.Tr., SBT, 10 (London, 1953), p. 23; J. A. T. Robinson, 'Traces of a Liturgical Sequence in I Cor. xvi. 20–24,' JTS, New Series, 4 (1953), 38–41; Michel, p. 5; Hamman, p. 315; J. Munck, 'I Thess. i.9–10 and the Missionary Preaching of Paul,' NTS, 9 (1963), 98. Cf. Rev. 1: 1–3, 'Blessed is he who reads aloud the words of the prophecy, and blessed are those who hear, and who keep what is written therein; for the time is near.' See below, pp. 42ff., etc.

Against the view that Paul was writing with the eucharist in mind, are H. Y. Gamble, 'The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans,' Diss., Yale University, 1970, p. 148; with W. Doskocil, *Der Bann in der Urkirche; ein rechtsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Münchener theologische Studien, 3, 11 (Munich, 1958), and G. Delling, 'Das Abendmahlsgeschehen nach Paulus,' *Kerygma und Dogma*, 10 (1964), 61–77.

3 Harder, pp. 172f.