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MARK AS CONTRIBUTIVE AMANUENSIS OF 1 PETER?  
AN INQUIRY INTO MARK'S INVOLVEMENT  
IN LIGHT OF FIRST-CENTURY LETTER WRITING

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by

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## SUMMARY

This study investigates Mark's involvement in the writing of 1 Peter in light of the practice of first century letter writing. Many scholars argue that 1 Peter originated from within a Petrine group in Rome that included Silvanus and Mark, ignoring the possibility that Peter might have employed an amanuensis while composing his epistle, a prominent practice of first century letter writers. By contrast, a considerable number of scholars contend that 1 Peter was penned by an amanuensis, appealing to the reference in 1 Pet 5:12, *Dia. Silouanou/ u`mi/n tou/ pistou/ avdelfou/( w`j logi,zomai( diV ovli,gwn e;graya*, and identifying Silvanus as its amanuensis. However, the Greco-Roman epistolary evidence shows that the formula *gra,fw dia, tinoj* identified *only* the letter-carrier.

This work explores Mark's involvement in composing 1 Peter from five angles by means of a historical and comparative approach. The five criteria are the dominant practice of using an amanuensis in first-century letter writing, the noteworthy employment of an amanuensis by Paul as a contemporary of Peter, historical connections, linguistic connections, and literary connections. Chapter 2 surveys the major proposals regarding the authorship of 1 Peter.

Chapter 3 examines first century letter writing and presents the findings as

a practical and supportive background for this work. The role of an amanuensis in Greco-Roman antiquity was classified as a transcriber, contributor, and composer. An amanuensis' role as a contributor was the most common in Greco-Roman antiquity.

Chapter 4 explores the process of Paul's letter writing in light of first century letter writing, with regard to Peter's employment of an amanuensis. It is most likely that Paul and Peter allowed an amanuensis to have a free hand if he was a gifted and a trusted colleague of them. This probability is supported by the instances that Cicero, Atticus, Quintus, and Alexander the Great employed their amanuenses as contributors.

Chapter 5 investigates the close relationship between Peter and Mark through their ministry based on 1 Pet 5:13 and the references to Mark in the early church, including Papias' note reported by Eusebius, and presents these as evidence of a historical connection between two individuals.

Chapter 6 explores the syntactic correlation, the distinctive features of terminology, and the significant and frequent use of  $w^{\sim}j$  for a simile between 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel and presents them as possible evidence with the implication of linguistic connections between them.

Chapter 7 examines the common Old Testament quotations (allusions) in 1 Peter and the Gospel of Mark and their conflated and integrated use of the OT and presents them as possible evidence implying a literary connection between them. 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel outstandingly emphasize the suffering of Christ and apply the imagery of the rejected stone of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 and that of the suffering servant of Isa 53 to His suffering.

This work concludes that Mark was the contributive amanuensis for 1 Peter with Peter allowing more than a free hand in the composition.



## KEY WORDS

- Letter
- Amanuensis
- Contributor
- Transcriber
- Composer
- Papyrus
- Papias
- Quotation
- Allusion
- LXX

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentary
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
EKK	Evangelisch-katholisch Kommentar
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
GNS	Good News Studies
Hermeneia	Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary
HNTC	Haper's New Testament Commentaries
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IVP	InterVarsity Press

IVPNTC	IVP New Testament Commentary
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
NAC	The New American Commentary
NCB	New Century Bible
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NIBC	New International Bible Commentary
NICNT	The New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
P. Fay	Fayu/m Towns and their Papyri
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
Plut. Cato Ygr.	Plutarch, Cato the Younger
P. Mich	Michigan Papyri
P. Oxy	Oxyrhynchus Papyri
<i>Sem</i>	<i>Semeia</i>
SP	Sacra Pagina
<i>SWJT</i>	<i>Southwestern Journal of Theology</i>



TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
<i>TynB</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
VR	<i>Vox Reformata</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament



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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1. Problem Statement

Although Peter is one of the pillar Apostles in the early church, unlike the letters of Paul, his epistle 1 Peter has been neglected by modern scholars. In 1976 Elliott criticized modern scholarship for regarding 1 Peter as “one of the step-children of the NT Canon.”<sup>1</sup> Since Elliott’s rebuke, almost three decades have passed. Up to now quite a number of scholarly works have appeared with an increased interest being paid to its authorship. In this vein, with reference to its authorship, there seems to remain two main streams among contemporary scholars, namely, those who argue that it is an authentic letter *versus* those who argue that it is a pseudonymous letter regarding 1 Peter.<sup>2</sup>

There are modern critical issues that are relevant to the authorship of 1 Peter. These relate to the linguistic problem, the historical problem, the doctrinal problem, and the practice of pseudonymity. In particular, modern scholarship has focused on the linguistic and historical problems of 1 Peter, drawing attention to the practice of pseudonymity in the ancient Greco-Roman world, and asserts that 1 Peter is a pseudonymous letter.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> John H. Elliott, “The Rehabilitation of an Exegetical Step-Child: 1 Peter in Recent Research,” *JBL* 95 (1976): 243.

<sup>2</sup> See Mark Dubis, “Research on 1 Peter: A Survey of Scholarly Literature Since 1985,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 4/2 (2006): 199-202.

<sup>3</sup> Since H. H. Cludius (1808), modern scholarship has doubted the authenticity of 1 Peter.

Those who argue that 1 Peter is a pseudonymous epistle basically favor the hypothesis that it originated from within a Petrine group in Rome that included Silvanus and Mark<sup>4</sup>, disregarding the possibility that Peter, as a contemporary of Paul, might have used an amanuensis while writing his epistle. This was the prominent practice of first century letter writers, including Paul. Those, on the contrary, who contend that 1 Peter is an authentic epistle, fundamentally favor the amanuensis hypothesis as well, appealing to Peter's statement in 1 Pet 5:12, *Dia. Silouanou/ u`mi/n tou/ pistou/ avdelfou/( w`j logi,zomai( diV ovli,gwn*

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See J. E. Huther, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the General Epistles of Peter and Jude*, Meyer's Commentary on the New Testament, trans. D. B. Croom (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1881), 35-36. This view was followed by H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Freiburg: Mohr, 1885), 494; B. H. Streeter, *The Primitive Church* (London: Macmillan, 1929), 122; Adolf Jülicher and D. Erich Fascher, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1931), 193; E. F. Scott, *The Literature of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1932), 220; E. J. Goodspeed, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), 267; F. W. Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: the Greek Text with Introduction and Notes* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1947), 24-25; E. Best, *1 Peter* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1971), 176-77; Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, rev. ed., trans. Howard Clark Kee (London: SCM Press LTD, 1975), 424; J. H. Elliott, "Peter, Silvanus and Mark in 1 Peter and Acts: Sociological-Exegetical Perspectives on a Petrine Group in Rome," in *Wort in der Zeit*, ed. W. Haubach and M. Bachmann (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), 250-53; *Idem*, *1 Peter*, The Anchor Bible, vol. 37B (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 127-34; Hans Conzelmann and Andreas Lindemann, *Interpreting the New Testament*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed., trans. S. S. Schatzmann (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988), 273; William L. Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. 30 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 7; Leonhard Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, trans. J. E. Alsup (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1993), 370; Paul J. Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, Hermeneia Series (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 43; Bart H. Ehrman, *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction to the Early Christian Writings*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 434-36; David Horrell, *The Epistles of Peter and Jude*, Epworth Commentaries (London: Epworth Press, 1998), 6-7; Udo Schnelle, *The History and Theology of the New Testament Writings*, trans. M. Eugene Boring (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 400-01; Jacob Prasad, *Foundations of the Christian Way of Life according to 1 Peter 1, 13-25: An Exegetico-Theological Study*, Analecta Biblica 146 (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2000), 46; Donald P. Senior, *1 Peter*, Sacra Pagina Series, vol. 15 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2003), 5-6. As an example of the majority attitude toward 1 Peter, see David G. Meade, *Pseudonymity and Canon* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987), 161-79. See also Lewis. R. Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy and Ethical Argument in the Pastoral Epistles* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986), 49-51.

<sup>4</sup> See Best, *1 Peter*, 63; Senior, *1 Peter*, 5-6; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 127-30; M. L. Soards, "1 Peter, 2 Peter, and Jude as Evidence for a Petrine School," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II Principat 25.5, ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1988), 3827-849.



e;graya (“By Silvanus, a faithful brother as I regard him, I have written briefly to you”) and identifying Silvanus as its amanuensis. The Greco-Roman epistolary evidence, however, shows that the formula *graw dia, tinoj* identified *only* the letter-carrier.<sup>5</sup> To this end, the current arguments for and against the authenticity of 1 Peter are probably insufficient, and require further investigation. This is the stimulus for the study.

## 2. Research History

The authenticity of 1 Peter has been intensively queried mainly on the basis of the uses of excellent Greek and the Old Testament (LXX) in the epistle; since Acts 4:13 describes the Apostle Peter as an illiterate and ordinary (*avgraw,mmatoi, kai. ivdiw/tai*) person. However, scholars in the field of letter writing in antiquity argue that letter writers in the Greco-Roman world accepted the assistance of an amanuensis.<sup>6</sup> Employing amanuenses was a common practice in first-century letter

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<sup>5</sup> For details of the discussion, especially see E. Randolph Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” *JETS* 43 (2000): 417-432. This conclusion even dates back to the mid of the seventeenth century. See Alexander Nisbet, *An Exposition of 1 and 2 Peter* (Geneva Series, 1658; reprint, Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1982), 210; John Brown, *1 Peter*, vol 2 (Geneva Series, 1848; reprint, Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1975), 623-26; Robert Leighton, *Commentary on First Peter* (KRL, 1853; reprint; Grand Rapids, 1972), 510; A. J. Manson, Alfred Plummer, and W. M. Sinclair, *The Epistles of Peter, John, and Jude* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1957), 115; Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 424; John A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1976), 168-69; J. R. Michaels, *1 Peter*, Word Biblical Commentary (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1988), 306; J. H. Elliott, *A Home for the Homeless: A Social-Scientific Criticism of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1981), 279; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 348-50; Senior, *1 Peter*, 152. Thomas R. Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, The New American Commentary, vol. 37 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2003), 248-49; Karen H. Jobes, *1 Peter*, Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 321. This will be discussed in chapter 4.

<sup>6</sup> Prominent scholars among those who maintain this position are J. N. D. Kelly, *The Pastoral Epistles*, Harper’s New Testament Commentaries (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963), 25-27; Gordon Bahr, “Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century,” *CBQ* 28 (1966): 465-77; *Idem*, “The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters,” *JBL* 87 (1968): 27-41; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “New Testament Epistles,” in *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. R. E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1968), 226; William G. Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity*, New Testament Series (Philadelphia:

writing.<sup>7</sup> Specifically, Kelly points to “the intractability of ancient writing materials and the resulting slowness of penmanship” and argues that an amanuensis was given great freedom in the course of composing epistles.<sup>8</sup> Bahr states that in the first century an amanuensis generally wrote “the body of the record,” and the author subscribed his name to the document.<sup>9</sup> Bahr also indicates that an amanuensis’ important roles were “the taking of dictation” and “the preparation of the final draft of the letter.”<sup>10</sup> Murphy-O’Connor expresses an opinion similar to Bahr’s when he points out that “a concluding paragraph, normally brief, in the author’s handwriting showed that he had checked the final draft and assumed responsibility.”<sup>11</sup> Murphy-O’Connor contends that the sender might allow the amanuensis “to make minor changes in the form or content of the letter when preparing the final text from the rough dictation copy or from a preliminary draft prepared by the author himself.”<sup>12</sup> Ellis supports Bahr’s argument when he stresses that a reliable and talented secretary had some freedom in writing letters in the ancient world, and concludes that Paul gave his amanuensis some autonomy in writing his letters in the case that the amanuensis

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Fortress Press, 1973), 40-41; Richard Longenecker, “Ancient Amanuenses and the Pauline Epistles,” in *New Dimensions in New Testament Study*, ed. Richard Longenecker and Merrill C. Tenney (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974), 281-97; E. Earle Ellis, “The Pastorals and Paul,” *The Expository Times* 104 (1993): 45-47; Jeffrey A. D. Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, JSNTSup 101 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 45-51; David Trobisch, *Paul’s Letter Collection: Tracing the Origins* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 29-33; Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, Good News Studies, vol. 41 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1995); M. Luther Stirewalt Jr, *Paul, the Letter Writer* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2003), 1-24; E. Randolph Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. 42 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991); *Idem*, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004); Bruce N. Fisk, “Paul: Life and Letters,” in *The Face of New Testament Studies*, ed. Scot McKnight and Grant R. Osborne (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 291-92.

<sup>7</sup> See Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 59-80.

<sup>8</sup> See Kelly, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 25-27.

<sup>9</sup> Bahr, “The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters,” 29.

<sup>10</sup> *Idem*, “Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century,” 468.

<sup>11</sup> Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 7.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 13-14.

was “a spiritually endowed colleague.”<sup>13</sup>

As regards the recent investigation of the role of an amanuensis, Randolph Richards’ inquiry is remarkable. Richards groups the role of amanuenses in letter writing of the first century into three categories: “transcriber,” “contributor,” and “composer,”<sup>14</sup> and concludes that Paul’s amanuensis served an intermediate role “between the extremes of transcriber and composer.”<sup>15</sup> In particular, Richards points to the misconception concerning amanuenses, which is “termed the Stenographers vs. Cowriter Fallacy.”<sup>16</sup> Richards argues against Marshall’s suggestion that Paul dictated his letter to a secretary<sup>17</sup>, and insists that Paul gave his amanuensis a free hand and supervised him.<sup>18</sup> He states that “the author was assumed responsible for every phrase and nuance, no matter the secretarial process.”<sup>19</sup> In other words, Paul checked his amanuensis’ final draft since he was ultimately responsible for the letter.<sup>20</sup>

In this regard, as the Pauline epistles themselves show, Paul generally (probably) used amanuenses in writing his (all) letters allowing some freedom. Thus, like Paul, Peter, as a first century letter writer and a contemporary of Paul, almost certainly employed a secretary in the composition of his epistle, giving him greater freedom. An alternative option that is relevant to the authorship of 1 Peter, many other scholars<sup>21</sup> basing their views on this practice insist that Peter wrote 1 Peter

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<sup>13</sup> Ellis, “The Pastorals and Paul,” 45.

<sup>14</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 64.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>16</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 29.

<sup>17</sup> Richards, *Ibid.*, 29, criticizes Marshall for viewing an amanuensis as a stenographer.

<sup>18</sup> See *Ibid.*, 29-30; I. Howard Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles*, International Critical Commentary (London: T&T Clark LTD, 1999), 64-65.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>20</sup> *Idem*, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 127.

<sup>21</sup> See E. H. Plumptre, *The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1879), 159; J. W. C. Wand, *The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude* (London: Methuen, 1934), 29-30; Kenneth Wuest, *First Peter in the Greek New*

using an amanuensis, which helps explain the linguistic problem of 1 Peter, that is, the excellent Greek and the use of the Old Testament (LXX). Specifically, Silvanus (Silas) has been identified as the amanuensis of 1 Peter, based on Peter's statement in 1 Pet 5:12. However, there is disagreement with regard to interpreting  $\text{D}\iota\alpha\ \text{S}\iota\lambda\omega\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon / \dots \epsilon\grave{\gamma}\rho\alpha\gamma\alpha$ . The debate concerns the identification of Silvanus as the amanuensis or as the letter-carrier, but Greco-Roman epistolary evidence makes clear that the formula  $\text{g}\rho\alpha, \text{f}\omega\ \text{d}\iota\alpha, \text{t}\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\text{j}$  identifies solely the letter-bearer.

Remarkably, Peter refers not only to Silvanus (Silas) as a letter-carrier, but also to Mark as a greeter in 1 Pet 5:13. In this vein, it should be mentioned that Tertius, who was the amanuensis of Romans, greets its recipients,  $\alpha\nu\sigma\pi\alpha, \text{z}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \text{u}\grave{\mu}\alpha / \text{j}\ \epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omega$ .  $\text{T}\epsilon, \text{r}\text{t}\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\text{j}\ \omicron\grave{\gamma}\rho\alpha, \gamma\alpha\text{j}\ \text{t}\text{h}.\text{n}\ \epsilon\upsilon\text{p}\text{i}\text{s}\text{t}\omicron\lambda\text{h}.\text{n}\ \epsilon\upsilon\text{n}\ \text{k}\text{u}\text{r}\iota, \omega\mid$  (Rom 16:22). If Silvanus was the amanuensis for 1 Peter, he might well have greeted its addressees, but Peter does not mention this. In light of this practice, Peter's statement in 1 Pet 5:13,  $\text{V}\text{A}\sigma\pi\alpha, \text{z}\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \text{u}\grave{\mu}\alpha / \text{j}\ \text{h}\grave{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\upsilon\text{n}\ \text{B}\alpha\text{b}\text{u}\text{l}\omega / \text{n}\iota\ \text{s}\text{u}\text{n}\epsilon\text{k}\text{l}\epsilon\text{k}\text{t}\text{h}.\ \text{k}\alpha\iota.\ \text{M}\alpha / \text{r}\text{k}\omicron\text{j}\ \omicron\grave{\gamma}\ \text{u}\iota\grave{\omicron}, \text{j}\ \text{m}\omicron\upsilon$  (She who is in Babylon, chosen together with you, greets you, and so does Mark my son), implies the possibility that

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*Testament* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1942), 132; E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Thornapple Commentaries (London: Macmillan, 1955), 241; Allan Stibbs and A. F. Walls, *First Epistle General of Peter* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1959), 175; C. E. B. Cranfield, *I and II Peter and Jude: Introduction and Commentary*, Torch Bible Commentaries (London: SCM, 1960), 121; Donald Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. rev. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 779; Everett F. Harrison, *Introduction to the New Testament*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1971; reprint, 1987), 404-05; Bruce M. Metzger, *The New Testament: Its Background, Growth, and Content*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1983), 256; Simon Kistemaker, *New Testament Commentary: Peter and Jude* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1987), 207; Peter Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1990), 198; I. Howard Marshall, *1 Peter* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1991), 173-74; Norman Hillyer, *1 and 2 Peter and Jude*, New International Biblical Commentary (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992), 151; Joe Blair, *Introducing the New Testament* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994), 197; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, rev. ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 481. D. A. Carson and Douglas J. Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 2005), 645. For the commentaries on 1 Peter, specifically see D. A. Carson, *New Testament Commentary Survey*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 2007), 136-40.

Mark could be the amanuensis of 1 Peter. It is obvious that Mark was with Peter while he was composing the epistle.<sup>22</sup> Mark was clearly a very literate man, and if, as is likely, he was Peter's amanuensis and the author of the Gospel of Mark on the grounds of the references in the early church including Papias' note, and since Peter almost certainly used amanuenses while writing his epistle, as Paul did, then, it is reasonable to assume that Mark is the amanuensis for 1 Peter.

It should also be noted that Peter's statement in 1 Pet 5:13, *Ma/rkoj o` ui`o, j mou*, plays a crucial role as a historical reference implying the steady relationship between Peter and Mark. Nonetheless, scholars, including those who defend Petrine authorship of 1 Peter, have neglected Peter's statement in 1 Pet 5:13, *VAspa, zetai u`ma/j h` evn Babulw/ni suneklekth. kai. Ma/rkoj o` ui`o, j mou*, and have focused on that in 1 Pet 5:12.

As for 1 Peter's Greek style, Kelly and Achtemeier have cautiously pointed out that its Greek quality seems not to be worthy of the lavish tributes and should, therefore, not be overstated.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, Schutter has indicated Semitisms in the epistle and has argued that the author of 1 Peter might have been Jewish.<sup>24</sup> Most of all, one must pay attention to Jobes' recent observation on the Greek style of 1 Peter. She offers a fresh key to the controversy with regard to the authenticity problem of 1 Peter. She explores more objective standards for resolving whether the author of 1 Peter was a native speaker of Greek or not, indicating that estimations of its Greek quality have usually been subjective.<sup>25</sup> Modifying and developing Martin's syntactic

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<sup>22</sup> See R. H. Gundry, "'Verba Christi' in I Peter: Their Implications Concerning the Authorship of I Peter and the Authenticity of the Gospel Tradition." *New Testament Studies* 13 (1966): 336-50; *Idem*, "Further Verba on Verba Christi in I Peter." *Biblica* 55 (1974): 211-32.

<sup>23</sup> See J. N. D. Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, Black's New Testament Commentaries (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1969), 31; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 2.

<sup>24</sup> See Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, 83-84.

<sup>25</sup> Jobes, *1 Peter*, 326-27.

analysis method<sup>26</sup>, Jobes investigates the presence of “Semitic interference” in 1 Peter, and concludes that the author of 1 Peter was not a native speaker of Greek, referring to the possibility that Mark would have been the amanuensis of 1 Peter.<sup>27</sup>

Finally, in view of the OT use in 1 Peter and Mark’s Gospel there exist surprising literary connections between them; particularly, the quotation of Ps 118:22 in both Mark 12:10 and 1 Pet 2:7, the quotation of (allusion to) the suffering Servant of Isa 53 in 1 Pet 2:22-25a and Mark 10:45, the quotation of (allusion to) Ezek 34 in Mark 6:34 and 1 Pet 2:25b, and the quotation of (allusion to) Isa 40: 8 in 1 Pet 1:25 and Mark 13:31b. 1 Peter and the Gospel of Mark significantly underline the suffering of Christ and apply to it the imagery of the rejected stone of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 and that of the suffering servant of Isa 53. Isaiah and the Psalms seem to be the most important canonical books among the OT to the authors of 1 Peter and the Gospel of Mark, considering that they cite and allude to them so profoundly. The imagery of Christ as the messianic shepherd of Ezek 34 is highlighted by both 1 Peter and the Gospel of Mark; the phrasing of *h=san w`j pro,bata mh. e;conta poime,na* (“they were like sheep without a shepherd”) in Mark 6:34 is used in the Gospel of Mark *alone* among the parallel accounts of the miracle of the five loaves and the two fish in the four Gospels.

From the manner of the OT use in both 1 Peter and Mark’s Gospel, a striking feature remains. In the case of Mark’s Gospel, the author cites or alludes to the OT in a conflated and integrated way.<sup>28</sup> Mark 12:1-11, 10:45, and 13:31 exhibit

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<sup>26</sup> See R. A. Martin, *Syntactical Evidence of Semitic Sources in Greek Documents* (Cambridge, MA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974), 5-43.

<sup>27</sup> Jobes, *1 Peter*, 19, 320-21, 337.

<sup>28</sup> See E. Earle Ellis, *Paul’s Use of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1957), 49, 141; J. A. Fitzmyer, “The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament,” *NTS* 7 (1960/61): 319-21; H. C. Kee, “The Function of Scriptural Quotations and Allusions in Mark 11-16,” in *Jesus und Paulus*, ed. E. Earle Ellis and E. Grässer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 175-78; *Idem*, *Community of the New*

this pattern. Equally, in the case of 1 Peter, the author also cites or alludes to the OT in the same way, manifested in 1 Pet 2:6-8 and 2:22-25. These similarities may originate from the collegueship of Peter and Mark based on their common ministries, and the linguistic characteristics of Mark have influenced Peter.<sup>29</sup> Here in lies the contribution of this study.

### 3. Hypothesis and Methodology

The thesis of this study is that Mark was the contributive amanuensis for 1 Peter with Peter allowing a freer hand in the composition. This study will investigate the relationship between 1 Peter and Mark from five angles by means of a historical and comparative approach. *First*, the study will survey the major proposals regarding the authorship of 1 Peter. *Second*, first-century letter writing will be studied as a practical and supportive background to this inquiry. *Third*, the process of Paul's letter writing will be examined in light of first-century letter writing for the practice of using an amanuensis and Peter's employment of an amanuensis. *Fourth*, the close relationship between Peter and Mark through their ministry based on 1 Pet 5:13 and the references to Mark in the early church, including Papias' note reported by Eusebius, will be explored as evidence of a historical connection between two individuals. *Fifth*, the syntactic correlation, the distinctive features of terminology, and the significant and frequent use of  $\omega\`j$  for a simile between 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel will be investigated as possible evidence that implies linguistic connections

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*Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1977), 46-47; Joel Marcus, *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), 15; Rikki E. Watts, "Jesus' Death, Isaiah 53, and Mark 10:45: A Crux Revisited," in *Jesus and the Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 and Christian Origins* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998), 126, 128; Steve Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction* (London/New York: Continuum, 2001), 21.

<sup>29</sup> The base for this possibility originally comes from George W. Knight, *The Pastoral Epistles*, *The New International Greek Testament Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992), 50-51.

between them. *Finally*, the common Old Testament quotations (allusions) in 1 Peter and the Gospel of Mark, specifically, the quotation of Ps 118:22 in both Mark 12:10 and 1 Pet 2:7, the quotation of (allusion to) the suffering Servant of Isa 53 in 1 Pet 2:22-25a and Mark 10:45, the quotation of (allusion to) Ezek 34 in Mark 6:34 and 1 Pet 2:25b, and the quotation of (allusion to) Isa 40: 8 in 1 Pet 1:25 and Mark 13:31b, and their conflated and integrated use of the OT will be studied as possible evidence for surprising literary connections between them. The study will conclude with a summary and relevant conclusions.



## CHAPTER 2

### THE AUTHENTICITY PROBLEM OF 1 PETER

#### 1. 1 Peter in the Ancient Church

In respect of a discussion of the authenticity of 1 Peter, it is significant that there was no noteworthy doubt as regards its Petrine authorship before the nineteenth century, except for the fact that Muratorian Fragment did not contain it at the end of second century.<sup>1</sup> There seem to be some parallels between 1 Peter and Clement of Rome's *Epistle to the Corinthians*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Polycarp<sup>3</sup> seems to cite 1 Peter in his *Letter to the Philipians*, although he does not mention his source. Irenaeus<sup>4</sup> adduced it as a Petrine epistle in the second century and shortly after it

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<sup>1</sup> However, Muratorian Fragment not only excludes Hebrews, James, and 3 John, whereas including Wisdom of Solomon and Apocalypse of Peter, but also contains so many clerical errors. Thus, the absence of 1 Peter from Muratorian Fragment should not significantly effect one's judgment regarding its position as legitimate or canonical. Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition*, 7, also comments that "the Muratorian fragment may omit I Peter precisely because its true author was known there." On this issue, specifically see B. F. Westcott, *A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1889), 211-20; A. B. du Toit, "Historical Section: Survey of the Development, Closure, and Later History of the New Testament Canon," in *Guide to the New Testament*, vol. 1, ed. A. B. du Toit, trans. D. Roy Briggs (Pretoria: N. G. Kerkboekhandel Transvaal, 1979), 237-50; Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 191-201.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. Lightfoot and J. R. Harmer, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Macmillan Co., 1889; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1989), 44, 56. See also C. A. Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T&T Clark LTD, 1902), 8.

<sup>3</sup> Lightfoot and Harmer, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 123-30. See also Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Irenaeus *Against the Heresies* 4.9.2; 4.16.5; 5.7.2, trans. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol.1 (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1975).

was attested as Petrine by Tertullian<sup>5</sup> and Clement of Alexandria.<sup>6</sup> Subsequently it was confidently deemed as Scripture in the early church until the nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> As such, doubt of the authenticity of 1 Peter is a modern tendency.

## 2. Critical Questions about the Authenticity of 1 Peter

The authorship of 1 Peter has been a longstanding point of debate. After Cludius (1808) raised doubts about the genuineness of 1 Peter<sup>8</sup>, this view was followed by Holtzmann, Streeter, Jülicher, Fascher, Scott, Goodspeed, Beare, Best, Kümmel, Elliott, Goppelt, Conzelmann, Lindemann, Schutter, Achtemeier, Ehrman, Horrell, Schnelle, and Senior.<sup>9</sup> This line of criticism among modern scholars especially focuses on the linguistic and historical problems of 1 Peter, drawing attention to the practice of pseudonymity in the Greco-Roman world.

### 2.1. The Linguistic Problem

In 1947, a commentary on *The First Epistle of Peter* was published by Beare. This is seen as a major landmark in the history of the criticism of 1 Peter. As noted in the preface by the author himself, this work is the first English commentary

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<sup>5</sup> Tertullian *Adversus Marcionem* 4.13, trans. Peter Holmes, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1976).

<sup>6</sup> Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 12.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-15; Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 7.

<sup>8</sup> See Huther, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the General Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 35-36.

<sup>9</sup> Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 494; Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, 122; Jülicher and Fascher, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 193; Scott, *The Literature of the New Testament*, 220; Goodspeed, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 267; Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: the Greek Text with Introduction and Notes*, 24-25; Best, *1 Peter*, 176-77; Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 424; Elliott, "Peter, Silvanus and Mark in 1 Peter and Acts: Sociological-Exegetical Perspectives on a Petrine Group in Rome," 250-53; *Idem*, *1 Peter*, 127-34; Conzelmann and Lindemann, *Interpreting the New Testament*, 273; Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, 7; Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 370; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 43; Ehrman, *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction to the Early Christian Writings*, 434-36; Horrell, *The Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 6-7; Schnelle, *The History and Theology of the New Testament Writings*, 400-01; Senior, *1 Peter*, 5-6.

that upholds that 1 Peter is pseudonymous.<sup>10</sup> Most of all, it is generally accepted that the author of 1 Peter uses excellent Greek including an elegant style and frequently quotes the Old Testament (LXX).<sup>11</sup> However, Acts 4:13 describes the Apostle Peter as an illiterate and ordinary (αἰσχρογράμματοι, καὶ ἰδιώται) person. On this point, Beare contends that “it would be a most unusual feat for him, ‘unlearned and ignorant’ as he was (Acts 4: 13), subsequently to become so versed in the Greek Old Testament as the author of our Epistle.”<sup>12</sup> Beare goes on to argue that “he [the author of 1 Peter] writes some of the best Greek in the whole New Testament, far smoother and more literary than that of the highly-trained Paul. This is a feat plainly far beyond the powers of a Galilean fisherman, . . . but that he [the Apostle Peter] should ever become a master of Greek prose is simply unthinkable.”<sup>13</sup> Later, this line of criticism was supported by Best<sup>14</sup> and Achtemeier.<sup>15</sup> While pointing to the use of sixty two *hapax legomena*, unnoted Semiticisms, and considerable rhetorical characteristics in 1 Peter, Achtemeier deals with this issue in detail and concludes that 1 Peter is a “care of composition.”<sup>16</sup> However, Achtemeier’s view seems to be balanced, noting that “the quality of its Greek ought nevertheless not [to] be exaggerated.”<sup>17</sup> While acknowledging that the author of 1 Peter employs “a limited range of rhetorical conventions,” Kelly identifies 1 Peter’s style as “unimaginative, monotonous and at times clumsy,” and asserts that “its style certainly does not deserve the extravagant eulogies it has received.”<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: the Greek Text with Introduction and Notes*, ix.

<sup>11</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 763.

<sup>12</sup> Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: the Greek Text with Introduction and Notes*, 27.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>14</sup> Best, *1 Peter*, 49-50

<sup>15</sup> Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 1-7. See also Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 24-25; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 120.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-6.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>18</sup> Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 31. See also A. Wifstrand, “Stylistic Problems in

Prior to Beare's commentary, Selwyn's *The First Epistle of St. Peter* made its appearance in 1946. With respect to the linguistic problem of 1 Peter, Selwyn, by contrast, powerfully contends that Silvanus, who enjoyed extra freedom while composing the epistle, was the secretary of 1 Peter by reason of close similarity of vocabulary and thought between 1 Peter, the Apostolic Decree in Acts 15, and Thessalonians' correspondence.<sup>19</sup>

It is crucial to observe that by the first century Galilee had already been considerably Hellenized. This fact naturally leads one to believe that native Galileans, including Peter himself, must have known something of Greek.<sup>20</sup> Although 1 Peter frequently quotes the Old Testament (LXX) and Peter was a Palestine Jew, this does not indicate a contradiction, since LXX was the Scripture for the Gentile Churches and it is not convincing to maintain that Peter who had been operating along with Hellenistic Jews was unfamiliar with it.<sup>21</sup>

Concerning the syntax of 1 Peter, one should consider Jobes' recent conclusion on the pseudonymous hypothesis of 1 Peter. She argues as follows:

The pseudonymous hypothesis generally ascribes authorship to a native-Greek speaker of the Petrine school in Rome. If syntax criticism has uncovered Semitic interference in the Greek of 1 Peter that is consistent with a native-Semitic speaker for whom Greek is a second language, then the pseudonymous hypothesis must be modified accordingly . . . . If, however, a pseudonymous Semitic author in Rome is proposed, then further consideration must be given to Silvanus or Mark, and certainly even to Peter himself.<sup>22</sup>

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the Epistles of James and Peter." *Studia Theologica* 1 (1948): 170-82.

<sup>19</sup> Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 9-17, 365-466. See also Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 6-7.

<sup>20</sup> J. L. de Villiers, "Cultural, Economic, and Social Conditions in the Graeco-Roman World," in *Guide to the New Testament*, vol. 2, ed. A.B. du Toit, trans. D. Roy Briggs (Johannesburg: Orion, 1998), 133-42; Kistemaker, *New Testament Commentary: Peter and Jude*, 8; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 120.

<sup>21</sup> Stibbs and Walls, *First Epistle General of Peter*, 25; Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 767-68; Kistemaker, *New Testament Commentary: Peter and Jude*, 9.

<sup>22</sup> Jobes, *1 Peter*, 19.

As indicated by Spicq<sup>23</sup>, Jobes suggests that Peter would have been in touch with Greek-speaking foreigners since he had been conducting his fishing business with them at the town of Capernaum.<sup>24</sup> This probability unsurprisingly leads one to assume that Peter had been initiated as an apostle of Christ having a certain ability in Greek.<sup>25</sup> Consequently, Jobes astutely points out that “the question of just how ‘good’ the Greek of 1 Peter is takes centre stage. At this point the definition of ‘good’ needs to be objectified.”<sup>26</sup> By reason of “the concept of linguistic interference,” Jobes strongly argues that the main problem is “whether the Greek of 1 Peter shows signs that it was written by a native-Greek speaker or by someone for whom Greek was a second language.”<sup>27</sup>

Jobes has attempted to obtain several standpoints on the relative features of the Greek of 1 Peter by comparing some basics of the syntax of 1 Peter with that of different NT documents, Josephus, and Polybius.<sup>28</sup> She developed and altered Martin’s syntactic analysis approach, which is composed of seventeen criteria<sup>29</sup>, and

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<sup>23</sup> C. Spicq, *Les Épîtres de Saint Pierre*, La Sainte Bible (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1966), 22-23. See also Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 7.

<sup>24</sup> Jobes, *1 Peter*, 326.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* Jobes, *Ibid.*, 327, also indicates that “opinion about the quality of the Greek of 1 Peter is apparently often based on the subjective feel of the text, since there have been no quantitative analyses of Greek syntax of 1 Peter in comparison with other books of NT or other Greek texts.”

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 327.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 331-37.

<sup>29</sup> Jobes’ criteria, *Ibid.*, 327, are as follows: Criteria 1-8: “The relative frequency of occurrence of eight prepositions with respect to the preposition *evn*: (1) *dia*, with genitive, (2) *dia*, in all its occurrences, (3) *ei, j*, (4) *kata*, with the accusative, (5) *kata*, in all occurrences, (6) *peri*, in all occurrences, (7) *pro, j* with the dative, and (8) *u`po*, with the genitive.” Criterion 9: “The relative frequency of occurrence of *kai*, coordinating independent clauses with respect to *de, .*” Criterion 10: “The percentage of articles separated from their substantives.” Criterion 11: “The relative frequency of occurrence of dependent genitives preceding the word on which they depend.” Criterion 12: “The relative frequency of occurrence of dependent genitives personal pronouns.” Criterion 13: “The relative frequency of occurrence of genitives personal pronouns dependent upon anarthrous substantives.” Criterion 14: “The relative frequency of occurrence of attributive adjectives preceding the word they qualify.” Criterion 15: “The relative frequency of occurrence of attributive adjectives.” Criterion 16: “The relative frequency of occurrence of adverbial participles.”

labels S-number as follow: “-1 represents the norm for composition Greek for each of the seventeen criteria, and +1 represents the norm for translation Greek for each of the seventeen criteria.”<sup>30</sup> According to Jobes, the value of S-number of 1 Peter is 0.16, whereas those of Polybius, Josephus, Hebrews, and 1 Thessalonians are -1.68, -1.38, -0.44, and 0.37, respectively.<sup>31</sup> Due to the S-number quantity of 1 Peter, Jobes concludes that “the extent of Semitic interference in the Greek of 1 Peter indicates an author whose first language was not Greek.”<sup>32</sup>

Even though Beare harshly criticizes the argument that Peter used an amanuensis while composing the epistle and disregards it as “a device of desperation,”<sup>33</sup> some other elements should be considered prior to resolving doubts about the authenticity of 1 Peter. Peter’s use of amanuenses is related to the problem, since it is almost certain that Peter, as a contemporary of Paul, utilized an amanuensis while writing his epistles, as Paul did, in light of the practice of first-century letter writing.<sup>34</sup>

## 2.2. The Historical Problem

1 Peter seems to refer to persecuted Christians, and, specifically, suffering for Christ. This would seem to refer to authorized, planned persecution against Christianity. While a severe persecution of Christians existed during the reign of Nero, there is no clear proof that the churches in Asia Minor, which were the addressees of 1 Peter, were persecuted during that period. According to well-established tradition,

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Criterion 17: “The relative frequency of occurrence of the dative case used without the preposition *evn*.” See also Martin, *Syntactical Evidence of Semitic Sources in Greek Documents*, 5-43.

<sup>30</sup> Jobes, *1 Peter*, 330.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 333, 336.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 337.

<sup>33</sup> Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: the Greek Text with Introduction and Notes*, 183.

<sup>34</sup> Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 34-35.

Peter died under the reign of Nero (A.D. 54-68). Thus, scholars who reject the Petrine authorship of 1 Peter point to such persecution as being widespread in the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81-96) or Trajan (A.D. 98-117).<sup>35</sup>

Beare especially indicates the affinity between the circumstances depicted in Pliny the Younger's letter to the Emperor Trajan and that of 1 Peter and strongly argues that the persecution described in 1 Peter took place during the reign of Trajan.<sup>36</sup> By reason of the difficulty of associating the characteristics of persecution referred to in 1 Peter with that of any of three recognized, organized state persecutions, and a dominant agreement that the suffering in the epistle does not indicate official state persecution among contemporary scholars<sup>37</sup>, by contrast, it has been suggested that the situation in 1 Peter favors a date somewhere between the latter periods of the first century.<sup>38</sup> Goppelt dates it within the period A.D. 65-80 during the reign of Nero through to Titus<sup>39</sup>, while Horrell prefers the years A.D. 75-95 under that of Vespasian to Domitian, that is, during the Flavian Dynasty.<sup>40</sup>

Both Selwyn<sup>41</sup> and Kelly<sup>42</sup> see the suffering depicted in 1 Peter, not as official state action but as sporadic and personal. Their observation was supported by Achtemeier. He states: it is

due more to unofficial harassment than to official policy, more local than regional,

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<sup>35</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 764.

<sup>36</sup> Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: the Greek Text with Introduction and Notes*, 13-15.

<sup>37</sup> This position is supported extensively by not only scholars who accept the Petrine authorship of 1 Peter but also scholars who do not. See Senior, *1 Peter*, 7-8; Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 43; Horrell, *The Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 9; Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 55; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 35-36; Elliott, *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy*, 85-86; Best, *1 Peter*, 42; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 10; Kistemaker, *New Testament Commentary: Peter and Jude*, 18; Hillyer, *1 and 2 Peter and Jude*, 5; Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 10; Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 10.

<sup>38</sup> Senior, *1 Peter*, 7-8.

<sup>39</sup> Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 46.

<sup>40</sup> Horrell, *The Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 10.

<sup>41</sup> Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 55.

<sup>42</sup> Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 10.

and more at the initiation of the general populace as the result of a reaction against the lifestyle of the Christians than at the initiation of Roman officials because of some general policy of seeking out and punishing Christians. That does not rule out the possibility that persecutions occurred over large areas of the empire; they surely did, but they were spasmodic and broke out at different times in different places, the result of the flare-up of local hatreds rather than because Roman officials were engaged in the regular discharge of official policy.<sup>43</sup>

A sociological approach to identifying the circumstances of 1 Peter's addressees has been explored by Elliott. In his 1981 monograph, *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy*, Elliott observes:

The absence of any evidence of Roman antagonism toward the Christians from 69-92 C.E., correlated with the positive or at least neutral attitude toward the empire manifested in the Christian literature of this period including 1 Peter, indicates a time of toleration and peaceful coexistence. Under Flavian rule the provinces of Asia Minor . . . enjoyed unusually favorable Roman provincial administrators and benefactions.<sup>44</sup>

Elliott not only sees the suffering described in 1 Peter as “a test of faith,” or “a means of discipline,” or “an experience common to the Christian dispersion” such as depicted in James, Hebrews, and Ephesians, but also underlines that the Roman government as it appears in the epistle is merely regarded as “a human institution designed to administer justice (1 Pet. 2:13-14) and worthy of respect (2:17).”<sup>45</sup> Consequently, Elliott places 1 Peter between the years A.D. 73-92 under Flavian rule.<sup>46</sup> However, there could be a flaw in Elliott's conclusion. As acknowledged by Elliott himself, if the suffering described in 1 Peter is not official state persecution, but “a test of faith,” or “a means of discipline,” or “an experience common to the Christian dispersion,” and “the ecclesiastical situation reflected in 1 Peter coincides with that of

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<sup>43</sup> Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 35-36.

<sup>44</sup> Elliott, *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy*, 86.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 85-86. See also Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 10-11.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.



the Gospel and Acts,”<sup>47</sup> it should also be mentioned that 1 Peter could have been written under Neronian rule<sup>48</sup> since there is no obvious evidence that the churches in Asia Minor, which were 1 Peter’s recipients, were persecuted during that period. It would seem implausible to distinguish sharply the social situation of churches in Asia Minor under the reign of Nero, from that experienced under the Flavian house, at least in light of the characteristics of the suffering referred to in 1 Peter.

Although objecting to the Petrine authorship of 1 Peter, Best seems to be unbiased, mentioning that the references to suffering in 1 Peter are not conclusive regarding the date of persecution.<sup>49</sup> This view is upheld by Jobes.<sup>50</sup> With reference to the argument that the suffering referred to in 1 Peter as not being the result of official state persecution, it is simply one piece of data to ponder in a large puzzle and it is rational not to rule out the Petrine authorship of 1 Peter as a *bona fide* possibility.

### 2.3. The Practice of Pseudonymity

The greeting of 1 Peter claims that the author is the Apostle Peter. In spite of the internal evidence of 1 Peter, rejecting Petrine authorship implies that it is pseudonymous. Some scholars have focused on the linguistic and historical problems of 1 Peter by stating that pseudonymity was a common literary tool in antiquity and identify 1 Peter as pseudonymous. However, the most significant issue is whether the epistle which was esteemed as forged had been identified and

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 85. See also Best, *1 Peter*, 42.

<sup>48</sup> See Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 87; Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 30; Hillyer, *1 and 2 Peter and Jude*, 5. Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 43, also accepts this possibility.

<sup>49</sup> Best, *1 Peter*, 42.

<sup>50</sup> Jobes, *1 Peter*, 10.

approved by the early church.<sup>51</sup> Donelson notes that in the early church there remains no instance of known pseudonymous works being accepted as authoritative.<sup>52</sup> Nonetheless, Donelson highlights that “if one had a cause which was important enough and a lie could assist, then it is ‘permissible’ to employ a lie,”<sup>53</sup> and concludes that 1 Peter is a pseudonymous epistle.<sup>54</sup> Donelson’s argument is not convincing because of the contrary views that pseudonymity is not consistent with authoritative Christian writings and that the significance of conserving doctrinal legitimacy vindicates a lie.<sup>55</sup>

Using a different approach from Donelson, Meade contemplates the motive of pseudonymity and develops the position of Bauckham.<sup>56</sup> Meade examined Isaiah, Jewish wisdom writings, Daniel, and 1 Enoch, and assumes that these writings’ attribution is principally an insistence on “authoritative tradition,” not on “literary origins.”<sup>57</sup> In this regard, Meade applies this presupposition to some of the New Testament epistles which have been doubted as pseudonymous and views the procedure as “not mere reproduction, but an attempt to reinterpret a core tradition for a new, and often different *Sitz im Leben*” by using the term “*Vergegenwärtigung*,”<sup>58</sup> and concludes that “in the Petrine epistles, attribution is primarily an assertion of

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<sup>51</sup> Terry L. Wilder, *Pseudonymity, the New Testament, and Deception* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2004), 147-48.

<sup>52</sup> Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy and Ethical Argument in the Pastoral Epistles*, 11-12.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 50-51.

<sup>55</sup> I. Howard Marshall, “Recent Study of the Pastoral Epistles,” *Themelios* 23:1 (1997): 9.

<sup>56</sup> Richard J. Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 50 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1983), 161-62, remarks on the pseudonymous author’s authority of 2 Peter, “His authority lies in the faithfulness with which he transmits, and interprets for a new situation, the normative teaching of the apostles. ‘Peter’s testament’ is the ideal literary vehicle for these intentions. The pseudepigraphal device is therefore not a fraudulent means of claiming apostolic authority, but embodies a claim to be a faithful mediator of the apostolic message.” On the contrary, Bauckham, “Pseudo-Apostolic Letters,” *JBL* 107 (1988): 492, seems to accept the authenticity of 1 Peter.

<sup>57</sup> Meade strongly claims this assumption repeatedly. See Meade, *Pseudonymity and Canon*, 43, 72, 91, and 102.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

authoritative tradition, not of literary origins.”<sup>59</sup> Likewise, Schnelle agrees that pseudonymity should be treated as valid theologically and an indispensable endeavor ecclesiologically to conserve the apostolic teaching for a new generation.<sup>60</sup> Schnelle thus describes pseudonymity not as deceptive but as “adopted authorial designations,”<sup>61</sup> and affirms that 1 Peter is pseudonymous, “permeated and shaped by early Christian traditions that were attributed to Peter and Silvanus.”<sup>62</sup>

Meade says that the early church treated anonymity and pseudonymity in a different way in the first century from following centuries.<sup>63</sup> In particular, Meade insists that the early church had shown “an increasing rejection of anonymity and pseudonymity” since the second century because the growth of heterodoxy resulted in more vigilant discernment between orthodoxy and heresy.<sup>64</sup> It seems that Meade’s conclusion is not legitimate since heterodoxy already existed in the first century and since evidence is not solid for the assumption that anonymity and pseudonymity were quite prevalent in the first century but that the early church rejected them increasingly in the second century.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>60</sup> Schnelle, *The History and Theology of the New Testament Writings*, 280.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 401.

<sup>63</sup> Meade, *Pseudonymity and Canon*, 205.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 206.

<sup>65</sup> Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 82. In respect to Meade’s insistence, Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 348, also argue that “it is one thing to say that Jews and early Christians wrote pseudonymous apocalypses and acts, and quite another to say that they wrote letters purporting to come from one person but actually written by someone else. For that we need evidence, and Meade supplies none. Meade’s theory sounds like an attempt to make the results work out after one has already brought into the dominant historical-critical assumptions.” Along this line, Guthrie, Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 1027, relevantly points out that “before New Testament epistolary pseudonymity can be assumed, it is not unreasonable to expect that some adequate parallels should be furnished and that some probable link between these and any possible New Testament pseudepigrapha should be established. Meade dismisses such a demand as superficial, but is it not a basic requirement?” For instance, with regard to the authenticity problem of the PE, Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 84, recognizes the problem of pseudonymity, its deception, and suggests a different position. He contends that it is acceptable for one of Paul’s followers to edit and prepare for the publication of the work shortly after Paul’s death. He, *Ibid.*, 92,

On the contrary, as Bauckham indicates, the issue of pseudonymity in the NT has frequently been put “within the very large context of the general phenomenon” of pseudonymity in antiquity, lacking adequate discernment concerning the fact that the pseudonymous epistle is “a genre with some special features of its own.”<sup>66</sup> Even though there existed many pseudonymous writings in the ancient world, it is remarkable that epistolary pseudonymity was extremely infrequent among Jewish apocrypha and pseudonymous works.<sup>67</sup> Carson and Moo properly specify that there were only two epistles in Jewish apocrypha and pseudonymous writings, *The Epistle of Jeremy* and *The Letter of Aristeas*, and highlight that these are not true letters in a real sense since each of them is almost a homily or a narrative.<sup>68</sup> There was no epistolary pseudonymity among Jewish apocrypha and pseudonymous writings in the strict sense.

The investigation of James regarding pseudonymous epistles in the early church is remarkable. James points out that apocryphal letters are unimposing and rare.<sup>69</sup> These are *The Letters of Christ and Abgarus*, *The Letter of Lentulus*, *The Epistle to the Laodiceans*, *The Correspondence of Paul and Seneca*, *The Epistle of the Apostles*, and *3 Corinthians*.<sup>70</sup> Similarly, Guthrie emphasizes that there remain merely two pseudonymous epistles which hold the New Testament epistolary

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writes, “It is not too great a step to a situation in which somebody close to a dead person continued to write as (they thought that) he would have done.” In this case, Marshall, *Ibid.*, indicates that there is no “element of intentional deceit,” and apparently claims that 2 Timothy was much more based on genuine Pauline notes whereas 1 Timothy and Titus were “fresh formulations,” although they originated from Paul’s teaching and possibly even some materials. He, *Ibid.*, concludes that the PE probably seem to be written by a group including Timothy and Titus. However, Marshall’s argument, after all, means that 1 Timothy and Titus are pseudonymous, though he, *Ibid.*, uses the term “allonymity” in a struggle to avoid intentional deceit, and the early church was not successful in perceiving pseudonymous letters.

<sup>66</sup> Bauckham, “Pseudo-Apostolic Letters,” 469.

<sup>67</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 1012.

<sup>68</sup> Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 341.

<sup>69</sup> M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, rev. ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 476.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 476-503. See also Bauckham, “Pseudo-Apostolic Letters,” 483-87.

structure and are ascribed to Paul. The first spurious letter is the *Epistle to the Laodiceans*, which is not found in early Greek manuscripts but emerged in the Latin Church after the fourth century. Its legitimacy has never been seriously entertained.<sup>71</sup> Another fictitious letter issued in the name of Paul is *3 Corinthians*. It is commonly suggested that the Syrian and Armenian churches regarded this epistle as Scripture for a time, but it came from *The Acts of Paul* which Tertullian deemed a spurious work.<sup>72</sup> James states that “the Epistle was on the whole too serious an effort for the forger, more liable to detection, perhaps, as a fraud, and not so likely to gain the desired popularity as a narrative or an Apocalypse.”<sup>73</sup> Simultaneously, it should be stressed that Paul teaches the Thessalonians not to receive pseudonymous epistles in 2 Thess 2:2<sup>74</sup>; a view that seems strongly to imply that the early church did not accept the practice of pseudonymity. At this point, Ellis insists that pseudo-apostolic writings were “a tainted enterprise from the start,” and could not escape the stain of deceit during the period of the early church.<sup>75</sup> He concludes that no one can view the disputed New Testament epistles as pseudonymous and simultaneously consider them as innocent documents which can be retained in the New Testament.<sup>76</sup>

The most recent inquiry into pseudonymity and the early church has been conducted by Wilder. Wilder surveyed the intention and reception of pseudonymity

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<sup>71</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 608.

<sup>72</sup> Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 342.

<sup>73</sup> James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 476.

<sup>74</sup> The statement in 2 Thess 3:17 shows that Paul signed his epistles to prove their authenticity. Nevertheless, many scholars view 2 Thessalonians as a pseudonymous letter. Against this position, Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 345-46, persuasively argue that “if the author was not Paul (as many scholars think), then our pseudonymous author is in the odd position of condemning pseudonymous authors- a literary forgery that damns literary forgeries. If, on the other hand, the author was Paul, then the apostle himself makes it clear that he is aware of pseudonymity and condemns the practice (at least people are using *his* name).” If 2 Thessalonians is a pseudonymous epistle, the author must have deceived his readers extremely skillfully.

<sup>75</sup> E. Earle Ellis, “Pseudonymity and Canonicity of New Testament Documents,” in *Worship, Theology and Ministry in the Early Church*, ed. Michael J. Wilkins and Terence Paige (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 224.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

and categorized it according to five cases. These are the following.<sup>77</sup>

Figure 1. The Intention and Reception of Pseudonymity

(1)	“If pseudepigrapha are present in the NT, they were not written to deceive their readers, but nonetheless they were deceived.”
(2)	“If pseudepigrapha exist in the NT, they were not written to deceive their readers and did not deceive their readers.”
(3)	“If pseudepigrapha are present in the NT, they were written to deceive their readers and succeeded.”
(4)	“No pseudepigrapha exist in the NT: they were written to deceive but did not deceive anyone (however, if they are present, they were written to deceive their readers and succeeded).”
(5)	“No pseudepigrapha exist in the NT: they were not written to deceive but did not deceive anyone (however, if they are present, they were not written to deceive, but did deceive their readers).”

(Source: Wilder, *Pseudonymity, the New Testament, and Deception*, 6, 7, 12, 17, 20.)

In particular, he compares the disputed New Testament epistles with Greco-Roman pseudonymous letters and explores early Christian leaders’ responses to pseudonymity.<sup>78</sup> Wilder’s observation deserves mention. He contends:

The church’s exclusion of pseudepigrapha favors the following positions. First, both the authorship of writings and their content were important criteria for the early church when determining which books were to be recognized or rejected as having normative status. These criteria fit together like two sides of the same coin. If a writing was heretical, it was considered inauthentic, and if inauthentic, then the work was not used publicly in the churches. Only where a writing appeared to meet both of these criteria was it ever recognized as normative and accepted for public reading in the churches. In other words, the early church did not knowingly allow either pseudo-apostolic or heretical works to be read publicly in the churches along with the apostolic writings. Second,

<sup>77</sup> See Wilder, *Pseudonymity, the New Testament, and Deception*, 6-20.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 75-163.

evidence is lacking for a convention of pseudonymity which existed amongst orthodox Christians. Third, one was not to violate a recognized corpus of literature-i.e. the genuine writings of the apostles- by pseudonymously enlarging this body with inauthentic works. Fourth, Christians did not regard the fictive use of another person's name with indifference.<sup>79</sup>

Also, Wilder properly points out that the early Christians frequently delivered authoritative lessons apart from employing pseudonymity on the basis of the fact that Paul often quoted the OT to transmit authoritative teachings into a different circumstance and that a number of the NT documents were written by means of anonymity to convey authoritative instructions.<sup>80</sup> On this point Wilder has testified that the New Testament contains no pseudonymous documents.<sup>81</sup> Consequently, he accepts the Petrine authorship of 1 Peter and concludes that "if pseudonymous letters are present in the NT, enough evidence exists to say that they were written to deceive their readers; moreover, their presence in the NT is prima facie indication that they succeeded in doing so."<sup>82</sup>

In this respect, recognizing 1 Peter as pseudonymous is not an argument concerning the evidence, but an argument regarding presupposition. In other words, it seems likely that scholars who reject the authenticity of 1 Peter basically and necessarily insist that 2 Peter is pseudonymous. Grounded on this assumption, they claim that pseudonymity was a common practice in the early church.<sup>83</sup> Subsequently, the proponents of this presupposition assert that 1 Peter is pseudonymous. However, this conclusion is not legitimate because it is not based on sufficient evidence, but on assumptions. As a result, in the light of the evidence above, it can be said that the early church rejected the practice of pseudonymity, and pseudonymous epistles

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<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 147-48.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-19.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 257-58.

<sup>83</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 1018.

would not have been included in the New Testament.

### 3. Prevalent Proposals on the Authenticity of 1 Peter

Contemporary scholars have made several proposals regarding the authorship of 1 Peter. These include the pseudonymous hypothesis and the amanuensis hypothesis. The pseudonymous hypothesis rejects the Petrine authorship of 1 Peter as a whole and final form, whereas the amanuensis hypothesis supports Petrine authorship. The amanuensis hypothesis still involves a debate as to whether Peter dictated his letter to an amanuensis syllable by syllable or allowed him freedom in the composition. If this is the case, then there remains a question regarding the extent of the freedom that Peter gave to his secretary in the course of composing his letter.

#### 3.1. Pseudonymous Theory

A number of modern scholars insist that 1 Peter is a pseudonymous epistle, but this position, as noted above, has weak points. Most importantly, the pseudonymous hypothesis has a serious difficulty in explaining the references to persons in Rome and churches in Asia Minor in 1 Peter. In other words, it is inconceivable to accept the assumption that a religious forger creates the references to individuals in Rome and churches in Asia Minor with accuracy.<sup>84</sup>

Another objection to this hypothesis is based on the question why two epistles exist. Namely, there should be a suitable reason for writing two epistles.<sup>85</sup> In this respect, some scholars indicate that there is no sufficient reason for a forger to

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<sup>84</sup> C. Clifton Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 63; Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 5.

<sup>85</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 776-77, 831-32, 1022-023.



create two epistles in spite of the danger of detection.<sup>86</sup> This means that one pseudonymous epistle has less possibility of detection than would two such epistles. The pseudonymous hypothesis does not give a compelling response to this contention.

Some scholars have proposed that Silvanus (Silas) was the author of 1 Peter. For example, Goppelt insists that Silvanus wrote 1 Peter after Peter's death.<sup>87</sup> In a related vein, the hypothesis that 1 Peter derives from within a Petrine school in Rome was originally suggested by Best<sup>88</sup> in 1971 and later this view was substantially endorsed by Senior<sup>89</sup> and Elliott.<sup>90</sup> Specifically, an elaborate, extensive, and persuasive attempt to argue in favor of a Petrine group in Rome has been executed by Elliott. Elliott essentially asserts that 1 Peter comes from within a Petrine circle which includes Silvanus and Mark in Rome after Peter's death.<sup>91</sup>

### 3.2. Amanuensis Theory

Many scholars insist that Peter wrote 1 Peter using an amanuensis, as the Pauline epistles themselves show<sup>92</sup>, and this practice helps to explain the linguistic problem, namely, the excellent Greek and the use of the Old Testament (LXX) in the epistle. From the late nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, Plumptre (1879) and Bigg (1902) upheld in their commentaries that Silvanus not only

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<sup>86</sup> Wilder, *Pseudonymity, the New Testament, and Deception*, 147-48; Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 831-32; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 321; Hillyer, *1 and 2 Peter and Jude*, 2.

<sup>87</sup> Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 370. Even though Goppelt, *Ibid.*, says that "the mention of Silvanus here [1 Pet 5:12] . . . does not correspond to tactics of pseudepigraphy," but his argument after all 1 Peter is a pseudonymous epistle.

<sup>88</sup> Best, *1 Peter*, 63.

<sup>89</sup> Senior, *1 Peter*, 5-6.

<sup>90</sup> Elliott, *1 Peter*, 127-30.

<sup>91</sup> See Elliott, "Peter, Silvanus and Mark in 1 Peter and Acts: Sociological-Exegetical Perspectives on a Petrine Group in Rome," 250-53; *Idem*, *1 Peter*, 127-30; Jens Herzer, *Petrus oder Paulus?*, WUNT 103 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 62-77.

<sup>92</sup> Tertius has been identified as the amanuensis of Romans (Rom 16:22). Paul's other references implying that he needed an amanuensis' help are 1 Cor 16:21, Gal 6:11, Col 4:18, 2 Thess 3: 17, and Phlm 1:19.

was the amanuensis but also the courier of 1 Peter.<sup>93</sup> Later, this position was supported by Wand, Selwyn and Cranfield. They also contend that Silvanus is not merely the amanuensis but also the letter-carrier.<sup>94</sup> Thus Silvanus was responsible for dual-duty. Haenchen, Kistemaker, and Metzger also insist that 1 Peter 5:12 renders Silvanus the amanuensis.<sup>95</sup> Similarly, Harrison notes that Silvanus would be “more than a secretary in the ordinary sense.”<sup>96</sup> In the same vein, Marshall writes that “possibly Silas had a larger share” in composing the epistle.<sup>97</sup> Guthrie confirms that Peter utilized Silvanus as the amanuensis of his epistle on the ground of his statement.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, Davids writes that Peter allowed Silvanus to pen the epistle using his name.<sup>99</sup> Johnson also accepts the possibility that “the letter could have been dictated to a secretary fluent in Greek,” which means that Silvanus was the secretary.<sup>100</sup> However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the formula *gra, fw dia, tinoj* identified only the letter-bearer.

The tradition referred to by Eusebius and originated by Papias puts Mark in Rome as Peter’s coworker and his amanuensis.<sup>101</sup> Eusebius reports:

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<sup>93</sup> Plumptre, *The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 159; Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 5-6.

<sup>94</sup> Wand, *The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 128; Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 241; Cranfield, *I and II Peter and Jude: Introduction and Commentary*, 137.

<sup>95</sup> Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, trans. Bernard Noble, Gerald Shinn, Hugh Anderson, and R. McL. Wilson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), 451; Metzger, *The New Testament: Its Background, Growth, and Content*, 256. Metzger, *ibid.*, adds that “Peter gave him an outline of the content of the letter and left him free to compose the wording; then when the work was finished, Peter added a conclusion in his own hand.” See also Kistemaker, *New Testament Commentary: Peter and Jude*, 207.

<sup>96</sup> Harrison, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 404.

<sup>97</sup> Marshall, *1 Peter*, 174.

<sup>98</sup> Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 779.

<sup>99</sup> Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 6. Davids, *ibid.*, 198, also says, “Silvanus is being cited as the real author of the letter per se, although the thoughts behind it are those of Simon Peter.”

<sup>100</sup> Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, 481. See also Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 645.

<sup>101</sup> See Martin Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 46-63. T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), 23, suggests that Mark was Peter’s personal amanuensis as well as



“kai. tou/q’ o`  
presbu,teroj( e;legen\ Ma,rkoj  
me.n e`rmhneuth.j Pe,trou  
geno,menoj( o[sa  
evmnhmo,neusen( avkribw/j  
e;grayen( ouv me,ntoi  
ta,xei( ta. u`po. tou/ kuri,ou  
h' lecqe,nta h'  
pracqe,nta) ou;te ga.r  
h;kousen tou/ kuri,ou ou;te  
parhkolou,qhsen  
aυtw/|( u[steron de,( w`j  
e;fhñ( Pe,trw|\ olj pro.j ta.j  
krei,aj evpoiēi/to ta.j  
didaskali,aj( avll v ouvc  
w[sper su,ntaxin tw/n  
kuriakw/n poiou,menoj  
logi,wn( w[ste ouvde.n  
h[marten Ma,rkoj ou[twj e;nia  
gra,yaj w`j avpemnhmo,neusen)  
e`no.j ga.r evpoiη,sato  
pro,noian( tou/ mhde.n w-n  
h;kousen paralipei/n h'  
yeu,sasqai, ti evn αυτοι/j)”

“And the Presbyter used to say this, ‘Mark became Peter’s interpreter and wrote accurately all that he remembered, not, indeed, in order, of the things said or done by the Lord. For he had not heard the Lord, nor had he followed him, but later on, as I said, followed Peter, who used to give teaching as necessity demanded but not making, as it were, an arrangement of the Lord’s oracles, so that Mark did nothing wrong in thus writing down single points as he remembered them. For to one thing he gave attention, to leave out nothing of what he had heard and to make no false statements in them.’”<sup>102</sup>

Irenaeus also writes:

“O me.n dh. Matqai/oj evn  
toi/j `Ebrai,oij th/|  
ivdi,a| diale,ktw|  
aυtw/n( kai. Grafh.n  
evxh,negken

“Matthew also issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and laying the foundations of the church. After

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his interpreter. See also Senior, *1 Peter*, 5-7; Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 82-94; Gundry, “Verba Christi” in *I Peter: Their Implications Concerning the Authorship of I Peter and the Authenticity of the Gospel Tradition*, 336-50; *Idem*, “Further Verba on Verba Christi in I Peter,” 211-32; C. Spicq, “La 1<sup>re</sup> Petri et le témoignage évangélique de saint Pierre,” *Studia Theologica* 20 (1966): 37-61; Stibbs and Walls, *First Epistle General of Peter*, 34-35.

<sup>102</sup> Eusebius *The Ecclesiastical History* 3.39.15, trans. Kirsopp Lake, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975).



Euvaggeli,ou( tou/ Pe,trou  
kai. tou/ Pau,lou evn  
`Rw,mh|  
euvaggelizome,nwn( kai.  
gemeliou,ntwn th.n  
VEkklhsi,an) Meta. de.  
th.n tou,twn  
e;xodon( Ma,rkoj o`  
maghth.j kai. e`rmhneuth.j  
Pe,trou( kai. auvto.j ta.  
u`po. Pe,trou khrusso,mena  
evggra,fwj h`mi/n  
parade,dwke) Kai. Louka/j  
de, o` avko,louqoj  
Pau,lou( to. u`p v  
evkei,nou khrusso,menon  
Euvaggeli,on evn bi,blw|  
kate,qeto) ;Epeita  
vIwa,nnhj o` maghth.j tou/  
kuri,ou( o` kai. evpi. to.  
sth/qoj auvtou/  
avnapesw,n( kai. auvto.j  
evxe,dwken to.  
Euvagge,lion( evn vEfe,sw|  
th/j vAsi,aj diatri,bwn)

their departure Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, did also hand down to us in writing what had been preached by Peter. Luke also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the Gospel preached by him. Afterward, John, the disciple of the Lord, who also had leaned upon His breast, did himself publish a Gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia.”<sup>103</sup>

In light of this tradition, with regard to the possibility that Silvanus would have been Peter’s amanusensis, Hillyer’s observation that “if 1 Peter had been pseudepigraphic, a forger would surely have suggested the apostle’s long-time college Mark as Peter’s amanuensis” is significant.<sup>104</sup> Hillyer goes on to say, “But he [Mark] is mentioned in the very next verse with no hint of being involved in the writing.”<sup>105</sup> The hint is not necessary. As mentioned above, Mark greets its recipients as Tertius who was the

<sup>103</sup> Irenaeus *Against the Heresies* 3.1.1, in *Opera omnia*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Patrologia Graeca [PG], vol. 7<sup>1</sup> (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857), 844-45. Translation from, Roberts and Donaldson, ANF, 414.

<sup>104</sup> Hillyer, *1 and 2 Peter and Jude*, 2.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

amanuensis of Romans does (Rom 16:22), and, if 1 Peter is authentic and Mark in 1 Peter 5:13 is the same person who wrote the Gospel of Mark, the very intimate relationship between Peter and Mark (Ma/rkoj o` ui`o,j mou) and Mark's ability to write is enough evidence to identify him as the amanuensis for the recipients of the epistle. Michaels also seems to support this point by emphasizing that "the assumption that Peter had professional help in the composition of this letter by no means requires that the name of his amanuensis be known."<sup>106</sup> Most recently, in her 2005 commentary, Jobes also underlines the view that "if the reference to Silvanus is entirely fictional, one wonders why he was chosen rather than someone more widely associated with Peter."<sup>107</sup> Although regarding Silvanus as a courier, Jobes also delivers the option that Silvanus or Mark would have worked as Peter's secretary.<sup>108</sup> Similarly, Michaels seems to favor the possibility that Mark is Peter's secretary indicating not only Papias's testimony but also identifying Silvanus as a letter-courier.<sup>109</sup> Evidently, this implies that Mark more likely would have been the amanuensis of 1 Peter than Silvanus.

In this respect, Hengel's remark deserves to be noted:

There are good historical reasons for what at first sounds an unusual piece of information, that Mark was Peter's interpreter. It is obvious that the Galilean fisherman Simon will never have learnt Greek thoroughly enough to have been able to present his teaching fluently in unexceptionable Greek. The Greek Palestinian John Mark, whose house Peter visited first in the legend of Acts 12.12 ff. after his liberation from prison, was presumably later his companion and indeed interpreter where that was necessary. Peter's Greek will hardly have been pleasing to the fastidious ear of the ancient listener.<sup>110</sup>

Furthermore, Hengel points out that "given its essentially smaller extent, the Gospel of Mark mentions Simon Peter more frequently than the other Synoptic Gospels and

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<sup>106</sup> Michaels, *1 Peter*, lxii. See also Trobisch, *Paul's Letter Collection: Tracing the Origins*, 29.

<sup>107</sup> Jobes, *1 Peter*, 321

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 320-21. Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 248-49, also views Silvanus as a letter carrier, but still open the possibility that he would be Peter's amanuensis.

<sup>109</sup> Michaels, *1 Peter*, lxii, 312.

<sup>110</sup> Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, 50.

also more frequently than John.”<sup>111</sup> Likewise, Feldmeier describes this relation between Peter and the Gospel of Mark in more detail. Feldmeier scrupulously observes that “Mark mentions Simon/Peter 25 times, Matthew also mentions him 25 times, and Luke 30 times. With a total number of 11078 words in Mark, 18298 in Matthew and 19448 in Luke, that gives a frequency in Mark of 1:443, in Luke of 1:648 and in Matthew of 1:722,” and concludes that “given the approximate equivalence of Luke and Matthew, Peter is therefore mentioned most often in Mark (Mark:Matt. 1:1,65; Mark:Luke 1:1,46).”<sup>112</sup>

In a related vein, in his 1966-67 article, “*Verba Christi* in I Peter: Their Implications concerning the Authorship of I Peter and the Authenticity of the Gospel Tradition,” Gundry investigated the relation of the Dominical sayings between 1 Peter and four Gospels, and insists not only that “the *verba Christi* in 1 Peter tend to fall into text-plots in the gospels,” but also that these show a “Petrine pattern.”<sup>113</sup> Later, in a different article, “Further Verba Christi on Verba Christi in First Peter,” Gundry concludes that Peter in Rome dictated his epistle to an amanuensis with “frequent allusions to dominical sayings and incidents which were both authentic and possessive of special interest to him.”<sup>114</sup>

Specifically, as respects a distinctive study for the authorship of 1 Peter,

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<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.* This view is also supported by Augustine Stock, *The Method and Message of Mark* (Wilmington, DL: Michael Glazier, 1989), 1-3. See also R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark*, The New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2002), 35-41; William L. Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 7-12; Ralph P. Martin, *Mark: Evangelist and Theologian* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1972), 80-83.

<sup>112</sup> Reinhard Feldmeier, “The Portrayal of Peter in the Synoptic Gospels,” in *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, ed. Martin Hengel (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 59. For a critical approach to the relationship between Mark and Peter, specifically see Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 201-06. An elaborate and balanced quest for the historical Mark has also been investigated by Black. Black has devoted to identify the historical Mark on the basis of the portraits from the New Testament documents through those of patristic Christianity.

<sup>113</sup> Gundry, “*Verba Christi* in I Peter: Their Implications Concerning the Authorship of I Peter and the Authenticity of the Gospel Tradition,” 345.

<sup>114</sup> *Idem*, “Further Verba on Verba Christi in I Peter,” 232.

Elliott's inquiry is notable. Elliott basically argues on the ground of the sociological-exegetical perspective that 1 Peter is not derived from "a single individual" but comes from "a group of which Peter, Silvanus and Mark were chief representatives" in Rome after Peter's death.<sup>115</sup> Elliott highlights not only that "the letter [1 Peter] is authentically Petrine in the sense that it expresses the thoughts, the theology, and the concerns of the apostle Peter as shared, preserved and developed by the group with which he was most closely associated" but also that it is "a genuine letter composed in Rome and sent to household communities of Christian converts residing in the four Roman provinces of Asia Minor."<sup>116</sup> Elliott also identifies Silvanus as a letter-carrier<sup>117</sup>, and this would seem to imply that Mark was more involved in the composition of the epistle than Silvanus.

However, as pointed out by Jobes, there remains no present proof "from the first century" that the Petrine circle existed in Rome during that period.<sup>118</sup> Furthermore, it should also be considered that both Silvanus and Mark had also been coworkers of Paul. It would seem more impartial to concede that Silvanus and Mark were associates of the Apostles including Paul and Peter rather than of Peter only.<sup>119</sup> Although Elliott seems to be cautious in stating that 1 Peter is basically Petrine in terms that it reflects "the thoughts, the theology, and the concerns of the apostle Peter,"<sup>120</sup> but, after all, his position is that 1 Peter is pseudonymous.

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<sup>115</sup> Elliott, "Peter, Silvanus and Mark in 1 Peter and Acts: Sociological-Exegetical Perspectives on a Petrine Group in Rome," 250.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 253-54.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 267.

<sup>118</sup> Jobes, *1 Peter*, 6.

<sup>119</sup> Acts 15:22-33 shows that Silvanus was one of the colleagues for the Apostles in Jerusalem. Silvanus is also identified as one of the co-senders of Thessalonians correspondence. Acts 15:38, Col 4:10, Phlm 24, and 2 Tim 4:11 show that Mark was also a co-worker of Paul. If a Petrine group were in Rome, some of these verses would also seem to support for a Pauline group in Rome including Silvanus and Mark themselves as well.

<sup>120</sup> Elliott, "Peter, Silvanus and Mark in 1 Peter and Acts: Sociological-Exegetical Perspectives on a Petrine Group in Rome," 253.

Nonetheless, Elliott's inquiry offers a significant and astute insight of Mark's involvement in the composition of 1 Peter.

In sum, it seems likely that Peter, as a first century letter writer and a contemporary of Paul, utilized amanuenses while he composed his letters in light both of the practice of first-century letter writing and the evidence shown by the Pauline epistles themselves. In this case, Peter would not dictate word by word, but would allow his amanuensis to have some freedom.<sup>121</sup>

#### **4. Conclusion**

Since Cludius' criticism in the early nineteenth century, there is a stream of modern scholarship concerning the authorship of 1 Peter, that is, that 1 Peter is not Petrine. A number of scholars have questioned the authenticity of 1 Peter on the grounds of the linguistic problem, the uses of excellent Greek and the Old Testament (LXX) in the epistle. They insist that 1 Peter is pseudonymous. However, as noted above, this hypothesis is not acceptable, since the early church rejected the practice of pseudonymity and there remains no example of a pseudonymous epistle in the first century.

Doubt regarding the genuineness of 1 Peter by reason of linguistic and historical problems is a rather modern tendency, thus the conclusion that 1 Peter is not Petrine is hasty. Most important, as examined above, quite a number of scholars have sufficiently advocated the genuineness of 1 Peter by stating that Peter used an amanuensis in writing letters and allowed him freedom on the basis of the practice of first-century letter writing. The linguistic problem must be viewed in light of the internal evidence of 1 Peter, the external evidence in the early church, and the

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<sup>121</sup> This will be investigated in Chapter 3 and 4, respectively.



practice of first-century letter writing. In sum, considering Peter's use of amanuenses and his allowing a free hand in the process of writing, it is certainly reasonable to include the Petrine authorship of 1 Peter as a real possibility.

## CHAPTER 3

### FIRST-CENTURY LETTER WRITING

#### 1. Writing and Letters in the Greco-Roman World

A wide time gap between the first and twenty first century has marked tremendous cultural and technological innovations which, naturally, result in conceptual differences. In this regard it is anachronistic to compare the concept of literacy in ancient times with contemporary ideas of literacy using the same criteria.

On this issue, Millard's investigation deserves mention:

Reading and writing are almost indivisible to us, but in many societies they are separate; people who read do not necessarily have the ability to write, their lives do not lead them into situations where writing is required, occasionally they may need, or want to read, but that need may never arise. Throughout the Hellenistic and Roman world the distinction prevailed in that there were educated people who were proficient readers and writers, less educated ones who could read but hardly write, some who were readers alone, some of them able to read only slowly or with difficulty and some who were illiterate.<sup>1</sup>

Criboire expresses an opinion similar to Millard when he notes:

Literacy and writing were not indispensable skills in the ancient Mediterranean world, and they neither determined nor limited socio-economic success. Writing was rather a useful, enabling technology that people cared to exhibit even when they possessed it only to a limited degree. Greek Roman men and women were proud to be numbered among the literates, but esteem for writing was not enough to spread the skill itself to the mass of the population. Writing depended on need, but those who lacked the skill could resort to various strategies to cope with the demands that need imposed on them.<sup>2</sup>

As pointed out by Millard and Criboire, it is fallacious to posit that any literate

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<sup>1</sup> Allan Millard, *Reading and Writing in the Time of Jesus* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 154.

<sup>2</sup> Raffaella Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, *American Studies in Papyrology* no. 36 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 1.

individual in the Greco-Roman world could also write. In Greco-Roman antiquity, literacy basically was not treated as the ability to both read and write.<sup>3</sup>

Writing rather was a rather professional skill, mainly connected with scribes who were identified as expert writers in Greco-Roman society. Also, writing frequently signified “dictating a text to a scribe rather than handwriting it oneself.”<sup>4</sup> If one required letters or documents, then, one employed scribes.<sup>5</sup> Most of the writing in the first century had been produced by those who “earned their living through clerical tasks, in administrative offices or on the street.”<sup>6</sup> Millard notes that “letters, proceedings in councils and debates in law courts all required clerks able to write fast and accurately, raising the question of the use of shorthand.”<sup>7</sup> He also indicates that “commerce, legal matters and family affairs all called for secretarial skills.”<sup>8</sup>

Letters in the ancient world could be treated as “a substitute for being there in person” and “brought assurance in a world filled with disease and calamity.”<sup>9</sup> In his monograph, *Light from the Ancient East*, Deissmann who pioneered the field of study of the recently excavated papyri from Egypt, distinguishes between letters and epistles. According to Deissmann, letters are unliterary and personal, whereas epistles are public; intended for publication or a wider audience.<sup>10</sup> Deissmann defines a letter as “something non-literary, a means of communication between persons who are separated from each other,” while identifying an epistle as “an

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<sup>3</sup> See Eric A. Havelock, *The Literate Revolution in Greece and Its Cultural Consequences* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 40-59; William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 3-24; Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*, *Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum* 81 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 2001), 18-26.

<sup>4</sup> Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*, 474.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Millard, *Reading and Writing in the Time of Jesus*, 168.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>9</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 14.

<sup>10</sup> See Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., trans. Lionel R. M. Strachen (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927), 228-29.

artistic literary form, a species of literature, just like the dialogue, the oration, or the drama.”<sup>11</sup> Thus he argues that “the letter is a piece of life, the epistle is a product of literary art.”<sup>12</sup>

However, Deissmann has been criticized by some scholars for his insistence on the distinction between letters and epistles. White clearly discerns that a fundamental difficulty in any study of letter writing is “the ambiguity of the category.”<sup>13</sup> A number of letters in antiquity are obviously situational and pragmatic in purpose, that is, intended for a private audience; whereas others by the same author are apparently intended for publication. Letters in Greco-Roman society frequently mix genres, combine stylistic and rhetorical tools, resulting in a blend.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, Witherington comments that the differentiation between private and public is a rather modern device, whereas a more hybrid use existed in the Greco-Roman world.<sup>15</sup> Richards also notes that many public issues were executed by private ways; equally, private letters were treated as “an item or two of business.”<sup>16</sup>

Stowers also maintains that the division of epistles and letters into public and personal categories is irrelevant for the Greco-Roman world.<sup>17</sup> Stowers elaborates on this point:

Politics, for example, was based on the institutions of friendship and family. It is characteristic for moderns to think of politics as the epitome of the public sphere in contrast to friendship and family, which constitute the private sphere. The distinction between private friendly letters and public political letters is thus a

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 230. On the grounds of this analysis, Deissmann, *Ibid.*, 234, also indicates that Paul’s writings are unliterary, making them letters rather than epistles. Many inaccuracies occurring in the investigation of Paul’s life and work have originated from a disregard of this fact.

<sup>13</sup> John L. White, “The Ancient Epistolography Group in Retrospect,” *Semeia* 22 (1981): 6.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Ben Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998), 480-86.

<sup>16</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 14.

<sup>17</sup> Stanley K. Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1986), 19

distinction more appropriate to modernity than antiquity. Furthermore, many correspondences in antiquity that were either originally written or later edited with an eye toward publication have what we would call a private character: for example, Cicero, Ruricius, Seneca.<sup>18</sup>

In addition, Stowers points to the theorists' broad consent in the field of literature and culture that all human activities have a conventional aspect, and contends that "all letters are literature in the very broadest sense."<sup>19</sup>

As a type of letters in the Greco-Roman world, the letters of Paul cannot be simply categorized, as Deissmann argued.<sup>20</sup> In the case of Paul's letters, they seem to be private, but, in fact, were intended for a particular community and consequently they were circulated to another community, even probably duplicated.<sup>21</sup> To this end, Richards states that "in a sense Paul's letters were no less public than Cicero's were originally intended to be."<sup>22</sup> In this regard, Deissmann's argument is quite unconvincing.

## 2. The Practice of Using an Amanuensis

The practice of employing an amanuensis in the Greco-Roman world can be explored within two realms of official correspondence, including business and private correspondence. The private category is generally composed of two different socio-economic classes, namely, the upper ranks and the lower ranks in society.<sup>23</sup>

### 2.1. Official (Business) Letters

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 234, contends that "the letters of Paul are not literary; they are real letters, not epistles; they were written by Paul not for the public and posterity, but for the persons to whom they are addressed."

<sup>21</sup> See Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 60; Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, 19.

<sup>22</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 60.

<sup>23</sup> See Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 15-23; *Idem*, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 60-64.

Amanuenses were employed in various public activities in the Greco-Roman world, at the royal courts and in the marketplaces. They played a crucial role in the administrative organization of Greco-Roman society.<sup>24</sup> For instance, numerous amanuenses who kept official records and accounts were employed at “the central administration” in Alexandria, the centre of Roman Egypt to help cope with the immense bureaucracy of Roman government.<sup>25</sup>

Many extant papyri show a prevalent use of amanuenses in business. Generally, few people in Greco-Roman antiquity were capable of penning professional correspondence. By forwarding a letter with the aid of an amanuensis, they could not end the letter in their own handwriting. Because no section of a document was actually penned in the sender’s own hand, since the individual who authorized it was illiterate, there would be an “illiteracy formula,” a short statement indicating that an amanuensis wrote the letter, at the end of business and legal letters.<sup>26</sup> Examples, specifically from the first century, include<sup>27</sup>:

<p>Qe,wn Paah,ioj ge,grafa u`pe.r auvtou/ mh. ivdo,toj gra,mmata.</p>	<p>“Theon Paaeis wrote for him because he did not know letters.”<sup>28</sup></p>
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<sup>24</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 60.

<sup>25</sup> See Rogers S. Bagnall and Peter Derow, *Greek Historical Documents: The Hellenistic Period*, Society of Biblical Literature Sources for Biblical Study no. 16 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 253-54; Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 60.

<sup>26</sup> See Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 50-51; Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 60; John L. White, “The Greek Documentary Letter Tradition Third Century B.C.E to Third Century C.E.,” *Semeia* 22 (1981): 95; Bahr, “The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters,” 28-29; Francis Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter of the Epistolary Papyri: A Study in Greek Epistolography* (Chicago: Ares Publishers Inc., 1923), 124-27.

<sup>27</sup> For more of discussions and examples, see Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter of the Epistolary Papyri: A Study in Greek Epistolography*, 124-27; Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 50-51.

<sup>28</sup> *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 267, ed. and trans. Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1899). This document dates from A.D.36.

ḥraklei, dhj D[ion]usi, u “Heraclides Dionysius wrote for him  
e;graya u`pe.r auvtou/ mh. because he did not know letters.”<sup>29</sup>  
eivdo, toj gra, mmata.

e;grayen u`pe.r auvtw/n “Psoiphis Onnophris wrote for them  
Yoi/fij VOnnw, f[r]ioj mh. because they did not know letters.”<sup>30</sup>  
eivdo, ton gra, m(m)ata.

e;grayen u`pe.r [a]uvtw/n “Lysas Didymus wrote for them  
Lusa/j Didu/mou dia, to. because they did not know letters.”<sup>31</sup>  
mh. eivd[e,]ne auvtou.j  
gra, mmata.

Other reasons why amanuenses were frequently used in the Greco-Roman world include both the technical trouble of penning on papyrus, and the difficulty of access to writing equipment.<sup>32</sup> A shift in script, the autograph, at the end of business correspondences among extant papyri also shows the prevalent employment of amanuenses.<sup>33</sup> For example:

1<sup>st</sup> hand: su[g]grafofu, lax “The keeper of the contract is  
Timo, stratoj. Timostratus.”  
2<sup>nd</sup> hand: [Pt]olemai/oj oj “I, Ptolemaeus also called  
kai. Petesou/coj Petesuchus, son of Apollonius also  
called Haruotes, Persian of the

<sup>29</sup> *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 264. This papyrus dates back to A.D.54.

<sup>30</sup> *The Tebtunis Papyri* 383, ed. Bernard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt, and Edgar J. Goodspeed (Oxford: Horace Hart, 1907). This papyrus dates back to A.D.46.

<sup>31</sup> *Select Papyri* 54, ed. A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), 1: 165. This papyrus dates back to A.D.67.

<sup>32</sup> Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 46.

<sup>33</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 60. For more examples, especially see Bahr, “The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters,” 29. See also Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 45-50; Harry Gamble, *The Textual History of the Letter to Romans*, Studies and Documents 42 (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1977), 62-64; Longenecker, “Ancient Amanuenses and the Pauline Epistles,” 282-88; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 166-67.

vApollwni,ou tou/ kai. Epigone agree that.”<sup>34</sup>  
 `Aruw,tou Pe,rshj th/j  
 evpi(g)on[h/]j o`mologw/

1<sup>st</sup> hand: (e;touj) ia “The 11<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor  
 Auvtokra,toroj Kai,saroj Caesar Vespasian Augutus,  
 Ouves[pa]sianou/ `Adrianou/ Phamenoth.”  
 Sebastou/, Famenw,q. “Chaeremon, authorized.”<sup>35</sup>

2<sup>nd</sup> hand: Cairh,(,mwn),  
 Crh(ma,tison).

1<sup>st</sup> hand: u`pografh. ivdi,a “Autograph subscription of three  
 tw/n triw/n gegramme,nw/n` persons mentioned :”

2<sup>nd</sup> hand: `Aruw,thj “I, Haruotes son of Herodian, am a  
 `Hrwdi,wnoj sundii,rhme party to the division made at this  
 evpi. tou/ parw,ntoj kai. present time and have obtained for  
 le,lnwca eivj to. auvto. the portion falling to me the  
 e,piba,llwn moi me,roj th.n aforesaid slave Sambous and I will  
 progegramme,nhn dou,lnh do everything as stated above.”<sup>36</sup>  
 Sambou/n kai. e[kasta  
 poh,swi kaqw.j pro,kitai.

1<sup>st</sup> hand: (e;touj) iz “The 17<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor  
 Auvtokra,toroj Kai,saroj Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus  
 Traianou/ `Adrianou/ Augustus, Athur 29.”  
 Sebastou/ `Aq.u.r kq.

2<sup>nd</sup> hand: Cairh,mwn “I, Chaeremon son of Chaeremon,  
 Cairh,monoj evpide,dwka have presented the return and  
 kai, ovnw,moka to.n o[rkon. sworn the oath.”<sup>37</sup>

As shown above, it seems likely that the use of amanuenses in official or business

<sup>34</sup> *The Tebtunis Papyri* 105. This papyrus dates from B.C.103.

<sup>35</sup> *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 243. This papyrus dates from A.D. 79.

<sup>36</sup> *Select Papyri* 51. This papyrus dates from A.D. 47.

<sup>37</sup> *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 480. This papyrus dates from A.D. 132.



letters was a widespread phenomenon in the Greco-Roman world, regardless of whether the author was literate or illiterate.

## 2.2. Private Letters

The circumstances under which private letters were written among the lower ranks is rather complicated. Although it is frequently supposed that they were uneducated and illiterate, it does seem that literacy levels were generally higher than was formerly assumed.<sup>38</sup> As Exler says, “The papyri discovered in Egypt have shown that the art of writing was more widely, and more popularly, known in the past, than some scholars had been inclined to think.”<sup>39</sup> For instance, among the Michigan Collection, a papyrus, which dates from the second century, can be identified as a typical example of literacy among the poor. According to Winter, this papyrus letter was penned by a daughter to her mother. Winter comments that this letter must have been written in her own hand, since its spelling and grammar are very poor.<sup>40</sup> Another example is a papyrus letter of the second century written by a son to his mother.<sup>41</sup> Winter indicates that the mother was illiterate and the writer thus expected that his brother would read it to her. Evidence for this is that the letter includes an additional note to the writer’s brother at the bottom<sup>42</sup>:

Semprw,nioj Satourni,la th/                    “Sempronius to Saturnila his mother

<sup>38</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 62.

<sup>39</sup> Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter of the Epistolary Papyri: A Study in Greek Epistolography*, 126. See especially, Zenon Papyri 6, ed. Campbell Cowan Edgar (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1931); *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 113, 294, 528, 530, 531, and 3057.

<sup>40</sup> John Winter, *Life and letters in the Papyri* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1933), 90-91. This papyrus (Inventory No. 188, unpublished), *Ibid.*, 90, has been known as “the most illiterate letter” in the collection. This papyrus letter is also mentioned by Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 62.

<sup>41</sup> Winter, *Life and letters in the Papyri*, 48-49. See also Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 192-95.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* This papyrus letter is also mentioned by Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 62.



mhtrei.	kai.	kuri,a	and lady many greetings.
plei/sta	cai, rein.		...
...			
e;rrwso,	moi, h`	kuri,a mou,	Fare me well, my lady, continually.
diapanto,j.			Sempronius to Maximus his brother
Semprw,nioj	Maxi,mwi	tw/	many greetings.
avdelfw/		pl[e]i/sta	...
cai,pein.			Fare me well, brother." <sup>43</sup>
...			
e;rrwso,	moi, avdelfe,.		

Although some of the lower ranks were rather more literate than has been posited, the predominance of examples among the ancient papyri sufficiently shows that most poor people were “functionally illiterate.”<sup>44</sup> In practice, this meant that they employed amanuenses when they needed to send a private letter. For example, especially, P. Oxy. 1484 through 1487, one finds very brief invitations. In these cases, if the senders were capable of penning in any way, these invitations would be written in their own hands. Nonetheless, one of these brief letters was penned by an amanuensis.<sup>45</sup> P. Oxy. 1487 reads as follows: Kali/ se Qe,wn ui`o.j vWrige,nouj eivj tou.j ga,mouj th/j avdelfh/j e`autou/ evn th|/ au;rion h[tij evstei.n Tu/bi q avpo. w[r(aj) h (“Theon son of Origenes invites you to the wedding of his sister tomorrow, which is Tubi 9, at the 8th hour”). At the end of the letter, a second hand had corrected h by replacing it with q.

Furthermore, it seems that the lower ranks also employed an amanuensis

<sup>43</sup> Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 192-95. This papyrus letter was originally published in H. I. Bell, “Some Private letters of the Roman Period from the London Collection,” *Revue Égyptologique*, Nouvelle Serie, I (1919): 203-06.

<sup>44</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 62.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 62-63.

in cases of more crucial and longer letters. Several examples follow<sup>46</sup>:

1<sup>st</sup> hand: w-| dhlw,sei  
po,teron avrseniko.n  
qe,leij [.....] avnti. tw/n  
avr[s,e,nwn qhlu]ko.n .o... on  
de. qhlu]kou/ crei,an ec.[...  
evla,ssona

2<sup>nd</sup> hand: evkomisa,mhn de [...  
To. kera,mion th/j evlai,j  
ta. de. a;lla [... ge,gr[a]fa,  
fu,lasse e[wj a;n pa[r]a.  
soi. ge,nwmai. e;rrwso  
fi,ltate vApolloge,ne.

“You will inform him whether you want a male ... a female instead of the males. I must tell you that ... has(?) less need of the female.”

“I received the jar of oil. The other things I’ve written about, keep them until I join you. Good health, my dear friend Apollogenes.”<sup>47</sup>

1<sup>st</sup> hand: marturh,sei soi  
Sarapa/j peri. tw/n r`o,dwn  
o[ti pa,nta pepoi,hka eivj  
to. o[sa h;qelej pe,myai  
soi,avlla. ouvco eu[romen.

2<sup>nd</sup> hand: evrrw/sqai, se  
euvco,meqa, kuri,a.

“Sarapas will tell you about the roses—that I have made every effort to send you as many as you wanted, but we could not find them.”

“We pray for your health, lady.”<sup>48</sup>

1<sup>st</sup> hand: evrrw/sqai se  
eu;comai,avdelfe.

2<sup>nd</sup> hand: evrrw/sqai se  
eu;comai,avdelfe.

“I pray for your health, brother.”

“I pray for your health, brother.”<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See also Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 62-63; Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 46-47.

<sup>47</sup> *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 3063. Second century.

<sup>48</sup> *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 3313. Second century. See also E. A. Judge, *Rank and Status in the World of the Caesars and St. Paul* (Christchurch, New Zealand: University of Canterbury, 1982), 24-26.

<sup>49</sup> *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 1491. Early fourth century. See also P. Oxy. 118, 1664, 1665, 1676, 2152, 2192, 2862, 3066, 3067, 3124, 3129, and 3182.

Among the examples mentioned above, P. Oxy. 1491, in particular, contains repetition in the autograph's closing section. This indicates that the sender was functionally illiterate, and thus, used an amanuensis to forward the letter. It appears that the purpose of the author in copying a customary closing section is to prove its authenticity.<sup>50</sup>

It is obvious that the upper ranks in society could afford to employ amanuenses. But there still remain the issues as to whether they favored the use of amanuenses and the prevalence of their use.<sup>51</sup> With regard to a historical event; after being elected tribune, Clodius desired to expel Cato the Younger from Rome so as to assume his political authority. Clodius and Caesar were Cato the Younger's rivals.<sup>52</sup> Plutarch writes about their intrigue:

evxio,nti de. ouv nau/n,  
ouv stratiw,thn, ouvc  
u`pere,thn e;dwke plh.n h'  
du,o grammatei/j mo,non, w-  
n o` me.n kle,pthj kai.  
pampo,nhroj, a[teroj de.  
klwdi,ou pela,thj.

"Moreover, when Cato set out, Clodius gave him neither ship, soldier, nor assistant, except two clerks, of whom one was a thief and a rascal, and the other a client of Clodius."<sup>53</sup>

Plutarch's reference certainly seems to imply that the upper classes, including Cato the Younger, made broad use of amanuenses.<sup>54</sup>

In contrast, the following statement by Cicero has been treated as evidence that the upper ranks did not favour the employment of an amanuensis:

<sup>50</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 63; Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 48; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 166-67.

<sup>51</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 61.

<sup>52</sup> Plutarch *Cato the Younger* 24.1; 33.1-4; 34.1-2, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 8: 291, 315, 317, 319.

<sup>53</sup> Plutarch *Cato the Younger* 34.3. This example is also cited by Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 61.

<sup>54</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 61.



*Numquam ante arbitror te epistulam meam legisse nisi mea manu scriptam. ex eo colligere poteris quanta occupatione distinear. nam cum vacui temporis nihil haberem et cum recreandae voculae causa necesse esset mihi ambulare, haec dictavi ambulans.*

“I believe you have never before read a letter of mine not in my own handwriting. You may gather from that how desperately busy I am. Not having a minute to spare and being obliged to take a walk to refresh my poor voice, I am dictating this while walking.”<sup>55</sup>

However, among Cicero’s correspondences, at least fourteen epistles plainly indicate that he has dictated them. These correspondences are identified as private, and their addressees are his brother, Quintus, and his friend Atticus.<sup>56</sup> Physical disabilities and illness were also reasons for employing an amanuensis.<sup>57</sup> Cicero frequently says that the inflammation of his eyes compelled him to use an amanuensis. “*Lipitudinis meae signum tibi sit librarii manus . . .*” (My clerk’s hand will serve as an indication of my ophthalmia. . . .)<sup>58</sup> A number of other examples support that the argument that employment of an amanuensis prevailed among the elite.<sup>59</sup> Notably, Quintilian

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<sup>55</sup> Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 2.23.1, ed. and trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 1: 209.

<sup>56</sup> Bahr, “Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century,” 469. These letters are the following: Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 2.23.1; 4.16.1; 5.17.1; 7.13a.3; 8.12.1; 8.13.1; 10.3a.1; 13.25.3; 14.21.4; 16.15.1; *Idem, Letters to Quintus* 2.2.1; 3.1.19; 3.3.1, ed. and trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002). Specifically, in *Letters to Atticus* 10.3a.1 Cicero writes that he dictated two letters in a day. Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 62, notes that at times, however, particularly in case of a quite personal correspondence the elite also penned in their own hand.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* See also Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 6.9.1; 7.2.3.

<sup>58</sup> Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 8.13.1; 7.13a.3; 8.12.1; 10.14.1; 10.17.2. See also *Idem, Letters to Quintus* 2.2.1. In the case of Cicero, it seems that his dependence on an amanuensis in his later letters was greater than in his earlier letters. This would give a likely explanation for the reason why Paul could not help using an amanuensis in composing his epistles, specifically, considering his physical illness, ophthalmia (Acts 9:8; 2 Cor 12:7; Gal 6:11). Probably, in Peter’s case, his physical circumstances were the same as Cicero’s when he wrote his epistles, namely, that he was in the evening of his life.

<sup>59</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 61. Richards, *Ibid.*, points out that the prevalent employment of amanuenses is shown by the products of Plinys, Cicero, Atticus, Seneca, and Cato.

criticizes the fashionable employment of an amanuensis.<sup>60</sup> Thus, Cicero's statement seems to be clearly "a point of pride,"<sup>61</sup> and, most likely, he commonly used his amanuensis, Tiro.<sup>62</sup>

P. Oxy. 3314 apparently shows that the sender of the letter was supposed to be from the upper ranks and that he employed an amanuensis:

kuri,w| mou patri. vIwsh|/  
kai. th|/ sumbi,w| mou  
Mari,a| vIou,daj.  
prohgoume,nwj eu;comai  
th|// qi,a| pronoi,,a|  
peri. th/j u`mw/n  
o`loklhri,aj i;na kai.  
u`giai,nontaj u`ma/j  
avpola,bw. pa/n ou=n  
poi,hson, kuri,a mou  
avdelfh,, pe,myon moi to.n  
avdelfo,n sou, evpidh. eivj  
no,son perie,pesa avpo.  
ptw,matoj i[ppou.  
me,llontoj mou ga.r  
strafh/nai eivj a;llo  
me,roj, ouv du,namai avf v  
evmautou/, eiv mh. a;lloi  
du,o a;nqrwpoi  
avntistre,ywsi,n me kai.  
me,crij pothri,ou u[dat[o]j  
ouvk e;cw to.n  
evpididou/nta, moi.  
boh,qhson ou=n, kuri,a mou

"To my lord father, Joses, and to my wife, Maria, Judas. To begin with I pray to the divine providence for the full health of you (both), that I find you well. Make every effort, my lady sister, send me your brother, since I have fallen into sickness as the result of a riding accident. For when I want to turn on to my other side, I cannot do it by myself, unless two other persons turn me over, and I have no one to give me so much as a cup of water. So help me, my lady sister. Let it be your earnest endeavour to send your brother to me quickly, as I said before. For in emergencies of this kind a man's true friends are discovered. So please come yourself as well and help me, since I am truly in a strange place and sick. I searched for a ship to board, but I could not find anyone to search on my behalf. For I am in Babylon. I greet my daughter and all who love us by name. And if you have need of cash,

<sup>60</sup> Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 10.3.19, trans. H. E. Butler, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 4: 101.

<sup>61</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 61

<sup>62</sup> Bahr, "Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century," 469.



avdelfh,. spoudai/o,n soi  
gene,sqw o[puj to. ta,coj  
pe,myh|j moi, w`j proei/pon,  
to.n avdelfo,n sou. eivj  
ta.j toiau,taj ga.r  
avna,gkaj eu`ri,skontai oi`  
i;dioi tou/ avnqrw,pou.  
i[na ou=n kai. soi.  
Parabohqh,sh|j moi tw/|  
o;nti evpi. xe,nhj kai. evn  
no,sw| o;nti. kai. ploi/on  
evpezh,,thsa evnbh/nai kai.  
ouvk eu-ron to.n  
evpezhtou/nta, moi. evn  
th|/ ga.r Babulw/nei,  
eivmei. prosagoreu,w th.n  
qugate,ra mou kai. pa,ntaj  
tou.j filou/ntaj h`ma/j kat  
v o;noma. kai. eva.n cri.an  
e;ch|j ke,rmatoj, labe  
para. vIsa.k to.n kolobo,n,  
to.n e;ngista, soi  
me,non[t]a. (m. 2) evrrw/sqai  
u`ma/j eu;comai polloi/j  
cro,noij.

get it from Isaac, the cripple, who  
lodges very close to you. (2<sup>nd</sup> hand)  
I pray for the health of you both for  
many years.”<sup>63</sup>

The author of P. Oxy 3314 was most likely from the upper ranks as revealed by his fall from a horse and the discussion of the expenses for the travel. Although it is possible to assume that the sender would have used an amanuensis as a result of the accident, he never actually mentions the reason why he employed an amanuensis. Although he used an amanuensis, the sender’s closing farewell was in

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<sup>63</sup> Fourth century. See also Judge, *Rank and Status in the World of the Caesars and St. Paul*, 28-32.

his own hand. In this respect, it seems likely that the author normally employed an amanuensis while writing letters.<sup>64</sup>

It is obvious that the employment of amanuenses was widespread among the people of all ranks and classes in Greco-Roman antiquity, especially in the writing of official (business) correspondences. Even though on occasion both the lower and upper ranks would write private correspondences personally, they still usually employed amanuenses to pen them.<sup>65</sup>

### 3. The Role of an Amanuensis

Because the author could have flexibility of roles, the employment of an amanuensis is an intricate subject. According to Richards, the role of an amanuensis is classified as a transcriber, composer, and contributor. An amanuensis as a transcriber would copy dictation word for word of the sender. In the case of an amanuensis as a composer, the sender guided him in forwarding correspondence while not indicating the accuracy of the content. This was feasible since most correspondences, including individual ones, in Greco-Roman antiquity were very stereotyped. As a contributor, an amanuensis edited the sender's drafts to match epistolary form under the precise instructions of the sender's written or verbal notes.<sup>66</sup> Richards describes the role of an amanuensis, among other things, as the following:

Figure 2. The Amanuensis' Role

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<sup>64</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 61.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 64-65.



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The amanuensis' role	Transcriber. . . . . Contributor . . . . . Composer
Who had the most control	Author . . . . . Amanuensis
The quality of the notes	More Detailed. . . . . More Sketchy
The influence of the amanuensis	More Unintentional . . . . . More Intentional

(Source: Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 64 with modifications.)

### 3.1. The Reasons for Using Amanuenses

As mentioned earlier, illiterate and semi-literate individuals engaged amanuenses for writing letters since they did not have the ability to pen and since there remained the technical trouble of penning on papyrus and the difficulty of access to writing equipment.<sup>67</sup> However, the reason why literate persons employed amanuenses when composing correspondences is not straightforward. Usually when an author was ill, an amanuensis would pen a letter on his behalf.<sup>68</sup> Also, a writer could get on with doing other work while using an amanuensis for correspondence.<sup>69</sup> Cicero says to Quintus, his brother.

<i>Occupationem mearum tibi signum sit library manus. Diem scitp esse nullum, quo die non dicam pro reo. Ita, quidquid conficio aut cogito, in</i>	“You may take my clerk’s handwriting as a sign of how busy I am. I tell you, there is not a day on which I don’t make a speech for the
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<sup>67</sup> See Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 46, 50-51; Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 60; White, “The Greek Documentary Letter Tradition Third Century B.C.E to Third Century C.E.,” 95; Bahr, “The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters,” 28-29; Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter of the Epistolary Papyri: A Study in Greek Epistolography*, 124-27.

<sup>68</sup> See Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 8.13.1; 7.13a.3; 8.12.1; 10.14.1; 10.17.2; *Letters to Quintus* 2.2.1.

<sup>69</sup> Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 62.

*ambulationis fere tempus confero.*

defence. So practically everything I do or think about I put into my walking time.<sup>70</sup>

Interestingly, indolence was also one of the reasons for employing amanuenses. Dictating a plain correspondence would be rather more convenient for the author than composing it by his own hand.<sup>71</sup> Cicero acknowledges this in his letter to Atticus, when he says “. . . *nam illam nomaharia me excusationem ne acceperis.*” (“. . . I was not so well—don’t accept the excuse of [my laziness].”)<sup>72</sup> Cicero goes on to say:

*Noli putare pigritia me facere, quod non mea manu scribam, sed mehercule pigritia. Nihil enim habeo aliud, quod dicam. Et tamen in tuis quoque epistulis Alexim videor agnoscere.*

“You must not suppose it is out of laziness that I do not write in my own hand—and yet upon my word that is exactly what it is. I can’t call it anything else. And after all I seem to detect Alexis in your letters too.”<sup>73</sup>

In this vein, an individual relationship between the authors and their private amanuenses should also be considered, since there remain the renowned relationships of Cicero and Tiro, Atticus and Alexis; Quintus and Staius; and Alexander the Great and Eumenes, respectively.<sup>74</sup> Where the writer possesses an expert amanuensis, an intimate and individual relationship between them was possible. The amanuensis could even be the author’s colleague. This kind of relationship could not be established between an author and an unnamed

<sup>70</sup> Cicero *Letters to Quintus* 3.3.1. See also Cicero *Letters to Quintus* 2.2.1; 2.16.1; Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 2.23.1; 4.16.1.

<sup>71</sup> Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 62-63.

<sup>72</sup> Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 5.11.7.

<sup>73</sup> Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 16.15.1.

<sup>74</sup> See Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 5.20.9; 7.2.3; 12.10; Cicero *Letters to Quintus* 1.2.8; Plutarch *Eumenes* 1.2. See also Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 63-67.

amanuensis engaged in the market.<sup>75</sup>

### 3.2. Amanuensis as a Transcriber

In Greco-Roman antiquity, individuals who attended school were taught to write and were trained to take dictation.<sup>76</sup> Robinson notes, “Schooling began when a boy was six, and its elementary stage lasted until he was fourteen. In the grammar-school he would learn to write with a metal instrument on a tablet of soft wax. Lessons in dictation followed.”<sup>77</sup> Based on this fact, it seems likely that most educated individuals in Greco-Roman antiquity could take dictation syllable by syllable slowly.<sup>78</sup>

Mckenzie comments that “dictation . . . was the normal means of producing letters. Many of the ancient letters which have been preserved were letters of the poor, so dictation was not the luxury which it is in modern times.”<sup>79</sup> In relation to dictation, there remains the question about its characteristic speed, namely, slow or fast. For example, the statements of Cicero, Seneca, and Pliny the elder show that dictation could be slow. Cicero writes, “*Ego ne Tironi quidem dictavi, qui totas periochas persequi solet, sed Spintharo syllabatim.*” (“Therefore I did not even dictate it to Tiro, who is accustomed to following whole sections, but to Spintharus syllable by syllable.”)<sup>80</sup> Also, Seneca says, “*Aliquis tam insulsus intervenit quam qui illi singula verba vellenti, tanquam dicaret, non diceret, ait, ‘Dic, numquid dicas.’*” (“Though of

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<sup>75</sup> Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 63.

<sup>76</sup> C. E. Robinson, *Everyday Life in Ancient Greece* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 139.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 8. Nevertheless, one must consider Richards’ contention, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 66: “However, most also had little or no practice doing this after finishing school. Therefore, while in theory most could take dictation, in practice, most were not proficient enough to take down a letter of any length.”

<sup>79</sup> John Mckenzie, *Light on the Epistles: A Reader’s Guide* (Chicago: Thomas More, 1975), 13-14.

<sup>80</sup> Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 13.25.3. See also Bahr, “Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century,” 469-70; Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 66.

course some way may cross your path, like the person who said, when Vinicius [the stammerer] was dragging out his words one by one, as if he were dictating and not speaking. ‘Say, haven’t you anything to say?’.”<sup>81</sup> Pliny the elder describes the exceptional ability of Julius Caesar. He states, “*scribere aut legere, simul dictare aut audire solitum accepimus, epistulas vero tantarum rerum quaternas partier dictare libraries aut, si nihil aliud ageret, septenas.*” (“We are told that he [Julius Caesar] used to write or read and dictate or listen simultaneously, and to dictate to his secretaries four letters at once on his important affairs—or, if otherwise unoccupied, seven letters at once.”)<sup>82</sup> With regard to Pliny the elder’s statement, Bahr persuasively contends that Caesar’s dictation means slow dictation, since Caesar “obviously could not have been dictating fluently as we are accustomed to doing it; but if he did it word for word, or syllable by syllable, then a man of Caesar’s ability would be able to dictate several letters at once.”<sup>83</sup>

On the contrary, rapid dictation was also possible since there was a shorthand system by the first century A.D..<sup>84</sup> For instance, Seneca says, “*Quid verborum notas quibus quamvis citata excipitur oratio et celeritatem linguae manus sequitur?*” (“Or our signs for whole words, which enable us to take down a speech, however rapidly uttered, matching speed of the tongue by speed of hand?”)<sup>85</sup> Also, Seneca recalls, “*quae notarius persequi non potuit*” (“the shorthand secretary could not keep up with him”), when Janus delivered a speech which was so long and

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<sup>81</sup> Seneca *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales* 40.10, trans. Richard M. Gummere, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 1: 269. See also Bahr, “Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century,” 470; Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 66.

<sup>82</sup> Pliny the elder *Natural History* 7.25.91, trans. H. Rackham, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 2: 565.

<sup>83</sup> Bahr, “Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century,” 471.

<sup>84</sup> See Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 67-73; Quint. Inst. 10.3.19.

<sup>85</sup> Seneca *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales* 90.25.

eloquent in the senate.<sup>86</sup> However, Seneca's depiction simply emphasizes Janus' oratorical ability, thus an amanuensis could keep up with a normal address.<sup>87</sup> Before the first century A.D., a shorthand system was strongly connected to Cicero. Because his private amanuensis, Tiro, introduced a shorthand system to Rome, Tironian Notes came to represent the Latin shorthand system.<sup>88</sup> Also, a Greek shorthand system existed at least by the first century B.C..<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, it should also be mentioned that only some amanuenses were able to take shorthand, indicating that shorthand was not prevalent in Greco-Roman antiquity.<sup>90</sup>

### 3.3. Amanuensis as a Composer

In the ancient Greco-Roman world, since business and official correspondences were much more conventional and delineate a set phrase, letter writers could request an amanuensis to compose them. In this case, even though the mentioned sender was entirely in charge of the letter, the amanuensis was the real composer of the correspondence.<sup>91</sup>

Private correspondences also used conventional phrases for "health-wishes, affirmations of prayers and offerings to the gods on the recipient's behalf, and assurances of well being and concern/love" of the author.<sup>92</sup> P Mich. 477 and 478 which date back to the early part of the second century A.D. show this stereotyped

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<sup>86</sup> Seneca *Apocolocyntosis* 9.2, trans. P. T. Eden, Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 45.

<sup>87</sup> Bahr, "Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century," 473; Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 67.

<sup>88</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 68.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 69; Bahr, "Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century," 473-74; H. J. M. Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals: Syllabary and Commentary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 4-5.

<sup>90</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 74.

<sup>91</sup> Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 29-55; Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 8-16; Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 77.

<sup>92</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 78.

phrase.

[Klau,d[i]o]j T [erentiano.j  
Klaudi,,w|] T[ib ]er[i]anw/i  
t,w|/ p[atri.] kai. kuri,,[w|  
plei/sta cai,rein]. pro.  
me.n p[a,]ntwn e[u;com]ai, se  
[u`]gia[i,nein kai.  
euvtupei/n, o[] moi  
euvk[t]ai/o,n evvstin, to.  
p[ros]ku,n[h]ma, [sou ±II  
po]io[u,m]enoj kaqv  
e`ka,sth[n h`[me,r]an para.  
[t,w|/ kuri,,w| Sara,pidi  
k]a[i. t]oi/j sunna,oij  
[q]eo[i/]j.

“Claudius Terentianus to Claudius Tiberianus, his father and lord, very many greetings. Before all else I pray for your health and success, which are my wish, and I make obeisance for you daily . . . in the presence of our lord Sarapis and the gods who share his temple.”<sup>93</sup>

[Klau,dio]j Terentiano.j  
Klaudi,,w|] Tiberianw|/  
[t,w|/ patri. kai. kuri,,w|  
plei/sta] cai,re[in]. pro.  
m[e.n pa,nt]w[n eu;comai, se  
u`giai,nei[n, [o[] moi euv-  
ktai/o,n ev[vsti]n,  
u`[gi]ai,[nw de, kai.  
auv]to.j t[o.] pro[sku,-]  
n[h]ma, sou poiou,m [enoj  
kaqv e`ka,st]hn h`m[e,r]an  
par[a.] t,w|/ kuri,,w|  
Sara,p[idi kai. toi/j  
sun]na,oij q[eo]i/j.

“Claudius Terentianus to Claudius Tiberianus, his father and lord, very many greetings. Before all else I pray for your health, which is my wish. I myself am in good health and make obeisance for you daily in the presence of our lord Sarapis and the gods who share his temple.”<sup>94</sup>

<sup>93</sup> P. Mich. 477.

<sup>94</sup> P. Mich. 478.

Likewise, educated persons employed an amanuensis to sketch correspondence at times. It is likely that literate individuals did desire their addressees not to discern that an amanuensis penned the correspondence. Thus, remarks on employing an amanuensis in the correspondences are infrequent; however, some instances still remain. Clearly, Quintus, Cicero's brother, possessed several amanuenses and engaged them as composers while writing official letters.<sup>95</sup>

Cicero advised Quintus on this issue:

*In litteris mittendis (saepe ad te scripsi) nimium te exorabilem praebuisti. tolle omnis, si potes, iniquas, tolle inusitatas, tolle contrarias. Staius mihi narravit scriptas ad te solere adferri, a se legi, et si iniquae sint fieri te certiozem; ante quam vero ipse ad te venisset, nullum delectum litterarum fuisse, ex eo esse volumina selectarum epistularum quae reprehendi solerent.*

“In sending out official letters (I have often written to you about this) you have been too ready to accommodate. Destroy, if you can, any that are inequitable or contrary to usage or contradictory. Staius has told me that they used to be brought to you already drafted, and that he would read them and inform you if they were inequitable, but that before he joined you letters were dispatched indiscriminately. And so, he said, there are collections of selected letters and these are adversely criticized.”<sup>96</sup>

Staius seems to be Quintus' head amanuensis. Cicero appears to criticize Quintus for not *confirming* the correspondences because Quintus was ultimately liable for the contents.<sup>97</sup>

When Cicero was expelled from Rome, his friend Caelius Rufus sent a

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<sup>95</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 78-79.

<sup>96</sup> Cicero *Letters to Quintus* 1.2.8.

<sup>97</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 79.

letter to inform him of even trifling events in Rome. Actually, he employed an amanuensis as the real composer of letters on his behalf.<sup>98</sup>

*Quod tibi decedens pollicitus sum me omnis res urbanas diligentissime tibi perscripturum, data opera paravi qui sic omnia persequeretur ut verear ne tibi nimium arguta haec sedulitas videatur . . . . si quid in re publica maius actum erit, quod isti operarii minus commode persequi possint, et quem ad modum actum sit et quae existimatio secuta quaeque de eo spes sit diligenter tibi perscribemus.*

“Redeeming the promise I made as I took my leave of you to write you all the news of Rome in the fullest detail, I have been at pains to find a person [amanuensis] to cover the whole ground so meticulously that I am afraid you may find the result too wordy. . . . If there is any major political event which these hirelings [amanuenses] could not cover satisfactorily, I shall be careful to write you a full account of the manner of it and of consequent views and expectations.”<sup>99</sup>

Apparently, Rufus used an amanuensis to save time.<sup>100</sup>

In a somewhat different case, Cicero habitually requested Atticus to write to their acquaintances in his name.<sup>101</sup> Cicero writes, “*quibus tibi videbitur velim des litteras meo nomine. nosti meos familiaris. <si> signum requirent aut manum, dices iis me propter custodias ea vitasse.*” (“Please send letters in my name to such persons as you think proper—you know my friends. If they wonder about the seal or handwriting, you will tell them that I avoided these on account of the watch.”)<sup>102</sup>

Similarly, a few months later, in another letter to Atticus, Cicero says:

<sup>98</sup> See also Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 16; Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 51-52.

<sup>99</sup> Cicero *Letters to Friends* 8.1.1, ed. and trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 343-45.

<sup>100</sup> Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 16; Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 51-52.

<sup>101</sup> The following examples imply that in practice, Cicero used his amanuensis as composer while writing letters.

<sup>102</sup> Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 11.2.4.



*Ego propter incredibilem et animi et corporis molestiam conficere pluris litteras non potui; iis tantum rescripsi a quibus acceperam. tu velim et Basilo, et quibus praeterea videbitur, etiam Servilio conscribes, ut tibi videbitur, meo nomine.*

“Mental and physical discomfort passing belief have made it impossible for me to compose many letters. I have only answered people from whom I have received them. I should be glad if you would write to Basilus and anyone else you think fit, including Servilius, as you think fit, in my name.”<sup>103</sup>

Cicero seems to have as his objective that the addressees would trust the correspondences as if they originated from him.<sup>104</sup> Cicero fulfilled a similar duty for his close associate, Valerius. In his letter to L. Valerius, Cicero mentions, “*Lentulo nostro egi per litteras tuo nomine gratias diligenter.*” (“I have written to thank our friend Lentulus *on your behalf* in suitable terms.”)<sup>105</sup> Although Cicero’s reference does not necessarily signify that he wrote the correspondence as Valerius’ amanuensis, it does nonetheless, significantly infer that Cicero performed the task.<sup>106</sup>

### 3.4. Amanuensis as a Contributor

An amanuensis as a contributor might be regarded as a mediate role between two extremes, transcriber and composer. Contributing means not only

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<sup>103</sup> Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 11.5.3. See also 3.15.8: “*si qui erunt quibus putes opus esse meo nomine litteras dari, velim conscribas curesque dandas*” (“I should be grateful if you would write letters and arrange for their dispatch to any persons you think ought to be written to in my name.”); 11.3: “*Tu, ut antea fecisti, velim, si qui erunt ad quos aliquid scribendum a me existimes, ipse conficias.*” (If there is anyone you think ought to get a letter from me, please do it yourself, *as you have before.*); 11.7.7: “*Quod litteras quibus putas opus esse curas dandas, facis commode*” (“It is kind of you to see that letters are sent to those whom you think proper.”)

<sup>104</sup> See Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 15; Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 78.

<sup>105</sup> Cicero *Letters to Friends* 1.10.

<sup>106</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 79.

making trivial modification but also momentous contributions.<sup>107</sup> According to Richards, “selecting the proper genre for the letter, the proper way to broach the topic (introductory formulae), the appropriate stereotyped phrases, and even the names and titles of the appropriate people to greet” were included as a secretary’s contributions.<sup>108</sup>

In the case that a sender wanted his content correctly expressed, he could dictate word by word or pen it himself, because shorthand was not widely used in antiquity. Conversely, provided an author was not fussy, then an experienced amanuensis would be satisfactory if dictating at the rate of deliberate speaking. Unfortunately, it seems likely that most authors would not be in contact with a practiced amanuensis in Greco-Roman society.<sup>109</sup> In cases where an amanuensis was unable to keep up perfectly with the sender’s words, the amanuensis broadly noted down the contents to reproduce them afterwards. Consequently, it is clear that the amanuensis made slight editorial revisions including phraseology, syntax, and language regardless of the letters’ length.<sup>110</sup> In this regard, Richard’s two observations deserve mention:

First, formal education included training in the art of paraphrase. Theon, a teacher of rhetoric from roughly the time of Paul, described a school exercise where a student ‘who has read a passage reflects upon the sense and then seeks to reproduce the passage, in so far as possible keeping the words of the original in the original order.’ It was not a verbatim reproduction but a paraphrase, and was valued as a sign of rhetorical skill.

Second, most typical letter writers from Paul’s day did not have the educational training to compose a pleasing letter. These less literate writers likely wanted the secretary to improve the grammar, etc. Such improvements were perhaps one of the perks of hiring a secretary.<sup>111</sup>

There remains sufficient proof for this practice. The following statement

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<sup>107</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 74.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> See Bahr, “Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century,” 475-76; Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 74.

<sup>111</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 74-75.

made to Tiro, (Cicero's private amanuensis who was recovering his health in a different place) by Cicero shows the importance of a competent amanuensis: "*Innumerabilia tua sunt in me official, domestica, forensia, urbana, provincialia; in reprivita, in publica, in studiis, in litteris nostris.*" ("Your services to me are beyond count—in my home and out of it, in Rome and abroad, in private affairs and public, in my studies and literary work.")<sup>112</sup> According to Plutarch, since Cicero employed some stenographers, Tiro's services in this regard seem to mean his editorial ability.<sup>113</sup> Plutarch clearly writes:

Tou/ton mo,non w-n Ka,twn  
ei=pe diasw,zesqai, fasi  
to.n lo,gon, Kike,rwnoj  
tou/ u`pa,tou tou.j  
diafe,rontaj ovxu,thti tw/n  
grafe,wn shmei/a  
prodida,xantoj evn mikroi/j  
kai. brace,si tu,poij  
pollw/n gramma,twn e;conto  
du,naming, ei/ta a;llon  
avllaco,se tou/  
bouleuthri,ou spora,dhn  
evmba,lontoj.

"This is the only speech of Cato which has been preserved, we are told, and its preservation was due to Cicero the consul, who had previously given to those clerks who excelled in rapid writing instruction in the use of signs, which, in small and short figures, comprised the force of many letters; these clerks he had then distributed in various parts of the senate-house."<sup>114</sup>

Referring to a different instance, Cicero announces to Tiro:

*Litterulae meae, sive nostrae, tuui desiderio oblanguerunt. . . . Pompeius erat apud me, cum haec scribebam, . . . Et cupienti audire nostra dixi sine te omnia mea muta esse. Tu Misis nostris para ut*

"My (or our) literary brain children have drooping their heads missing you. . . . Pomponius is staying with me as I write. . . . He wanted to hear my compositions, but I told him that in your absence my tongue of

<sup>112</sup> Cicero *Letters to Friends* 16.4.3.

<sup>113</sup> See Bahr, "Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century," 470; Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 75.

<sup>114</sup> Plut. Cato Ygr. 23.3-4.

*operas reddas.*

authorship is tied completely. You must get ready to restore your service to my Muses.”<sup>115</sup>

To read a work which had just been finalized was a practice for amusement in antiquity. It is obvious that Cicero had not recently penned anything acceptable that could be introduced to a companion such as Pomponius. Considering Cicero’s statements, “our” and “my Muses,” it seems to strongly imply that Tiro had been checking and editing his works for style, accuracy and appearance.<sup>116</sup>

In a later correspondence to Tiro, Cicero scolds Tiro for his inappropriate employment of the terminology “*fideliter* (faithfully).” Cicero says, “*Sed hues tu, qui kanw, n esse meorum scriptorum soles, unde illud tam a; kuron, valetudini fideliter inserviendo?*” (“But just a moment, you yardstick of my literary style, where did you come by so bizarre a phrase as ‘faithfully studying my health?’”)<sup>117</sup> Really, Cicero’s reproach in which he corrects Tiro, paradoxically, is a vindication, because the word *kanw, n* (yardstick) certainly shows that Tiro’s function was as an editor for Cicero.<sup>118</sup>

One might say that the relationship between Cicero and Tiro is singular. However, it should be noted that Cicero says that their relationship corresponds not only with that of Atticus and Alexis, his amanuensis, but also that of Quintus and Statius.<sup>119</sup> Also, Plutarch states a similar relationship existed between Alexander the Great and

<sup>115</sup> Cicero *Letters to Friends* 16.10.2.

<sup>116</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 76; Bahr, “Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century,” 470; Otto Roller, *Das Formular der paulischen Briefe* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933), 307-08.

<sup>117</sup> Cicero *Letters to Friends* 16.17.1.

<sup>118</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 75.

<sup>119</sup> Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 5.20.9: “*Alexis quod mihi totiens salutem adscribit est gratum; sed cur non suis litteris idem facit quod meus ad te Alexis facit?*” (“I am obliged to Alexis for so often adding his salutations, but why does he not do it in a letter of his own, as my Alexis [Tiro] does to you?”); 7.2.3: “*cuius quoniam mention facta est, Tironem Patris aegrum reliqui . . .*” (“Apropos of him, I have left Tiro at Patrae sick . . .”); 12.10: “*Alexim vero curemus, imaginem Tironis, quem aegrum roman remisit . . .*” (“But let us take care of Tiro’s counterpart (Tiro is unwell, and I am sending him back to Rome) Alexis . . .”) See also Cicero *Letters to Quintus* 1.2.8.

Eumenes, his amanuensis.<sup>120</sup>

Amanuenses in Greco-Roman antiquity, including Tiro, were evidently involved, at least, in making slight editorial revisions to correspondences. As examined earlier, the extant papyri sent by illiterate or marginally literate authors disclose the characteristic feature of revision, namely, a well-rounded document with appropriate style and words, because correspondences in antiquity held to a fairly inflexible format, which included conventional phrases and a preset arrangement of the text. Unsurprisingly, this leads one to see that the ancient amanuenses' role was beyond simply revising words and style.<sup>121</sup>

This convention, of course, was not restricted to unlearned individuals. Literate authors frequently authorized an amanuensis to prepare the uninteresting parts of an epistle. A Greco-Roman recommendation letter might be presented as a

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<sup>120</sup> Plutarch *Eumenes* 12.1-2:

“ouvde.n e;ti mikro.n  
evlpi,zwn, avlla. th|/ gnw,mh|  
th.n o[lhn periballo,menoj  
h`gemoni,an, evbou,leto to.n  
Euvme,nh fi,lon e;cein kai.  
sunergo.n evpi. ta.j pra,xeij.  
dio. pe,myaj I`erw,numon  
evspe,ndeto tw/| Euvme,nei,  
protei,naj o[rkon, o]n o`  
Euvme,nhj diorqw,saj  
evpe,treyen evpikri/nai toi/j  
poliorkou/sin auvto.n  
Makedo,si, po,teroj ei;h  
dikaio,teroj.”

“He [Antigonus] therefore cherished no longer an inferior hope, but embraced the whole empire in his scheme, and desired to have Eumenes as friend and helper in his undertakings. Accordingly, he sent Hieronymus to make a treaty with Eumenes, and proposed an oath for him to take. This oath Eumenes corrected and then submitted it to the Macedonians who were besieging him, requesting them to decide which was the juster form.”

<sup>121</sup> Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity*, 11-17. See also Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, 17-26; White, “The Ancient Epistolography Group in Retrospect,” 10; Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 76.

typical instance.<sup>122</sup> Actually, Cicero, as a renowned individual, also composed a number of recommendation epistles. Among his collected correspondences, a whole book is composed completely of them, except for one letter.<sup>123</sup> One of Cicero's recommendation letters follows:

*Licet eodem exemplo saepius tibi huius generis litteras mittam, cum gratias agam quod meas commendationes tam diligenter observes, quod feci in aliis et faciam, ut video, saepius; sed tamen non parcam operae et, ut vos soletis in formulis, sic ego in epistulis 'de eadem re alio modo.'*

"I might legitimately send you many letters of this kind in identical terms, thanking you for paying such careful attention to my recommendations, as I have done in other cases and shall clearly often be doing. None the less I shall not spare my pains. Like you jurists in your formulae I shall treat in my letters 'of the same matter in another way.'"<sup>124</sup>

Cicero seems to discern the danger of uniformity as he writes another correspondence of commendation to his companion who has received such epistles from him. Cicero struggled to vary his recommendation epistles, because the expression was so conventional that it was difficult to influence or make an impression upon the addressee.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 76. See also White, "The Greek Documentary Letter Tradition, Third Century B.C.E. to Third Century C.E.," 95-97.

<sup>123</sup> Cicero *Letters to Friends* 13. See also Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 76.

<sup>124</sup> Cicero *Letters to Friends* 13.27.1.

<sup>125</sup> Cicero *Letters to Friends* 13.69.1-2:

### 3.5. Liability for the Contents

In connection with the practice of employing amanuenses, it is reasonable to scrutinize the matter concerning final liability for the contents of correspondences.

For a discussion of this issue, Cicero's disclamation of his letter deserves mention:

*Stomachosiores meas litteras quas dicas esse, non intelligio. bis ad te scripsi, me purgans diligentur, te leniter accusans in eo quod de me cito credidisses. quod genus querelae mihi quidem videbatur esse amici; sin tibi displicet, non utar eo posthac. sed si, ut scribes, eae litterae non fuerunt disertae, scito meas non fuisse.*

"I am at a loss to know which letter of mine you have in mind when you refer to 'a rather irritable letter.' I wrote to you twice exculpating myself in detail and mildly reproaching you because you had been quick to believe what you heard about me—a friendly sort of expostulation, so I thought; but if it displease you, I shall eschew it in future. But if the letter was, as you

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*C. Curtius Mithres est ille quidem, ut scis, libertus Postumi, familiarissimi mei, sed me colit et observat aequae atque illum ipsum patronum suum. apud eum ego sic Ephesi fui, quotienscumque fui, tamquam domi meae, multaque acciderunt in quibus et benevolentiam eius erga me experirer et fidem. itaque si quid aut mihi aut meorum cuiquam in Asia opus est, ad hunc scribere consuevi, huius cum opera et fide tum domo et re uti tamquam mea. Haec ad te eo pluribus scripsi ut intellegeres me non vulgare nec ambitiose sed ut pro homine intimo ac mihi pernecessario scribere.*

"C. Curtius Mithres is, as you know, the freedman of my very good friend Postumus, but he pays as much respect and attention to me as to his own ex-master. At Ephesus, whenever I was there, I stayed in his house as though it was my home, and many incidents arose to give me proof of his good will and loyalty to me. If I or someone close to me want anything done in Asia I am in the habit of writing to Mithres and of using his faithful service, and even his house and purse, as though they were my own. I have told you this at some length to let you understand that I am not writing conventionally or from a self-regarding motive, but on behalf of a really intimate personal connection."

See also Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 77.

say, not well expressed, you may be sure I did not write it.”<sup>126</sup>

In fact, while desiring to disclaim some comments in his correspondence, Cicero was apparently expected to disclaim the whole correspondence. Although Cicero seems to employ the chance to restate the purport of his earlier remarks, even so, he did not scold his amanuensis as he knew he must take ultimate responsibility himself.<sup>127</sup>

Cicero’s letter to Appius Claudius shows a similar situation. While replying to a correspondence from him, Cicero writes, “*Vix tandem legi litteras dignas Ap. Clodio, plenas humanitatis, officie, diligentiae. . . nam . . . ad me litteras misisti, . . . legi pirinivitus.*” (“Well, at long last I have read a letter worthy of Appius Claudius, full of courtesy, friendliness, and consideration! . . . For I was very sorry to read the letters you sent me en route . . .”) <sup>128</sup> It seems that Claudius had forwarded some correspondences which contained several words unfavourable to Cicero. However, Cicero did not rebuke Claudius’ amanuensis for using those words since Claudius was finally liable for all language and nuances held in his correspondence.<sup>129</sup>

Similarly, in responding to correspondence sent by Pompey, Cicero appears affronted since Pompey hardly expressed friendliness to Cicero.<sup>130</sup> Nevertheless, to justify his behavior, Cicero says, “*quam ego abs te praetermissam esse arbitror quod verere<re> ne cuius animum offenders.*” (“I imagine you omitted anything of the sort for fear of giving offence in any quarter.”)<sup>131</sup> Cicero does not impute the omissions to Pompey’s amanuensis since even the omissions are regarded as the writer’s

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<sup>126</sup> Cicero *Letters to Friends* 3.11.5.

<sup>127</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 82.

<sup>128</sup> Cicero *Letters to Friends* 3.9.1.

<sup>129</sup> See Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 81-82.

<sup>130</sup> Cicero *Letters to Friends* 5.7.2: “*Ad me autem litteras quas misisti, quamquam exiguam significationem tuae erga me voluntatis habebant, . . .*” (“Your personal letter to me evinces but little of your friendly sentiments towards me, . . .”)

<sup>131</sup> Cicero *Letters to Friends* 5.7.3.



purport.<sup>132</sup>

Another significant instance concerns Cicero and Quintus who were expected to take over some part of Felix's lands. Regrettably, Felix appears to seal a copy of his former testament which excluded them.<sup>133</sup>

*De Felicis testamento tum magis querare, si scias. quas enim tabulas se putavit obsignare, in quibus in unciis firmissimum <locum> tenes, vero (lapsus est per errorem et suum et Scurrae servi) non obsignavit; quas noluit, eas obsignavit. Vall v oivmwze, tw, nos modo valeamus.*

“You would be more indignant about Felix' will than you are if you know. The document which he thought he signed, in which you were firmly down for a twelfth share, he did not in fact sign, being misled by an error of his own and his slave Scurra's; the one he signed was contrary to his wishes. But to the devil with him! So long as we stay healthy! “<sup>134</sup>

Even though Felix's slave (amanuensis), Scurra, would have been mildly reprimanded, Felix was ultimately liable for his own will, and it was dealt with as authentic.<sup>135</sup>

As a matter of fact, in both cases of official and private letters, the writer needed to proofread the final copy of the amanuensis.<sup>136</sup> Therefore, it can be concluded that regardless of whether a letter is an official or a private one, the writer assumes full responsibility for the contents of the letter, since he was expected to *confirm* the ultimate draft of the secretary.

<sup>132</sup> See Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 82.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>134</sup> Cicero *Letters to Quintus* 3.7.8.

<sup>135</sup> See Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 83.

<sup>136</sup> Concerning this custom for official letters, as demonstrated by Cicero and Suetonius' statements, see Cicero *Letters to Quintus* 1.2.8; Suetonius *Vespasian* 21, trans. J. C. Rolfe The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), 2: 315: “*dein perlectis epistulis officiorumque omnium breviaribus, amicos admittebat, . . .*” (“then after reading his letters and the reports of all the officials, he admitted his friends, . . .”) P. Oxy 1487 is representative for this practice for private ones.

#### 4. Conclusion

Reading and writing were different abilities in Greco-Roman antiquity. Writing was largely a professional skill, mainly connected with amanuenses (secretaries or scribes) owing to the technical trouble of penning on papyrus and the difficulty of access to writing equipment. As shown by quite a number of extant papyri, many in the lower ranks in Greco-Roman antiquity did not possess the ability to pen by their own hands, although some of them were partially literate, they were still functionally illiterate. Thus, there is the illiteracy formula in the extant papyri.

Apparently, in Greco-Roman antiquity the employment of amanuenses, especially in the writing of official (business) correspondences, was a widespread phenomenon among people of all ranks and classes, regardless of whether the author was literate or illiterate. On the other hand, although occasionally both lower and upper ranks would compose private correspondences personally, they still engaged amanuenses to pen them. Particularly, when an author was ill, an amanuensis actually penned a letter on his behalf. Also, business and laziness of the author were reasons for using an amanuensis. Significantly, there is a companionship between the authors and their private amanuenses.

Finally, it should be underlined that no matter what the amanuensis' role—transcriber or contributor or composer— or whether a letter was an official or a private one, the writer assumed full liability for the contents of the letter, since he was responsible for checking the ultimate draft of the amanuensis.

## CHAPTER 4

### PAUL AND PETER: FIRST-CENTURY LETTER WRITERS

#### 1. Paul's Letters and His Co-authors

Among thirteen traditional Pauline letters, including the disputed letters – Ephesians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, and the Pastoral Epistles – Paul's colleagues are shown as co-senders in his eight letters.

Figure 3. Cosenders in Paul's Epistles

1 Corinthians	Sosthenes
2 Corinthians	Timothy
Galatians	All the brothers with Paul
Philippians	Timothy
Colossians	Timothy
1 Thessalonians	Silvanus and Timothy
2 Thessalonians	Silvanus and Timothy
Philemon	Timothy

The issue that the co-senders in the Pauline letters naturally signify co-authors certainly seems to deserve investigation; however, it has been ignored by scholars. On this point, Prior criticizes Doty and White for not differentiating between the associates who greet at the closing of the letter and the colleagues who are named in

the letter address, and for not even stating the appearance of “co-senders” including confounding them with amanuenses, respectively.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Murphy-O’Connor properly points out that it is simply habitual not to distinguish those correspondences that Paul composed with co-senders from those correspondences he wrote solely.<sup>2</sup>

According to Prior and Richards, the practice of co-authorship in the ancient world is exceedingly unusual. Among the extant papyri, Prior and Richards found merely fifteen and six letters, respectively.<sup>3</sup> This minute ratio clearly shows that Paul’s naming of different individuals with the author at the beginning of the correspondence was not an insignificant custom.<sup>4</sup> It is generally suggested that Paul’s naming his associates in the address of his letters is “largely a matter of courtesy.”<sup>5</sup> However, this traditional and customary view is criticized by Richards on at least two points. He astutely indicates:

First, there is no evidence that it was practice of courtesy to include non-authors in the letter address. If it were a common courtesy to include colleagues in the letter address, why is the custom so rare? It is not that courtesy was rare, but that true coauthorship was rare. . . . Second, Paul’s letters themselves make a ‘courtesy argument’ difficult. Philemon provides the best example. The letter address lists Paul and Timothy, but Timothy is not the only colleague with Paul at the time. The letter ends greetings from Epaphras, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas

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<sup>1</sup> Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 37-38. See also Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity*, 30, 41; John L. White, “New Testament Epistolary Literature in the Framework of Ancient Epistolography,” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II Principat 25.2, ed. W. Haase (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1984), 1741. Even though Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 40-42, criticizes White for confounding the co-authors with the amanuenses, he also seems to take a similar view, since he suggests, without solid evidence, that Paul’s co-authors have been mainly working as his secretaries for those letters.

<sup>2</sup> Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 16.

<sup>3</sup> See Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 38. These are P. Oxy 118; 1033; 1672, P. Haun 16, P. Amh 33; 35, B.G.U 1022, P. Gen 16, P. Thead 17, P. Ryl 131; 243; 624, P. Tebt 28, P. Magd 36, and P. Ross-Georg 8. See also Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 34. These are P. Oxy 118; 1158; 1167; 3064; 3094; 3313.

<sup>4</sup> See Roller, *Das Formular der paulischen Briefe*, 153; Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 18; Harry Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven, CO: Yale University Press, 1995), 99; Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 35.

<sup>5</sup> Leon Morris, *The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians*, rev. ed., New International Commentary of the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 34. See also Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 16.

and Luke. Why are they not in the letter address? Why was Paul courteous to Timothy but not to Luke?<sup>6</sup>

Richards also wonders why Paul does not name Timothy as a co-sender in Romans, while he sends greetings to the addressees at the end of the letter. Consequently, he concludes that Timothy's duty in Romans differs from that in other letters that list him as a co-sender.<sup>7</sup>

In fact, of Paul's eight letters that name their co-senders in their prescripts, Timothy appears as a co-sender in six. Remarkably, Paul occupies "a plural thanksgiving formula" in the case of the letters that name Timothy as a co-sender.<sup>8</sup> Although a term "we" in Paul's letters would be assumed as "an editorial we,"<sup>9</sup> the addressees of those correspondences, as emphasized by Murphy-O'Connor, would have seen "the 'we' at face value" as mentioning "the senders."<sup>10</sup> Therefore, when Paul refers to co-senders in his letter address, he chooses "them to play a role" in the writing of the correspondence "as co-authors,"<sup>11</sup> and there is no proof to recognize them as "anything other than co-authors."<sup>12</sup> In conclusion, the concept of author in Paul's letters that list co-senders should be enlarged beyond only Paul himself.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 34.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 35. Prior, *Ibid.*, 45, also argues, "While co-authorship is obvious in 1 and 2 Thessalonians, almost no trace of it appears in Philippians and Philemon, and some element of it appear in Colossians and 2 Corinthians."

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 35. Except for 2 Corinthians, Philippians, and Philemon.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 19. See also Roller, *Das Formular der paulischen Briefe*, 170; Ben Witherington III, *The Paul Quest: The Renewed Search for the Jew of Tarsus* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1998), 101-02. For details of the discussion, specifically see Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 39-45; Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 19-34. *Idem*, "Co-Authorship in the Corinthian Correspondence," *Revue Biblique* 100 (1993): 562-79.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 42, also strongly argues that "the persons named in the prescripts of the letters must be understood to have played some part in the composition of the letters."

<sup>12</sup> Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 42-43. See also Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 35.

<sup>13</sup> See Michael Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord: A Theological Introduction to Paul and His Letters* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 87-89; Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter*

## 2. Paul's Use of Amanuenses and Their Role

Of the thirteen traditional letters in the Pauline corpus, Paul certainly used an amanuensis in the composition of at least six. These are the following:

avspa, zomai u`ma/j  
evgw. Te, rtioj o`  
gra, yaj th.n  
evpistolh.n evn kuri, w|

(Rom 16:22)

(I, Tertius, who wrote down this letter, greet you in the Lord.)

~O avspasmo.j th/| evmh/|  
ceiri. Pau, louÅ  
(1 Cor 16:21)

(I, Paul, write this greeting with my own hand.)

(See with what large letters I am writing to you with my own hand.)

i; dete phli, koj u`mi/n  
gra, mmasin e; graya th/|  
evmh/| ceiri, Å (Gal 6:11)

(I, Paul, write this greeting with my own hand.)

~O avspasmo.j th/| evmh/|  
ceiri. Pau, louÅ (Col 4:18)

(I, Paul, write this greeting with my own hand. This is the mark in every letter of mine; it is the way I write.)

~O avspasmo.j th/| evmh/|  
ceiri. Pau, lou( o[ evstin  
shmei/on evn pa, sh|  
evpistolh/| \ ou[twj gra, fwÅ  
(2 Th 3:17)

(I, Paul, write this with my own hand.)

evgw. Pau/loj e; graya th/|  
evmh/| ceiri, (Phlm 19)

Three of the *Hauptbriefe* were written down by an amanuensis, and this fact significantly and clearly shows Paul's preference<sup>14</sup> and practice of employing

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*Writing*, 36.

<sup>14</sup> On the grounds of Paul's employment of an amanuensis from his earlier letters – Galatians and 2 Thessalonians – through to his later letters – Colossians and Philemon – Paul would seem to prefer to use an amanuensis throughout his writing period of the letters no matter what the circumstances were. See also Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 119.

amanuenses while composing his letters. In a related vein, it is also crucial to examine the role of amanuenses in the process of Paul's letter writing since some scholars assert that Paul dictated his letter to an amanuensis, whereas others insist that Paul allowed his amanuensis to have a free hand.<sup>15</sup>

## 2.1. Paul's Use of Amanuenses

There remain not only plain proofs, but also an implied pointer for Paul's employment of an amanuensis in the composition of his letters. A statement through an amanuensis and a transition in handwriting are viewed as the plain proofs for using him. Also, the appearance of a postscript is regarded as an implied pointer for occupying an amanuensis.<sup>16</sup>

### 2.1.1. Plain Proof

Romans 16:22 reads, *avspa,zomai u`ma/j evgw. Te,rtioj o`gra,yaj th.n evpistolh.n evn kuri,w|* (I, Tertius, who wrote down this letter, greet you in the Lord.); this clearly shows that Tertius played a role as the amanuensis for the letter by the reference (greeting) to himself.<sup>17</sup> However, there is debate over the integrity of Romans 16,<sup>18</sup> and the various places in the doxology of

<sup>15</sup> In particular, Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 29, points to the misconception concerning amanuenses, which is "termed the Stenographers vs. Cowriter Fallacy." Richards, *Ibid.*, 29-30, argues against Marshall's suggestion that Paul dictated his letter to a secretary, and insists that Paul gave his amanuensis a free hand and supervised him.

<sup>16</sup> See Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 169-81; Bahr, "Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century," 465-66; *Idem*, "Subscriptions in Pauline letters," 33-41; Longenecker, "Ancient Amanuenses," 288-92; Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity*, 40-41; Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 6-8; Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 45-50; Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 118-135.

<sup>17</sup> Longenecker, "Ancient Amanuenses," 289, argues that "the explicit statement . . . of Romans 16:22 cannot be understood in any way other than that an amanuensis was involved to some extent in Paul's letter to believers at Rome . . . ."

<sup>18</sup> For this issue, specifically see *The Romans Debate: Revised and Expanded Edition*, ed. K.

Rom 16:25-27 in manuscripts<sup>19</sup>, the originality of Rom 16:1-23 is related to the Ephesian hypothesis. The hypothesis of Schülz (1829) that Romans 16 was originally directed to the church at Ephesus<sup>20</sup> was adopted by Manson. Manson argues that Romans had originally existed in a form of fifteen-chapters, indicating that P<sup>46</sup> places the doxology of Rom 16:25-27 solely at the end of Rom 15.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, Manson proposed that Paul composed Romans 1-15 and sent this epistle to Rome, and then had a duplicate prepared for sending to the church at Ephesus, adding Romans 16.<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, he also suggests that Rom 1:1-15:13 is “a record made by Paul and his clerical helpers of a real discussion.”<sup>23</sup> Manson’s proposal that Romans 16 is not a section of the original epistle to Rome seems to have been broadly allowed for by scholars.

However, as Wedderburn observes, “On the whole, the pendulum of scholarly opinion now seems to have swung back towards the view that this chapter was part of the letter to Rome.”<sup>24</sup> In his elaborative 1977 monograph, *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans*, Gamble has explored the issue of the textual

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P. Donfried (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991).

<sup>19</sup> P<sup>46</sup> has uniquely the doxology of Rom 16:25-27 at the end of Rom 15. P<sup>46</sup> contains ten epistles ascribed to Paul including Hebrews instead of Philemon, and dates back to around AD 200. See Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 37. It is significant to mention that P<sup>46</sup> would date back to the later first century. On this view, see Young Kyu Kim, “Palaeographical Dating of P<sup>46</sup> to the Later First Century,” *Biblica* 69 (1988): 248-57. According to Kim, *Ibid.*, 254, P<sup>46</sup> was penned prior to Domitian’s reign, that is, around AD 80, on the ground of a comparison rendered with the calligraphic feature of Greek among some works originating from the first century BC to the first century AD.

<sup>20</sup> Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 318.

<sup>21</sup> T. W. Manson, “St. Paul’s Letters to the Romans – and Others,” in *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles*, ed. Matthew Black (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), 234.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 236.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 240.

<sup>24</sup> A. J. M. Wedderburn, *The Reason for Romans*, *Studies of the New Testament and Its World* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988), 13. K. P. Donfried, “Introduction: The Romans Debate since 1977,” in *The Romans Debate: Revised and Expanded Edition*, ed. K. P. Donfried (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), lxx, also notes that “an especially significant shift has occurred with regard to the understanding of Romans 16, which is now viewed by the majority as being an integral part of Paul’s original letter.”



unity of Romans 16 at length.<sup>25</sup> He argues that “it [P<sup>46</sup>] remains a single witness and cannot carry the case for the originality of the fifteen-chapter text form by itself unless compelling internal arguments substantiate the reading.”<sup>26</sup> Thus, Gamble investigated the origin of the shorter forms of the letter to Rome and contends that “the shorter forms of the letter attested in the textual tradition are attributable to motives in the later church and are not to be set down to Paul himself.”<sup>27</sup> Gamble seems to establish the case of the full sixteen-chapter form of the text by persuasively arguing that Romans 16 is “typically concluding elements, that without this chapter the fifteen-chapter text lacks an epistolary conclusion, and that the unusual aspects of some elements in ch. 16 find cogent explanation only on the assumption of its Roman address.”<sup>28</sup> Ever since Gamble, the view that Romans 16 is indeed part of the letter to the Romans seems to be the recent consensus among scholars.<sup>29</sup> To this end, Rom 16:22 is still valid as evidence of Paul’s use of an

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<sup>25</sup> For the German scholars, especially see U. Wilckens, “Über Abfassungszweck und Aufbau des Römerbriefes,” in *Rechtfertigung als Freiheit: Paulusstudien* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1974), 110-70; D. Zeller, *Juden und Heiden in der Mission des Paulus: Studien zum Römerbrief*, Forschung zur Bibel 8 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1976); W. H. Ollrog, “Die Abfassungsverhältnisse von Röm 16,” in *Kirche: Festschrift für Günter Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1980), 221-44.

<sup>26</sup> Gamble, *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans*, 53. See also Wedderburn, *The Reason for Romans*, 17.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 95. Similarly, James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, WBC, vol. 38A (Dallas: Word Books, 1988), lx, indicates that “it requires no detailed analysis to argue the greater likelihood of Paul’s letter to Rome being copied in an abbreviated form than of Paul himself writing more than one version with chap. 16 appended to the version to Ephesus.”

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

<sup>29</sup> See Leander E. Keck, *Romans*, ANTC (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2005), 28; Ben Witherington III, *Paul’s Letter to the Romans: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 5-6; Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 9; Brendan Byrne, *Romans*, SP, vol. 6 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1996), 29; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, AB, vol. 33 (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 64; Peter Lampe, “The Roman Christians of Romans 16,” in *The Romans Debate: Revised and Expanded Edition*, ed. K. P. Donfried (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 216-21; L. Ann Jervis, *The Purpose of Romans: A Comparative Letter Structure Investigation*, JSNTSup 55 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 138-39; Wedderburn, *The Reason for Romans*, 18; Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 217; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, lx; Donfried, “Introduction: The Romans Debate since 1977,” lxx. Prior to Gamble, this view was supported by Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, trans.

amanuensis.

In the case of Rom 16:22, an amanuensis' greetings to the addressees was normal in Greco-Roman antiquity, provided he was already acquainted with the addressees.<sup>30</sup> For instance, in responding to Atticus' letter, Cicero returns a greeting to Alexis, Atticus' amanuensis, "*Alexis quod mihi totiens salutem adscribit, est gratum; sed cur non suis litteris idem facit, quod meus ad te Alexis facit?*" ("I am obliged to Alexis for so often adding his salutations, but why does he not do it in a letter of his own, as my Alexis does to you?")<sup>31</sup> This remark shows that Alexis occupies an intimate relationship among them.<sup>32</sup>

In light of this practice, it is certain that Tertius knew not only Paul well but also the recipients of Romans. Consequently, this fact clearly discloses that he was not a worker simply hired in the market or a slave, but Paul's co-worker or friend.<sup>33</sup> As for identifying Paul's amanuensis, Richards' observation is suggestive and deserves more careful consideration. He contends:

Was Paul's secretary (or secretaries) a member of his team? Although those having secondary level education had some basic training in letter writing, taking down a letter required skills beyond that of the typical literate member of society. Being literate did not qualify someone to be a secretary. There are no indications in Paul's letters or in Acts that any member of Paul's team had specialized training as a secretary. Therefore, it is unwise to presume that Timothy or *some other member* of the team could take dictation and prepare a proper letter.<sup>34</sup>

To this end, Richards concludes that "Paul most likely found his secretaries in the

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Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 409; C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, ICC, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1975), 2, 11; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, TNTC (London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1963), 28-31; C. K. Barrett, *The Epistle to the Romans*, BNTC (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1962), 13.

<sup>30</sup> Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 76, 170.

<sup>31</sup> Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 5.20.9.

<sup>32</sup> Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 170; Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 6

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 89. (Italics mine)

same place as almost everyone else, in the market.”<sup>35</sup> Although Richards insists that it is not convincing that “Timothy or some other member” of Paul’s colleagues could work as his secretary; this is not the case for Luke, at least.<sup>36</sup> As regards Paul’s co-workers, Ellis points to “long-term co-workers,”<sup>37</sup> including Barnabas, Mark, Titus, Timothy, Luke, Priscilla (Prisca) and Aquila, Erastus, Apollos, Trophimus, and Tychicus.<sup>38</sup> They seem to be associated with him in different ways, as pointed out by Ellis: “Most important were those gifted co-workers who were Paul’s associates in preaching and teaching and those who were secretaries, recipients of and contributors to his letters.”<sup>39</sup> Actually, letter writing in antiquity required a considerable expenditure, including supplies and secretarial and carrier labor.<sup>40</sup> It is fairly reasonable to posit that Paul would conscript one of his co-workers to serve as an amanuensis (or would volunteer to help Paul as a secretary) for cutting down the cost *when his co-worker was gifted or trained*.

In this respect, a probable reconstruction of the situation assumes that Tertius was one of Paul’s short-term co-workers, and he played a role as Paul’s amanuensis.<sup>41</sup> Naturally, therefore, as far as the context of 2 Tim 4:11, *Louka/j evstin mo,noj metV evmou/* (Only Luke is with me), is concerned, it is quite rational to presume that Luke, not as one of Paul’s short-term co-workers, but as one of his long-term co-workers, would be the amanuensis of 2 Timothy. Since Luke was able to

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>36</sup> In his previous work, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 187-88, 192-94, Richards seems to allow for the possibility that Luke would be a secretary of Paul, especially for the Pastoral Epistles. He, *Ibid.*, 195, also comments that “his [Paul’s] secretaries were probably volunteers or their services were provided by a wealthy benefactor.”

<sup>37</sup> E. Earle Ellis, “Co-workers, Paul and His,” in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 183.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>40</sup> See Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 165-70, 178.

<sup>41</sup> Ellis, “Co-workers, Paul and His,” in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, 188. See also Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 170-72.

read and write, if, as is likely, he was the author of the longest books in the New Testament.<sup>42</sup> Although Wilson boldly insists that the author of Luke-Acts, who is not the co-worker of Paul, wrote the PE after Paul's death,<sup>43</sup> the possibility that Paul used his co-worker as his amanuensis is no less plausible than the argument by Richards.<sup>44</sup>

Five of Paul's letters manifestly disclose the appearance of an amanuensis by underlining a shift in handwriting. Paul uses "a typical formula, *th/ | evmh/ | ceiri,*," in 1 Cor 16:21, Gal 6:11, Col 4:18, 2 Th 3:17, and Phlm 19.<sup>45</sup> Similarly, Cicero uses this formula, *mea manu* (in my own hand), in *Letters to Atticus*. He writes, "*Hoc manu mea.*" ("The following in my hand.")<sup>46</sup> In another letter, Cicero states, "*Haec ad te mea manu.*" ("I write this in my own hand.")<sup>47</sup> Cicero also refers to the letter of Pompey, and states, "*sed in ea Pompei epistula erat in extremo ipsius manu . . .*" ("However in that letter of Pompey's, *at the end and in his own hand*, are

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<sup>42</sup> William Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, WBC, vol. 46 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2000), lxiv, emphasizes Luke's writing capacity, and states that "it is hard to imagine someone else writing for Paul."

<sup>43</sup> See S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Pastoral Epistles* (London: SPCK, 1979), 3-4. Wilson's argument has been criticized by Howard Marshall, review of *Luke and the Pastoral Epistles*, by S.G. Wilson, *JSNT* 10 (1981): 69-74; Jean-Daniel Kaestli, "Luke-Acts and the Pastoral Epistles: The Thesis of a Common Authorship," in *Luke's Literary Achievement*, ed. C.M. Tuckett (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 117.

<sup>44</sup> Richards also accepts this possibility. He, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 105-06, suggests that "Luke is not named as a co-author in the Pastorals. While he could have played a major secretarial role in 2 Timothy, he chose (or Paul chose for Luke) not to be a named co-author."

<sup>45</sup> Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 172-73. See also Bahr, "Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century," 466; *Idem*, "Subscriptions in Pauline letters," 33-41; Longenecker, "Ancient Amanuenses," 290-92; Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity*, 40-41; Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 7; Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 48; Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 118-135.

<sup>46</sup> Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 13.28.4. See also comments of Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 173, and Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 119.

<sup>47</sup> Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 12.32.1. See also comments of Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 179

the words . . . .”)<sup>48</sup>

In the case of *ε;graya* in Gal 6:11 and Phlm 19, there is an argument about identifying the reference as an epistolary aorist or a regular aorist.<sup>49</sup> Some scholars treat *ε;graya* in Gal 6:11 and Phlm 19 as a regular aorist and contend that Paul wrote these two entire epistles by his own hand.<sup>50</sup> Bahr’s view is a compromise. He argues that although Paul did not write the entire epistles of Galatians and Philemon, he took over from the amanuensis and virtually penned Gal 5:2 and Phlm 17 himself.<sup>51</sup> Bahr’s conclusion rests on the affinity of contents between the body section and the subscription part, that is, the subscription of the author would be recognized as the summary of the body written by the amanuensis.<sup>52</sup> However, this argument seems to be quite unconvincing, since it is hardly plausible that Paul would pen these whole correspondences in his own hand in large letters and the recipients acknowledge that he had done such.<sup>53</sup> Thus Bahr’s position has been criticized by

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<sup>48</sup> Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 8.1.1. See also comments of Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 119.

<sup>49</sup> Quite a number of commentators and grammarians regard *ε;graya* as an epistolary aorist. See Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul’s Letter to the Churches in Galatia*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 314; Ernest DeWitt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, ICC (New York: Scribner’s Sons, 1920), 347-48; A. L. Williams, *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 136-37; G. G. Findlay, *St. Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians*, in the Expositor’s Greek Testament Series (New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1888), 422; A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1919), 846; W. D. Chamberlain, *An Exegetical Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 78; N. Turner, *Syntax*, vol.3 in *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, ed. J. H. Moulton (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1963), 73.

<sup>50</sup> D. Guthrie, *Galatians*, Century Bible Commentary (London: Nelson, 1969), 158; G. Duncan, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1934), 189; Roller, *Das Formular der paulischen Briefe*, 187.

<sup>51</sup> See Bahr, “The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters,” 34-36.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 33. See also Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 48; Longenecker, “Ancient Amanuenses,” 290.

<sup>53</sup> Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 121. See also Longenecker, “Ancient Amanuenses,” 290; Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 173.

Longenecker, Prior, Richards, and Weima.<sup>54</sup> Longenecker correctly points out that the non-literary correspondences in antiquity betray a much shorter subscription part.<sup>55</sup> At this point, Weima also correctly mentions that “Paul made reference to his own handwriting at precisely the point in the letter where he took over from his amanuensis.”<sup>56</sup> Apparently, as far as Paul’s statement in Gal 6:11, *i;detephli,koi j u`mi/n gra,mmasin e;graya th/| evmh/| ceiri,,* (See with what large letters I am writing to you with my own hand.), is concerned, it is certain that the amanuensis’ letters were small.<sup>57</sup> As Richards insists, “The evidence in antiquity strongly indicates that such authorial references always begin the autographed section,”<sup>58</sup> thus, these autographs explicitly mean that the author took over from an amanuensis and penned the words himself at precisely that point.<sup>59</sup>

In 2 Th 3:17, *o[ evstin shmei/on evn pa,sh| evpistolh/|\ ou[twj gra,fw,* (this is the mark in every letter of mine; it is the way I write), appears to verify its genuineness, in light of the remark of 2 Th 2:2.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>54</sup> See Longenecker, “Ancient Amanuenses,” 291; Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 49; Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 176-79; Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 121-22; Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 7; Gamble, *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans: A Study in Textual and Literary Criticism*, 78; A. J. Bandstra, “Paul, the Letter Writer,” *Calvin Theological Journal* 3 (1968): 176-80. Specifically, Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 173, strongly insists that “there are just no grounds for Bahr to begin the autographed sections earlier.” For details of the discussion, especially see Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 176-79.

<sup>55</sup> Longenecker, “Ancient Amanuenses,” 291.

<sup>56</sup> Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 121.

<sup>57</sup> Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 174. See also Longenecker, “Ancient Amanuenses,” 290. Longenecker, *Ibid.*, 291, however, suggests that Paul wrote the entire letter to Philemon with his own hand on the basis of “its lack of explicit referent, its context, and its verbal dissimilarity.”

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 173. (Italics Richards’) See also *Ibid.*, 69; Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 121-22.

<sup>59</sup> See Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 121; Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 173; Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 7; Longenecker, “Ancient Amanuenses,” 291-92.

<sup>60</sup> The function of this remark seems to be to defend the Thessalonian correspondences from counterfeiters. Weima, however, suggests a rather different interpretation by pointing to the idlers in the Thessalonian church. He, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the*

The meaning of the phrases *evn pa,sh| evpistolh/|* seems to be ambiguous, since the remaining letters, namely, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Corinthians, Philippians, Ephesians, and the Pastoral Epistles do not explicitly disclose Paul's handwriting. Richards suggests two possibilities for the interpretation: "Paul was inconsistent about using an autographed postscript," or "Paul was inconsistent about *explicitly* mentioning the postscript," and comments that Paul's statement, *evn pa,sh| evpistolh/|*, would mean the possibility that Paul employed an amanuensis while composing all his letters.<sup>61</sup> Likewise, Weima also offers two options: "Paul is emphasizing the greeting itself," or "he is stressing the fact that the greeting is in his own handwriting."<sup>62</sup> He points to not only the fact that all of Paul's letters do not include "the greeting formula", but also the possibility that *shmei/on* would signify not the greeting but Paul's handwriting, and suggests that "Paul always ended his letters with an autograph statement, and, further, that this fact should be assumed to be true even in those letters that make no such explicit reference to the apostle's own handwriting."<sup>63</sup> In this regard, the conclusions of Richards and Weima seem plausible, since quite a number of the extant papyri indicate that the writer ended the letter himself – although this was not conclusively stated.<sup>64</sup>

### 2.1.2. Implied Pointers

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*Pauline Letter Closings*, 127, notes, "Because Paul recognizes the strong possibility that these idlers will not obey the exhortations contained in his letter (3.14), he closes the letter in his own hand, thereby emphasizing the authority of the letter and the need for the idlers to obey its injunctions. The function of the autograph in 2 Thessalonians, then, is to emphasize the authority of Paul's letter, not so much its authenticity." Weima's argument is supported by I. Howard Marshall, *1 and 2 Thessalonians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 232.

<sup>61</sup> Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 174. (Italics Richards')

<sup>62</sup> Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 120.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 120-21.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 121. It is certain that the recipient must have recognized that by the shift in handwriting, the sender was now writing in his own hand. Thus, it is not necessary to mention expressly that the sender takes over from an amanuensis and is now penning himself. For more details and examples, specifically see Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 45-50; Gamble, *The Textual History of the Letter to Romans*, 62-64; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 166-67.

According to Richards, there remain some implied pointers for Paul's use of an amanuensis in his letters. These are "the presence of a postscript", "the preference of Paul," and "stylistic variations in an authentic letter."<sup>65</sup> Bahr describes the appearance of a postscript in the ancient letters as follows: "One has the impression that now, after the secretary has completed the letter which the author wished to send, the author himself writes to the addressee in personal, intimate terms; the items discussed in signatures of this type are usually of a very personal nature."<sup>66</sup> Richards also offers the following explanation: "Postscript could contain material that had been forgotten during the course of writing the letter body, material that was newly acquired since the letter body was finished, or material that was secretive or sensitive."<sup>67</sup>

Consequently, as examined above, in light of Paul's uses of the autograph postscripts in 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, and Philemon, the case for the employment of an amanuensis for 1 Thessalonians and 2 Corinthians is stronger.<sup>68</sup> 1 Th 5:27-28, in fact, seems to be corresponding to 2 Th 3:17-18.<sup>69</sup> Remarkably, Paul employs the first person plural almost throughout 1 Thessalonians, whereas he uses the first person singular in 1 Th 5:27.<sup>70</sup> Thus, apparently, considering Paul's statement of 2 Th 3:17, ο[ evstin shmei/on evn

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<sup>65</sup> Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 175. Although, as acknowledged by Richards, these implied pointers render the possibility for the use of an amanuensis, they still deserve more careful consideration than they have traditionally received.

<sup>66</sup> Bahr, "The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters," 33.

<sup>67</sup> Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 179.

<sup>68</sup> See Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 124-25; Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 7-8; Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 179-81.

<sup>69</sup> Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 7.

<sup>70</sup> Paul does occupy the first person singular only five times throughout the Thessalonian correspondences. These are 1 Th 2:18; 3:5; 5:27 and 2 Th 2:5; 3:17. See also Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 19. Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 124, correctly indicates that "since stereotyped formulae throughout this letter occur in the plural, the petition given here in the singular seems to have a particular significance." See also Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 179.



pa,sh| evpistolh/|\ ou[twj gra,fw, (this is the mark in every letter of mine; it is the way I write), 1 Th 5:27-28 is most likely an autograph postscript disclosing that Paul took over from the amanuensis and wrote a final greeting and a private petition in his own hand.<sup>71</sup>

2 Corinthians does not embrace an explicit autograph postscript, however, a clue to it seems to remain. As proposed and accepted by quite a number of scholars, the entire chapters 10-13 would be viewed as a postscript.<sup>72</sup> Most of all, the first person singular is used overwhelmingly in chapters 10-13, while the first person plural is used preponderantly in chapters 1-9. This fact discloses that chapters 10-13 were penned by Paul himself.<sup>73</sup> Paul's severe tone in chapters 10-13 seems in keeping with the stern words shown in his autograph postscripts.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, although 2 Cor 10-13 as a postscript appears to be longer than Paul's other postscripts, this extent can be supported as a postscript by the evidence from

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<sup>71</sup> Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 179-80. Richards, *Ibid.*, 189, also relevantly suggests that "the additional remarks in the postscript of 2 Thessalonians about his custom of autographing a postscript implies that *at least* the previous postscript (1 Th. 5:27-28?) also was autographed." (Italics Richards'). Similarly, Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 125, comments that "Paul's remark in 2 Thess. 3.17 about his custom of closing all his letters in his own hand implies that *at least* his previous letter to the Thessalonians also contained a closing autograph, as probably to be found in 1 Thess. 5.27-28." (italics Weima's). This argument is also supported by F. F. Bruce, *1 & 2 Thessalonians*, WBC, vol. 45 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1982), 135; E. Best, *A Commentary on the First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians* (London: A. & C. Black, 1972), 246; Marshall, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 165; White, "New Testament Epistolary Literature in the Framework of Ancient Epistolography," 1741.

<sup>72</sup> Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 153; M. Dibelius, *A Fresh Approach to the New Testament and Early Christian Literature*, trans. D. S. Noel and G. Abbott (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), 157; W. H. Bates, "The Integrity of II Corinthians," *NTS* 12 (1965): 67; Bahr, "The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters," 37-38; Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 180-81; Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 125-26; Longenecker, "Ancient Amanuenses," 292. In contrast, Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 7-8, suggests that 2 Cor 1-9 and 2 Cor 10-13 are a separate correspondence, and thus 2 Cor 9 would be Paul's autograph postscript.

<sup>73</sup> Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 125-26.

<sup>74</sup> See Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 180-81; Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 126; Bahr, "The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters," 37-38. Paul's abrupt and harsh tone is also found in 1 Cor 16:22-24; Phlm 20-25; Gal 6:12-18; and probably Rom 16:17-20, even though written by Tertius, the amanuensis, not Paul himself.

the ancient letters.<sup>75</sup> For instance, Cicero also occasionally used comparatively lengthy postscripts.<sup>76</sup> Thus, presenting 2 Cor 10-13 as Paul's postscript is not unconvincing.<sup>77</sup>

Even though Philippians, likewise 1 Thessalonians and 2 Corinthians, seems not to exhibit Paul's autograph postscript explicitly, a possible autograph postscript, namely, Phil 4:10-23, has been proposed by some scholars.<sup>78</sup> Bahr's proposal for Phil 3:1-4:23 as Paul's autograph postscript is original, suggestive, and deserves more careful consideration, although he begins with Phil 3:1.<sup>79</sup> Bahr is correct in noting that "the thank-you note for the gift which Epaphroditus brought him was a highly personal matter for Paul, and so he wrote about that in his own hand at the end of the subscription."<sup>80</sup> This point has been supported by Weima who, does, however, suggest that Paul's autograph section begins with Phil 4:10. Weima also comments that at the close of the correspondence Paul expresses his private appreciation, in his own hand, for Philippians' financial assistance.<sup>81</sup> The specifically individual tone of Paul in Phil 4:10-23 renders the possibility of it being his subscription.<sup>82</sup>

Eph 6:21-22 is almost identical with Col 4:7-8, and this fact suggests that a

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<sup>75</sup> The extent of 2 Cor 10-13 is 33% of the entire letter. See Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 180; Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 126. As indicated by Bahr, "The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters," 28, BGU 910 (A.D.71); BGU 183 (A.D.85); and BGU 526 have the length of the postscript almost 50% or more of the whole letter.

<sup>76</sup> See Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 11.24; 12.32; 13.28; Cicero *Letters to Quintus* 3.1. See also Bahr, "The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters," 40-41.

<sup>77</sup> See Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 181; Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 126; Bahr, "The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters," 37.

<sup>78</sup> See Gamble, *The Textual History of the Letter to Romans*, 94,145-46; G. F. Hawthorne, *Philippians*, WBC (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1983), 210; P. T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 17. On the contrary, Longenecker, "Ancient Amanuenses," 292, suggests that Phil 4:21-23 would be Paul's autograph postscript.

<sup>79</sup> Bahr, "The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters," 38.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* (Italics Bahr's)

<sup>81</sup> Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, 125-26.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

parallel exists between Eph 6:23-24 and Col 4:18. If one assumes that both of them are Pauline, the possibility of a parallel deserves more careful consideration.<sup>83</sup>

Eph 6:21-24

21 pa,nta gnwri,sei u`mi/n  
Tu,cikoj o` avgaphto.j  
avdelfoj kai. pistoj  
dia,konoj evn kuri,w|(  
22 o]n e;pemya pro.j u`ma/j  
eivj auvto. tou/to( i[na  
gnw/te ta. peri. h`mw/n  
kai. parakale,sh| ta.j  
kardi,aj u`mw/nÅ  
23 Eivrh,nh toi/j  
avdelfoi/j kai. avga,ph  
meta. pi,stewj avpo. qeou/  
patroj kai. kuri,ou  
VIhsou/ Cristou/Å  
24 h` ca,rij meta. pa,ntwn  
tw/n avgapw,ntwn to.n  
ku,rion h`mw/n VIhsou/n  
Cristo.n evn avfqarsi,a|Å

Col 4:7-8, 18

7 pa,nta gnwri,sei u`mi/n  
Tu,cikoj o` avgaphto.j  
avdelfoj kai. pistoj  
dia,konoj kai. su,ndouloj  
evn kuri,w|(  
8 o]n e;pemya pro.j u`ma/j  
eivj auvto. tou/to( i[na  
gnw/te ta. peri. h`mw/n  
kai. parakale,sh| ta.j  
kardi,aj u`mw/n( ...  
18 ~O avspasmo.j th/|  
evmh/| ceiri. Pau,louÅ  
mnhmoneu,ete, mou tw/n  
desmw/nÅ h` ca,rij meqv  
u`mw/nÅ

Apparently, these parts fall in the final greeting section, and in the case of Col 4:18 it was written by Paul as his autograph postscript. Thus, if the suggestion that a parallel exists between them is acceptable, then, in light of Col 4:18, Eph 6:23-24 could be seen as Paul's autograph postscript. Although, both Bahr and Longenecker insist that Paul's subscriptions follow a doxology, Bahr suggests Paul's subscription begins with

<sup>83</sup> In particular, Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 3-4, 191, points to the possibility that Ephesians would be a circular correspondence traced from Colossians. Since, in antiquity, it was routine for an author to retain a duplicate when a secretary wrote a letter, it is also very reasonable to assume that Paul did keep individual copies of his correspondences. Paul's reference of 2 Tim 4:13, ta. bibli,a ma,lista ta.j membra,naj, might strongly imply this possibility.

Eph 4:1, whereas Longenecker believes it begins at Eph 6:21.<sup>84</sup>

Richards comments that the writer's preference for a secretary is a rather more dependable pointer towards employment than is the presence of a postscript.<sup>85</sup> This is a more convincing case for Paul himself, because, his six letters clearly reveal that he did engage a secretary. As Richards insists, an amanuensis is employed "unless one is not available."<sup>86</sup> In this regard, Richards' argument that Paul's preference for an amanuensis should be investigated in the circumstances of his letters seems quite persuasive.<sup>87</sup> He correctly observes that if the employment of an amanuensis could be verified in previous correspondence, then, in the case of a later one, which was composed in similar circumstances, his preference would quite probably be to engage an amanuensis. This observation relies on the premise that the writer's circumstances had been similar to compare two correspondences.<sup>88</sup> This may well be the case for 2 Corinthians and 1 Thessalonians. Furthermore, if, as is likely, Paul wrote Colossians and Philemon with the help of a secretary under confinement, then, this may also well be the case for Ephesians, Philipians, even 2 Timothy, if one does not reject Pauline authorship.<sup>89</sup>

Difference in style in genuine correspondences can be not only the most credible pointer of an amanuensis, but also the most arguable.<sup>90</sup> This pointer makes the strongest case for the Pastoral Epistles (PE); the most disputed of the Pauline corpus. In his 1921 work, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, Harrison claims that the PE used a vocabulary of 902 words, 306 of which are not found in other Pauline

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<sup>84</sup> See Bahr, "The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters," 37; Longenecker, "Ancient Amanuenses," 292.

<sup>85</sup> Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 181

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 181-82.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

epistles. 175 words are *hapax legomena*, and 131 words do not appear in the other ten traditional Pauline epistles, but do appear elsewhere in the New Testament.<sup>91</sup> Harrison also points out that 112 typical Pauline particles, prepositions, and pronouns are missing in the PE.<sup>92</sup> Harrison argues that out of the 175 *hapax legomena* in the PE, 93 appear in the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists. Also, of 131 words which are not in the other ten traditional Paulines but in other NT writings, 118 words show up in the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists.<sup>93</sup> Harrison insists that the author of the PE uses the vocabulary of “the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists,” which does not match the language of the other Pauline epistles.<sup>94</sup> He concludes, based on a statistical method, that the author of the PE is not Paul, but a pious Paulinist of the second century.<sup>95</sup>

Harrison’s conclusion, grounded on his statistical study, has been criticized by many scholars. Against Harrison’s conclusion, Hitchcock argues that “125 out of the 131, 96 percent, of the Pastorals words, found elsewhere in NT but not in Paulines, occur before AD 50; while at least 153 out of 175, 88 percent, of the [*hapax legomena*] can be quoted before AD 50. That is, of the 306 words, [*hapax legomena*] and otherwise, in the Pastorals but not in the Paulines, 90 percent are before AD 50.”<sup>96</sup> Later, Hitchcock studied Philo, and wrote *Philo and the Pastorals*. Hitchcock added six *hapax legomena* to that of Harrison.<sup>97</sup> He contends that “of the 181 *hapax legomena* in the Pastorals, 121 are in Philo, that is 67 percent, whereas of 485 *hapax*

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<sup>91</sup> P. N. Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), 20-21.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 35-37.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 68-70

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>96</sup> Montgomery Hitchcock, “Tests For the Pastorals,” *JTS* 30 (1929): 279.

<sup>97</sup> *Idem*, “Philo and the Pastorals,” *Hermathena* 56 (1940): 116.

*legomena* in the Paulines 258 or 54 percent are in Philo.”<sup>98</sup> Subsequently, he concludes that there is as much evidence to link them with Philo, a contemporary of Paul, as there is to link them with the apostolic Fathers. Therefore, the linguistic statistics do not prove a late date.<sup>99</sup>

After Harrison, although the linguistic problem of the PE has been explored employing statistical methods by quite a number of scholars there is no consensus. Yule pertinently suggests that a sample of no fewer than 10,000 words, that is, producing approximately 2000 nouns, should be required for detecting momentous differences.<sup>100</sup> Consequently, as the total words of the PE are far fewer than 10,000, it can be concluded that no statistical method is sufficient.

Grayston and Herdan have altered Harrison’s hypothesis, naming their method *C* quantity. They refined Harrison’s method to satisfy both the size of vocabularies and the length of the texts.<sup>101</sup> Grayston and Herdan explain *C*: “It is seen to represent the alternative probability that a word is either peculiar to the part or common to all parts. This means that it gives the probability for a word taken at random from the text to be either peculiar to a chosen part or common to all parts.”<sup>102</sup> A comparatively high value of *C* “points to a peculiarity of style.”<sup>103</sup> According to Grayston and Herdan, the Pauline Epistles’ quantities of *C*, excluding Philemon, mark the boundary 29-34%, and the value of *C* of the PE is 46%.<sup>104</sup> Based on the comparatively higher value of *C* of the PE, they conclude that “the linguistic evidence

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<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.

<sup>100</sup> G. Udney Yule, *The Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1944; reprint, Hamden: Archon Books, 1968), 281.

<sup>101</sup> K. Grayston and G. Herdan, “The Authorship of the Pastorals in the Light of Statistical Linguistics,” *NTS* 6 (1959): 7.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 8. They label *C* as “Words peculiar to a chosen part + Words common to all parts”  
Vocabulary of the chosen part      Vocabulary of the chosen part

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

in terms of *C* is to the effect that the Pastorals show less vocabulary connectivity with the total Pauline vocabulary than the rest of the letters, and this is in full agreement with the conclusions reached on purely literary grounds. In particular, the magnitude of *C* for the Pastorals supports strongly the hypothesis of a non-Pauline authorship.”<sup>105</sup>

However, Robinson criticizes Grayston and Herdan’s conclusion and argues that the differences of *C* quantity between the PE and the remaining Paulines do not come from the data itself, but come from the method with which they deal with the data.<sup>106</sup> Robinson points out that Grayston and Herdan treat the PE and Thessalonian letters as one unit, respectively, whereas the other Paulines are regarded separately.<sup>107</sup> Robinson’s indication is a crucial point since, if the PE and Thessalonian letters are dealt with independently, the values of *C* are different. When the Pauline Epistles are considered individually, their *C* values are within the range 26-29%. Also, the PE’s *C* values mark the boundary 28-32%. There is a minute difference between them. Specifically, 2 Timothy’s *C* value is less than that of 1 Corinthians.<sup>108</sup> Thus, Robinson underlines that “until the time that a method is found that is much more discriminating than those before us, literary critics of the New Testament must recognize the possibility that there may exist no relationship between the percentage of *hapax legomena* in different works that could be used to detect a difference in authorship.”<sup>109</sup>

In his 1986 monograph, *A Stylometric Study of the New Testament*, Kenny defines stylometry as “the study of quantifiable features of style of a written or spoken

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<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>106</sup> Thomas Robinson, “Grayston and Herdan’s ‘C’ Quantity Formula and the Authorship of the Pastoral Epistles,” *NTS* 30 (1984): 283.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 287.

text,” and he notes that it can be utilized as “an indication of the authorship of a text when this is in question.”<sup>110</sup> On the basis of the grammatical database of Barbara and Timothy Friberg<sup>111</sup>, Kenny employs ninety-six different features<sup>112</sup> including conjunctions and particles, prepositions, articles, nouns and pronouns, adjectives and adverbs, and verbs for comparison within the Pauline corpus, and investigates whether the gathering evidence of stylometry maintains or opposes the assumption that the Pauline corpus includes documents by the same author.<sup>113</sup> Kenny in particular excludes sentence-length because he treats it as “of very ambiguous value.”<sup>114</sup>

According to Kenny’s analysis, among the thirteen epistles of the Pauline corpus, the ranking in which the letters match the entire corpus is Romans, Philippians, 2 Timothy, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Thessalonians, Colossians, Ephesians, 1 Timothy, Philemon, 1 Corinthians, and Titus.<sup>115</sup> Kenny contends:

There is no support given by this table to the idea that a single group of Epistles (say the four major Tübingen Epistles) stand out as uniquely comfortable with one another; or that a single group (such as the Pastoral Epistles) stand out as uniquely diverse from the surrounding context. 2 Timothy, one of the commonly rejected Pastoral Epistles, is as near centre of the constellation as 2 Corinthians, which belongs to the group most widely accepted as authentic. It is only Titus which is shown as deserving the suspicion cast on the Pastorals.<sup>116</sup>

He concludes that “no reason [exists] to reject the hypothesis that twelve of the Pauline Epistles are the work of a single, unusually versatile author.”<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Anthony Kenny, *A Stylometric Study of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 1.

<sup>111</sup> See Barbara and Timothy Friberg, *Analytical Greek New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981).

<sup>112</sup> See Kenny, *A Stylometric Study of the New Testament*, 123-124.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 84-100.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 98-100

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.



Mealand has conducted parallel studies on the extent of the Pauline epistles. His work exploits techniques of multivariate analysis.<sup>118</sup> Specifically, Mealand's investigation is based on a 1000 word sample from the Pauline corpus, excluding 2 Thessalonians and Titus.<sup>119</sup> Mealand asserts that "the differences between the Pastorals and Paul are confirmed. . . . the Pastorals usually move in a different direction from major Paulines."<sup>120</sup>

More recently, in his 2004 work, *Scalometry and the Pauline Epistles*, Barr criticizes both Kenny's conclusion that Titus is not Pauline and Mealand's conclusion that the PE are not Pauline. Barr observes:

A problem is immediately apparent. Some of the variables used are scale sensitive. In addition, with the use of 1,000-word samples it is inevitable that there will be scaling differences between samples. The same problem arises which arose in Kenny's study in which percentages were used to measure the rates of occurrence of parts of speech. Data drawn from sections of the text that belong to different scale levels cannot be combined without conversion. In the Paulines, there is no escape from this problem as long as 1,000-word samples are used.<sup>121</sup>

Distinctively, Barr describes Tit 1:7-9 and 12-16 as interpolations and concludes that Titus remains in the range of the Pauline epistles, "but after the insertions have been removed and differences in genre taken into account the differences are slight."<sup>122</sup> Barr accepts the Pauline authorship of the PE.<sup>123</sup>

Quite a number of scholars insist that Paul wrote the PE using an amanuensis, as the Pauline epistles themselves show, which explains the linguistic differences between the PE and the other Pauline epistles. This signifies that the

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<sup>118</sup> David L. Mealand, "The Extent of the Pauline Corpus: A Multivariate Approach," *JSNT* 59 (1995): 61. Mealand uses both cluster analysis and discriminant analysis.

<sup>119</sup> Mealand, *Ibid.*, 64, notes that 823 words were used for 2 Thessalonians, and 659 words for Titus.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>121</sup> George K. Barr, *Scalometry and the Pauline Epistles* (London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 105.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

differences in language and style arise from the different amanuenses. Among German scholars who maintain this view, the observations of Roller and Jeremias are remarkable. Roller says that in the case of 2 Timothy Paul's amanuensis was allowed to have significant liberty by reason of Paul's physical constraint under imprisonment.<sup>124</sup> Likewise, Jeremias notes that the circumstances of Paul's internment prevented him from penning the epistle himself.<sup>125</sup>

A distinctive study with regard to the amanuensis hypothesis of the PE, is Prior's inquiry.<sup>126</sup> On the grounds of the practice of first-century letter writing, Prior says that Paul needed the help of amanuenses when composing his letters to churches, whereas he wrote a private epistle to an individual himself.<sup>127</sup> He views the PE as "private letters in a double sense, that is, they were written by one person, and the recipient is a specific individual."<sup>128</sup> He also argues that Paul wrote, that is, he virtually penned, 2 Timothy himself.<sup>129</sup> Prior makes no final judgment on 1 Timothy and Titus, and suggests all the other Pauline epistles were written by a secretary.<sup>130</sup> However, there is a flaw in Prior's conclusion. In the case of Philemon, for example, as acknowledged by Prior himself, "nothing in the letter suggests that it is any different from a letter written by one person, and addressed to one person."<sup>131</sup> This epistle would be considered as a private letter, even though it holds not only Philemon but also Apphia, Archippus, and the house church of Philemon as co-addressees.<sup>132</sup> If so, according to Prior, Philemon would have been written by Paul

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<sup>124</sup> Roller, *Das Formular der paulischen Briefe*, 21.

<sup>125</sup> Joachim Jeremias, *Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1947), 5-6.

<sup>126</sup> See Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 37-59.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 167-70.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

himself, nevertheless, Prior presumes that Timothy would be the amanuensis of Philemon by reason of the statement in Phlm 1:19.<sup>133</sup>

Although Prior's observation deserves mention, it seems likely that Paul generally must have utilized amanuenses regardless of letters to individuals or churches while he composed his letters in light of both the practice of first-century letter writing and the evidence shown by the Pauline epistles themselves. Based on Paul's statement in 2 Tim 4:11, *Louka/j evstin mo,noj metV evmou/* (Only Luke is with me), as many scholars insist, the argument that Luke was, at least, the amanuensis of 2 Timothy is no less plausible than Prior's argument.

There remain persuasive reasons for the proposal that the PE are "deviating letters" which correspond to the style of a gifted and reliable co-worker of Paul, namely, Luke.<sup>134</sup> In fact, there is a remarkable linguistic similarity between the PE and Luke-Acts.<sup>135</sup> Concerning linguistic connections between the PE and Luke-Acts, Scott points to the use of common vocabulary, medical language, and similar expressions of preferred words and idioms.<sup>136</sup> Moule classifies the similarities between the PE and Luke-Acts into three categories, including words, phrases, and ideas.<sup>137</sup> As regards common vocabulary between the PE and Luke-Acts, Strobel points to 64 words that almost exclusively occur in the PE and Luke-Acts and

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<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 187.

<sup>135</sup> H. A. Schott (1830) was the first scholar who proposed the close correlation between the PE and the Lucan works. See Jakob van Bruggen, *Die geschichtliche Einordnung der Pastoralbriefe*, trans. Byung-Gook Kim (Seoul: Solomon Press, 1997), 16. Since Schott, this kind of proposal has been championed by H. J. Holtzmann, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1880), 92; Robert Scott, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark LTD, 1909), 329-71; C. F. D. Moule, "The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles: A Reappraisal," *BJRL* 47 (1965): 430-52; August Strobel, "Schreiben des Lukas?," *NTS* 15 (1969): 191-210; Wilson, *Luke and the Pastoral Epistles*, 3-4. Wilson insists that the author of Luke-Acts, who is not the co-worker of Paul, wrote the PE after Paul's death. For the most recent work, specifically see Rainer Riesner, "Once More: Luke-Acts and the Pastoral Epistles," in *History and Exegesis*, ed. Sang-Won Son (T&T Clark International, 2006), 239-58.

<sup>136</sup> Scott, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 334-49.

<sup>137</sup> Moule, "The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles: A Reappraisal," 123-27.

emphasizes that 37 of these only appear in the PE and Luke-Acts.<sup>138</sup>

Furthermore, Strobel<sup>139</sup> and Spicq<sup>140</sup> confirmed the literary connections between them by pointing to the quotation of Luke 10:7 in 1 Tim 5:18 and the explicit allusion to Luke 12:11 in Tit 3:1. This fact is remarkable in light of the PE's comparative brevity. Particularly, among these words, not only *euvsebei/n* and *u`giai,nein*, main concepts of the PE, but also some words that present medical imagery are found. Along this line, Fee notes that "the large number of correspondences in vocabulary with Luke-Acts makes the hypothesis of Luke as this amanuensis an attractive one."<sup>141</sup> Likewise, Johnson comments that because of a number of the terms exclusively used by 1 Timothy and Titus and Luke-Acts, Luke is suggested as the secretary.<sup>142</sup> Also, Ellis suggests that the PE "reflect the use of a different and well-trusted secretary who, on plausible grounds, has been identified with Luke."<sup>143</sup> In this

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<sup>138</sup> Strobel, "Schreiben des Lukas?," 194-96. See also Wilson, *Luke and the Pastoral Epistles*, 5-7. 64 words are the following: *avdhlo,tej*, *avgaqoergei/n*, *avna,gnwsij*, *avnalu,ein*, *avnayu,cein*, *a;noia*, *avntila,mbanesqai*, *avntile,gein*, *avpeiqh,j*, *avpistei/n*, *avpodoch,,* *avpo,keisqai*, *avvvpwqei/sqai*, *avsw,twj*, *a,fista,nai*, *avca,ristoj*, *be,bhloj*, *bpe,foj*, *buqi,zein*, *diamartu,resqai*, *diafgei,rein*, *dr,omoj*, *duna,sthj*, *evxarti,zein*, *evpiskoph,,* *evpime,lei/sqai*, *evpifa,neia*, *evpifai,nein*, *evfista,nai*, *euvergesi,a*, *euvsebei/n*, *zh,thsi,j*, *zwgrei/n*, *zw|ogonei/n*, *kakou/rgoj*, *meleta/n*, *metalamba,nein*, *new,teroi*, *nomiko,j*, *nomodida,skaloj*, *nosfi,gesqai*, *ovdu,nh*, *pagi,j*, *parakolougei/n*, *peiqrarcei/n*, *peri,ergoj*, *perie,rcesqai*, *perii<sta,nai*, *peripoiei/sqai*, *presbute,rion*, *presbu,thj*, *prodo,thj*, *proko,ptein*, *propeth,j*, *proskli,nesqai*, *pukno,j*, *spoudai,wj*, *sumparagi,nesqai*, *swmatiko,j*, *sofrosu,nh*, *u`giai,nein*, *u`ponoei/n*, *filanqrwpi,a*, and *fila,rguroj*. Wilson, *ibid.*, 5, notes that some of these words mean something different between the PE and Luke-Acts. These words are *a;noia*, *parakolougei/n*, *peri,ergoj*, *proskli,nesqai*. It is possible this correlation is not much different from what could be discovered between the PE and other New Testament writings. However, the strong contribution to the theology of the PE of the common terminology between the PE and Luke-Acts makes the points of correlation significant, even if not unique.

<sup>139</sup> See *ibid.*, 198-210.

<sup>140</sup> C. Spicq, *Les Épitres Pastorales*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed, Etudes Bibliques, vol. 1 (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1969), 233-39, 543.

<sup>141</sup> Gordon Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*, NIBC (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1988), 26.

<sup>142</sup> Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, 426.

<sup>143</sup> E. Earle Ellis, *Pauline Theology: Ministry and Society* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1989), 107.

respect, the conclusion of Knight is remarkable as a different approach to the linguistic similarity between the PE and Luke-Acts. Knight indicates that the similarity of the vocabulary and style between the PE and Luke-Acts comes from the collegueship of Paul and Luke based on their common ministries, and the linguistic characteristics of Luke would influence Paul.<sup>144</sup> He contends that “Luke was the secretary whose language was sometimes utilized by Paul as he formulated the contents of the letters.”<sup>145</sup> In his 2006 article, “Once More: Luke-Acts and the Pastoral Epistles,” Riesner indicates that Luke-Acts employs the word *ch,ra* (widow) with the most frequency among the NT. The word *ch,ra* is used twenty seven times in the NT, twelve times in Luke-Acts; and eight times in 1 Timothy.<sup>146</sup> Such a prominent attention to the Christian widows by Luke-Acts and 1 Timothy also discloses the close correlation between them.<sup>147</sup> Riesner underscores that “2 Tim. 4:11 claims that Luke was especially familiar with the last will of the apostle and would thus qualify him to have written down Paul’s ‘testament’.”<sup>148</sup> Riesner seems to allow for the probability that Luke was the amanuensis for the PE.<sup>149</sup> Therefore, if one presumes that the PE are Pauline, then, as Longenecker suggests, 1 Tim 6:17-21, 2 Tim 4:19-22, and Tit 3:15 would be viewed as Paul’s autograph sections.<sup>150</sup>

Although there is a measure of consensus among modern scholars concerning the authorship of Hebrews<sup>151</sup>, namely, it is an anonymous letter, however,

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<sup>144</sup> Knight, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 50-51.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>146</sup> Riesner, “Once More: Luke-Acts and the Pastoral Epistles,” 246.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 247.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 255.

<sup>149</sup> See *Ibid.*, 257-58.

<sup>150</sup> Longenecker, “Ancient Amanuenses,” 292. Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 194, also comments that “if however the letters are accepted as Pauline, then the variations in style and somewhat in viewpoint and theology may be explained by the influence of a secretary. Therefore, if the Pastorals are Pauline, then the presence of a secretary should be considered very ‘probable’.”

<sup>151</sup> The Pauline authorship of Hebrews is supported by Eta Linnemann, “Wiederaufnahme-

it should be noted that not only the oldest extant manuscript of Paul's epistles, P<sup>46</sup>, but also the four oldest extant manuscripts of the whole of the OT and the NT (*Codex Alexandrinus*, *Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus*, *Codex Sinaiticus*, and *Codex Vaticanus*) attribute Hebrews to Paul.<sup>152</sup> In this respect, a brief but suggestive investigation of the case of Hebrews would be relevant to the issue of Paul's use of an amanuensis. The scribe of P<sup>46</sup> commences with Romans and places Hebrews following it and the four oldest extant manuscripts mentioned above arrange Hebrews right after 2 Thessalonians and prior to 1 Timothy.

Figure 4. The Sequence of Paul's Epistles in the Manuscripts

1	Rom <i>Heb</i> 1 Cor 2 Cor Eph Gal Phil Col 1 Th
2	Rom 1 Cor 2 Cor Gal Eph Phil Col 1 Th 2 Th <i>Heb</i> 1 Tim 2 Tim Tit Phlm
3	Rom 1 Cor 2 Cor Gal Eph Phil Col 1 Th 2 Th 1 Tim 2 Tim Tit Phlm
4	Rom 1 Cor 2 Cor Gal Eph Phil Col 1 Th 2 Th 1 Tim 2 Tim Tit Phlm <i>Heb</i>
5	Rom 1 Cor 2 Cor Gal Eph Col Phil 1 Th 2 Th 1 Tim 2 Tim Tit Phlm <i>Heb</i>
6	Rom 1 Cor 2 Cor Gal Eph Col Phil 1 Th 2 Th <i>Heb</i> 1 Tim 2 Tim Tit Phlm
7	Rom 1 Cor 2 Cor Gal <i>Heb</i> Eph Phil Col 1 Th 2 Th
8	Rom 1 Cor 2 Cor Gal Eph Phil Col 1 Th 2 Th <i>Heb</i> 1 Tim 2 Tim Tit Phlm <i>Heb</i>

1= P<sup>46</sup>

2= Sinaiticus (a 01), Alexandrinus (A 02), Vaticanus (B 03), Ephraemi Rescriptus (C 04)

3= Boernerianus (G 012), Augiensis (F 010)

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Prozess in Sachen des Hebräerbriefes, 1. Teil," *Fundamentum* 21/3 (2000): 101-12; *Idem*, "Wiederaufnahme-Prozess in Sachen des Hebräerbriefes, 2. Teil," *Fundamentum* 21/4 (2000): 52-65; *Idem*, "Wiederaufnahme-Prozess in Sachen des Hebräerbriefes, 3. Teil," *Fundamentum* 22/1 (2001): 88-110; David Alan Black, "On the Pauline Authorship of Hebrews," *Faith & Mission* 16 (1999): 32-51.

<sup>152</sup> See Trobisch, *Paul's Letter Collection: Tracing the Origins*, 6-17; Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 591-92.

4= Authorized Byzantine Version

5= Claromontanus (D 06)

6= Minuscule 5

7= Chapters in Vaticanus (B 03)

8= Minuscule 794

(Source: Trobisch, *Paul's Letter Collection: Tracing the Origins*, 20-21 with modifications.)

In the view of the canonical edition, provided that all the epistles of the collection are composed by one person, such as Paul's epistles, it is not necessary to reiterate the name of the writer in a title; the address may well be enough to discern them from each other. On the other hand, a collection which contains the epistles named by the address, such as Paul's epistles, demonstrates that all of them were composed by the identical writer. It is most likely that the name of the writer naturally signifies the title of the entire collection. Therefore, not only a number of the canonical documents' list, but also the majority manuscripts of the Authorized Byzantine Version named the collection mentioned above "The fourteen Letters of Paul," and each epistle gained its title from its address.<sup>153</sup> These fourteen letters of Paul in the collection were placed along with their recipients.<sup>154</sup>

The letter to the Hebrews was not addressed to a person, but to a congregation. Thus, P<sup>46</sup> places Hebrews after Romans<sup>155</sup> and the four oldest extant codices *Alexandrinus*, *Ephraemi Rescritus*, *Sinaiticus*, and *Vaticanus* arrange it following 2 Thessalonians. On the other hand, the Authorized Byzantine Version arranges Hebrews after Philemon and the codices *Boernerianus* and *Augiensis* exclude it. This fact indicates that the collection of Paul's epistles included only

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<sup>153</sup> Trobisch, *Paul's Letter Collection: Tracing the Origins*, 24.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>155</sup> P<sup>46</sup> places Paul's letters to congregations along with their extent. See *Ibid.*, 13-17.

thirteen epistles at some time.<sup>156</sup>

Nevertheless, it is significant to note that “the title of Hebrews” remains as the identical phrasing in every extant manuscript, since the epistle itself does not propose the title, Hebrews, “with a single word.”<sup>157</sup> In this light, Trobisch’s observation deserves mention. He contends:

It is very unlikely that any two editors independently from each other would have thought of this name. On the other hand, the title gives only the address; it does not give the name of the author of the letter. This implies that the reader knew the author. . . . A letter of Paul can be distinguished easily from any other New Testament letter. If we look at the New Testament as a whole, we see that the titles of the letters are designed to group them into two collections: The letters of Paul are named according to their addressees; the titles of the general letters give the name of their authors: James, Peter, John, and Jude. . . . Therefore readers of the canonical edition will readily assume that they are reading a letter of Paul when they encounter the title “To Hebrews.”<sup>158</sup>

Trobisch indicates that “the only place Hebrews is found in the extant manuscripts is among the letters of Paul,”<sup>159</sup> and persuasively concludes that “the uniformity of the title clearly demonstrates that all manuscripts of Hebrews go back to a single exemplar. In this exemplar Hebrews was already part of a collection of the letters of Paul.”<sup>160</sup>

Although Hebrews commences without a typically epistolary opening, it ends with a letter closing.<sup>161</sup> At this point, Bruce sees Hebrews as “a homily in written form, with some personal remarks added at the end.”<sup>162</sup> As a result, even though there is a proposal that the present closing of Hebrews was inserted later, however, there remains no textual proof. It may well be said that the closing section

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<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-26.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> See C. Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux*, Etudes Bibliques, vol.1 (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1952), 19-20.

<sup>162</sup> F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, rev. ed., NICNT (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1990), 389.



of Hebrews 13 was original part of the letter to the Hebrews.<sup>163</sup> In this light, Heb 13:22-25, as a postscript, would imply the possibility of Paul's use of an amanuensis.

Figure 5. The Proof for Paul's using of amanuenses in his correspondences

	Plain Proof		Implied Pointers		
	Amanuensis' Statement	Shifts in Handwriting	Presence of Postscript	Author's Preference	Stylistic differences
Rom	16:22				
1 Cor		16:21	16:22-24		
2 Cor			Chs. 10-13?	1 Cor?	
Gal		6:11	6:12-18		
Eph			6:23-24?	Under detention Col ?	
Phil			4:10-23?	Under detention	
Col		4:18	4:18b	Under detention	
1 Th			5:27-28?	2 Th ?	
2 Th		3:17	3:17-18		
1 Tim					Lucan
2 Tim				Under detention	Lucan
Tit					Lucan
Phlm		19	20-25	Under detention	

(Source: Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 190 with modifications.)<sup>164</sup>

<sup>163</sup> See David A. deSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on the Epistle "to the Hebrews"* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000), 483-84; Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1993), 50-62; Ray C. Stedman, *Hebrews*, IVPNTC (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992), 158-60. William L. Lane, *Hebrews 1-8*, WBC, vol. 47A (Dallas: Word Books, 1991), lxvii-lxviii; Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 367; Harold W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 13-21.

<sup>164</sup> Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 190, notes that "2 Th. 3:17 makes postscripts possible in all of Paul's letters," and that his preference could be supported

## 2.2. An Amanuensis' role in Paul's Letter Writing

The issue as to how Paul used an amanuensis in the process of the writing, namely, whether Paul allowed him to have a freehand or not, is disputed; whereas the fact that he employed an amanuensis while composing his letters is undisputed. To explore an amanuensis' role in Paul's letter writing, there are some factors which should be considered. As investigated in the previous chapter, a secretary's role in antiquity was various, that is, transcriber or contributor (editor) or composer. Thus, it is possible to assume theoretically that Paul could use a secretary in all three roles.<sup>165</sup> However, it is hardly likely that Paul employed him as a composer; since it was an unusual custom and since it was used only when the sender was not concerned over the contents of the correspondence; Paul wrote letters to churches and individuals with a specific purpose and reason.<sup>166</sup> Another option, that Paul dictated painfully slowly, syllable by syllable, to the amanuensis as a transcriber is also most unlikely. The epistles of Paul could not be read as such a correspondence, dictated painfully little by little, specifically in the case of the letter to the Romans.<sup>167</sup> It is most likely that Paul's amanuensis acted as a contributor (editor), because this

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strongly due to "the close chronological and geographical origins" of his correspondences.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 194.

<sup>166</sup> *Idem*, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 92. Even though there remain a few instances in private letters, in those cases, the real composer was not a typical amanuensis but a friend of the sender. See Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 3.15.8; 11.2.4; 11.3; 11.5.3; 11.7.7.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.* Richards suggests a plausible possibility that Tertius would be a tachygraphist. Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 171, notes that "it may not be mere coincidence that he is also used to write down the longest letter of Paul, the letter that contains the strongest oral features, that contains such a high frequency of oratorical rhetoric, that perhaps has the strongest possibility of being all or partly *ipsissima verba Pauli viva voce*. If Tertius was a tachygraphist, it may explain why he was used to record this long letter—or perhaps even why this letter is so long. It may also shed light on Tertius' apparent affiliation with Rome: this city was perhaps the most likely to house." (Italics Richards') However, it is also unlikely that Paul wrote all his letters with a shorthand writer, since shorthand writing was not only quite rare and expensive, but would also not be available during his missionary travels or under confinement. See Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 92

function was regarded as the most usual in Greco-Roman antiquity.<sup>168</sup>

Identifying Paul's amanuensis is crucial in this issue, since the extent of the free hand given him may depend on whether the secretary was one of Paul's co-workers who was gifted and trusted or one contracted in the market. In light of the practice of letter writing in Greco-Roman antiquity, it seems very likely that Paul would probably allow a secretary to have a free hand when he was a gifted and a trusted colleague of Paul. This probability is certainly established by the examples that Cicero, Atticus, Quintus, and Alexander the Great employed their amanuenses as contributors (editors).<sup>169</sup>

As a matter of fact, an amanuensis as a contributor (editor) frequently incorporated details that the sender would not give attention to. For instance, Cicero's correspondence to Atticus through an amanuensis shows this practice.

*Postea vero quam Tyrannio mihi libros disposuit, mens addita videtur meis aedibus. qua quidem in re mirifica opera Dionysi et Menophili tui fuit. nihil venustius quam illa tua pegmata, postquam mi sittybae libros illustrarunt. vale. Et scribas mihi velim de gladiatoribus, sed ita bene si rem gerunt; non quaero, male si se gesserunt.*

“And now that Tyrannio has put my books straight, my house seems to have woken to life. Your Dionysius and Menophilus have worked wonders over that. Those shelves of yours are the last word in elegance, now that the labels have brightened up the volumes. Good-bye. Oh, and you might let me know about the gladiators, but only if they give a good account of themselves.

<sup>168</sup> *Idem, The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 195.

<sup>169</sup> See Cicero *Letters to Friends* 16.4.3; 16.10.2; 16.17.1; *Letters to Atticus* 5.20.9; 7.2.3; 12.10; *Letters to Quintus* 1.2.8. See also Plutarch *Eumenes* 1; 12.1-2. Specifically, there seems to remain a parallel relationship between Paul/Luke and Alexander/Eumenes, if Luke would be Paul's amanuensis. Eumenes was not only the amanuensis of Alexander but also his reliable companion and counsellor. Also, Alexander shared his tasks with Eumenes including ordering troops. Furthermore, Eumenes composed a narrative of Alexander's achievement, *Ephemerides of Alexander*, which has a parallel to Acts. See also the comments of Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 188; Plutarch, *Alexander* 76-77.

Otherwise I am not interested.”<sup>170</sup>

Clearly, Cicero requested his amanuensis to include the details, since, prior to the letter, he seems to send another letter to Atticus which replicates the contents concerning Atticus’ benevolent help with his library on the same (or on the previous) day by his own hand, and closes it quite concisely with “*Bibliothecam mihi tui pinxerunt constructione et sillybis. Eos velim laudes.*” (“Your people have painted my library together with the bookcases and labels. Please commend them.”)<sup>171</sup> As a trusted amanuensis he filled in the details about which the author manifested slight attention. This fact sheds light on the long greetings of Romans and Colossians. Evidently, in the case of Colossians, Paul took over from the amanuensis and virtually penned the letter himself, after a long greeting.<sup>172</sup> To this end, the conclusion of Ellis that Paul gave his amanuensis some autonomy in writing his letters if the amanuensis was “a spiritually endowed colleague” is quite correct.<sup>173</sup>

In conclusion, Paul’s amanuensis’ role is most likely intermediate between “the extremes of transcriber and composer,”<sup>174</sup> namely, a contributor (editor), as reconstructed by Richards.

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<sup>170</sup> Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 4.8.2.

<sup>171</sup> Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 4.5.3. Cicero who seems to have displeased Atticus, thus composes a letter to apologize. Cicero, *Ibid.*, says, “*scio te voluisse et me asinum germanium fuisse*” (“I know you wanted me to do so, and that I have been a prize donkey”). This statement of Cicero is hardly written by the hand of an amanuensis. See also Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 116.

<sup>172</sup> Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 197. As investigated by the previous chapter, a secretary as contributor also prepared a letter of recommendation, and this fact also sheds lights on Romans 16. Richards, *Ibid.*, 171, writes that “converting the (usually oral) instructions of an author into a polished, standardized, letter of recommendation was a common assignment for a *professional* secretary. If Tertius was a trained secretary, then this reconstruction is possible. Paul dictated the letter and then told Tertius to write a commendation for Phoebe and to greet the important people in the Roman church. In addition to writing a proper recommendation for Phoebe, Tertius displayed another secretarial trait: the tendency to include details and to be exhaustive. Either Tertius knew the people to greet or he collected a list.”

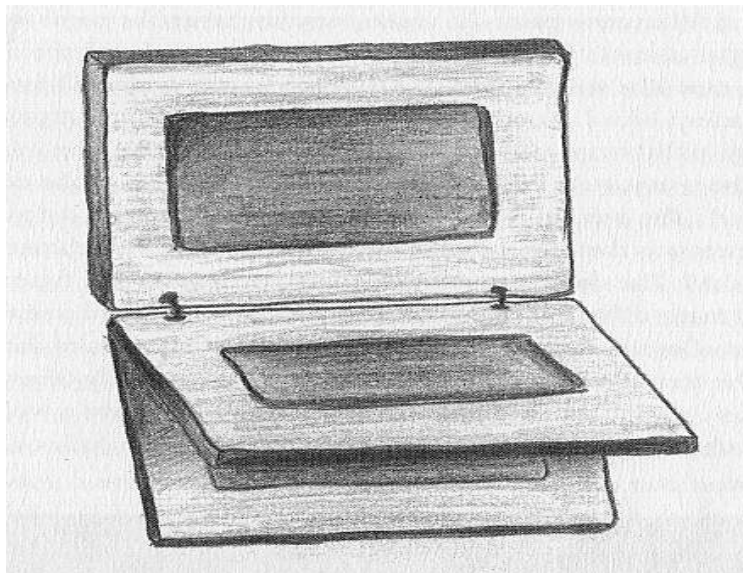
<sup>173</sup> Ellis, “The Pastorals and Paul,” 45.

<sup>174</sup> Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 93.

Paul (and his team) dictated the letter, compromising between a painfully slow, syllable-by-syllable rate of speech and the rapid rate of normal speech. The secretary, unable to take shorthand, also compromised. Unable to maintain the complete precision of verbatim transcription, the secretary took notes as complete and detailed as he could. He then prepared a rough draft, probably on washable papyrus sheets or stacks of wax tablets. Paul and his team heard the letter read and made corrections and additions.<sup>175</sup>

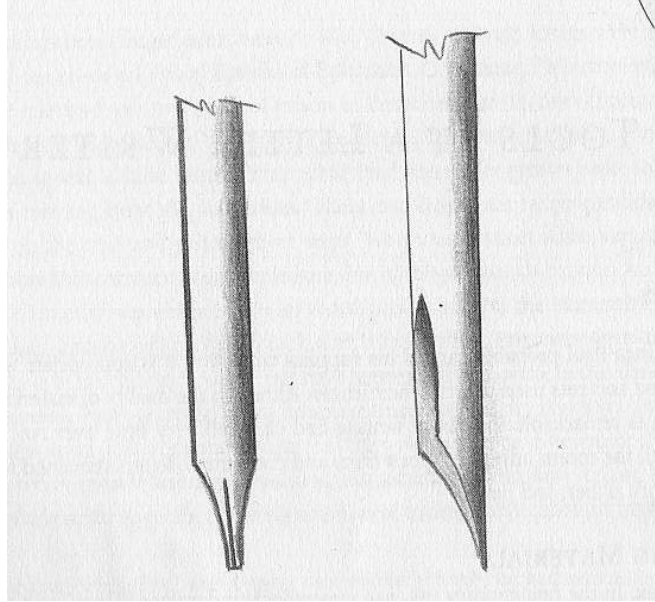
Most likely, altering and editing would last just until Paul and possibly his co-workers were entirely satisfied, because Paul was, ultimately, liable for the contents of the correspondence.<sup>176</sup>

Figure 6. Wax Tablets and a Reed Pen



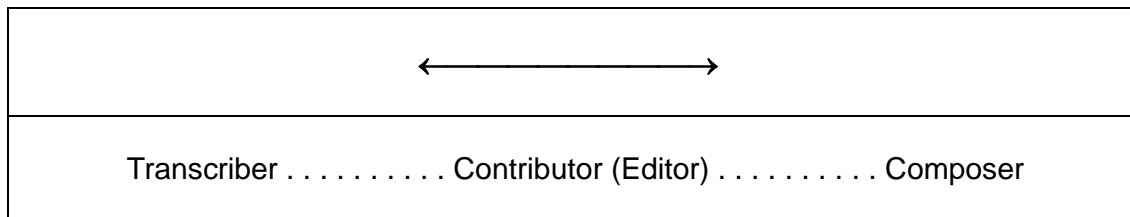
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<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*  
<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*



(Drawings by Larry Thompson are from Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 48-49.)

Figure 7. The Role of Paul's amanuensis



(Source: Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 80, 93 with modifications)

### 3. 1 Peter's Amanuensis: Why Not Silvanus but Mark?

As explored by the previous chapter and above, letter writers in Greco-Roman antiquity generally employed an amanuensis while composing their letters, and usually as a contributor. Also, as the Pauline epistles show, Paul, as one of the ancient letter writers, generally (probably) used amanuenses in writing his (all) letters, and most likely allowed them to have a degree of freedom in light of letter writing in antiquity. In this vein, as investigated above, based on the probability that the

presence of a postscript discloses the employment of a secretary, although it is an implicit indicator, sheds light on the possibility that Peter used a secretary while writing the epistle, 1 Peter, since 1 Pet 5:12-14 is evidently a postscript. Like Paul, Peter as a first century letter writer and a contemporary of Paul almost certainly employed a secretary in the composition of his epistle giving the secretary more freedom, that is, employing him as a contributive (editorial) amanuensis.

### 3.1. Identifying *gra, fw dia, tinoj* in the Ancient Letters

Eusebius reports that Ignatius was taken from Syria to Rome to be martyred under the reign of Trajan. During the journey, he stopped in Smyrna, and sent letters to the churches at Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, and Rome. Later, he stopped in Troas, he also sent letters to the churches at Philadelphia and Smyrna and the letter to Polycarp, Smyrna's bishop.<sup>177</sup>

In his *Letter to the Smyrnaeans*, Ignatius writes:

vAspa, zetai	u`ma/j	h`	“The love of the brothers who are in
avga, ph tw/n	avdelfw/n	tw/n	Troas greets you; from there I am
evn Trwa, di,	o[qen	kai.	writing to you through Burrhus,
gra, fw	u`mi/n	dia.	whom you sent along with me,
Bou, rrou, o]n	avpestei, late		together with your brothers the
met	vevmou/	a[ma	Ephesians. He has refreshed me in
VEfesi, oij,	toi/j	avdelfoi/j	every way. Would that everyone
u`mw/n,	o]j	kata. pa, nta	imitated him, as he is the
avne, pausen.	kai.	o; felon	embodiment of the ministry of God.
pa, ntej	auvto. n	evmimou/ to,	But the gracious gift of God will
o; nta	evxempla, rion	qeou/	reward him in every way.” <sup>178</sup>

<sup>177</sup> Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, 3.36.3-10.

<sup>178</sup> Ignatius, *Letter to the Smyrnaeans* 12:1, in *The Apostolic Fathers*, trans. Bart D. Ehrman, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 1:308-09. This example also cited by Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 419. See also William R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 251.

diakoni, aj. avmei, yetai  
 auvto.n h` ca, rij kata.  
 pa, nta.

Remarkably, Ignatius ends his *Letter to the Philadelphians* in similar fashion:

avspa, zetai u`ma/j h`  
 avga, ph tw/n avdelfw/n tw/n  
 evn Trwa, di, o[gen kai.  
 gra, fw u`mi/n dia. Bou, rrou  
 pemfqe, ntoj a[ma evmoi.  
 avpo. VEfesi, wn kai.  
 Smurnai, wn eivj lo, gon  
 timh/j.

“The love of the brothers in Troas greets you; it is from there that I am writing to you through Burrhus, who has been sent together with me from the Ephesians and Smyrnaeans as a pledge of honor.”<sup>179</sup>

Also, his *Letter to the Magnesians* 15:1 reads:

VAspa, zontai u`ma/j  
 vEfe, sioi avpo.  
 Smu, rnhj( o[gen kai. gra, fw  
 u`mi/n( paro, ntej eivj  
 do, xan qeou/ w[sper kai.  
 u`mei/j( oi] kata. Pa, nta  
 me avne, pausan a[ma  
 Poluka, rpw| ( evpisko, pw|  
 Smurnai, wn)

“The Ephesians greet you from Smyrna; I am writing you from there. They are here for the glory of God, as you are as well. They have refreshed me in every way, along with Polycarp, the bishop of the Smyrnaeans.”<sup>180</sup>

Ehrman, the translator, interprets the words *gra, fw u`mi/n dia. Bou, rrou* as “I am writing to you through Burrhus,” and this translation seems to be vague, namely, whether Burrhus is identified as the letter carrier or as the amanuensis. Burrhus was a deacon of the Ephesian church, and Ignatius depicts him in his *Letter to the Ephesians* 2:1 as follows:

<sup>179</sup> Ignatius, *Letter to the Philadelphians* 11:2. See also Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 214; Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 418.

<sup>180</sup> Ignatius, *letter to the Magnesians* 15:1. See also Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 419.





Peri. de. tou/ sundou, lou  
mou Bou, rrou( tou/ kata.  
geon diskou, nou u`mw/n evn  
pa/sin  
euvloghne, nou( eu; comai  
paramei/nai auvto.n eivj  
timh.n u`mw/n kai. tou/  
evpisko, pou\

“But as to my fellow slave Burrhus, your godly deacon who is blessed in all things, I ask that he stay here for the honor of both you and the bishop.”<sup>181</sup>

Some questions remain to be considered before identifying Burrhus' role. Evidently, Ignatius does not refer to Burrhus in the letter to the Magnesians, whereas he mentions him to the Philadelphians and Smyrnaeans. If Burrhus was the amanuensis for the Philadelphians and Smyrnaeans, he could also be the secretary for the Magnesians, however, Ignatius does not mention it. One might argue that Burrhus could not be the secretary for the letter to the Magnesians since he was not with Ignatius while he was writing it.<sup>182</sup> However, obviously, Burrhus was with Ignatius as shown by the *Letter to the Ephesians* 2:1, which was written along with that to the Magnesians and in the same place, Smyrna.

Decisively, in his *Letter to the Romans*, Ignatius writes:

Gra, fw de. u`mi/n tau/ta  
avpo. Smu, rnhj di v  
vEfesi, wn tw/n  
avxiomakari, stwn)

“I am writing this to you from Smyrna, through the Ephesians, who are worthy to be blessed.”<sup>183</sup>

Thus, there are outstanding parallels between Smyrnaeans, Philadelphians, and Romans:

<sup>181</sup> Ignatius, *letter to the Ephesians* 2:1. Interestingly, Ignatius describes Burrhus as sundou, lou, as Paul does Tychicus who was the bearer of Colossians. See also Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 419.

<sup>182</sup> Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 419-20.

<sup>183</sup> Ignatius, *letter to the Romans* 10:1. See also Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 191 ; Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 420.



Smy 12:1 gra, fw  
u`mi/n dia.  
Bou, rrou, o]n  
avpestei, late  
met vevmou/ a[ma  
VEfesi, oij, toi/j  
avdelfoi/j  
u`mw/n,

Phil 11:2 gra, fw  
u`mi/n dia.  
Bou, rrou  
pemfge, ntoj a[ma  
evmoi. avpo.  
VEfesi, wn kai.  
Smurnai, wn eivj  
lo, gon timh/j.

Rom 10:1 Gra, fw  
de. u`mi/n tau/ta  
avpo. Smu, rnhj di  
v vEfesi, wn tw/n  
avxiomakari, stwn)

It is certainly implausible that the Ephesians as a whole group of individuals were the amanuensis for the letter.<sup>184</sup> But, there remains an example that a group (or representatives) was a letter carrier. The letter of the Apostolic Council in Act 15 was delivered by the representatives of the Jerusalem church, Judas and Silas. In a letter to Atticus, Cicero writes, “*Epistulam cum a te avidè expectarem ad vesperum, ut soleo, ecce tibi nuntius pueros venisse Roma. Voco, quaero ecquid litterarum.*” (“As usual, I was avidly expecting a letter from you towards evening, when along comes word that some boys have arrived from Rome. I call them in and ask whether they have any letters for me.”)<sup>185</sup>

It is not so surprising that Polycarp ended his letter in a comparable way to Ignatius’ correspondences.

*Haec vobis scripsi per Crescentem, quem in praesenti commendavi vobis et commendo. Conversatus est enim nobiscum inculpabiliter; credo quia et vobiscum similiter. Sororem autem eius habebitis commendatam, cum venerit ad vos.*

“I am writing these things to you through Crescens, whom I commended to you recently [*Or: when I was with you*] and now commend again. For he has conducted himself blamelessly among us; and I believe that he will

<sup>184</sup> See Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 191; Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 420; Walter Bauer, *Die Apostolischen Väter*, vol.2 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1920), 254.

<sup>185</sup> Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 2.8.1. See also Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 420.

*Incolumes estote in domino Iesu  
Christo in gratia cum omnibus  
vestris. Amen.*

do the same among you. And his sister will be commended to you when she comes to you. Farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ in grace, with all who are yours. Amen.”<sup>186</sup>

Although the solitary remaining manuscript is the Latin version, *scripsi per* means *grā, fō dia*, in the Greek. It was conventional to recommend the bearer of a letter, not an amanuensis in the Greco-Roman epistolography. A letter carrier was regarded as an individual bond between the sender and the addressees.<sup>187</sup> A reliable courier frequently delivered extra intelligence. In particular, verbal supplements to a correspondence were much respected. The author often disclosed the circumstances succinctly through his own perspective, while the emissary was assumed to report in detail.<sup>188</sup> In the same way, Paul also recommends Tychicus as a letter carrier to the Colossians and the Ephesians. Polycarp also recommends Crescens as a bearer to the Philippians, and makes an additional remark that his sister will be recommended to them as she arrives in Philippi.<sup>189</sup>

Among extant papyri, P. Fay 123 and P. Oxy 937 employ this formula. P.

Fay 123 dates back to about A.D.100 and reads:

Ἄρποκράτη, ἄνθρ. Βελλήνου. “Harpocraton to his brother Bellenus

<sup>186</sup> Polycarp, *letter to the Philippians* 14. This example is also quoted by Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 423.

<sup>187</sup> See Cicero *Letters to Friends* 5.4.1. During the banishment from Rome, Cicero frequently received information by travellers rather than by letters. See also Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 420.

<sup>188</sup> See Cicero *Letters to Friends* 1.8.1; 3.1.1; 3.5; 4.2.1; 7.18.4; 10.7; 11.20.4. See also Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 420.

<sup>189</sup> Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 423. In fact, Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 1.13.1, complains, “*quibus epistulis sum equidem abs te lacessitus ad rescribendum, sed idcirco sum tardier quod non invenio fidelem tabellarium. quotus enim quisque est qui epistulam Paulo graviorem ferre posit nisi eam perlectione relevarit?*” (“In them you challenged a reply, but I have been rather slow in making one because I can’t find a trustworthy carrier. There are so few who can carry a letter of any substance without lightening the weight by perusal.”)



Sabei,nwi tw/I avdelfw/i  
ca\$î,rein%) kai. evkqe,j  
soi e;graya dia. Ma,rđwnoj  
tou/ sou/ gnw/nai, se  
qe,lwn o[ti dia. to.  
evphrea/sqai ouvkv  
hvdunh,qhn katelqei/n( kai.  
w`j e;cwî w-de h`me,raj  
ovli,gaj evan dokh/| soi  
pe,myai to. avpocoon  
vIsa/toj kai. parala,bwmen  
to. evla,dion lupo.n evan  
do,xh| doi) evlh,lugen ga.r  
Teu,filoj vIoudai/oj  
le,gwn @o[#ti h;cqhn ivj  
gewrgi,an kai. bou,lomai  
pro.j Sabei/non  
avpelqei/@n#) ou;te ga.r  
ei;rhce h`m@i/#n avgo,menoj  
i[na avpoluqh/|( avlla.  
aivfnidi,@@##wj ei;rhcen  
h`mi/n sh,meron) gnw,somai  
ga.r eiv avlhqw/j le,gi)  
e;rrwss) avspavzou tou.j  
avdelfou.j Lu,kon  
ka@i.....#n) @Me#cei.r ib)

Sabinus, greeting. I wrote to you yesterday too by your servant Mardon, desiring you to know that owing to having been molested I was unable to come down, and I am staying here a few days, if you think fit send the receipt (?) of Isas, and let us get from him the rest of the oil, if you agree. Teuphilus the Jew has come saying, "I have been pressed in as a cultivator, and I want to go to Sabinus." He did not ask me to be released at the time that he was impressed, but has suddenly told me to-day. I will find out whether he is speaking the truth. Good-bye. Salute my brothers Lycus and . . . Mecheir 12."<sup>190</sup>

It is clear that Mardon, the servant of Sabinus, was the bearer of the preceding correspondence of Harpocraton since he came back to Sabinus, his master. Teuphilus the Jew, the servant of Harpocraton, was probably the carrier of this letter.<sup>191</sup>

P. Oxy 937 dates back to the third century A.D., and reads:

<sup>190</sup> Fayu/m Towns and Their Papyri 123, ed. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth (London: Oxford, 1900), 279-80. This example also cited by Richards, "Silvanus was not Peter's Secretary," 425.

<sup>191</sup> See comments of Richards, "Silvanus was not Peter's Secretary," 425.



Dh,marcoj Ta,or th/|  
avdelfh/| plei/sta  
cai,rein) geinw,skein se  
qe,lw o[ti e;graya,j moi  
peri. ou-evpoi,hse,n moi  
vAgatei/noj) ) ) )  
avnti,grayo,n moi dia. tou/  
vAntinoe,w@j# peri. ou- soi  
e;pemya( kai. @g#ra,yon  
evkei/ to. kat v ei=doj  
o[ti ti kai. ti ei;lhfaj)  
kai. ei; tinoj crh,|zei o`  
vAntinoeu.j parasch,seij  
aavtw/| kai. evleu,sei met  
v autou/ pro.j to.n  
Ta@s#oita/n) @p#e,myon to.n  
mafo,rthn sou kai. to.  
kera,mion tou/ ga,rouj kai.  
diko,tulon evlai,ou  
crhstou/) evrrw/sqai, de  
eu;comai) de,xeg  
sakkou,dia p\$ara.% tou/  
vAntinoe,wj tou/ soi ta.  
gra,mmata dido,ntoj)

“Demarchus to his sister Taor, very many greetings. I would have you know that you wrote to me about what Agathinus did to me. . . . Write me a reply through the man from Antinoöpolis about whom I sent to you, and write the list there, that you have received so and so. If the man from Antinoöpolis wants anything provide him with it, and come with him to meet Tasoitas. Send your cloak and the jar of pickled fish and two cotylae of good oil. I pray for your health. You will receive three bags from the man from Antinoöpolis who is the bearer of this letter.”<sup>192</sup>

Even though this papyrus has a modification (avnti,grayo,n) of the formula gra,fw dia, tinoj, there still remains a compelling similarity. As designated at the end of this letter, “the man from Antioöpoils” is apparently the carrier of the letter. Undoubtedly, avnti,grayo,n moi dia. tou/ vAntinoe,w@j# mentions the carrier of the correspondence.<sup>193</sup>

To the contrary, Eusebius’ citation from Dionysius’ letter mentioning Clement’s *Letter to the Corinthians* is frequently argued as an example that this

<sup>192</sup> P. Oxy 937. This example also cited by Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 425.

<sup>193</sup> Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 425.

formula does not mention the letter carrier but refers to the amanuensis.<sup>194</sup>

“th.n sh,meron ou=n  
kuriakh.n a`gi,an h`me,ran  
dihga,gomen( evn h-|  
avne,gnwmen u`mw/n th.n  
evpistolh,n( h)n e[xomen  
avei, pote avnaginwskontej  
nougetei/sqai( w`j kai.  
th.n prote,ran h`mi/n dia.  
Klh,mentoj grafei/san)”

“To-day we observed the holy day of the Lord, and read out your letter, which we shall continue to read from time to time for our admonition, as we do with that which was formerly sent to us through Clement.”<sup>195</sup>

Clement is hardly identified as the bearer of the letter, but is also not treated as its amanuensis. Since *grafei/san* is not the nominative case, and since it is not employed in the first person, this example does not have a parallel to the formula *gra, fw dia, tinoj*. Consequently, it refers neither to the amanuensis or the bearer.<sup>196</sup>

### 3.2. Identifying *Dia. Silouanou/ ... e;graya* in 1 Pet 5:12

A modification of the formula *gra, fw dia, tinoj* is found in the Apostolic Decree in Acts 15:22-23:

pe,myai eivj VAntio,ceian  
su.n tw/| Pau,lw| kai.  
Barnaba/|( VIou,dan to.n  
kalou,menon Barsabba/n kai.  
Sila/n( a;ndraj  
h`goume,nouj evn toi/j  
avdelfoi/j( gra,yantej dia.

“They sent Judas called Barsabbas, and Silas, leading men among the brethren, writing through their hand,”

<sup>194</sup> See Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 5-6; Wand, *The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 29-30; Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 215.

<sup>195</sup> Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, 4.23.11. Lake translates *grafei/san* as “sent,” not “written.”

<sup>196</sup> See Michaels, *1 Peter*, 305-06; Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 423-24.

ceiro.j auvtw/n(

Although this may not be used as a case of the formula *graw dia, tinoj* because the phrasing and construction are rather dissimilar, these verses are construed generally as signifying that the apostles, the elders, and the whole church of Jerusalem chose Judas and Silas as the letter carriers to attend Paul and Barnabas and recommended them to the Antioch church.<sup>197</sup>

The majority of manuscripts of Romans show its stretched superscription as “) ) ) pro.j `Rwmai,ouj evgraw fh avpo. Kori,ngou dia. Foi,bhj ) ) ) ) “<sup>198</sup> Although there remains an argument about its dependability, the formula *evgraw fh ) ) ) dia. Foi,bhj* means obviously not the amanuensis, but the courier, since Tertius was the secretary for Romans.<sup>199</sup>

Consequently, as demonstrated above, the phrase *Dia. Silouanou/ . . . e;graya* in 1 Pet 5:12 does signify that Silvanus (Silas) was solely the bearer of the letter.<sup>200</sup> In spite of the compelling examples, quite a number of scholars argue that this phrase identifies Silvanus as the secretary.<sup>201</sup> Some scholars insist that it is

<sup>197</sup> See F. F. Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, NICNT, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 298; Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 451; Richard Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Church,” in *The Book of Acts in its First-Century Setting* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 468.

<sup>198</sup> See Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 477.

<sup>199</sup> Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 426.

<sup>200</sup> See Nisbet, *An Exposition of 1 and 2 Peter*, 210; Brown, *1 Peter*, 623-26; Leighton, *Commentary on First Peter*, 510; Huther, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the General Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 243; Manson, Plummer, and Sinclair, *The Epistles of Peter, John, and Jude*, 115; Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 424; Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, 168-69; Grudem, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 23-24; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 306; Elliott, *A Home for the Homeless: A Social-Scientific Criticism of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy*, 279; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 348-50; Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 427; Senior, *1 Peter*, 152; Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 248-49; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 321; Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 645. However, they, *ibid.*, still keep open the possibility that Silvanus would also be the secretary of the letter.

<sup>201</sup> Plumptre, *The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 159; Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 5-6; Wand, *The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 29-30; Wuest, *First Peter in the Greek New Testament*, 132; Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 241; Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: the Greek*

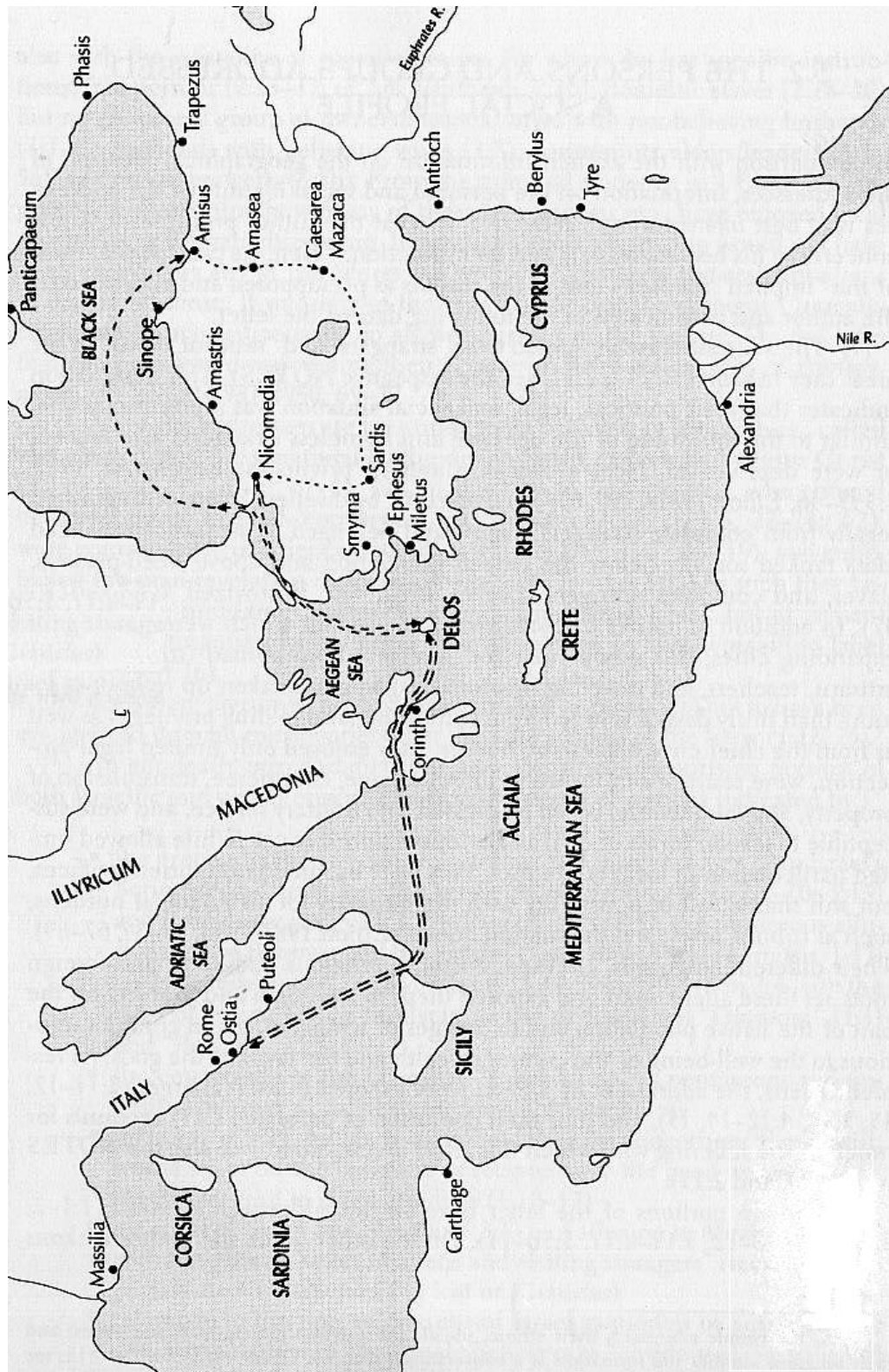
most unlikely that only one individual, Silvanus, would have delivered

Figure 8. Silvanus' Route

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*Text with Introduction and Notes*, 183; Stibbs and Walls, *First Epistle General of Peter*, 175; Cranfield, *I and II Peter and Jude: Introduction and Commentary*, 121; Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 768; Harrison, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 404-05; Metzger, *The New Testament: Its Background, Growth, and Content*, 256; Kistemaker, *New Testament Commentary: Peter and Jude*, 207; Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 198; Marshall, *1 Peter*, 173-74; Hillyer, *1 and 2 Peter and Jude*, 151; Blair, *Introducing the New Testament*, 197; Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, 481; Best, *1 Peter*, 176-77; Conzelmann and Lindemann, *Interpreting the New Testament*, 273; Ehrman, *The New Testament: An Historical Introduction*, 373; Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 214-15.





(Source: Elliott, *1 Peter*, 93.)

the correspondence to the several churches in Asia Minor referred to in the address.

For instance, Beare contends that “it is simply fatuous to think of a single courier conveying such a letter to all parts of the four provinces mentioned in the Address; it would take him months, or even years to accomplish such a task.”<sup>202</sup> Beare’s insistence has been championed by Best and Goppelt.<sup>203</sup> However, Achtemeier fairly and astutely responds to this argument by emphasizing Paul’s missionary travels, which are described in Acts.<sup>204</sup> Davids also argues that “surely the bearer was expected to make the whole circuit, and that was the very reason for describing the circuit.”<sup>205</sup>

Although the argument of Selwyn, Cranfield, and Goppelt that if Silvanus were solely the courier, ἀγγελία or ἐπιστολή would be a rather relevant term, seems to be plausible, nonetheless, the examples do not uphold it.<sup>206</sup>

While some scholars show “lingering tendencies” to defend Petrine authorship of 1 Peter based on 1 Pet 5:12, the verse can not be used as evidence for it.<sup>207</sup> Nonetheless, the argument that Silvanus was the letter carrier does not remove the probability that Peter used an amanuensis while composing the letter.<sup>208</sup> There still remains a real possibility, as another option, that Mark is the amanuensis of 1 Peter on the basis of 1 Pet 5:13, ἡ ἀσπασμένη ἐν Βαβυλῶνι σου ἐκλεκτῆ. καὶ Μαρκὸς ὁ υἱός μου (She who is in Babylon, chosen together with you, greets you, and so does Mark my son). This statement sheds light on the case for Mark. Since Mark was clearly a literate man, if, as is likely, he was

<sup>202</sup> Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: the Greek Text with Introduction and Notes*, 183.

<sup>203</sup> See Best, *1 Peter*, 176-77; Goppelt, *A Commentary on I Peter*, 369.

<sup>204</sup> Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 350.

<sup>205</sup> Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 198. Davids’ argument is also supported by Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 241; Hillyer, *1 and 2 Peter and Jude*, 3; C. J. Hemer, “The Address of 1 Peter,” *The Expository Times* 89 (1977-78): 239-43.

<sup>206</sup> See Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 241; Cranfield, *I and II Peter and Jude: Introduction and Commentary*, 121; Goppelt, *A Commentary on I Peter*, 347.

<sup>207</sup> Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 432.

<sup>208</sup> Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 645.

Peter's *ἐπισημνευθη, j* and the author of the Gospel of Mark on the grounds of Papias' note. Apparently, *Μαρκος οἰοῖται, j mou* reveals the steady relationship between Peter and Mark, and this would imply that Peter allowed Mark, as a trusted and talented companion, to have some freedom while writing 1 Peter.<sup>209</sup>

#### 4. Conclusion

Among the thirteen traditional Pauline letters, Paul certainly employed a secretary in the composition of six at least. Remarkably, three of the *Hauptbriefe* were written down by a secretary, and this fact significantly and obviously discloses Paul's preference and practice of using secretaries while writing his letters. A reference to by a secretary and a shift in handwriting are regarded as the explicit proofs for using him. Moreover, the appearance of a postscript is viewed as an implicit pointer for employing a secretary. It is almost likely that Paul's secretary probably operated as a contributor (editor), since this role was treated as the most general in the Greco-Roman world.

Peter, as a first century letter writer and a contemporary of Paul almost certainly employed an amanuensis in the composition of his letter, allowing him to have a free hand, that is, using him as a contributive (editorial) amanuensis. However, as demonstrated above, 1 Pet 5:12 does not render Silvanus an amanuensis since the phrase *γραφω δια, τινος* is only used for identifying the letter carrier in Greco-Roman epistolography.

Nevertheless, this fact does not eliminate the probability that Peter employed a secretary in the composition of his letter. Because there still exists a *bona fide* possibility that Mark would be the secretary of 1 Peter on the grounds of 1

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<sup>209</sup> There exist historical, linguistic, and literary implications for the possibility that Mark would be the amanuensis of 1 Peter. This will be discussed in the following chapters, respectively.

Pet 5:13 and Papias's fragment. Provided Mark in 1 Pet 5:13 is the same who is the author of the Gospel of Mark, this strongly implies that Peter gave Mark, a gifted and reliable co-worker, greater freedom while composing 1 Peter in light of the practice of first century letter writing.

## CHAPTER 5

### HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS

#### 1. Mark in Acts

Mark is identified as Mary's son, John, also called Mark at first in Acts 12:12. According to Acts 12:3-11, after his release from prison, Peter went to Mary's house in which a number of members of the church had assembled and were praying. Glimpsed, John Mark appears to identify his mother as the prominent patron of Peter and is not overtly connected with Peter.<sup>1</sup> However, on the grounds that Mary does not feature further in Acts, and she takes no part in the discovery of Peter, the primary reason of her sole emergence in Acts seems to be only to identify herself as the mother of John, also called Mark. He reemerges after this narrative and subsequently enjoys a crucial companionship with Paul and Barnabas.<sup>2</sup> It would seem that the link between Peter and John Mark in this account far outweighs that between Peter and Mary,<sup>3</sup> and there remains an association between Peter and

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<sup>1</sup> Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 27-28.

<sup>2</sup> See F. Scott Spencer, *Acts*, Reading: A New Biblical Commentary (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 127; Gerd Lüdemann, *Early Christianity according to the Traditions in Acts*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1987), 141-42; Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 386; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, AB, vol. 31 (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 488; Howard Clark Kee, *To Every Nation under Heaven: The Acts of the Apostles*, The New Testament in Context (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997), 154; James D. G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996), 163; Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, vol. 2 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 157-58; Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, 238.

<sup>3</sup> Richard N. Longenecker, *Acts*, The Expositor's Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1995), 206; Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 384; Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 386.

John Mark.<sup>4</sup>

Acts 12:25 reports that Barnabas and Saul were accompanied by John Mark, and returned to Antioch after fulfilling their mission in Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> This account connotes that John Mark joined Paul and Barnabas in their first mission journey.<sup>6</sup> In the following account, Acts 13:5, John Mark is depicted as *u`phre, thj*, the denotation of which seems to be indistinct. In Luke 1:2 and Acts 26:16, this term is employed to denote a minister, thus, John Mark would play a significant role.<sup>7</sup> On the

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<sup>4</sup> Simon J. Kistemaker, *Acts*, New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1990), 440, propounds that John Mark as a member of Mary's family attended the prayer meeting. See also Jürgen Roloff, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, NTD 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 187; Pierson Parker, "John and John Mark," *JBL* 79 (1960): 101; R. B. Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Westminster Commentaries, 12<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1939), 178; Shirley J. Case, "John Mark," *ExpTim* 26 (1914-15): 372; H. B. Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: Macmillan, 1927), xv; James Moffatt, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, International Theological Library (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), 293.

<sup>5</sup> There remains a difference between manuscripts. The better manuscript reads *eivj VIerousalh.m* not *evx (avpo,) VIerousalh.m*. For details of the discussion, specifically see Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the New Testament*, 350-52; C. K. Barrett, *Acts*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), 596.

<sup>6</sup> See Spencer, *Acts*, 129; Kee, *To Every Nation under Heaven: The Acts of the Apostles*, 154; Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 168; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Sacra Pagina vol. 5 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 215; Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, 157-58; William Neil, *The Acts of the Apostles*, New Century Bible (London: Oliphants, 1973), 152-53; Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 183. The reference of Col 4:10 that John Mark is Barnabas' cousin (nephew) may be well the reason for choosing him. See I. Howard Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Tyndale New Testament Commentaries (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1980), 213; R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of The Acts of the Apostles* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961), 489; Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, 243.

<sup>7</sup> See Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 395; Kistemaker, *Acts*, 460; C. S. C. Williams, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Black's New Testament Commentaries, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1964), 156; R. O. P. Taylor, "The Ministry of Mark" *ExpTim* 54 (1942-43): 137; E. Jacquier, *Les Actes des Apôtres*, Études Bibliques (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1926), 383; Erwin Preuschen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, vol. 4, part 1 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1913), 81; Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, 247; Barrett, *Acts*, 612; Lenski, *The Interpretation of The Acts of the Apostles*, 498; Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 80. Specifically, Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 199, suggests that "it is most unlikely that the apostles required personal service; indeed S. Paul's hands 'ministered to those who were with him.' . . . it was not the custom of the apostles – neither of Peter nor Paul – to baptize with their own hands. So baptism might well be a service for the attendant. . . . John is mentioned in connection with the preaching in the synagogues, on which we might expect some baptisms to follow." See also Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and*

other hand, in Luke 4:20 and Acts 5:22, 26; 20:34; 24:23, this word signifies a subordinate helper in a broad sense and this too would designate the role played by John Mark.<sup>8</sup>

In a now dated 1935 article, which remains astute and persuasive, Holmes investigated the papyri containing *u`phre, thj* written during the first century and a half A.D., and found thirty-four papyri and one ostrakon which include *u`phre, thj*. According to Holmes, *u`phre, thj* had been used to identify an individual who delivers, checks, and handles documents.<sup>9</sup> Based on his exploration, Holmes contends that “Mark carried a written memorandum dealing with ‘the message of God,’ in other words, a document similar to the gospel which now bears his name.”<sup>10</sup> Holmes’ view means that John Mark already was a bearer of a document concerning Jesus during the first missionary journey.<sup>11</sup> Holmes’ view seems to be supported by Taylor. He proposes that *u`phre, thj* in Acts 13:5 is identified as *!zx* (*Chazzan*), a synagogue assistant, by pointing out that both accounts of Luke 4:20 and Acts 13:5 are described in a similar scene, namely, the synagogue.<sup>12</sup> Taylor also sees John Mark as “the schoolmaster – the person whose duty was to impart elementary education. . . . [This action] consisted in teaching the actual wording of the sacred records, the exact and precise statements of the facts and dicta on which their religion was based.”<sup>13</sup> More recently, Riesner supports the arguments of Holmes and

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*Indices*, xvi.

<sup>8</sup> Longenecker, *Acts*, 215; Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 397; Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 222.

<sup>9</sup> B. T. Holmes, “Luke’s Description of John Mark,” *JBL* 54 (1935): 65-67.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 64. Mary Ann Beavis, *Mark’s Audience: The Literary and Social Setting of Mark 4.11-12*, JSNTSup 33 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 66, supports this argument. See also W. Barclay, “A Comparison of Paul’s Missionary Preaching to the Church,” in *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, ed. W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin (Exeter: Paternoster, 1970), 165-75.

<sup>12</sup> Taylor, “The Ministry of Mark,” 136.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* See also *Idem*, *The Groundwork of the Gospels* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946), 23-

Taylor and comments that “it is possible that already Luke might have seen John Mark as a bearer of Jesus traditions. In the context of synagogue preaching and Christian teaching Luke gives him the title of *u`phre, thj* (Acts 13:5).”<sup>14</sup>

Underlining the fact that the term *u`phre, thj* is not used in a solitary and consistent denotation in Luke-Acts, Black indicates that John Mark is not depicted as prophet and teacher nor is he chosen by the Holy Spirit in Acts 13:1-2.<sup>15</sup> He also suggests that “if the reader of Acts is intended to regard John Mark as an emissary with prerogatives for teaching, or catechesis, then Luke has certainly left unexploited a fitting juncture in the narrative at which that point might have been clearly communicated.”<sup>16</sup> Black thus concludes that John Mark’s role in Acts 13:5 is “the most colorless,” that is, he was just at “the disposal” of his companions, Barnabas and Saul.<sup>17</sup> Although Black’s argument is suggestive, he also seems to overly emphasize the context of Acts 13:1-4 rather than the sense of *u`phre, thj* itself. To identify Mark’s role, the connotation of *u`phre, thj* in those days far outweighs the context. On this point, Holmes, Taylor, and Reisner’s arguments are not less convincing than Black’s argument.<sup>18</sup>

Acts 13:13 shows that Mark left Paul and his company at Perga in Pamphylia and returned to Jerusalem. However, the reason for Mark’s separation from them is not clearly described by the narrator.<sup>19</sup> In the subsequent narrative, Acts

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<sup>14</sup> Riesner, “Once More: Luke-Acts and the Pastoral Epistles,” 255.

<sup>15</sup> Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 32.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 33. However, the Western manuscript (Codex Bezae) supplements the wording “for which they had been sent, should not be with them” in Acts 15:38. See Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the New Testament*, 388. On the basis of this fact, Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 472, comments that “Mark was also supposed to be evangelizing, not merely accompanying Paul and Barnabas.”

<sup>18</sup> See Marshall, *Acts*, 218; Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 501; Neil, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 155.

<sup>19</sup> See Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 35; Barrett, *Acts*, 627; Haenchen,



15:36, the narrator discloses that Paul has the authority to propose to Barnabas another expedition to hearten the brothers who had been evangelized during their previous campaign.<sup>20</sup> However, as for John Mark accompanying them again, a confrontation emerges between them.<sup>21</sup> As depicted by the narrator in 15:38, in Paul's view<sup>22</sup>, Mark had deserted Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary expedition. To be sure, Barnabas' wish that Mark accompany them on the next mission originates from his desire to afford Mark a second opportunity.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, Mark accompanied Barnabas when they went to Cyprus on their missionary journey. They are not referred to any more in Acts after this account.<sup>24</sup>

According to Acts, Mark was clearly connected with the Jerusalem church, which implies, at least, that he was also indirectly associated with Peter.<sup>25</sup> Also, Mark as a companion of Paul and Barnabas, took part in the missionary journey and acted

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*The Acts of the Apostles*, 407; Neil, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 157. However, quite a number of scholars suggest that Mark would be dejected about Paul's taking the initiative of their band or about an enlarged missionary journey. See also Andrew C. Clark, *Parallel Lives: The Relation of Paul to the Apostles in the Lucan Perspective*, Paternoster Biblical and Theological Monographs (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2001), 313-14; Hans Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, Hermeneia, trans. James Limburg, A. Thomas Kraabel, and Donald H. Juel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 103; Spencer, *Acts*, 143; Kee, *To Every Nation under Heaven: The Acts of the Apostles*, 165-66; Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 178; Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 229; Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 204; Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 222; Lenski, *The Interpretation of The Acts of the Apostles*, 511; Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, 251; Kistemaker, *Acts*, 466; Williams, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 160; Longenecker, *Acts*, 217; Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 404.

<sup>20</sup> Clark, *Parallel Lives: The Relation of Paul to the Apostles in the Lucan Perspective*, 312.

<sup>21</sup> Many commentators opine that the contention between Paul and Barnabas already existed prior to this event in light of Gal 2:13. See Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 38; Barrett, *Acts*, 756; Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 475-76; Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 123; Spencer, *Acts*, 158; Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 209; Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 257; Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, 302; Williams, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 187; Longenecker, *Acts*, 249-50; Case, "John Mark," 374.

<sup>22</sup> Clark, *Parallel Lives: The Relation of Paul to the Apostles in the Lucan Perspective*, 314, comments that the narrator takes Paul's side in the contention by pointing out that "Paul is commended by the brethren to the grace of the Lord (15:40, cf. 14:26), but this is not said of Barnabas and Mark." Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 472, supports this position.

<sup>23</sup> See Spencer, *Acts*, 158; Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 258

<sup>24</sup> However, Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 124-25, says that Luke "must have known that Mark later came back to Paul (Phlm 24; Col 4:10; cf. 2 Tim 4:11; there is no reason to doubt the identity of that Mark with John Mark)."

<sup>25</sup> Contra Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 43.

a “suggestive role.”<sup>26</sup>

## 2. Mark in the Pauline Letters

Mark appears in Colossians 4:10, Philemon 24, and 2 Timothy 4:11 among, what are traditional Pauline epistles. Of these letters, Colossians and 2 Timothy are disputed, specifically, 2 Timothy, which is one of the Pastoral Epistles (PE), the most disputed letters. However, it should also be noted that a sizeable number of German scholars as well as a considerable number of English scholars have accepted the Pauline authenticity of Colossians, identifying Colossians as a mediator between the disputed and the undisputed letters of Paul.<sup>27</sup> In the case of 2 Timothy, the letter has

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>27</sup> See Markus Barth and Helmut Blanke, *Colossians*, trans. Astrid Billes Beck, AB, 34B (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 125-26; Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 340-46; Martin Dibelius, *An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon*, HNT 12 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1953), 53; Ernst Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon*, KEK (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953), 12; Jülicher and Facher, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 134; Ernst Percy, *Die Probleme der Kolosser – und Epheserbriefe* (Lund: Gleerup, 1946), 66, 136; Josef Ernst, *Der Brief an die Philpper, an Philemon, an die Kolosser, an die Epheser*, RNT (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1974), 373. Eduard Schweizer, *The Letter to the Colossians*, trans. Andrew Chester (London: SPCK, 1982), 23-25 and Wolf–Henning Ollrog, *Paulus und seine Mitarbeiter*, WMANT 50 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979), 219-32, uphold an amanuensis theory, which means that Timothy penned the letter under Paul's supervision. Also, In terms of the historical aspect, Bo Riecke, *Re-examining Paul's Letters: The History of the Pauline Correspondence* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2001), 76, relevantly highlights that “all attempts to make Colossians a deutero-Pauline composition of the period A.D. 70-100 are rendered null and void by documents that demonstrate that Colosse lost its cultural importance through an earthquake in 61.” For the English scholars who accept the authenticity of the letter, specifically see David M. Hay, *Colossians*, Abingdon New Testament Commentaries (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000), 24; James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1996), 39; Robert W. Wall, *Colossians & Philemon*, IVPNTC (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 17-18; Arthur G. Patzia, *Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon*, NIBC, vol. 10 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1990), 10; N. T. Wright, *Colossians and Philemon*, TNTC (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1986), 34; Peter O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, WBC, vol. 44 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1982), xli-xliv; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1984), 28-33; R. P. Martin, *Colossians and Philemon*, NCB (London: Oliphants, 1974), 40; C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon*, Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 13-14; Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 517-26; Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord: A Theological Introduction to Paul and His Letters*, 477-78; Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, 395; J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and*

been established as authentic by some notable contemporary scholars.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, although not acknowledging the authenticity of the whole of 2 Timothy, with regard to the detailed references to historical events and individuals in the letter, a number of scholars do accept its genuineness. This means that some genuine materials of Paul existed, which were compiled into 2 Timothy. The primary representative of this view is Harrison.<sup>29</sup> He insisted that there were five genuine Pauline sections in the PE<sup>30</sup>, but later decreases his estimation from five to three.<sup>31</sup> A short fragment is inserted into Titus (3:12-15), and the other fragments are distributed in 2 Timothy. Easton and Dornier later substantially endorsed this line of criticism.<sup>32</sup> More recently, Miller contended that two Pauline notes, that is, “II Timothy A” and “II Timothy B,” contain the primitive and the genuine core of 2 Timothy.<sup>33</sup> Thus, it might be said that the individual reference to Mark in 2 Tim 4:11 still has validity.

## 2.1. Mark in Colossians and Philemon

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to *Philemon* (London: Macmillan, 1879), 123-24. According to Kenneth J. Neumann, *The Authenticity of the Pauline Epistles in the Light of Stylostatistical Analysis* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 217-18, the difference of the style between Colossians and the undisputed letters have not rendered decisive outcomes for the authenticity of the letter. For the French scholars, specifically see Jean-Noel Aletti, *Saint Paul: Épître aux Colossiens* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1993).

<sup>28</sup> See Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 359-71; Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 169-70; van Bruggen, *Die geschichtliche Einordnung der Pastoralbriefe*, 75-89.

<sup>29</sup> On this view see Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, 115-35.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 115-27. These are Tit 3:12-15; 2 Tim 4:13-15, 20, 21a; 2 Tim 4:16-18a; 2 Tim 4:9-12, 22b; and 2 Tim 1:16-18, 3:10, 4:1, 2a, 5b-8, 18b, 19, 21b-22a.

<sup>31</sup> *Idem*, *Paulines and Pastoral* (London: Villiers Publications, 1964), 106-18. These are Tit 3:12-15; 2 Tim 4:9-15, 20, 21a, 22b; and 2 Tim 1:16-18, 3:10-11, 4:1, 2a, 5b-8, 16-19, 21b, 22a.

<sup>32</sup> See B. S. Easton, *The Pastoral Epistles* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947), 18-19; P. Dornier, *Les Épîtres Pastorales* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1969), 24-25.

<sup>33</sup> See James D. Miller, *The Pastoral Letters as Composite Documents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 149-151. According to Miller, II Timothy A, as a personal note to Timothy, was penned by Paul before his death and would have included 2 Tim 1:1-5, 15-18; 4:6-8, 22a. II Timothy B would have been inserted into 2 Tim 4:9-21 and 22b. See also Malclom C. Bligh, “Seventeen Verses Written for Timothy (2 Tim 4:6-22),” *ExpTim* 109 (1998): 364-69.

Mark emerges in Col 4:10 and Phlm 24, specifically, in each case in the final greeting section. These references to Mark disclose that he was with Paul when the letters were written. It seems likely that these two letters were composed at the same place and almost the same time in light of the individual connections referred to between them.<sup>34</sup> For the place of writing of these epistles, as the Captivity letters, in particular, Ephesus, Caesarea, and Rome have been designated.

The Marcionite prologue mentions that Colossians was written from Ephesus.<sup>35</sup> In addition, Paul's request for lodgings in Phlm 22 and Epaphras' journey to Paul in Col 4:12 seem to favor Ephesus, since it was located close to Colossae.<sup>36</sup> However, considering the references to Mark and Luke, there remains an objection to the choice of Ephesus. Paul had not taken Mark along on the second missionary expedition. Luke, also, had not accompanied Paul during his Ephesian ministry, unless the "We" sections<sup>37</sup> in Acts are not construed literally, namely, Luke was only with Paul during the periods mentioned by "We" passages. Furthermore, if Paul had

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<sup>34</sup> See Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 349; Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 521; Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, 387; Markus Barth and Helmut Blanke, *The Letter to Philemon*, Eerdmans Critical Commentary (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2000), 126; Schweizer, *The Letter to the Colossians*, 24-26.

<sup>35</sup> As cited by Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 346, "ero apostolus iam ligatus scribit eis ab Epheso."

<sup>36</sup> See Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 521; Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 347. Those who prefer to the case for Ephesus are Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Letter to Philemon*, AB, vol. 34C (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 11; Wright, *Colossians and Philemon*, 36-37; Martin, *Colossians and Philemon*, 30; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 137-38; G. S. Duncan, *St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry* (New York: Scribner, 1930); Schweizer, *The Letter to the Colossians*, 25-26.

<sup>37</sup> The "We" sections that show the transition from the third person to the first person, are found in Acts 16:10-17; 20:5-21:18; and 27:1-28:16. The first "We" section in Acts 16:10-17 implies that Luke met and joined Paul, Timothy, and Silas in Troas during Paul's second missionary journey, specifically, during the sea voyage from Troas to Philippi. The second "We" section in Acts 20:5-21:18 reports some parts of Paul's last missionary journey, particularly the sea trip from Troas to Jerusalem. The last "We" section in Acts 27:1-28:16 shows that Luke accompanied Paul on the sea voyage to Rome and was still with Paul during his Roman imprisonment. For details of the discussion, especially see Stanley E. Porter, *The Paul of Acts* (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 28-33; S. M. Praeder, "The Problem of First Person Narration in Acts," *Novum Testamentum* 29 (1987): 193-218.

been incarcerated at Ephesus for a considerable term, such as at Caesarea or Rome, it is likely that Luke must have reported it, since Luke describes in detail Paul's Ephesian ministry.<sup>38</sup>

Acts 24:23-27 shows that Paul was detained at Caesarea for two years. The circumstances of Paul's incarceration at Caesarea appear to be similar to that of his Roman custody in a house in Acts 28:30-31, since Paul was allowed to have some freedom and the assistance of friends (Acts 24:23). According to Acts 28:30-31, Paul resided in a rented house under a soldier's guard, and he was allowed to preach and teach during the two years. Scholars point out that confinement was not a kind of punishment for an offence, and prisons functioned as "holding tanks" in ancient Roman society.<sup>39</sup> In his 2001 monograph, *Paul in Chains*, Cassidy investigated "categories and grades of imprisonment" in the Roman world, and identifies three types of Roman custody.<sup>40</sup> Cassidy states that "the first and most harsh category is that of 'prison' (*carcer*). The less severe 'military custody' (*custodia militaris*) is next in order, followed by the comparatively mild 'free custody' (*custodia libera*)."<sup>41</sup> With regard to the form of "military custody," Rapske points out in detail that it had been used in different situations, including a camp or house.<sup>42</sup> Rapske researched Paul's imprisonment on the basis of the narratives in Acts in his work *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody*. According to Rapske, military custody in a home was generally less harsh than that in a camp.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> van Bruggen, *Die geschichtliche Einordnung der Pastoralbriefe*, 66-67.

<sup>39</sup> See Craig S. Wansink, *Chained in Christ* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 28-29; D. G. Reid, "Prison, Prisoner," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 753.

<sup>40</sup> Richard J. Cassidy, *Paul in Chains* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 2001), 37.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>42</sup> Brian Rapske, *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1994), 28-29.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

In this regard, it is probable that Paul could write his letters, not only in Rome but also in Caesarea.<sup>44</sup> Consequently, there seem to be some factors that favor the selection of Caesarea. Kümmel suggests that the reference to Aristarchus as Paul's fellow prisoner in Col 4:10 might well match the accounts of Acts 19:29; 20:4; and 24:23 and that both Tychichus, Mark and Luke might be in Caesarea as well as in Rome.<sup>45</sup> However, the Caesarea narrative in Acts 23-26 is not a "We" section. As pointed out by Barth and Blanke, "Luke and Aristarchus may have joined him only at the last moment before the apostle's embarkation to Rome."<sup>46</sup> Also, considering Acts 6:5 and 21:8, if these letters were written from Caesarea, Philip should also have been mentioned among the Jewish fellow workers in Col 4:11, yet Paul does not refer to him.<sup>47</sup>

It seems that not only the subscript of several manuscripts of Colossians, but also the references by Jerome, John Chrysostom, and Theodoret, favor the case for Rome.<sup>48</sup> As indicated by Cassidy<sup>49</sup> and Rapske<sup>50</sup>, it can be said that Paul's imprisonment in Rome was a military custody within his own house, based on the narrative in Acts 28:16, 30. As for the access to Paul in custody, Rapske rightly points out that everyone was allowed to meet Paul without restraint, but not to stay with

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<sup>44</sup> See Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 128; Idem, *The Letter to Philemon*, 125

<sup>45</sup> See Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 347. Those who favor the case for Caesarea are van Bruggen, *Die geschichtliche Einordnung der Pastoralbriefe*, 94-96; Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 348; Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, 65-67; Bo Reicke, "Caesarea, Rome, and the Captivity Epistles," in *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, ed. W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1970), 275-86.

<sup>46</sup> Barth and Blanke, *The Letter to Philemon*, 125.

<sup>47</sup> Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 522.

<sup>48</sup> See R. McL. Wilson, *Colossians and Philemon*, ICC (London: T & T Clark International, 2005), 20; O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, I; Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 126-27; Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 347.

<sup>49</sup> Cassidy, *Paul in Chains*, 221.

<sup>50</sup> Rapske, *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody*, 182.

him.<sup>51</sup> This means “free access to the prisoner during the day; enforced solitude through the night.”<sup>52</sup> It seems that access to Paul was not difficult.<sup>53</sup> To this end, all statements for individuals in the final greeting sections of Colossians and Philemon might be in harmony with the account of Acts 28:30-31 which describes Paul’s house arrest in Rome.<sup>54</sup> However, some objections to Rome remain. Paul wanted to visit Spain, not Colossae, but Paul’s request for quarters in Phlm 22 infers that he would abandon that plan.<sup>55</sup>

Considering all mentioned above, although there seems to be no decisive evidence for the place of writing<sup>56</sup>, the case for Rome is more plausible than other places.<sup>57</sup> It might be well said that Mark was probably with Paul during his custody in Rome.

### 2.1.1. Mark in Col 4:10-11

Mark, who faded away as a rather negative figure in Acts 15:38-39, reemerges as Barnabas’s cousin (nephew) and greets the Colossian church in Col 4:10. The kinship of Mark and Barnabas might well account for the reason Barnabas should have expressed generosity toward Mark in the confrontation between he and

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 384.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 383-84.

<sup>54</sup> See O’Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, l-li; Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 522.

<sup>55</sup> O’Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, li.

<sup>56</sup> See Wilson, *Colossians and Philemon*, 23; Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 126-34; *Idem*, *The Letter to Philemon*, 126; Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 522.

<sup>57</sup> Those who prefer to the case for Rome are O’Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, liii; Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 522; Barth and Blanke, *The Letter to Philemon*, 126; Hay, *Colossians*, 23; Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 41; Patzia, *Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon*, 12, 105; Lightfoot, *Saint Paul’s Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 32-33; Bruce, *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians*, 32; Moule, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 21-25.

Paul.<sup>58</sup> Interestingly, in Col 4:11, Mark is described as one of Paul's Jewish co-workers who comforted him. This depiction strongly implies that there must have been reconciliation between Paul and Mark.<sup>59</sup>

According to Col 4:10, Paul, in particular, may have sent an instruction (command) for Mark to the Colossian church. In this verse, the word *evntolh*, is used, a term which generally is used for divine commands in Paul. There are two exceptions, here and Tit 1:14, that signify a personal command or an instruction.<sup>60</sup> Although it is impossible to identify Paul's instruction for Mark clearly, some scholars suggest that this instruction would imply that Mark was restored to Paul's affection because he had regained his character in the Asia Minor churches.<sup>61</sup> Mark seems to be scheduled to visit the Colossian church sooner or later and Paul requests them to welcome (receive) him. The word *de, comai* is frequently used for receiving visitors with hospitality.<sup>62</sup> To this end, it is reasonable to assume that Mark, as Paul's collaborator, is now closely connected with the Colossian church, possibly with the Asia Minor churches, by Paul's recommendation.<sup>63</sup>

### 2.1.2. Mark in Phlm 24

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<sup>58</sup> See Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 277; Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 235.

<sup>59</sup> See Margaret Y. MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*, SP, vol. 17 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2000), 180; O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, 250; Hay, *Colossians*, 160; Wilson, *Colossians and Philemon*, 300; Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 479; Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 277; Schweizer, *The Letter to the Colossians*, 239; Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 235.

<sup>60</sup> Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 277.

<sup>61</sup> See Martin, *Colossians and Philemon*, 131; O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, 250; Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 277. With regard to this suggestion, however, Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 480, insist that it is improbable since it should be presumed that "Paul summarily excommunicated Markus and that he advised all the communities of this action. The text basis for such a view is very scanty."

<sup>62</sup> See MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*, 180; O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, 250; Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 479-80; Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 277.

<sup>63</sup> Eduard Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, Hermeneia, trans. William R. Poehlmann and Robert J. Karris (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 172, notes that "the recommendation given to Mark now serve to corroborate those instructions."



In Paul's letter to Philemon, Mark is also depicted as one of Paul's co-workers as in Colossians. When comparing the order of the individuals in the final greeting section of Philemon with that of Colossians, Mark is placed second. Both lists disclose the clear consistency of Mark's position.<sup>64</sup> Based on Mark's greeting to Philemon, there is no doubt that Mark has been acquainted with him, also probably with the Colossian church. Thus, at least, as far as Phlm 24 is concerned, even those who reject the Pauline authenticity of Colossians, cannot deny the fact that Mark was with Paul (probably in Rome) as one of his collaborators and was intimately linked with Philemon<sup>65</sup> and the Colossian church, which was one of the Asia Minor churches.

Figure 9. The order of the Greeters in Colossians and Philemon

Colossians 4:10-14	Philemon 23-24
Aristarchus	Epaphras
Mark	Mark
Jesus Justus	
Epaphras	Aristarchus
Luke	Demas
Demas	Luke

(Source: Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 348 with modifications)

## 2.2. Mark in 2 Timothy

<sup>64</sup> See Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 348; Fitzmyer, *The Letter to Philemon*, 124; Barth and Blanke, *The Letter to Philemon*, 495-96. Dunn, *Ibid*, insists that "only two explanations for the striking similarity of the lists can command real support: either the letters were written within a short time of each other, so that those close to Paul were the same, with only Jesus Justus having come or departed in the interval between; or the writer of Colossians derived his list from that in Philemon, with some random and imaginative changes."

<sup>65</sup> Philemon is also identified as Paul's co-worker in Phlm 1. See Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 348.

2 Timothy, one of the most disputed letters, contains historical and personal information with respect to Paul's and his companions' lives. Due to their complexity, it has been generally suggested that explaining the historical and individual references in 2 Timothy according to Acts' framework is almost unattainable.<sup>66</sup> Consequently, the majority of scholars question the authenticity of 2 Timothy, thus regarding it as pseudonymous. This position argues that the historical information and events in the epistle were invented by a forger after Paul's death and are thus inappropriate.<sup>67</sup>

To the contrary, it is frequently suggested that Paul wrote 2 Timothy after his release from Roman custody. This proposal requires Paul's further imprisonment.<sup>68</sup> Concerning this view, Marshall seems to be cautious in stating that "the proposed scenario is not impossible, but it is unprovable. It should be emphasized that unprovability is not necessarily an argument against a historical hypothesis."<sup>69</sup> In respect to Marshall's remark, as for the origin of this argument, Mounce points out that "arguments both for and against a release, as far as Acts is concerned, are arguments from silence."<sup>70</sup> He concludes that "since the historical framework of the PE does not contradict Acts, the silence in Acts is not an argument against the PE."<sup>71</sup> The suggestion of Paul's release and a second Roman imprisonment seems conceivable considering the abrupt ending of Acts, Paul's confidence about his acquittal as mentioned in Philippians and Philemon, and Clement's statement that

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<sup>66</sup> Donald Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles*, TNTC, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Leicester: InterVarsity, 1990), 22-23.

<sup>67</sup> As an example of the majority attitude toward 2 Timothy, see Meade, *Pseudonymity and Canon*, 118-39; Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy and Ethical Argument in the Pastoral Epistles*, 11-54.

<sup>68</sup> Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 68.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>70</sup> Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, lvi. It should be noted that even though Mounce's comments imply that the PE could possibly be fitted into the Acts' narrative, this is not Mounce's point. He is simply but significantly indicating that all such arguments from Acts are based on silence.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

Paul reached the west.<sup>72</sup>

The conclusions of Fee, Ellis, and Guthrie are remarkable among those who both accept the Pauline authorship of the PE and affirm Paul's second Roman imprisonment. Fee argues that before his release from Roman detention, Paul changed his plans to travel to Spain, then went east with his co-workers including Timothy and Titus after he was acquitted. During this period Paul visited Crete and Ephesus and left Titus and Timothy there respectively. Then, Paul wrote 1 Timothy and Titus and was subsequently rearrested while engaging in his missionary journey. Finally, he was imprisoned in Rome again and composed 2 Timothy.<sup>73</sup> Ellis' reconstruction is slightly different. Ellis insists that Paul accomplished his mission trip to Spain on the basis of the reference of Clement of Rome. Then, while returning eastward, Paul was informed of troubles in Crete and Ephesus, and consequently wrote 1 Timothy and Titus.<sup>74</sup> Guthrie maintains an intermediate position between Fee and Ellis. He comments that Paul's travel to Spain after his acquittal from Roman internment is not necessary to support a defense of a second Roman imprisonment. Guthrie underscores that Paul's further missionary activities in the east mentioned in the PE sufficiently imply his second Roman confinement.<sup>75</sup>

Murphy-O'Connor, basically, upholds only the Pauline authorship of 2 Timothy. Murphy-O'Connor underscores the similarity between 1 Timothy and Titus and also points to the differences between 2 Timothy and the other two letters.

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<sup>72</sup> See Michael Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 78-81; Clement of Rome, 1 *Clement* 5:6-7, in *The Apostolic Fathers*, trans. Bart D. Ehrman, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 1:45, writes that "seven times he [Paul] bore chains; he was sent into exile and stoned; he served as a herald in both the East and the West; and he received the noble reputation for his faith. He taught righteousness to the whole world, and came to the limits of the West, bearing his witness before the rulers."

<sup>73</sup> Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*, 3-5.

<sup>74</sup> E. Earle Ellis, *Pauline Theology: Ministry and Society* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1989), 108-10.

<sup>75</sup> Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 27.

Consequently, he contends that the person who composed 2 Timothy is not the same person who wrote 1 Timothy and Titus.<sup>76</sup> On the basis of this view, in particular, Murphy-O'Connor elaborates his insistence on a second imprisonment by stating that the circumstances of Paul's confinement in 2 Timothy are stricter than that in Acts 28. Thus Paul was released from his first Roman custody and resumed his missionary activities. He went to the west, namely, Spain, and returned to the east, traveling to the Aegean areas. Later, especially after the fire of Rome and subsequently under Nero's persecution, Paul moved to Rome to encourage and support Roman Christians who suffered from severe persecution, and thus was arrested. As a result, he finally sent the letter to Timothy.<sup>77</sup>

Against this suggestion, Harrison argues that "this alleged release and second imprisonment, in spite of all great names and arguments in its favour, must be definitely dismissed as a legend without valid historical basis."<sup>78</sup> This view claims that what is referred to in Acts alone can be regarded as valid. However, Johnson disagrees with Harrison's presupposition. Johnson discerns that neither the Pauline corpus nor Acts tender Paul's complete chronological ministry, but instead show "a selective and highly stylized" depiction of Paul's journeys or scrappy references to his ministry.<sup>79</sup> He persuasively indicates:

But it also leaves open the possibility that the Pastorals may provide important additional information about Paul's career and capacity that are not found in other sources. In this respect, the Pastorals are put on the same plane as the other letters. 2 Corinthians tells us of imprisonments and beatings experienced by Paul that are otherwise unreported by Acts . . . Galatians informs us that Paul founded churches throughout Phrygia and did so under the burden of a physical affliction, which we would not have learned elsewhere (Gal 1:2; 4:13-

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<sup>76</sup> Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life*, 357. Murphy-O'Connor particularly points to "the status of the sender, the recipient, Christology, ministry, the gospel, the attitude toward women, and false teaching" as criteria which make a difference between 2 Timothy and the other epistles (Ibid.).

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 359-71.

<sup>78</sup> Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, 6.

<sup>79</sup> Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, 425.

14). Romans tell us, as Acts never does, that Paul had a mission in Illyricum (Rom 15:19). All his letters together inform us magnificently of the fact that Acts ignores completely: that Paul wrote letters to his churches!<sup>80</sup>

Although harmonizing the historical references and events in 2 Timothy according to Acts' framework seems to be complicated and enigmatic, an elaborate and persuasive attempt has been executed by van Bruggen. In his 1981 monograph, *Die geschichtliche Einordnung der Pastoralbriefe*, van Bruggen argues that 1 Timothy and Titus were written during the latter period of Paul's third missionary journey and 2 Timothy during his Roman custody mentioned in Acts 28.<sup>81</sup> According to van Bruggen, this view is not new.<sup>82</sup> Van Bruggen comments that most defenders of authenticity hastily conclude that Paul wrote the PE after his release from Roman house arrest.<sup>83</sup>

Prior to van Bruggen, this position was advanced by de Lestapis and Robinson in 1976. De Lestapis and Robinson agree that Paul wrote 1 Timothy and Titus during his third mission journey<sup>84</sup>, but there exist momentous differences between them with respect to 2 Timothy. De Lestapis posits that 2 Timothy was written during Paul's Roman house arrest in Acts 28<sup>85</sup>, whereas Robinson postulates that it was written during his confinement in Caesarea.<sup>86</sup> However, Robinson's view seems unconvincing since Onesiphorus sought Paul in Rome and found him there based on the statement of 2 Tim 1:17. Robinson's claim that, due to misguided information, Onesiphorus looked for Paul in Rome and then reached him in Caesarea,

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<sup>80</sup> *Idem*, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, The Anchor Bible, vol. 35A (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 68.

<sup>81</sup> van Bruggen, *Die geschichtliche Einordnung der Pastoralbriefe*, 93.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 22. Before the nineteenth century, van Bruggen's position was common among scholars (*Ibid.*).

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-28.

<sup>84</sup> See S. de Lestapis, *L'énigme des Pastorales de Saint Paul* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1976), 88-91; Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, 81-85.

<sup>85</sup> de Lestapis, *L'énigme des Pastorales de Saint Paul*, 262.

<sup>86</sup> See Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, 77-80.

is unpersuasive.<sup>87</sup>

Van Bruggen suggests that there remains a time gap between Acts 19:20 and 21 which was not described in detail by Luke. During this period, Paul took a round trip from Ephesus to Corinth and back. This journey fundamentally separates Paul's Ephesian ministry into two phases. Interestingly, both Acts and 1 and 2 Corinthians apparently maintain this suggestion. The first phase was approximately two years (and three months) as reported by Acts 19:8-20. The second phase was Paul's additional ministry in Ephesus described in Acts 19:21-40. This stage would have taken at least nine months or one year with regard to Paul's reference that he had been working for three years in Ephesus in Acts 20:31. Paul made a round trip from Ephesus to Corinth and back between these two stages. During his travels, Paul wrote 1 Timothy and Titus.<sup>88</sup> With respect to 2 Timothy, van Bruggen contends that it was written during Paul's Roman incarceration in Acts 28, while leaving open the possibility of Paul's second Roman imprisonment.<sup>89</sup> Philip H. Towner seems to support van Bruggen's reconstruction.<sup>90</sup>

Similarly, Prior's 1989 study places 2 Timothy during Paul's Roman detention. Outstandingly, Prior explored other early Christian documents including *1 Clement*, *the Acts of Peter*, *the Muratorian Fragment*, and Eusebius' testimony as well as Acts, Philippians, and Philemon and presents solid evidence that Paul was acquitted from Roman confinement.<sup>91</sup> Prior confirms that "after the first difficult hearing of his case" Paul wrote 2 Timothy and then was released from Roman imprisonment and continued to engage in further missionary activities, including

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<sup>87</sup> van Bruggen, *Die geschichtliche Einordnung der Pastoralbriefe*, 75-76.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 31-59.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>90</sup> Philip H. Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2006), 12-15.

<sup>91</sup> See Michael Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 69-83.

visiting Spain with his co-workers.<sup>92</sup>

In this regard, it is significant to mention that even though it is difficult to harmonize the historical events and personal references of 2 Timothy with Acts, it is surely not impossible as demonstrated by some scholars, particularly van Bruggen. Van Bruggen's reconstruction is no less plausible than that of Paul's release and a second imprisonment in Rome. Thus, one who doubts the genuineness of 2 Timothy on account of the intricacy of the rearrangement of the historical and individual references ought to contemplate van Bruggen's restoration.

Once one accepts the Pauline authorship of 2 Timothy, it is almost probably Paul's last letter. It certainly seems that Paul wrote 2 Timothy while imprisoned (2 Tim 1:8, 16) as is the case of the other Captivity letters. However, 2 Timothy appears to betray its provenance, namely, Rome, based on 2 Tim 1:16-17<sup>93</sup>, whereas the other Captivity letters do not disclose obviously the place of writing. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that Paul's Roman imprisonment in Acts 28:30 refers to that in 2 Tim 1:16-17, since Paul's situation of incarceration in 2 Timothy seems to be more severe than that in Acts.

Mark is requested to visit Paul with Timothy and is described as one who is useful (eu;crhstoj) for Paul's ministry in 2 Tim 4:11. Paul's reference to Mark shows that Mark has already significantly regained his credibility in Paul's view. It might well be proposed that Mark is now in Colossae, if, as is likely, he visited the Colossian church at Paul's behest, and if there is no long time gap between 2 Timothy and Colossians and Philemon.<sup>94</sup> It also seems likely that Timothy is now in Philippi considering Phil 2:19, 23 which disclose Paul's purposes in dispatching him

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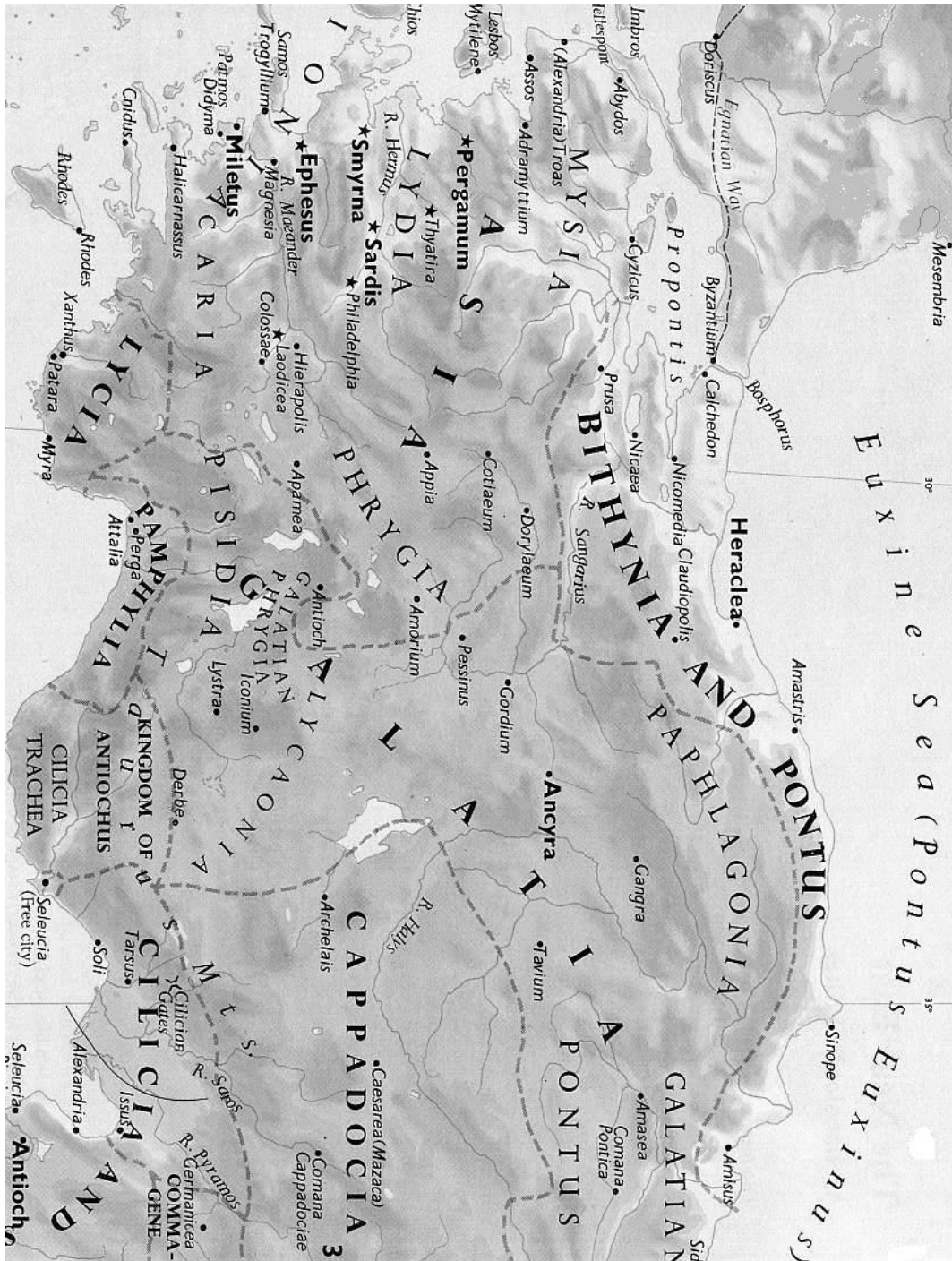
<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>93</sup> Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 67.

<sup>94</sup> See Jerome D. Quinn and William C. Wacker, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, ECC (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2000), 805; Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 229-230.

there, if Philippians was also written in Rome together with Colossians and Philemon.<sup>95</sup>

Figure 10. Asia Minor



<sup>95</sup> Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 229-230. Evidently, Timothy appears consistently as the co-author of Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon.



(Source: *Oxford Bible Atlas*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., ed. Herbert G. May (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 91.)

As for Paul's mention that Mark is useful for his ministry (*diakoni, a*), some scholars suggest that Mark's service to Paul was personal.<sup>96</sup> This view, however, has been criticized by Prior, who argues that "every use of the term by Paul is related to some service to the community. In some instances this service is financial, but it is also used for a service to God, or of Paul's service to the nations. Paul, then, never uses the term for a personal service to an individual."<sup>97</sup> Prior also insists that Paul envisages further missionary activity after his release from a Roman prison and concludes that Mark's service to Paul is the ministry of mission.<sup>98</sup> Similarly, Marshall points out that "one does not summon an experienced missionary simply to be a valet."<sup>99</sup> Riesner also underlines that "it is most likely that *diakoni, a* does not mean personal service but the ministry of proclamation,"<sup>100</sup> and comments that "the reference to Mark (2 Tim. 4:11) can be understood as indicating the importance of Jesus traditions."<sup>101</sup> The conclusions of Prior, Marshall, and Riesner are more persuasive since Luke was with Paul in Rome and he must have rendered some personal service to Paul when requested.

Mark in the Pauline letters has been portrayed consistently as Paul's useful co-worker. Mark is clearly associated with the Asia Minor churches, specifically, the Colossian church, and has been with Paul in Rome. Thus, it can be said that during

<sup>96</sup> Kelly, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 214; Spicq, *Les Epitres Pastorales*, 814; Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*, 294.

<sup>97</sup> Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and Second Letter to Timothy*, 147-48.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 148-49. Prior's view is supported by Ben Witherington III, *Letters and Homilies for Hellenized Christians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on Titus, 1-2 Timothy and 1-3 John*, vol. I (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2006), 378; Knight, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 466; C. K. Barrett, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 120; Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 817. Chrysostom *Homily 10*, trans. Philip Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 13 (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1914), 513, construes Mark's service as assisting in filling the ministerial vacancy in Rome after his death.

<sup>99</sup> Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 817

<sup>100</sup> Riesner, "Once More: Luke-Acts and the Pastoral Epistles," 255.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

Paul's later ministry, Mark has been working as his collaborator in the areas of Rome and Asia Minor.<sup>102</sup>

### 3. Mark in 1 Peter

As examined above, Acts 12:12 implies that there exists a relationship between Mark and Peter. Mark in 1 Pet 5:13 is portrayed as Peter's son, albeit figuratively<sup>103</sup>, which certainly demonstrates the very intimate relationship between the two individuals. In this respect, it is important to investigate whether Mark in 1 Peter is the same person as is depicted by Acts and the Pauline letters, as well as identifying where Peter and Mark were when the letter was written.

#### 3.1. Peter in Rome

1 Pet 5:13 reads, *Ἐστὶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὸν καὶ μαρτὸν τοῦ υἱοῦ μου*, and this verse shows that Peter and Mark are now in Babylon. Babylon is a symbolic depiction for Rome.<sup>104</sup> The debate continues, however, as to whether Peter resided in Rome and whether he was martyred there.<sup>105</sup> Once, Marsilius of Padua, in his *Defensor Pacis* (1326), was thought to be the first scholar to doubt the Roman tradition of Peter – his sojourn,

<sup>102</sup> Contra Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 59-60. See also Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 624-26; Johnson, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 440.

<sup>103</sup> Paul also refers to Timothy and Titus as his sons. Cf. 1 Cor 4:17; 1 Tim 1:2, 18; 2 Tim 1:2; Tit 1:4

<sup>104</sup> There is a consensus among scholars in viewing Babylon as a soubriquet for Rome. See Wand, *The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 130; Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 243; Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: the Greek Text with Introduction and Notes*, 183; Best, *1 Peter*, 178; Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 218-20; Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 373-75; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 354; Senior, *1 Peter*, 155; Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 197; Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 202-03; Marshall, *1 Peter*, 175; Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 646; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 311; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 882-84; Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 251; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 322.

<sup>105</sup> For the outstanding survey of the controversy, specifically see Oscar Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., trans. Floyd V. Filson (London: SCM Press, 1962), 71-75.

martyrdom, and burial in Rome. In fact, the Waldensians in the thirteenth century were the original sect to deny the tradition. They were persuaded that the sole criterion of Christianity was Scripture and it seemed that Scripture held no obvious statement of the sojourn of Peter in Rome, so they rejected the tradition.<sup>106</sup>

To the contrary, as noted above, since Babylon was a cryptic expression for Rome, 1 Pet 5:13 can be used as evidence for Peter's residence in Rome. Furthermore, it is almost likely that John 13:36; 21:18-19 and 2 Pet 1:14 disclose Peter's martyrdom.<sup>107</sup> Although these verses do not apparently indicate the place of his martyrdom, considering 1 Pet 5:13, which sheds light on his old age in Rome, they might well be regarded as implied references to his martyrdom in Rome.<sup>108</sup> Apparently, there also remains the post-New Testament tradition to refer to Peter's residence and martyrdom in Rome as early as the end of the first century and the beginning of the second century.<sup>109</sup> In modern scholarship the Roman tradition of Peter has been influentially supported by Cullmann. Cullmann's *Petrus, Jünger – Apostel – Märtyrer* made its appearance in 1952. On the basis of the literary evidence, Cullmann maintains the Roman tradition of Peter.<sup>110</sup> Cullmann's view has subsequently been powerfully endorsed by O'Connor, Bauckham, Goppelt, and

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<sup>106</sup> See Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 72-73; Daniel Wm. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 3. See also *Idem*, "Peter in Rome: A Review and Position," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 146.

<sup>107</sup> Richard J. Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," in *ANRW* 2.26.1, ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), 544-53; O'Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence*, Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 84-89. Johannes Munck, *Petrus und Paulus in der Offenbarung Johannis* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1950), 56, has identified two witnesses' death in Revelation 11:3-13 as Paul and Peter's martyrdom in Rome.

<sup>108</sup> Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 543; Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 84; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 884-86.

<sup>109</sup> These are *1 Clement* and Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans* and *Letter to the Smyrnaeans*.

<sup>110</sup> See Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 79-123.

Elliott.<sup>111</sup>

As the earliest post-New Testament literature as to Peter's martyrdom 1

*Clement* 5:1-6:4 reads<sup>112</sup>:

5:1. VAll v i[na tw/n  
avrcai,wn u`podeigma,twn  
pauw,meqa( e;lqwmn evpi.  
tou.j e;ggista genome,nouj  
avqlhta,j\ la,bwmen th/j  
genea/j h`mw/n ta. gennai/a  
u`podei,gmata) 2. dia.  
zh/lon kai. fqo,non oi`  
me,gistoi ka.i dikaio,tatoi  
stu/loi evdiw,cqhsan kai.  
e[wj qana,tou h;qlhsan) 3.  
la,bwmen pro. ovfqalmw/n  
h`mw/n tou.j avgaqou,j  
avposto,loj\ 4. Pe,tron( o]j  
dia. zh/lon a;dikon ouv  
e[na ouvde. du,o( avlla.  
Plei,onaj u`ph,negken  
po,nouj kai. ou[tw  
martuh,saj evporeu,qh eivj  
to.n ovfeilo,menon to,pon  
th/j do,xhj) 5. dia. zh/lon  
kai. e;rin Pau/loj  
u`pomnh/j brabei/on  
e;deixen) 6. e`pta,kij  
desma.  
fore,saj( fugadeuqei,j( liq  
asqei,j( kh/rux geno,menoj  
e;n te th/| avnatolh/| kai.  
evn th/| du,sei( to.

5:1. But to stop giving ancient examples, let us come to those who became athletic contenders in quite recent times. We should consider the noble examples of our own generation. 2. Because of jealousy and envy the greatest and most upright pillars were persecuted, and they struggled in the contest even to death. 3. We should set before our eyes the good apostles. 4. There is Peter, who because of unjust jealousy bore up under hardships not just once or twice, but many times; and having thus borne his witness he went to the place of glory that he deserved. 5. Because of jealousy and strife Paul pointed the way to the prize for endurance. 6. Seven times he bore chains; he was sent into exile and stoned; he served as a herald in both the East and the West; and he received the noble reputation for his faith. 7. He taught righteousness to the whole world, and came to the limits of the West, bearing his witness before the rulers. And so he was set free from this world and transported up to the

<sup>111</sup> See Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 539-589; Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 9-14; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 884-87.

<sup>112</sup> Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 1:42-47.



gennai/on th/j pi, stewj  
auvtou/ kle,oj e;laben) 7.  
dikaios, nhn dida, xaj o[lon  
to.n ko, smon( kai. evpi.  
to. te, rma th/j du, sewj  
evlqw.n kai. marturh, saj  
evpi. tw/n  
h`goume, nwn( ou[twj  
avphlla, gh tou/ ko, smou  
kai. eivj to.n a[gion  
to, pon  
avvnelh, mfqh( u`pomnh/j  
geno, meno j me, gisto j  
u`pogrammo, j) 6:1. Tou, toij  
toi/j avndra, sin o`si, wj  
politeusame, noij  
sunhqroi, sqh polu. plh/qoj  
evklektw/n( oi[tinej pollaj  
aivki, aj kai. basa, nouj  
dia. zh/lo j paqo, ntej  
u`po, deigma ka, lliston  
evge, nonto evn h`mi/n) 2.  
dia. zh/lo j diwcqei/sai  
gunai/kej Danai>dej  
kai. ( aivki, smata deina.  
kai. avno, sia  
paqou/sai( evpi. to.n th/j  
pi, stewj be, baion dro, mon  
kath, nthsan kai. e;labon  
ge, raj gennai/on ai`  
avsqenei/j tw/| sw, mati) 3.  
zh/lo j avphllotri, wsen  
gameta. j avndrw/n kai.  
hvlloi, wsen to. r`hqe..n  
u`po. tou/ patro. j h`mw/n  
vAda, m\ tou/to nu/n  
ovstou/n evk tw/n ovstewn  
mou kai. sa.rx evk th/j

holy place, having become the  
greatest example of endurance. 6:1.  
To these men who have conducted  
themselves in such a holy way there  
has been added a great multitude of  
the elect, who have set a superb  
example among us by the numerous  
torments and tortures they suffered  
because of jealousy. 2. Women  
were persecuted as Danaids and  
Dircae and suffered terrifying and  
profane torments because of  
jealousy. But they confidently  
completed the race of faith, and  
though weak in body, they received  
a noble reward. 3. Jealousy  
estranged wives from their  
husbands and nullified what was  
spoken by our father Adam. "This  
now is bone from my bones and  
flesh from my flesh." 4. Jealousy and  
strife overturned great cities and  
uprooted great nations.

sarko,j mou) 4. zh/loj kai.  
e;rij po,leij mega,laj  
kate.streyen kai. e;qnh  
mega,la evxeri,zwsen)

As noted by Cullmann, *1 Clement* is relevantly viewed “as the decisive literary witness, by both the defenders and the opponents of the tradition” regarding Peter’s sojourn in Rome.<sup>113</sup> The statement of the martyrdom of Peter in *1 Clement* 5:4 seems to be much more related to the context of the list of instances which contains *1 Clement* 4-6. In *1 Clement* 4-6 there are fourteen instances that show that the ultimate outcome of jealousy is death. Among them seven instances (*1 Clement* 5-6) come from “our own generation,” while the other seven instances (*1 Clement* 4) are derived from the Old Testament.<sup>114</sup>

Cullmann has contended that Peter, Paul, and a great multitude of the elect “were victims of jealousy from persons who counted themselves members of the Christian Church” in light of the context of the epistle.<sup>115</sup> Cullmann’s argument has been specifically supported by O’Connor. He also insists that the Roman church were circuitously liable for the martyrdom of Peter and Paul because their inner discord had allowed the Roman magistrates to interfere so as to sustain command.<sup>116</sup> While Clement does not obviously account for the reason for the martyrdom of the Apostles, according to O’Connor, it is that the details of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul were not crucial to Clement and the addressees of the letter, namely, the Corinthian church,

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<sup>113</sup> Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 91.

<sup>114</sup> See Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 554-55.

<sup>115</sup> Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 102.

<sup>116</sup> O’Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence*, 78.

but the final consequence was crucial.<sup>117</sup> O'Connor, therefore, underlines that "Clement exhorted the Corinthians to learn from what had happened in the distant and recent past as a result of interparty rivalry so that they might not meet with similar disaster."<sup>118</sup> On the hand, Bauckham highlights the different contexts between the seven instances of Old Testament in *1 Clement 4* and the first five instances of "our own generation" in *1 Clement 5-6* and sees "the martyrs as illustrious examples of endurance in the struggle of faith."<sup>119</sup> As depicted by Tacitus, under the Neronian persecution, seized Christians were forced to inform against their companions.<sup>120</sup> In this regard, Bauckham suggests that "Clement could have thought that some of these were motivated by envy without necessarily thinking of specific party divisions in the Roman church. He could have ascribed jealousy to pagan informers against their Christian neighbours."<sup>121</sup> Bauckham's suggestion seems to be as persuasive as Cullmann and O'Connor's.

Some scholars have argued that *1 Clement 5:4* does not mean Peter's martyrdom.<sup>122</sup> In his 2004 article, "Did Peter ever go to Rome?," Goulder contends that since Clement was acquainted with Acts, the latter thus roughly replicated its narrative of Peter's afflictions.<sup>123</sup> Goulder, therefore, also argues that there remains no obvious statement of Peter's decease in *1 Clement 5:4*, thus Clement did not know anything of his death.<sup>124</sup> To this end, he concludes that *1 Clement* provides no

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<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 557.

<sup>120</sup> Tacitus *The Annals* 15.44, trans. John Jackson, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937), 283-85.

<sup>121</sup> Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 562. See also Michael D. Goulder, "Did Peter ever go to Rome?," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 57 (2004): 389.

<sup>122</sup> See Michaels, *1 Peter*, lx-lxi; Goulder, "Did Peter ever go to Rome?," 377-396.

<sup>123</sup> Goulder, "Did Peter ever go to Rome?," 387.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 389.

evidence to insist upon Peter's martyrdom in Rome.<sup>125</sup> Bauckham argues against Goulder's view that Acts was well known to Clement, and claims that no compelling proof exists for the familiarity of Acts to Clement since he did not mention the martyrdom of Stephen and James, the son of Zebedee.<sup>126</sup> But the issue as to whether Clement knew Acts well or not does not seem decisive because John 21:18-19 clearly reports the martyrdom of Peter separately of 1 Clement and Acts, as correctly indicated by Bauckham.<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, since the first five "our own generation" instances in *1 Clement* 5-6 contain an element unique from the other instances "by their martyrological theme," if Peter were not martyred, he must have been excluded from these instances.<sup>128</sup> In light of the parallel between Peter and Paul in *1 Clement* 5:4-7, it is obvious that provided Paul was a martyr, then Peter was a martyr too.<sup>129</sup> Early Christians, including Clement, used the expression "the place of glory which he deserved" in *1 Clement* 5:4 for those who were martyred.<sup>130</sup>

Finally, as for the place of Peter's martyrdom *evn h`mi/n* at the end of *1 Clement* 6:1 seems to shed light on this issue. Cullmann powerfully argues that a great multitude of the elect in *1 Clement* 6:1 "must certainly be sought in Rome; 'among us' proves that."<sup>131</sup> It is commonly accepted that the wording of *polu. plh/qoj* in *1 Clement* 6:1 refers to the Neronian persecution. However, the same place, namely, Rome, cannot be hastily applied to Peter, as pointed out by

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<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 392.

<sup>126</sup> Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 560.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.* Goulder, "Did Peter ever go to Rome?," 395, however, still proposes without further convincing evidence that "it would seem, then, that John drew his belief that Peter had been crucified not from independent tradition but by inference from the synoptics. Much of John's narrative is obtained by inference."

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 559.

<sup>129</sup> See O'Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence*, 83; Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 559.

<sup>130</sup> Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 559.

<sup>131</sup> Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 105.



Cullmann.<sup>132</sup> Since “the greatest and most upright pillars” in *1 Clement* 5:2 might well include Stephen and James who were certainly not martyred in Rome, and since Peter was also one of the pillars, thus Rome as the place for Peter’s martyrdom does not seem decisive.<sup>133</sup> Nevertheless, Cullmann cautiously concludes that “not with absolute certainty but yet with the highest probability, that Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome about the time of the Neronian persecution,”<sup>134</sup> while Goulder concludes that Peter deceased in Jerusalem “in the 50s AD.”<sup>135</sup> But both conclusions of Cullmann and Goulder seem to be a little excessive, specifically so in the case of Goulder, considering all the points mentioned above. Finally, Bauckham’s conclusion that *1 Clement* discloses only Peter’s martyrdom is fairly convincing.<sup>136</sup>

As for Peter’s residence in Rome, in his *Letter to the Romans*, Ignatius writes<sup>137</sup>:

4:3. ouvκ w`j Pe,troj kai.  
Pau/loj diata,ssomai  
u`mi/n) evkei/nou  
avpo,stoloi( evgw.  
kata,kritoj\ evkei/nou  
evleu,qeroi( evgw. de.  
me,cri nu/n dou/loj) avllv  
eva.n pa,qw( avpeleu,qeroj  
genh,somai vIhsou/ Cristou/  
kai. avnasth,somai evn  
aυtw/| evleu,qeroj) kai.

4:3. I am not enjoining you as Peter and Paul did. They were apostles, I am condemned; they were free, until now I have been a slave. But if I suffer, I will become a freed person who belongs to Jesus Christ, and I will rise up, free, in him. In the meantime I am learning to desire nothing while in chains.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>133</sup> See Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 561; Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 97; O’Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence*, 84; Goulder, “Did Peter ever go to Rome?,” 389-90.

<sup>134</sup> Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 109. O’Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence*, 86, also concludes that “it is most probable that Clement believed, on the basis of written or oral tradition or both, that Peter and Paul (in that order) died at about same time in Rome during the persecution under Nero.”

<sup>135</sup> Goulder, “Did Peter ever go to Rome?,” 392.

<sup>136</sup> Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 562.

<sup>137</sup> Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 1:274-75.

nu/n manqa,nw dedeme,noj  
evpiqumei/n)

Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans* 4:3 has frequently been viewed as a literary evidence for Peter's and Paul's sojourn in Rome. Clearly, Ignatius refers to the names of Peter and Paul in the first sentence of 4:3. Similarly, in his *Letter to the Ephesians* 12:2, Ignatius names Paul and says that the members of the Ephesian church are fellow initiates of Paul. Apparently, Paul visited the Ephesian church and had been associated with them as shown by Acts. In his *Letter to Trallians* 3:3, Ignatius writes with great similarity to *Romans* 4:3.

*Romans* 4:3 ouvk w`j Pe,troj kai. *Trallians* 3:3 w'n kata,kritoj w`j Pau/loj diata,ssomai u`mi/n) avpo,stoloj u`mi/n diata,ssomai evkei/noi avpo,stoloi( evgw. kata,kritoj

Ignatius does not mention the specific name of an apostle in *Trallians* 3:3, most probably because he could not identify the apostle who particularly enjoined the Trallian church.<sup>138</sup> In this light, just as Ignatius connected Paul with the Ephesian church, the close linguistic similarity between *Romans* and *Trallians* certainly discloses that since Ignatius joined Peter and Paul with the Roman church he refers to the names of the two apostles in *Romans* 4:3.<sup>139</sup> On the basis of this observation, it is most likely that Peter and Paul gave an order to the Roman church. In the case of Paul, it is obvious that he did give commands to them by the letter, *Romans*, while Peter's case is unknown. However, it seems very probable that Ignatius believed that

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 565.

<sup>139</sup> See Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 111; O'Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence*, 20; Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 565.

the two apostles had been occupied in preaching activities in Rome.<sup>140</sup>

Cullmann contends that Peter's and Paul's orders to the Roman Christians concerned their martyrdom, by noting that *Romans* 3:1 alludes to *1 Clement*.<sup>141</sup> But Schoedel indicates that "Ignatius sometimes seems to reflect more clearly the original point of these themes [suffering and hardship] and thus may be dependent on preClementine tradition."<sup>142</sup> It does not seem indispensable to propose that Ignatius required a written source, namely, *1 Clement*, since if Peter, who was the most outstanding of the Apostles, was martyred in Rome, the capital city of the Empire, this might well have been common knowledge to Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch.<sup>143</sup>

Nevertheless, O'Connor concludes that Ignatius' *Letter to Romans* 4:3 cannot be viewed as clear evidence that "Peter or Paul or both had lived or were martyred in Rome," only acknowledging that at the beginning of the second century a tradition of Asia Minor churches existed that Peter and Paul resided in Rome and exercised their apostolic authority in the Roman church.<sup>144</sup> By contrast, Cullmann proposes that prior to their martyrdom, Peter and Paul were in a position to command the Roman church.<sup>145</sup> Schoedel concludes that naming Peter and Paul in *Romans* 4:3 evidently betrays "Ignatius' awareness of a tradition about their joint presence and their martyrdom in Rome."<sup>146</sup> However, considering all examined above, the conclusions of O'Connor, Cullmann, and Schoedel seem insufficient since Ignatius'

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<sup>140</sup> Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 565.

<sup>141</sup> Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 110-11.

<sup>142</sup> Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 172.

<sup>143</sup> Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 566. This argument, nonetheless, does not exclude the possibility that Ignatius might have known *1 Clement*.

<sup>144</sup> O'Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence*, 22. See also PHEME PERKINS, *Peter: Apostle for the Whole Church*, Studies on Personalities of the New Testament (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 139.

<sup>145</sup> Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 112.

<sup>146</sup> Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 176.

*Letter to Romans* 4:3 can be treated at best as only literary proof for Peter's residence in Rome.<sup>147</sup>

In his *Letter to the Smyrnaeans*, Ignatius also writes<sup>148</sup>:

3:1. VEgw. ga.r kai. meta. th.n  
avna, stasin evn sarkī. avto.n  
oi=da kai. pisteu.w o;nta) 2.  
kai. o[te pro.j tou.j peri.  
Pe, tron e=lqen( e;fh  
avtoi/j\ La, bete( yhlafh, date,  
me kai. i;dete( o[ti ouvκ  
eivmi. Daimo, nion avsw, maton)  
kai. euvqu.j avtou/ h[yanto  
kai. evpi, steusan( kraqe, ntej  
th/| sarkī. avtou/ kai. tw/|  
pneu, mati) dia. tou/to kai.  
qana, tou  
katefro, nhsan( hu`re, qesan de.  
u`pe.r qa, naton) 3. meta. de.  
th.n avna, stasin sune, fagen  
avtoi/j kai. sune, pien w`j  
sarkiko, j( kai, per pneumatikw/j  
h`nwme, noj tw/| patri,)

3:1. For I know and believe that he was in the flesh even after the resurrection. 2. And when he came to those who were with Peter, he said to them, "Reach out, touch me and see that I am not a bodiless daimon." And immediately they touched him and believed, having been intermixed with his flesh and spirit. For this reason they also despised death, for they were found to be beyond death. 3. And after his resurrection he ate and drank with them as a fleshly being, even though he was spiritually united with the Father.

It seems that Ignatius indicates the martyrdom of "those who were with Peter" at the last sentence in *Smyrnaeans* 3:2. The words qana, tou katefronei/n in Jewish and Christian literature had been used for the martyr's manner.<sup>149</sup> Most probably, as a fact well known to in his time, Ignatius might have believed that several of the apostles had been martyred.<sup>150</sup> This may point out that his awareness of the martyrdom of Peter does not necessarily originate from *1 Clement*, although he

<sup>147</sup> Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 566.

<sup>148</sup> Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 1: 298-99.

<sup>149</sup> See Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 565; Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 227.

<sup>150</sup> Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 563.

would have been familiar with it.<sup>151</sup>

The expression *τὸν πετρίαν* seems to be fairly ordinary as far as the fact that Peter is often described as the head of and spokesperson for the apostles in the Gospels. It would be strange, despite Peter being named, if Peter were not included among them. In light of the context, therefore, it is certainly natural to require that Peter's death must have been an instance of martyrdom.<sup>152</sup>

Polycarp, in his *Letter to the Philippians*, writes<sup>153</sup>:

9:1. Parakalw/ ou=n  
pa,ntaj( peiqarcei/n tw/|  
lo,gw| th/j dikaios,nhj  
kai. avskei/n pa/san  
u`pomoh,n( h]n kai.  
ei;date kat v ovfqalmou.j  
ouv mo,non evn toi/j  
makari,oi,j vIgnati,w| kai.  
Zwsi,mw| kai. `Roufw|  
avlla. kai. evn a;lloij  
toi/j evx u`mw/n kai. evn  
aυtw/| Pau,lw| kai. toi/j  
loipoi/j avposto,loij\ 2.  
pepeijme,nouj o[ti ou=toi  
pa,ntej ouvκ eivj keno.n  
e;dramon( a,ll v evn  
pi,stei kai.  
dikaosu,nh|( kai. o[ti ei,j  
to.n ovfeilo,menon αυtoi/j  
to,pon eivsi. Para. tw/|  
kuri,w|( w-| kai.  
sune,paqon) ouv ga.r to.n  
nu/n hvga,pesan

9:1. Therefore I urge all of you to obey the word of righteousness and to practice all endurance, which you also observed with your own eyes not only in the most fortunate Ignatius, Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others who lived among you, and in Paul himself and the other apostles. 2. You should be convinced that none of them acted in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and that they are in the place they deserved, with the Lord, with whom they also suffered. For they did not love the present age; they loved the one who died for us and who was raised by God for our sakes.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 564.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 563.

<sup>153</sup> Polycarp *Letter to the Philippians* 9:1, in *The Apostolic Fathers*, trans. Bart D. Ehrman, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 1:344-45.

aivw/na( avlla. to.n u`pe.r  
h`mw/n avpogano,nta kai. di  
v h`ma/j u`po. tou/ qeou/  
avnasta,nta)

Although the wording of to.n ovfeilo,menon auvtoi/j to,pon in *Philippians* 3:2 could be a typical expression of martyrdom for early Christians, including both Polycarp and Clement, it is also cited from *1 Clement* 5:4. As pointed out by Harrison<sup>154</sup>, Polycarp also appears to have been well acquainted with *1 Clement*.<sup>155</sup> Even though *Philippians* 3:2 would not be explicit evidence for Peter's martyrdom, this demonstrates that Polycarp appreciated *1 Clement* 5:4 as a reference to Peter's martyrdom.<sup>156</sup>

As reported by Eusebius, Dionysius of Corinth wrote his *Letter to Romans*, referring to Peter's residence and martyrdom in Rome.<sup>157</sup>

Tau/ta kai. u`mei/j dia.  
th/j tosau,thj nouqesi,aj  
th.n avpo. Pe,trou kai.  
Pau,lou futei,an  
genhqeí/san `Rwmai,wn te  
kai. eivj th.n h`mete,ran  
Ko,rinqon futeu,santej  
h`ma/j o`moi,wj  
evdi,daxen( o`moi,wj de.  
kai. eivj th.n vItali,an  
o`mo,se dida,xantej  
evmartu,rhsan kata. to.n  
auvto.n kairo,n)

“By so great an admonition you bound together the foundations of the Romans and Corinthians by Peter and Paul, for both of them taught together in our Corinth and were our founders, and together also taught in Italy in the same place and were martyred at the same time.”

<sup>154</sup> P. N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), 286.

<sup>155</sup> Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 578.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> Eusebius *The Ecclesiastical History* 2.25.8.

Dionysius says that Peter and Paul planted the Roman church and the Corinthian church. The source of Dionysius' reference to Peter's association with the Corinthian church could be found in 1 Cor 1:12; 9:5, prior to assuming another separate tradition.<sup>158</sup> Dionysius' statement that Peter and Paul had been martyred simultaneously could also be his reading of *1 Clement* 5:4-7<sup>159</sup> since he notes that it has been repeatedly recited in the Corinthian church's worship services.<sup>160</sup> In this light, although it is merely a possibility, the reference that Peter and Paul taught together in Italy would be his understanding of Ignatius' *Letter to Romans* 4:3.

Ever since Dionysius, the Roman tradition of Peter had been established by Irenaeus, Muratorian Canon, and Tertullian during the end of the second century and the beginning of the third century. Muratorian Fragment writes<sup>161</sup>:

*Acta autem omnium apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt. Lucas optimo Theophilo comprehendit, quae sub praesentia eius singular gerebantur, sicuti et semota passione Petri evidenter declarat, sed et profectio Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis.*

Again, the acts of all the apostles have been described in one book. Luke put together for the 'most excellent Theophilus' what had specifically happened in his presence, as he clearly intimates by omitting the passion of Peter as well as Paul's departure from Rome for Spain.

Provided that the Muratorian Fragment was derived in Rome around A.D. 200, it offers distinctive evidence that Peter and Paul were not martyred simultaneously against the views of Dionysius and Irenaeus.<sup>162</sup>

<sup>158</sup> See *Ibid.*, 583; Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 116.

<sup>159</sup> See *Ibid.*, 583-84; Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 116.

<sup>160</sup> Eusebius *The Ecclesiastical History* 4.23.11.

<sup>161</sup> See du Toit, "Historical Section: Survey of the Development, Closure, and Later History of the New Testament Canon," 240-41.

<sup>162</sup> Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 587.

In his *De Praescriptione*, Tertullian writes<sup>163</sup>:

*si autem Italiae adiaces, habes Romam unde nobis quoque auctoritas praesto est. Ista quam felix ecclesia cui totam doctrinam apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt, ubi Petrus passioni dominicae adaequatur, ubi Paulus Iohannis exitu coronatur, ubi apostolus Iohannes posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur.*

Since, moreover, you are close upon Italy, you have Rome, from which there comes even into our own hands the very authority (of apostles themselves). How happy is its church, on which apostles poured forth all their doctrine along with their blood! where Peter endures a passion like his Lord's! where Paul wins his crown in a death like John's! where the Apostle John was first plunged, unhurt, into boiling oil, and thence remitted to his island-exile!

Similarly, in his *Scorpiace*, Tertullian also reports<sup>164</sup>:

*Vitas Caesarum legimus: orientem fidem Romae primum Nero cruentavit. Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur, cum cruci adstringitur. Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanae consequitur natiuitatem, cum illic martyrii renascitur generositate.*

We read the lives the Caesars: At Rome Nero was the first who stained with blood the rising faith. Then is Peter girt by another, when he is made fast to the cross. Then does Paul obtain a birth suited to Roman citizenship, when in Rome he springs to life again ennobled by martyrdom.

Tertullian seems to discern that Peter was martyred in Rome, and construes John 21:18 in this way. Tertullian was the first ancient author who manifestly connected

<sup>163</sup> Tertullian *De Praescriptione* 36.2-3, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina I (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), 216-17. Translation from Peter Holmes, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1976), 260.

<sup>164</sup> Tertullian *Scorpiace* 15.3, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina II (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), 1097. Translation from S. Thelwall, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1976), 648.



Paul and Peter's martyrdoms with the persecution in Rome under the reign of Nero.<sup>165</sup> In conclusion, two key facts can be certainly drawn from the observation above. The one is that Peter was martyred, and the other is that Peter resided for a while in Rome. Therefore, on the basis of these key facts, it can be inferred that Peter was martyred in Rome, probably under the Neronian persecution.<sup>166</sup>

### 3.2. Mark in Rome

Although Black boldly argues that "both functionally and substantively, the depiction of Mark in 1 Peter is far less reminiscent of John Mark in Acts and far more similar to Mark in the Pauline and Deutero-Pauline letters,"<sup>167</sup> there seems to be a measure of consensus among commentators concerning identifying Mark in 1 Pet 5:13. Mark in 1 Peter has usually been acknowledged as being the Mark described in Acts and the Pauline epistles.<sup>168</sup>

In fact, Nineham points out that the most general "Latin name" in antiquity had been "Mark (Marcus)" and there must have existed many individuals whose

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<sup>165</sup> Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 587.

<sup>166</sup> Thus, Terence V. Smith, *Petrine Controversies in Early Christianity*, WUNT II. 15 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1985), 38, mentions that "these traditions regarding Peter are important witnesses to the standing of the Peter-figure in the second century – regardless of their historical value. Peter was seen as having played a large role in the composition of the Markan Gospel and as having suffered martyrdom in Rome." See also Timothy Wiarda, *Peter in the Gospels*, WUNT II. 127 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 2000).

<sup>167</sup> Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 65. See also Johannes Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903). Black seems to even differentiate Mark in Acts from Mark in the Pauline epistles. Black's this view, however, is evidently criticized by Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 125, noting that "there is no reason to doubt the identity of that Mark with John Mark."

<sup>168</sup> See Michaels, *1 Peter*, 312; Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 203; Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 251; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 887; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 321; Horrell, *The Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 101; Marshall, *1 Peter*, 175; Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 220; Best, *1 Peter*, 179; Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 376; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 355; Senior, *1 Peter*, 155; Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 80, 197; Wand, *The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 130; Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 244; Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: the Greek Text with Introduction and Notes*, 184; Stibbs and Walls, *First Epistle General of Peter*, 177; Riesner, "Once More: Luke-Acts and the Pastoral Epistles," 255.

names were Mark as members of the ancient church.<sup>169</sup> But Nineham's insistence seems flawed, since his instances of the name of Mark are the cases of "*praenomen* (first name)" not those of "*cognomen* (family name)."<sup>170</sup> Therefore, as Martin astutely contends, the references to John Mark "in the NT form a consistent picture and that no other Mark is recognized as a candidate for the office of evangelist or companion of Paul and Peter in patristic times."<sup>171</sup> Likewise, Elliott correctly notes that "the absence of any further identification indicates that Mark is presumed to be known to the addressees. The only Mark mentioned in the NT and concerning whom this might have been the case is the John Mark referred to in Acts 12 and 15 and elsewhere in the NT."<sup>172</sup>

In this regard, as examined above and in chapter two, as far as Col 4:10, Phlm 24, 2 Tim 4:11, and the references of Papias and Irenaeus are concerned, the work of Mark's ultimate part in Rome places him in collaboration with Peter at the close of Peter's life.<sup>173</sup>

### 3.3. Petrine Group in Rome

Since Best, in his 1971 commentary, originally proposed the possibility that 1 Peter originated from a Petrine school in Rome, this view has been promoted by

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<sup>169</sup> D. E. Nineham, *Saint Mark*, SCM Pelican Commentaries (London: SCM Press, 1963), 39.

<sup>170</sup> R. P. Martin, "John Mark," in *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, vol. 3, ed. G. W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1986), 260.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.* Clayton N. Jefford, "John Mark," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 4, ed. D. N. Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 558, also comments that "while the name in 1 Peter cannot be identified definitively with the figure of Mark who appears in the Acts narrative, a consistent picture of role and activities of John Mark would result if such an association can be accepted."

<sup>172</sup> See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 887.

<sup>173</sup> See *Ibid.*, 888; Robert H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1993), 1034-035; Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 203; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 312. For Mark's chronology see S. Dockx, "Essai de chronologie de la vie de saint Marc," in *Chronologies néotestamentaires et Vie de l'Église primitive: Recherches exégétiques* (Leuven: Peeters, 1984), 179-198.

several scholars.<sup>174</sup> Most influential in contending this view has been Elliott. He repeatedly argues this position in his article, monograph, and commentary.<sup>175</sup> As mentioned by Elliott, this position has changed “the focus of attention from the specific writer of the letter to the group responsible for its composition and dispatch.”<sup>176</sup>

First, Elliott insists that since the expression of Babylon for Rome appeared after A.D. 70, 1 Peter was not written by Peter himself, but composed by a Petrine group in Rome after his death as a pseudonymous letter.<sup>177</sup> But this insistence would be persuasive solely in the case that there remains “the parallel between the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. and the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. that gave rise to the allegorical use of the name Babylon for Rome.”<sup>178</sup> As underlined by Thiede and Bauckham, this argument is improbable.<sup>179</sup> In his 1986 monograph, *Simon Peter: From Galilee to Rome*, Thiede correctly indicates that the figurative expression of Babylon for Rome had already been employed by pagan Roman authors before 70 A.D.<sup>180</sup> Bauckham’s observation also deserves mention.

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<sup>174</sup> Senior, *1 Peter*, 5-6; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 127-30; Prasad, *Foundations of the Christian Way of Life according to 1 Peter 1, 13-25: An Exegetico-Theological Study*, 36-46; Soards, “1 Peter, 2 Peter, and Jude as Evidence for a Petrine School,” 3827-849, argues that 1, 2 Peter and Jude renders proof for the being of a Petrine school. David G. Horrell, however, “The Product of a Petrine Circle? A Reassessment of the Origin and Character of 1 Peter,” *JSNT* 86 (2002):32, rightly contends that “Soards’s arguments are on the whole weak and unconvincing, either extrapolating illegitimately from literary similarities to common community (or, more precisely, ‘school’) origin, or taking characteristics common to early Christianity as a whole (such as the use of the Jewish scriptures, specifically the LXX) as indications of the existence of a particular school within early Christianity. The three letters – 1 Peter, 2 Peter and Jude – are too different to support the idea of a common school origin.”

<sup>175</sup> See Elliott, “Peter, Silvanus and Mark in 1 Peter and Acts: Sociological-Exegetical Perspectives on a Petrine Group in Rome,” 250-67; *Idem*, *A Home for the Homeless*, 267-95; *Idem*, *1 Peter*, 127-30.

<sup>176</sup> Elliott, *1 Peter*, 890.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 887.

<sup>178</sup> Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 542-43.

<sup>179</sup> See Carsten P. Thiede, *Simon Peter: From Galilee to Rome* (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1986), 154; Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 543.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 154, 245-46. Thiede also notes that “other place” in Acts 12:17 means Babylon, namely, Rome (*Ibid.*, 154).

He notes:

. . . Jews living in the western diaspora will not have needed to wait for the fall of Jerusalem before discerning a parallel between the pagan political power under which they were living in exile and the Babylonian empire of the Old Testament. Indeed, there is evidence that diaspora Judaism did perceive this parallel from an early date. The oracle predicting the fall of Rome in the third Sibylline Oracle 3:350-364 (first century B.C.) probably echoes the very same Old Testament prophecies of the fall of Babylon (with 3:357-360, cf. Isa. 47:1; Jer. 51:7; Isa. 14:12; 47:5, 7) as are later taken up in the oracle against Babylon in the fifth Sibylline Oracle of the late first century A.D. (162-178), where Rome is explicitly called Babylon (159). *The parallel between Babylon and Rome seems to have been part of the tradition of the Jewish Sibyllines already before 70 A.D.* Finally, it is unlikely that the fall of Jerusalem played any part in the reasons for the use of the name Babylon for Rome in the book of Revelation (which likewise reapplies to Rome the Old Testament prophecies of the fall of Babylon), where the more general consideration that Rome was the great oppressive pagan power of the day probably accounts for the usage. *This consideration could easily have been operative before 70 A.D.*<sup>181</sup>

Marshall also points out that pagan Roman authors had initiated the description of the city of Rome as Babylon due to “its luxury and increasing decadence.”<sup>182</sup>

Therefore, the conclusions of Thiede, Bauckham, and Marshall that the use of Babylon as a cipher for Rome had already been used in the 60s A.D. and thus 1 Peter was written in Peter’s old age, and he was martyred under Neronian rule are correct.<sup>183</sup>

Second, Elliott provides seven reasons supporting a Petrine group in Rome and highlights that the hypothesis is “sociologically plausible and logically compelling.”<sup>184</sup> Elliott’s seven reasons might well be summarized into two main factors. One is that since Paul and others worked with their collaborators, a Petrine

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<sup>181</sup> Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 543.

<sup>182</sup> Marshall, *1 Peter*, 175.

<sup>183</sup> See Thiede, *Simon Peter: From Galilee to Rome*, 154, 246; Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Peter,” 543; Marshall, *1 Peter*, 175. Bauckham, *Ibid.*, 543, seems to support an amanuensis hypothesis by noting that “1 Peter is authentic (not necessarily in the sense of being composed by Peter himself, but in the sense of being sent out in his lifetime with his authorization).”

<sup>184</sup> Elliott, *1 Peter*, 890.

group in Rome was unavoidable “from a social and practical” perspective.<sup>185</sup> The other is the apparent appellations of “Silvanus and Mark in 1 Pet 5:12-13.”<sup>186</sup> Elliott’s argument has been criticized by Horrell in his 2002 article, “The Product of a Petrine Circle? A Reassessment of the Origin and Character of 1 Peter.” Horrell contends that although Elliott’s observation is proper, “it does not by any means establish that, by the time of 1 Peter’s writing, there was a distinctively *Petrine* group in Rome.”<sup>187</sup> Even though Acts shows a connection between Peter, Silvanus, and Mark, this cannot be viewed as proof for establishing any powerful connection, specifically for the existence of a Petrine group in Rome. Acts and the Pauline epistles also disclose that Silvanus and Mark had been associated with Paul. Therefore, this fact destabilizes Elliott’s argument that there existed in Rome a peculiarly Petrine group.<sup>188</sup> In conclusion, it would be more persuasive to state that Silvanus and Mark were co-workers of the Apostles, specifically for both Paul and Peter.

#### 4. Mark: Peter’s *εὐαγγελιστὴς* and the Evangelist

While there has been controversy concerning the interpretation of the early church traditions about Mark, in particular referred to by Papias<sup>189</sup>, he has been generally identified as the interpreter of Peter and the Evangelist. Obviously, the portrayal of Mark in early Christian tradition can be regarded as valid evidence for the historical connections between two individuals, namely, Peter and Mark. In this regard, the proper assessment of this tradition should be required.

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<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>187</sup> Horrell, “The Product of a Petrine Circle? A Reassessment of the Origin and Character of 1 Peter,” 46.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>189</sup> Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, 47, notes that Papias’s fragment “must be taken very seriously.”

#### 4.1. Mark as the Interpreter of Peter

That Mark was Peter's *εἰρηνηεὺς*,<sup>190</sup> was originally shown by Papias' fragment which can be dated as early as A.D.130.<sup>190</sup> Since Papias and Irenaeus this identification of Mark had operated as a key aspect. The *Anti-Marcionite Prologue* to the Gospel of Mark reads<sup>191</sup>:

*Marcus adseruit, qui colobodactylus est nominatus, ideo quod ad ceteram corporis proceritatem digitos minores habuisset. Iste interpres fuit Petri. Post excessionem ipsius Petri descripsit idem hoc in partibus Italiae evangelium.*

Mark related, who was called 'cut-fingered' because his fingers were too short for the size of the rest of his body. He was Peter's interpreter. After the departure of Peter himself this same man wrote this Gospel in the regions of Italy.

Likewise, in his *Adversus Marcionem* Tertullian also writes<sup>192</sup>:

*Eadem auctoritas ecclesiarum apostolicarum ceteris quoque patrocinabitur euangelii, quae proinde per illas et secundum illas habemus, Iohannis dico atque Mathei, licet et Marcus quod edidit Petri adfirmetur, cuius interpres Marcus.*

That same authority of the apostolic churches will afford evidence to the other Gospels also, which we possess equally through their means, and according to their usage – I mean the Gospels of John and Matthew, whilst that which Mark published may be affirmed to be Peter's whose interpreter Mark was.

In his *De viris illustribus*, Jerome reports<sup>193</sup>:

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>191</sup> R. E. Heard, "The Old Gospel Prologues," *JTS* 6 (1955): 4.

<sup>192</sup> Tertullian *Adversus Marcionem* 4.5.3, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina I (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), 551. Translation from Peter Holmes, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1976), 350

<sup>193</sup> Jerome *De viris illustribus* 8.1-2, in *Opera omnia*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae Latinae [PL], vol. 23 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1884), 654. Translation from Thomas P. Halton, *On*



*Marcus discipulus et interpres Petri, juxta quod Petrum referentem audierat, rogatus Romae a fratribus, breve scripsit Evangelium. Quod cum Petrus audisset, probavit, et Ecclesiis legendum sua auctoritate edidit, sicut Clemens in sexto libro scribit, et Papias Hierapolitanus episcopus. Meminit hujus Marci et Petrus in Epistola prima, sub nomine Babylonis figuraliter Romam significans: Salutatur vos quae in Babylone est coelecta, et Marcus filius meus.*

Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, wrote a short gospel at the request of the brethren at Rome, embodying what he had heard Peter tell. When Peter had heard it, he approved it and issued it to the churches to be read by his authority, as Clement, in the sixth book of his *Epistolarum*, and Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, record. Peter also mentions this Mark in his First Epistle, figuratively indicating Rome under the name of Babylon: "She who is in Babylon, chosen together with you, salutes you; and so does my son Mark."

In his *Commentary on Matthew*, Jerome goes on to say<sup>194</sup>:

*secundus Marcus, interpres apostoli Petri et Alexandrinae ecclesiae primus episcopus, qui Dominum quidem Salvatorem ipse non uidit, sed ea quae magistrum audierat praedicantem iuxta fidem magis gestorum narravit quam ordinem.*

The second is Mark, the amanuensis of the Apostle Peter, and first bishop of the church of Alexandria. He did not himself see our Lord and Savior, but he related the matter of his master's preaching with more regard to minute detail than to historical sequence.

Apparently, there is unanimous confirmation among the early Christian writers in viewing Mark as Peter's *epitropos*. Although the term *epitropos* could be construed as "interpreter" or "translator", it clearly signifies "something more than"

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*Illustrious Men* (Washington, D.C: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 17-18.

<sup>194</sup> Jérôme, *Commentaire sur Saint Matthieu*, Sources Chrétiennes 242 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1977), 62. Translation from W. H. Fremantle, *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 6 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), 495.

that, specifically in respect of the writing process.<sup>195</sup> Manson insists that the word *εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν* implies that Mark not only was Peter's interpreter, but also his "private secretary and an *aide-de-camp*."<sup>196</sup> Martin also claims that "Mark was Peter's *εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν*, his right-hand man, who was his personal assistant on his missionary tours and served as a trusted associate by putting the apostle's language (whether Aramaic or Greek) into serviceable and acceptable form."<sup>197</sup> Along this line, Senior, Michaels, and Schildgen construe *εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν* as "secretary"<sup>198</sup> or "amanuensis."<sup>199</sup> Similarly, Anderson and Moore also appreciate Mark as "Peter's scribe."<sup>200</sup> Unless the expression *εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν* cannot be signified as amanuensis or secretary, the reference to Mark demonstrates his involvement in the writing of 1 Peter.

#### 4.2. Mark as the Evangelist

The other key aspect of Mark mentioned by Papias is that he was the Evangelist. As cited above, since Papias and Irenaeus this tradition had been followed by the *Anti-Marcionite Prologue* to the Gospel of Mark, Tertullian, and Jerome. Along with these early Christian writers, Clement of Alexandria and Origen also speak of the tradition about Mark. Clement of Alexandria, according to Eusebius,

<sup>195</sup> Martin, *Mark: Evangelist and Theologian*, 52.

<sup>196</sup> Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, 23

<sup>197</sup> Martin, *Mark: Evangelist and Theologian*, 82. See also E. Best, *Mark: The Gospel as Story*, Studies of the New Testament and Its World (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1983), 23; Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross*, 1035-036; C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, CGNT (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 3-4.

<sup>198</sup> Senior, *1 Peter*, 6.

<sup>199</sup> See Michaels, *1 Peter*, 312; Brenda D. Schildgen, *Power and Prejudice: The Reception of the Gospel of Mark* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 35.

<sup>200</sup> Janice C. Anderson and Stephen D. Moore, "Introduction: The Lives of Mark," in *Mark & Method: New Approaches in Biblical Studies*, ed. Janice C. Anderson and Stephen D. Moore (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 2-3.



says<sup>201</sup>:

progegra, fqai e; legen tw/n  
euvaggeli, wn ta.  
perie, conta ta. j  
genealogi, aj( to. de. kata.  
Ma, rkon tau, thn evschke, nai  
th. n oivkonomi, an) tou/  
Pe, trou dhmosi, a| evn  
`Rw, mh| khru, xantoj to. n  
lo, gon kai. pneu, mati to.  
euvagge, lion  
evxeipo, ntoj( tou. j  
paro, ntaj( pollou. j  
o; ntaj( parakale, sai to. n  
Ma, rkon( w`j a' n  
avkolouqh, santa auvtw/|  
po, rrwqen kai. Memnhme, non  
tw/n  
lecqe, ntw n( avnagra, yai ta.  
eivrhme, na\ poih, santa  
de, ( to. euvagge, lion  
metadou/ nai toi/ j  
deome, noij auvtou/ \ o[per  
evpigno, nta to. n Pe, tron  
protreptikw/ j mh, te  
kwlu/ sai mh, te  
protre, yasqai)

He said that those Gospels were first written which include the genealogies, but that the Gospel according to Mark came into being in this manner: When Peter had publicly preached the word at Rome, and by the Spirit had proclaimed the Gospel, that those present, who were many, exhorted Mark, as one who had followed him for a long time and remembered what had been spoken, to make a record what was said; and that he did this, and distributed the Gospel among those that asked him. And, that when the matter came to Peter's knowledge, he neither strongly forbade it nor urged it forward.

In his *Adumbrationes* on 1 Pet 5:13, Clement of Alexandria goes on to say<sup>202</sup>:

*Marcus Petri sectator, palam  
praedicante Petro Evangelium  
Romae coram quibusdam  
Caesareanis equitibus, ete multa  
Christi testimonia proferente; penitus*

Mark, the follower of Peter, while Peter publicly preached the Gospel at Rome before some of Caesar's equites, and adduced many testimonies to Christ, in order that

<sup>201</sup> Eusebius *The Ecclesiastical History* 6.14.5-7.

<sup>202</sup> Clement of Alexandria *Adumbrationes* on 1 Pet 5:13, in *Opera omnia*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* [PG], vol. 9 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1884), 732. Translation from William Wilson, ANF, vol. 2, 573.

*ab eis ut possent quae dicebantur memoriae commendare, scripsit ex his quae Petro dicta sunt, Evangelium quod secundum Marcum vocitatur.*

thereby they might be able to commit to memory what was spoken, of what was spoken by Peter, wrote entirely what is called the Gospel according to Mark.

Also according to Eusebius Origen comments<sup>203</sup>:

deu,teron de. to. Kata.  
Ma,rkon( w`j Pe,troj  
u`fhgh,sato  
auvtw/|( poih,santa( o]n  
kai. ui`o.n evn th/|  
kaqolikh/| evpistolh/| dia.  
tou,twn w`molo,ghsen  
fa,skwn ‘ avspa,zetai  
u`ma/j h` evn Babulw/ni  
suneklekth. kai. Ma/rkoj o`  
ui`o,j mou `\

Secondly, that according to Mark, who wrote it in accordance with Peter’s instructions, whom also Peter acknowledged as his son in the catholic epistle, speaking in these terms: ‘She that is in Babylon, elect together with you, saluteth you; and so doth Mark my son.’

It seems that these early Christian writers rely on Papias’ note. Thus, Telford claims that “that early church tradition was virtually unanimous in supporting the claim is not surprising since the later church fathers were almost certainly dependent upon Papias, hence offer no independent attestation. Papias’ evidence itself is unreliable and often ambiguous.”<sup>204</sup> As Hengel emphasizes, however, Papias’ fragment has been frequently “misunderstood and indeed mishandled in more recent scholarship.”<sup>205</sup> At least there is a consensus between scholars that Papias’ main purpose is to defend the Gospel of Mark. Since Mark was not an eye-witness, the link between Peter and Mark certainly could confirm the apostolic authority of the Gospel

<sup>203</sup> Eusebius *The Ecclesiastical History* 6.25.5.

<sup>204</sup> W. R. Telford, *The Theology of the Gospel of Mark*, New Testament Theology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 10.

<sup>205</sup> Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, 47.

of Mark.<sup>206</sup> Prior to Papias' note this association between the two individuals is separately assured in 1 Pet 5:13 and "cannot be a later invention in order to secure 'apostolic' authority for the Gospel."<sup>207</sup> Hengel comments that the insistence that on the grounds of 1 Pet 5:13 Papias created the connection between Peter and Mark is absurd.<sup>208</sup> He goes on to say, "Papias certainly knows I Peter (and I John, HE 3,39,17) . . . . Both traditions are independent and provided reciprocal confirmation. It is also an unprovable assertion that only the first clause of the quotation is the tradition of the presbyter and that the rest is only the interpretation of Papias. Papias reproduces this tradition in his own words and the exact wording can no longer be reconstructed."<sup>209</sup>

Furthermore, along with the *Anti-Marcion Prologue* to the Gospel of Mark in his *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium*, Hippolytus of Rome writes<sup>210</sup>:

VEpeida.n ou=n Marki,wn h'  
tw/n evkei,nou kunw/n tij  
u`lakth/| kata. tou/  
dhmiourgou/( tou.j evk th/j  
avntiparage,sewj avgaqou/  
kai. kakou/ profe,rwn  
lo,gouj( dei/ auvtoi/\$j%  
le,gein o[ti tou,touj ou;te  
Pau/loj o` avpo,stoloj  
ou;te Ma,rkoj o`

When, therefore, Marcion or some one of his hounds barks against the Demiurge, and adduces reasons from a comparison of what is good and bad, we ought to say to them, that neither Paul the apostle nor Mark, he of maimed-finger, announced such (tenets). For none of these (doctrines) has been written in the Gospel according to Mark. But

<sup>206</sup> See Martin, *Mark: Evangelist and Theologian*, 80-83. See also Etienne Trocme, *The Formation of the Gospel according to Mark*, trans. Pamela Gaughan (London: SPCK, 1975), 73-75.

<sup>207</sup> Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, 47. See also Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross*, 1029-033.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, 150. Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter*, 87, insists that "the literary connection, described by Papias as existing between Peter and Mark, was deduced by the bishop of Hierapolis from 1 Peter 5:13."

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>210</sup> Hippolytus *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium* 7.30.1, *Patristische Texte und Studien* 25, ed. Miroslav Marcovich (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 311. Translation from J. H. Macmahon, ANF, vol. 5, 112.



koloboda, ktuloj	(the real author of the system) is
avnh, ggeilan & tou, tw n ga.r	Empedocles, son of Meto, a native
ouvde<i.j> evn tw/  <kata.>	of Agrigentum.
Ma, rkon euvaggeli, w	
ge, graptai & ( avlla.	
vEmpedoklh/j M<e,>twno j	
vAkraganti/noj\	

These two works of the early Christian writers depict Mark as the one who has “stumpy-fingers.” Because this portrayal of Mark would hardly be fictitious, it must have come from a genuine reminiscence.<sup>211</sup> Apparently, it seems that there existed another tradition of Mark independent of Papias’ fragment. In this light, it seems probable that the early Christian writers must have identified Mark not only as Paul and Peter’s co-worker but also as Peter’s *e`rmhneuth, j* and the Evangelist whose fingers were stumpy.<sup>212</sup>

There remains a difference among the early church traditions concerning the dating of Mark’s Gospel. As mentioned above, according to Clement of Alexandria<sup>213</sup> and Jerome<sup>214</sup>, Mark wrote his gospel during Peter’s lifetime. On the

<sup>211</sup> See Sean P. Kealy, *Mark’s Gospel: A History of Its Interpretation* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 14; Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, 3.

<sup>212</sup> See France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 39-41; John R. Donahue and Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, SP, vol. 2 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2002), 40-41; Ben Witherington III, *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 25-26; Joel Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, AB, vol. 27 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 24; Bas M. F. van Iersel, *Mark: A Reader-Response Commentary*, trans. W. H. Bisscheroux, JSNTSup 164 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 30-31; Beavis, *Mark’s Audience: The Literary and Social Setting of Mark 4.11-12*, 66; Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross*, 1026-045; Morna D. Hooker, *The Gospel according to ST Mark*, BNTC (London: A & C Black, 1991), 5-7; Robert A. Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, WBC, vol. 34A (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), xxviii-xxix; Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 21-23; John Bowman, *The Gospel of Mark* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 22-23; A. E. J. Rawlinson, *St Mark*, WC (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1925), xxv-xxxi; Ezra P. Gould, *The Gospel according to ST. Mark*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1896), xi-xii. Also G. G. Gamba, “L’evangelista Marco Segretario-« Interpretare » della Prima Lettera di Pietro?,” *Salesianum* 44 (1982): 70, insists that “the remarkable statements in 1 Pt 5,13 suggest to the Author that Mark might be the redactor or the scribe through whom this first ‘Roman papal encyclical’ was produced.”

<sup>213</sup> See Eusebius *The Ecclesiastical History* 6.14.5-7; Clement of Alexandria *Adumbrationes* on 1 Pet 5:13.

other hand, according to Irenaeus<sup>215</sup> and the *Anti-Marcionite Prologue* to the Gospel of Mark<sup>216</sup>, it seems that Mark composed his gospel after Peter's death. However, it should also be noted that there is a debate over the interpretation of the wording of *Meta. de. th.n tou,twn e;xodon* in Irenaeus *Against the Heresies* 3.1.1. Several scholars argue that the term *e;xodoj* does not signify Peter and Paul's death, but simply their departure from Rome.<sup>217</sup> This argument seems plausible since Clement of Rome refers to Paul's departure from Rome to the west (Spain) after his release.<sup>218</sup> In addition, even if the word *e;xodoj* refers to Peter and Paul's death, the term *parade, dwke\$n%* (handed down) strongly manifests the probability that Mark wrote his gospel during Peter's lifetime but published [handed down] it after his death.<sup>219</sup> To this end, the references of Irenaeus and the *Anti-Marcionite Prologue* to the Gospel of Mark can not be viewed as compelling evidence that Mark wrote his gospel after Peter's death.<sup>220</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

Acts shows not only that Mark was associated with the Jerusalem church, which infers that he was also indirectly connected with Peter, but also that Mark as a co-worker of Paul and Barnabas participated in a missionary expedition and had

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<sup>214</sup> Jerome *De viris illustribus* 8.1-2.

<sup>215</sup> Irenaeus *Against the Heresies* 3.1.1.

<sup>216</sup> Heard, "The Old Gospel Prologues," 4.

<sup>217</sup> Contra Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Peter," 584-86. See France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 37; Thiede, *Simon Peter: From Galilee to Rome*, 157-58; T. W. Manson, "The Foundation of the Synoptic Tradition: the Gospel of Mark," in *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles*, ed. Matthew Black (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), 38-40.

<sup>218</sup> Clement of Rome *1 Clement* 5:6

<sup>219</sup> See Theodore B. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1909), 433-34; Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 86.

<sup>220</sup> Nevertheless, the case that Mark wrote his gospel after Peter's death should not significantly effect the thesis of this study itself that Mark was the contributive amanuensis of 1 Peter, since this study basically does not argue the literary dependence of 1 Peter on Mark's Gospel or *vice versa*. Thus, this study still leaves open the possibility of the both cases.

significant duties. Along this line, Mark in the Pauline letters has been depicted constantly as Paul's helpful collaborator. Colossians, Philemon, and 2 Timothy demonstrate that Mark is obviously associated with the Asia Minor churches, specifically, the Colossian church, and had been with Paul in Rome. It is most likely, therefore, that during the period of Paul's later ministry, Mark had been acting as his co-worker in the areas of Rome and Asia Minor.

In this vein, 1 Pet 5:13 exhibits the intimate relationship between Peter and Mark in Rome. Apparently the early Christian writers disclose that Peter sojourned some time in Rome and was martyred. This sheds light on the probability that Mark's eventual duty in Rome must have set working alongside Peter.

Although some dispute still remains concerning the interpretation of Papias' note, there is also an independent portrayal of Mark by the *Anti-Marcion Prologue* to the Gospel of Mark and Hippolytus of Rome. The early Christian writers consistently reported that Mark was Peter's *εἰρηνευτής* and the Evangelist. Unless there is a decisive factor that rejects the early church tradition about Mark, in light both of the intimate relationship between Peter and Mark from 1 Pet 5:13 and the practice of first-century letter writing, the historical connection supports the hypothesis that Mark was the contributive amanuensis of 1 Peter.

## CHAPTER 6

### LINGUISTIC IMPLICATIONS<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. The Syntax of 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel

In his 1989 monograph, *Syntax Criticism of Johannine Literature, the Catholic Epistles, and the Gospel Passion Accounts*, Martin analyzes the Greek style of the parallel narratives of the passion and resurrection in the four Gospels. He defines the accounts of the passion and resurrection as Mark 11:1-16:8, Matt 21:1-28:20, Luke 19:28-24:53, and John 12:1-21:25, respectively.<sup>2</sup>

Figure 11. Net Frequencies in Original Greek Documents of More Than 50 Lines

	No. of Lines	Original Greek							Translation Greek		
		17	16	15	11	10	9	4	-3	-4	-7
Plutarch – Selections	325		X								
Polybius – Bks I, II	192			X							
Epictetus – Bks III, IV	138	X									
Bks I, II	349						X				
Bks I, II, III, IV	487				X						

<sup>1</sup> Most of all, as for the linguistic evidence for the thesis of this study, same words that only occur in 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel might well be regarded as stronger proof. However, unfortunately, there remain few or no same words that are only used in them. Nevertheless, the syntactic correlation, the characteristic features of terminology, and the significant and frequent use of  $\omega\acute{\iota}\eta$  for a simile (rhetoric) between them might also be viewed as possible linguistic evidence.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond A. Martin, *Syntax Criticism of Johannine Literature, the Catholic Epistles, and the Gospel Passion Accounts*, Studies in Bible and Early Christianity, vol. 18 (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 43.

Josephus – Selections	215		X									
Papyri – Selections	630	X										
II Maccabees 2:13-6:31	495	X										
Philo – On Creation I-VIII	251						X					
Mark 11:1-16:8	447							X				
Matt 21:1-28:20	718									X		
Luke 19:28-24:53	524											X
John 12-21	732									X		

(Source: Martin, *Syntax Criticism of Johannine Literature, the Catholic Epistles, and the Gospel Passion Accounts*, 44 with modifications)

On the grounds of his syntactical analysis, Martin indicates that “somewhat surprising is the fact that the net frequencies of both Matthew’s and Luke’s accounts are much more Semitic, falling into clearly translation Greek area!”<sup>3</sup> Martin’s observation naturally leads one to believe that the Greek style of the passion and resurrection account in Mark’s Gospel is closer to original Greek than those in the other Gospels.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, although the quality of 1 Peter’s Greek has been treated as a good Greek, nevertheless, as argued by Jobes, the author of 1 Peter is unlikely to have been a native speaker of Greek. In this light, it may well be said that there remains a notable correlation between the quality of Greek of the passion and resurrection account in Mark’s Gospel and that of 1 Peter as “a kind of passion document.”<sup>5</sup>

## 2. The Characteristic Features of Terminology

1 Peter seems to prefer the words of “sun(m)-composites” and “u`po(e)-composites” as its distinctive linguistic characteristic, considering that this vocabulary

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 45. Donald H. Juel, *The Gospel of Mark*, Interpreting Biblical Texts (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 35, notes that the Gospel of Mark “is written in simple Greek – not translation Greek.”

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> J. Ramsey Michaels, “St. Peter’s Passion: The Passion Narrative in 1 Peter,” *Word & World* 24 (2004): 388.



is uncommon in the NT.<sup>6</sup> Some of these terms are *suntreco, ntwn* (1 Pet 4:4), *sumbai, nontoj* (1 Pet 4:12) (*u`perhfa, noij* (1 Pet 5:5), *u`pokri, seij* (1 Pet 2:1), and *u`pomenei/te* (1 Pet 2:20).<sup>7</sup> Notably, these five words are also used in Mark 6:33, 10:32, 7:22, 12:15, and 13:13, respectively.

1 Peter uses the verb *pa, scw* and the noun *pa, qhma* with the most frequency among the NT. The word *pa, scw* is used forty times in the NT, twelve times in 1 Peter; while the term *pa, qhma* is used sixteen times, four times in 1 Peter.<sup>8</sup> This characteristic of 1 Peter is significant in that it is a relatively brief writing among those of the NT. Michaels expresses a similar opinion when he comments that “the author is to some degree characterizing his epistle as a kind of passion document.”<sup>9</sup>

Likewise, the Gospel of Mark has been identified not only as the briefest Gospel, but possibly also as a “passion narrative with an extended introduction”<sup>10</sup> according to Peter.<sup>11</sup> The wording of *pagei/n* in Mark 8:31 and that of *pa, qh|* in Mark 9:12 are used in describing the suffering of Christ. The suffering of Christ is repeatedly depicted in Mark 9:31 and 10:33-34 that are the vertical points in Mark’s account.

<sup>6</sup> Elliott, *1 Peter*, 62.

<sup>7</sup> See *Ibid.*, 57-58.

<sup>8</sup> See *Ibid.*, 54, 61. *pa, scw* is used in 1 Pet 2:19, 20, 21, 23; 3:14, 17, 18; 4:1 (2 times), 15, 19; 5:10. *pa, qhma* is employed in 1:11; 4:13; 5:1, 9. See also Robert L. Webb, “The Petrine Epistles: Recent Developments and Trends,” in *The Face of New Testament Studies*, ed. Scot McKnight and Grant R. Osborne (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 382-83.

<sup>9</sup> Michaels, “St. Peter’s Passion: The Passion Narrative in 1 Peter,” 388.

<sup>10</sup> Martin Kähler, *The So-Called Historical Jesus and the Historic Biblical Christ*, trans. Carl E. Braaten (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), 80. For this issue, specifically see *The Trial and Death of Jesus: Essays on the Passion Narrative in Mark*, ed. Geert Van Oyen and Tom Shepherd, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology 45 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006); *The Passion in Mark*, ed. Werner H. Kelber (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976). The latter was a landmark in the history of the research on the issue.

<sup>11</sup> Michaels, “St. Peter’s Passion: The Passion Narrative in 1 Peter,” 388. Michaels, *Ibid.*, 388, also insists that “while not narrative in the strict sense, 1 Peter could be thought of as Peter’s passion narrative in the sense that it purports to give Peter’s testimony to ‘the sufferings of the Christ’.”

In this light, there seems to remain a similarity of theology and thought, namely, the Christology of suffering, between 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel. Probably, however, this affinity might derive from Peter, not Mark, and Peter might have influenced Mark and have contributed to the theology and thought of Mark's Gospel (as Petrine Gospel). Peter was one of the pillar Apostles, and Mark was not only one of the co-workers of Peter, but also his son, albeit figuratively.

### 3. The Significant and Frequent Use of $w^j$

The comparative particle  $w^j$  occurs twenty seven times in 1 Peter. Considering its length, this is "the most frequent" employment in the New Testament.<sup>12</sup> In the case of Mark's Gospel, the particle  $w^j$  is used twenty two times. In view of rhetoric, the author of Mark's Gospel seems to favor a simile rather than a metaphor, by employing the comparative particle  $w^j$ . This characteristic use of the comparative particle  $w^j$  is also found in 1 Pet 1:19, 1:24, 2:5, and 3:6, by adding it to the citation of or the allusion to the OT (LXX).

#### 3.1. The Characteristic Use of $w^j$ in Mark's Gospel

The particle  $w^j$  is used *twice* in the parable of the seed growing section of Mark 4:26-29; *the account appears only in Mark's Gospel* among the four Gospels.

##### Mark 4:26-27

26 Kai. e;legen\ ou[twj  
evsti.n h` basilei,a tou/  
qeou/  $w^j$  a;nqrwpoj ba,lh|  
to.n spo,ron evpi. th/j  
qh/j  
27 kai. kaqeu,dh| kai.

26 And he said, "The kingdom of  
God is as if a man should scatter  
seed upon the ground,  
27 and should sleep and rise night  
and day, and the seed should sprout  
and grow, he knows not how.

<sup>12</sup> See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 61-62.

evgei,rhtai nu,kta kai.  
h`me,ran( kai. o` spo,roj  
blasta/| kai. mhku,nhtai  
w`j ouvki oi=den auvto,j

Even more surprising is the fact that the wording of h=san w`j pro,bata mh. e;conta poime,na (“they were like sheep without a shepherd”) in Mark 6:34 is *used only in Mark’s Gospel* among the parallel accounts of the miracle of the five loaves and the two fish in the four Gospels.<sup>13</sup>

Matt 14:14	Mark 6:34	Luke 9:11	John 6:2
kai. evxelqw.n ei=den polu.n o;clon kai. evsplugni,sqh evpV auvtoi/j kai. evqera,peusen tou.j avrrw,stouj auvtw/n	kai. evxelqw.n ei=den polu.n o;clon kai. evsplugni,sqh evpV auvtou,j( <u>o[ti</u> <u>h=san w`j</u> <u>pro,bata mh.</u> <u>e;conta</u> <u>poime,na</u> ( kai. h;rxato dida,skein auvtou.j polla,Å	oi` de. o;cloi gno,ntej hvkolou,qhsan auvtw/ \ kai. avpodexa,menoj auvtou.j evla,lei auvtou/j peri. th/j basilei,aj tou/ qeou/( kai. tou.j crei,an e;contaj qerapei,aj iva/to	hvkolou,qei de. auvtw/  o;cloj polu,j( o[ti evqew,roun ta. shmei/a a] evpoi,ei evpi. tw/n avsqenou,ntwn

### 3.2. The Characteristic Use of w`j in 1 Peter

Quoting Isa 40:6 from the LXX, 1 Pet 1:24 inserts the comparative particle w`j to shift the metaphor into a simile.

<sup>13</sup> Instead, the wording of w`sei. pro,bata mh. e;conta poime,na occurs in Matt 9:36.



Isa 40:6 (LXX)

6 fwnh. le,gontoj bo,hson  
kai. ei=pa ti, boh,sw  
pa/sa sa.rx co,rtoj kai.  
pa/sa do,xa avnqrw,pou  
w`j a;nqoj co,rtou

1 Pet 1:24

24 dio,ti pa/sa sa.rx w`j  
co,rtoj kai. pa/sa do,xa  
auvth/j w`j a;nqoj  
co,rtou\ evxhra,nqh o`  
co,rtoj kai. to. a;nqoj  
evxe,pesen\

1 Pet 1:19 alludes to Exod 12:5, adding w`j to it.

Exod 12:5

5 pro,baton te,leion  
a;rsen evniau,sion e;stai  
u`mi/n avpo. tw/n avrnw/n  
kai. tw/n evri,fwn  
lh,myesqe

1 Pet 1:19

19 avlla. timi,w| ai[mati w`j  
avmnou/ avmw,mou kai.  
avspi,lou Cristou/(

Also, alluding to Ps 117:22 from the LXX, 1 Pet 2:5 appends w`j to change the metaphor into a simile.

Ps 117:22 (LXX)

22 li,qon o]n  
avpedoki,masan oi`  
oivkodomou/ntej ou-toj  
evgenh,qh eivj kefalh.n  
gwni,aj

1 Pet 2:5

5 kai. avvtoi. w`j li,qoi  
zw/ntej oivkodomei/sqe  
oi=koj pneumatiko.j eivj  
i`era,teuma a[gion  
avnene,gkai pneumatika.j  
qusi,aj euvprosde,ktouj  
îtw/|Ð qew/| dia. VIhsou/  
Cristou/

1 Pet 3:6 alludes to Gen 18:12, affixing w`j to it.

Gen 18:12

12 evge,lasen de. Sarra evn  
e`auth/| le,gousa ou;pw  
me,n moi ge,gonen e[wj tou/  
nu/n o` de. ku,rio,j mou

1 Pet 3:6

6 w`j Sa,rra u`ph,kousen  
tw/| VAbraa,m ku,rion  
avvto.n kalou/sa( h-j  
evgenh,qhte te,kna

presbu,teroj

avgagopoiou/sai kai. mh.  
fobou,menai mhdemi,an  
pto,hsinÅ

Considering the fact that the word  $\omega\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\nu}$  is used twenty seven times in 1 Peter and is one of its stylistic features<sup>14</sup>, it does betray the close linguistic connection between 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel. In this light, it should be noted that this stylistic penchant might imply Mark's involvement in the writing of the epistle.

#### 4. Conclusion

It seems few or no same words remain that are used only in 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel indicating a powerful linguistic similarity. It is probably, that 1 Peter is a comparatively concise letter and would result in this outcome. Nonetheless, there exist some linguistic similarities between them. These are the syntactic correlation, the distinctive features of terminology, and the significant and frequent use of  $\omega\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\nu}$  for a simile (rhetoric).

In view of syntax, while the quality of 1 Peter's Greek has been regarded as good, the author of 1 Peter is unlikely to have been a native speaker of Greek. Thus, considering that Mark's Greek is not translation Greek, there exists a remarkable syntactic correlation between 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel. They not only share some distinctive words which are rare in the NT, but also use similar terminology for the suffering of Christ. Also, the comparative particle  $\omega\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\nu}$  is used in a characteristic way in them.

Considering the distinctive factors mentioned above, 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel disclose the close linguistic connection between them, which might well be

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<sup>14</sup> See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 61-62; Prasad, *Foundations of the Christian Way of Life according to 1 Peter 1, 13-25: An Exegetico-Theological Study*, 379.

possible evidence that Mark was the contributive amanuensis of 1 Peter.

## CHAPTER 7

### LITERARY IMPLICATIONS

#### 1. The Use of the OT in 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel

With regard to the use of the OT, 1 Peter, as a somewhat concise letter, continually quotes and alludes to the OT as frequently as do Romans and Hebrews.<sup>1</sup> As Bauckham observes, the plentiful employment of citations from and allusions to the OT in the epistle can be classified according to two prime cases, namely, “prophetic interpretation and paraenetic application.”<sup>2</sup> Remarkably, the quotations of the OT in 1 Peter emphasize the suffering imagery of Christ, namely, Christ as the rejected stone of Ps 118<sup>3</sup>, which is one of the “key psalms” in 1 Pet 2:7, and Christ as the suffering servant of Isa 53, which is also one of “key chapters of Isaiah” in 1 Pet 2:22-25a.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, as pointed out by Sandmel, “Mark in many treatments is

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<sup>1</sup> See Steve Moyise, “Isaiah in 1 Peter,” in *Isaiah in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken (London/New York: Continuum, 2005), 175; Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Richard J. Bauckham, “James, 1 and 2 Peter, Jude,” in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of B. Lindars*, ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 309.

<sup>3</sup> See Hyukjung Kwon, “The Reception of Psalm 118 in the New Testament: Application of a “New Exodus Motif?”” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pretoria, 2007), 260-64; Lauri Thurén, *Argument and Theology in 1 Peter: The Origins of Christian Paraenesis*, JSNTSup 114 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 127-28.

<sup>4</sup> See Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction*, 116; Andreas J. Köstenberger, “The Use of Scripture in the Pastoral and General Epistles and the Book of Revelation,” in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2006), 243-45. Also, S. Voorwinde, “Old Testament Quotations in Peter's Epistles,” *Vox Reformata* 49 (1987): 8-13, contends that the OT citations in 1 Peter are categorized according to two thematic cases, that is, “the righteous sufferer” and “the new Israel.”

explained incorrectly because Matthew and Luke (and John) are read with him.”<sup>5</sup> Sandmel's indication relates to the use of the OT in Mark's Gospel.<sup>6</sup> In comparison with the other synoptic Gospels, Mark's Gospel ostensibly shows trivial concern for the OT. However, this aspect seems deceptive.<sup>7</sup> Thus, Evans comments: “how would we view Mark if Mark was the only Gospel we had? What if we had no Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John with which to compare it? In this case would anyone read Mark and conclude that the evangelist had little interest in the Old Testament? To what extent and in what ways does the Old Testament appear in Mark?”<sup>8</sup> The author of Mark's Gospel does cite or allude to the OT “at key points in his narrative.”<sup>9</sup> Mark's Gospel begins with the citation of Isa 40:3 and alludes to the OT “at Jesus' baptism, at his transfiguration, and in his passion.”<sup>10</sup> Specifically, the suffering imagery of Christ as the rejected stone of Ps 118 is also quoted in Mark 12:10.<sup>11</sup> As well, the allusion to the suffering imagery of Christ as the suffering servant of Isa 53 is shown by Mark 10:45. The metaphor of Christ as the messianic shepherd and that of Israel as sheep without a shepherd in Ezek 34 is explicitly alluded to in 1 Pet 2:25b and Mark 6:34.

Furthermore, a characteristic pattern of a quotation of and allusion to the OT exists in both 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel. In the case of Mark's Gospel, as

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<sup>5</sup> Samuel Sandmel, “Prolegomena to a Commentary on Mark,” in *New Testament Issues*, ed. R. Batey (London: SCM, 1970), 52.

<sup>6</sup> See Craig A. Evans, “The Beginning of the Good News and the Fulfillment of Scripture in the Gospel of Mark,” in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2006), 83; Andreas J. Köstenberger, “Hearing the Old Testament in the New: A Response,” in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2006), 269-70.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 85. See also *Idem*, “The Old Testament in the New,” in *The Face of New Testament Studies*, ed. Scot McKnight and Grant R. Osborne (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 137-38.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> See Kwon, “The Reception of Psalm 118 in the New Testament: Application of a “New Exodus Motif”?”, 131-37.



typically shown by the composite quotation of the prologue in Mark 1:2-3, a conflated quotation and a broad combination of allusions is Mark's characteristic manner of use of the OT.<sup>12</sup> Actually, the quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 in Mark 12:10 is observed in this way since the quotation is a part of the parable of the wicked tenants in Mark 12:1-12, which is also composed of the synthesis of the allusion to Isa 5:1-7 with the quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22-23. The same pattern is also disclosed in 1 Pet 2:4-8, which also consists of the combination of the allusion to Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 with the composite quotation of Isa 28:16, Ps 118 (LXX 117):22, and Isa 8:14. Both 1 Pet 2:22-25, which includes the combination of the quotation of Isa 53 with the allusion to Ezek 34, and Mark 10:45, which comprises the conflated allusion to Isa 53 and Dan 7, also reveal that the synthetic use of the OT is significant.

In light of the fact that both 1 Pet 2:6-8 and 2:22-25 are key OT quotations regarding the suffering imagery of Christ, this characteristic use of the OT shown by 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel, not only sheds light on the literary connection between them, but also deserves much more careful consideration than it has typically received.

## **2. The Quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22**

Several NT literatures explicitly quote Ps 118 (LXX 117):22, namely, Mark 12:10, Matt 21:42, Luke 20:17, Acts 4:11, and 1 Pet 2:7. Thus, Best notes that "in the light of such a widespread use of the psalm it is difficult to argue for a direct

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<sup>12</sup> See Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, 49, 141; Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," 319-21; Kee, "The Function of Scriptural Quotations and Allusions in Mark 11-16," 175-78; *Idem*, *Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel*, 46-47; Marcus, *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark*, 15; Watts, "Jesus' Death, Isaiah 53, and Mark 10:45: A Crux Revisited," 126, 128; Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction*, 21.

connection between 1 Peter and any of the Synoptic Gospels.”<sup>13</sup> However, as far as the popular assumption of the Markan priority among the synoptic Gospels and the fact that Acts 4:11 is actually a part of the Petrine speech are concerned, there seems subsequently to be little reason to resist the conclusion that the quotation of Ps 118:22 (LXX 117):22 in the NT is exclusively shared by 1 Peter and the Gospel of Mark.<sup>14</sup> In this light, the correlation between 1 Peter and Mark’s Gospel seems to be much more persuasive. On the contrary, although one does not allow for the Markan priority, it can still be said that this correlation between them, even if not unique, is valid. Furthermore, the fact that Rom 9:33 quotes both Isa 28:16 and 8:14, except for Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 unlike 1 Pet 2:6-8<sup>15</sup>, surely makes the case strong. Therefore, to investigate the literary connections between 1 Peter and the Gospel of Mark, one must consider this correlation.

Ps 117:22 (LXX)	Mark 12:10	Matt 21:42	Luke 20:17	Acts 4:11	1 Pet 2:7
			o` de.		
		e,gei	evmble,ya		
	ouvde.	auvtoi/j	j		u`mi/n
	th.n	o`	auvtoi/j		ou=n h`
	grafh.n	Vihsou/j\	ei=pen\ t		timh.
	tau,thn	ouvde,pot	i, ou=n	<u>ou-to,j</u>	toi/j
<u>li,qon</u>	avne,gnwt	e	evstin	<u>evstin</u>	pisteu,ou
<u>oln</u>	e\	avne,gnwt	to.	<u>o`</u>	si(
<u>avpedoki,</u>	<u>li,qon</u>	e evn	gegramme,	<u>li,qoj(</u>	avpistou/

<sup>13</sup> Ernst Best, “1 Peter and the Gospel Tradition,” *New Testament Studies* 16 (1970): 101. See also Rainer Metzner, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums im 1. Petrusbrief*, WUNT II, 74 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1995).

<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, this study does not argue the priority of Mark among the synoptic Gospels, but simply mentions it just as a possibility – in that case, the priority of Mark seems to be based on the oral tradition, possibly from Peter. For the earlier date of Mark’s Gospel, specifically see James G. Crossley, *The Date of Mark’s Gospel*, JSNTSup 266 (London/New York: T&T Clark International, 2004). Crossley dates Mark’s Gospel around the mid-40s.

<sup>15</sup> See Douglas A. Oss, “The Interpretation of the ‘Stone’ Passages by Peter and Paul: A Comparative Study,” *JETS* 32 (1989): 181-200.



<u>masan oi`</u>	<u>o]n</u>	<u>tai/j</u>	<u>non</u>	<u>o`</u>	<u>sin de.</u>
<u>oivkodom</u>	<u>avpedoki,</u>	<u>grafai/j\</u>	<u>tou/to\</u>	<u>evxougen</u>	<u>li,qoj</u>
<u>u/ntej</u>	<u>masan oi`</u>	<u>li,qon</u>	<u>li,qon</u>	<u>hgei.j</u>	<u>o]n</u>
<u>ou-toj</u>	<u>oivkodom</u>	<u>o]n</u>	<u>o]n</u>	<u>u`fV</u>	<u>avpedoki,</u>
<u>evgenh,qh</u>	<u>u/ntej</u>	<u>avpedoki,</u>	<u>avpedoki,</u>	<u>u`mw/n</u>	<u>masan oi`</u>
<u>eivj</u>	<u>( ou-toj</u>	<u>masan oi`</u>	<u>masan oi`</u>	<u>tw/n</u>	<u>oivkodom</u>
<u>kefalh.n</u>	<u>evgenh,qh</u>	<u>oivkodom</u>	<u>oivkodom</u>	<u>oivkodo,</u>	<u>u/ntej( o</u>
<u>gwni,aj</u>	<u>eivj</u>	<u>u/ntej( o</u>	<u>u/ntej( o</u>	<u>mwn(</u>	<u>u-toj</u>
	<u>kefalh.n</u>	<u>u-toj</u>	<u>u-toj</u>	<u>o`</u>	<u>evgenh,qh</u>
	<u>gwni,aj\</u>	<u>evgenh,qh</u>	<u>evgenh,qh</u>	<u>geno,men</u>	<u>eivj</u>
		<u>eivj</u>	<u>eivj</u>	<u>oj eivj</u>	<u>kefalh.n</u>
		<u>kefalh.n</u>	<u>kefalh.n</u>	<u>kefalh.n</u>	<u>gwni,aj</u>
		<u>gwni,aj\</u>	<u>gwni,ajÈ</u>	<u>gwni,ajÅ</u>	

In the case of 1 Peter, the quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 is a part of a synthetic citation which is inserted between the two Isaianic citations, namely, Isa 28:16 and 8:14. This pattern of OT use in 1 Peter reveals a notable parallel to that of OT use in Mark's Gospel. The authors of the synoptic Gospels quote Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 syllable by syllable, but reinterpret and apply it to its new context of early Christianity in view of Christology. The quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 in Mark 12:10 not only shows the fact that with his passion and vindication, Christ is construed as the suffering servant of Isa 53 who renders the New Exodus to Israel, but also manifests the fact that with that Christ is identified as the cornerstone (capstone) that will establish the "new temple" of Isa 56:7.<sup>16</sup>

## 2.1. The Quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 in 1 Pet 2:7

<sup>16</sup> Morna D. Hooker, "Isaiah in Mark's Gospel," in *Isaiah in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken (London/New York: Continuum, 2005), 43. See also Kwon, "The Reception of Psalm 118 in the New Testament: Application of a "New Exodus Motif"?", 134-37; Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*, WUNT II, 158 (Tübingen: Mohr, 2003), 102-12; Rikki E. Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus and Mark*, WUNT II, 88 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1997), 345-46; *Idem*, "The Psalms in Mark's Gospel," in *The Psalms in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken (London/New York: Continuum, 2004), 35.

The quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 in 1 Pet 2:7 might well be observed in the context of the Living Stone and God's people in 1 Pet 2:4-10.<sup>17</sup> This stone passage of 1 Pet 2:4-10 consists of six lavish citations from or allusions to LXX texts and is identified as "the final unit of the body opening" of the epistle.<sup>18</sup> These are Isa 28:16, Ps 117:22, Isa 8:14, Isa 43:20-21, Exod 19:5-6, and Hos 2:23.<sup>19</sup> Consequently, as Snodgrass points out, this stone section in 1 Peter is distinctive in view of the fact that "no other passage has such a complete grouping of stone citations or such a varied use of their implications."<sup>20</sup> According to Bauckham this stone section can be identified as "a key foundational and transitional role" in the entire epistle<sup>21</sup>, and its structure might be outlined as the following:

"4-5	Introductory statement of theme
4	A Jesus the elect stone
5	B The church the elect people of God
6-10	Midrash
6a	Introductory formula
6-8	A <sup>1</sup> The elect stone
6b + 7a	Text 1 (Isa. 28:16) + interpretation
7b + 7c	Interpretation + Text 2 (Ps. 118:22)
8a + 8b	Text 3 (Isa. 8:14)+ interpretation
9-10	B <sup>1</sup> The elect people
9	Text 4 (Isa. 43:20-21) + Text 5 (Exod. 19:5-6) conflated, the expansion of Text 4
10	Text 6 (Hos. 2:23) paraphrased (cf. Hos. 1:6, 9; 2:1)." <sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor and Composition in 1 Peter*, SBL Dissertation Series 131 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 175-85.

<sup>18</sup> Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 149. See also Jobes, *1 Peter*, 142.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Klyne R. Snodgrass, "1 Peter II. 1-10: Its Formation and Literary Affinities," *NTS* 24 (1977): 97.

<sup>21</sup> Bauckham, "James, 1 and 2 Peter, Jude," 312.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 310.

In this outline of the structure of 1 Pet 2:4-10 a chiasm is also found in 1 Pet 2:4-8 in that the verb *avpodokima, zw* occurs both in 1 Pet 2:4 (*avpodedokimasme, non*) and in 2:7 (*avpedoki, masan*), leading Davids to comment:

He [the author of 1 Peter] cites the texts in the reverse order of the topics in v. 4. There he alluded to Ps. 118:112 (rejection) before mentioning God's election of "the stone" (Isa. 28:18). Now he produces a chiasm (in this case an A B C B A pattern, with C being Christians as stones) by referring to Isa. 28 first and then extending the Ps. 118 passage by means of Isa. 8. The result shows conscious homiletic artistry.<sup>23</sup>

As for the provenance of the stone section in 1 Peter 2:4-8, some scholars have argued that a compilation of the OT texts would exist in early Christianity on the basis that not only are the stone passages intimately correlated with Christological and apologetic use, but also occur in several NT texts.<sup>24</sup> This would imply that the stone testimonia might be "a pre-Christian Jewish collection" that was acknowledged by the early church.<sup>25</sup>

### 2.1.1. The Relation between Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 and the Two Texts of Isaiah

As Lindars indicates, 1 Pet 2:6-8 as a conflated quotation of the OT is "one of the clearest examples of catchword technique in the New Testament."<sup>26</sup> However,

<sup>23</sup> Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 89.

<sup>24</sup> See Klyne R. Snodgrass, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts*, ed. G. K. Beale (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1994), 44-45; *Idem*, "1 Peter II. 1-10: Its Formation and Literary Affinities," 106; Bauckham, "James, 1 and 2 Peter, Jude," 311-12; Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction*, 110; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 150; Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 89; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 151; Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 144; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 97; Best, *1 Peter*, 105; J. de Waard, *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 58; M. C. Albl, *'And Scripture Cannot Be Broken': The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections*, *Novum Testamentum Supplements* 96 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999).

<sup>25</sup> Snodgrass, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New," 45. See also Thomas D. Lea, "How Peter Learned the Old Testament," *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 22 (1979-80): 96-102; Matthew Black, "The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," *NTS* 18 (1971-72): 1-14; C. F. D. Moule, "Some Reflections on the 'Stone' Testimonia in Relation to the Name Peter," *NTS* 2 (1955-56): 56-58.

<sup>26</sup> Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1961), 169.

even though 1 Pet 2:6-8 is dependent on Isa 28:16, Ps 118 (LXX 177):22, and Isa 8:14, specifically in the case of the quotation of Isa 8:14, there remains a relatively different wording between 1 Peter and the LXX text.

1 Pet 2:6-8

LXX

6 dio,ti perie,cei evn grafh/|\ ivdou. ti,qhmi evn Siw.n li,qon avkrogwniai/on evklekto.n e;ntimon kai. o` pisteu,wn evpV auvtw/| ouv mh. kataiscunqh/|Å

Isa 28:16 dia. tou/to ou[twj le,gei ku,riou ivdou. evgw. evmbalw/ eivj ta. qeme,lia Siwn li,qon polutelh/ evklekto.n avkrogwniai/on e;ntimon eivj ta. qeme,lia auvth/j kai. o` pisteu,wn evpV auvtw/| ouv mh. kataiscunqh/|

7 u`mi/n ou=n h` timh. toi/j pisteu,ousin( avpistou/sin de. li,qoj o]n avpedoki,masan oi` oivkodomou/ntej( ou-toj evgenh,qh eivj kefalh.n gwni,aj

Ps 177:22 li,qon o]n avpedoki,masan oi` oivkodomou/ntej ou-toj evgenh,qh eivj kefalh.n gwni,aj

8 kai. li,qoj prosko,mmatoj kai. pe,tra skanda,lou\ oi] prosko,ptousin tw/| lo,gw| avpeiqou/ntej eivj o] kai. evte,qhsanÅ

Isa 8:14 kai. eva.n evpV auvtw/| pepoiqw.j h=|j e;stai soi eivj a`gi,asma kai. ouvci w`j li,qou prosko,mmati sunanth,sesqe auvtw/| ouvde. w`j pe,traj ptw,mati o` de. oi=koj Iakwb evn pagi,di kai. evn koila,smati evgkaqh,menoi evn Ierousalhm

It can be said that despite the fact that the wording of evgw evmbalw/ eivj ) ) ) Siw,n in Isa 28:16 is shifted to the phrasing of ti,qhmi evn

siw,n in 1 Pet 2:6, the text itself in 1 Pet 2:6 is apparently an intrinsic citation of Isa 28:16.<sup>27</sup> Besides, there is no doubt that 1 Pet 2:7 is an explicit quotation of Ps 117:22 of the LXX due solely to the one minute shift of li,qoj from li,qon in the LXX text.<sup>28</sup> On the contrary, the quotation of Isa 8:14 in 1 Pet 2:8 differs considerably from the LXX, but similar wording is found in Rom 9:33, which also consists of the quotations of Isa 28:16 and 8:14. However, there remains no linguistic reliance of 1 Pet 2:8 upon Rom 9:33 or *vice versa*, since the quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 in 1 Pet 2:7 clearly divides the citation of Isa 28:16 from that of Isa 8:14.<sup>29</sup> As Michaels points out, the author of 1 Peter “adapts his texts with a certain freedom not exercised” in association with Ps 118 (LXX 117):22.<sup>30</sup>

In these conflated quotations, the first quotation of Isaiah in 1 Pet 2:6 is explicitly connected with the second quotation of the Psalms in 1 Pet 2:7, not only by the reiteration of li,qoj but also by the linguistic affinity between avkrogwniai/on and kefalh.n gwni,aj.<sup>31</sup> The terminology kefalh.n gwni,aj and hN")Pi varoal . signify “head of the corner” and might be

<sup>27</sup> See Sue Woan, “The Psalms in 1 Peter,” in *The Psalms in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken (London/New York: Continuum, 2004), 216. Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 89, notes that the terminology of the quotation of Isa 28:16 is drawn from the LXX text, “but unlike Ps. 118:22 it is not an exact quotation, nor does it agree with the Hebrew text.” See also Elliott, *1 Peter*, 424; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 159; Bauckham, “James, 1 and 2 Peter, Jude,” 311; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 147; Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 144; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 103; Best, *1 Peter*, 105.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 217.

<sup>29</sup> See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 431; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 162; Snodgrass, “I Peter II. 1-10: Its Formation and Literary Affinities,” 103-04; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 153, also comments that the author of 1 Peter “follows not Isa. 8:14 LXX but a reading found also in the later Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, as does Paul in Rom. 9:33.” Likewise, Michaels, *1 Peter*, 106, notes that “it is likely, therefore, that Peter is simply following a different Greek text at this point.”

<sup>30</sup> Michaels, *1 Peter*, 106. Similarly, Snodgrass, “I Peter II. 1-10: Its Formation and Literary Affinities,” 106, contends that “the practice of the author of I Peter was typical for many in the early Church. Like Paul, he had a personal acquaintance with the OT text and wrestled to adapt its message to Christian understanding and existence. Also like Paul he drew on a repository of important OT verses from which the central teaching of the Church could be communicated afresh.” See also Woan, “The Psalms in 1 Peter,” 219.

<sup>31</sup> See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 429; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 105; Bauckham, “James, 1 and 2 Peter, Jude,” 311.

employed to portray “a foundation stone” or “a keystone.”<sup>32</sup> Yet, on the basis of the employment of *avkrogwniai/on* in the first Isaiah citation in 1 Pet 2:6, a plausible suggestion seems to be that the writer of the epistle “had a foundation stone in mind and reinterpreted Ps. 118:22.”<sup>33</sup> The third quotation of Isaiah in 1 Pet 2:8 is also closely linked with the second quotation of the Psalms in 1 Pet 2:7 by the catchword *li, qon*.<sup>34</sup> The employment of the word *avpistou/sin* prior to the citation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 renders itself chiefly a prologue to that of Isa 8:4 in 1 Pet 2:8.<sup>35</sup> It seems that the author of 1 Peter associates the quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 with that of Isa 8:14 in order to maintain “the positive statement that Christ is the precious corner stone and the negative statement that they ‘stumble because they disobey the word, as they were destined to do.’”<sup>36</sup> By this connection the author broadens “the theme of nonbelievers’ rejection of the stone and the consequences of rejecting”.<sup>37</sup> Schutter expresses an opinion similar to this when he says that the principal intention of citing Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 was essentially to remind “the builders’ shame over their mistake” and additionally to mention “Christ’s exaltation.”<sup>38</sup> In this light, Bauckham’s observation that “the author I Peter was by no means content to relay isolated scriptural texts which came to him in the tradition, but studied whole passages of Scripture . . . in a way which combined christological-prophetic interpretation and paraenetic application” is much more persuasive.<sup>39</sup>

### 2.1.2. The Function of the Quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 in 1 Pet 2:7

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<sup>32</sup> Woan, “The Psalms in 1 Peter,” 217.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Bauckham, “James, 1 and 2 Peter, Jude,” 311.

<sup>35</sup> Michaels, *1 Peter*, 105.

<sup>36</sup> Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction*, 110. See also *Idem*, “Isaiah in 1 Peter,” 180.

<sup>37</sup> Elliott, *1 Peter*, 430. See also Michaels, *1 Peter*, 106.

<sup>38</sup> Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, 136. See also Moyise, “Isaiah in 1 Peter,” 181.

<sup>39</sup> Bauckham, “James, 1 and 2 Peter, Jude,” 313.



Psalm 118 (LXX 117) has been generally identified as “a royal song of thanksgiving for military victory, set in the context of a processional liturgy.”<sup>40</sup> Prior to the quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 in 1 Pet 2:7, 1 Pet 2:4 also alludes to it. Bauckham declares that 1 Pet 2:4-10 could be construed “a particularly complex and studied piece of exegesis,” reminiscent of “the thematic pesharim of Qumran,” thus basically regarding it as a midrash.<sup>41</sup> Not only is the metaphor of Christ as the living stone depicted in 1 Pet 2:4, but it is also subsequently maintained and enlarged by the hermeneutic and the composite quotation of the OT in 1 Pet 2:6-8.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, in contrast to a real midrash of rabbis, the purpose of the author of 1 Peter seems to be “not primarily to provide further illumination for any particular text, but to show how the election of Christ leads to the election of those who believe in him as the holy people of God.”<sup>43</sup>

Lindars contends that the purpose of the quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 was to apply the text itself to Christ’s death and Resurrection. According to Lindars, the rejected stone was construed as the passion of Christ and the head of the corner was also identified as the Resurrection.<sup>44</sup> From his point of view, the two texts of Isaiah, namely Isa 28:16 and 8:14, were employed as supplementary texts that might reinforce the terminological connection between them and offer annotation on Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 on the basis of the observation that the key word between them in a real sense is *avkrogwniai/on*, not *li, qoj* and that the word *avkrogwniai/on* not only renders an abundant portrayal to the stone of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22, but also

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<sup>40</sup> Woan, “The Psalms in 1 Peter,” 217. See also Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, rev. ed., WBC, vol. 21 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001), 163-68.

<sup>41</sup> Bauckham, “James, 1 and 2 Peter, Jude,” 310. See also Woan, “The Psalms in 1 Peter,” 218-19; Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 90; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 95; Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, 138.

<sup>42</sup> Woan, “The Psalms in 1 Peter,” 219.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations*, 179-80.

ultimately comes to kefalh.n gwni,aj (the head of the corner).<sup>45</sup> Although Schutter criticizes Lindars' argument, pointing out that the key point of the conflated quotation in 1 Pet 2:6-8 is "stone" itself and the interpretation and application of the stone testimonia does commence with Isa 28:16, he does accept "the importance of the application to the Passion and Resurrection" from the view of the author of 1 Peter.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, in this light, the quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 in 1 Pet 2:7 apparently plays "a supportive and collective role" among the two texts of Isaiah.<sup>47</sup> It might well be said that the author of 1 Peter identified Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 as disclosing not only Christ's passion and death, but also his exaltation and quoted it to explicitly elucidate "the theme of reversal in God's activity" and the distinction between Christians and non-Christians.<sup>48</sup>

## 2.2. The Quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 in Mark 12:10

As Watts points out, "Mark's interest in the Psalms is second only to Isaiah"; Ps 118 (LXX 117) acts a chief function in Mark's Gospel.<sup>49</sup> Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 is quoted in the context of the parable of the wicked tenants in Mark 12:1-12, which might be recognized as an abridgement not only of Mark's Gospel, but also of the entire Scriptures.<sup>50</sup> However, it should be noted that prior to the explicit quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 in Mark 12:10, it is first alluded to in Mark 8:31.<sup>51</sup>

Mark 8:31

Ps117:22 (LXX)

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

<sup>46</sup> Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, 133.

<sup>47</sup> Woan, "The Psalms in 1 Peter," 219.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* See also Elliott, *1 Peter*, 430.

<sup>49</sup> Watts, "The Psalms in Mark's Gospel," 25.

<sup>50</sup> Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 341.

<sup>51</sup> See C. Breytenbach, "Das Markusevangelium, Psalm 110,1 und 118,22f.: Folgetext und Prätext," in *The Scriptures in the Gospels*, ed. C. M. Tuckett (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 215; Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*, 102.



Kai. h;rxato dida,skein li,qon o]n avpedoki,masan  
 auvtou.j o[ti dei/ to.n oi` oivkodomou/ntej ou-toj  
 ui`o.n tou/ avnqrw,pou evgenh,qh eivj kefalh.n  
 polla. paqei/n kai. gwni,aj  
avpodokimasqh/nai u`po.  
 tw/n presbute,rwn kai. tw/n  
 avrciere,wn kai. tw/n  
 grammate,wn kai.  
 avpoktanqh/nai kai. meta.  
 trei/j h`me,raj  
 avnasth/nai\

The explicit allusion to Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 in Mark 8:31 occurs in the context of the first passion prediction narrative. As Watts and Marcus have observed, Mark 8:31 might well also be interpreted in view of the Way to a New Exodus. It is most likely that Mark's Way section (Mark 8:22/27-10:45/52) is dependent upon the New Exodus backdrop of Isa 40-55.<sup>52</sup> Brunson also comments that the allusion to Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 is identified as "a turning point in the Gospel that focuses attention on the suffering that characterizes Jesus' mission."<sup>53</sup> Concerning the function of the allusion to Ps 118 (LXX 117):22, Brunson goes on to say:

First, Mark sought to explain the scandal of the cross by showing that the rejection of Jesus was necessary and according to God's will as revealed in Scripture. . . . Second, the context of the psalm serves to affirm Jesus' identity as Messiah, while at the same time underlining the suffering he must undergo. Third, if there is a sense of scriptural inevitability attached to the prediction of rejection, the allusion carries an implicit – and equally inevitable – expectation that vindication must follow, as it does in the psalm. Fourth, it is possible . . . that with its rejection-exaltation theme Ps 118.22 'may be the basic form of the passion prediction.' Its use with the Son of Man sayings suggests the possibility that the rejected stone of Ps 118 may have contributed to the association of suffering with that figure.<sup>54</sup>

On the other hand, as noted above, Mark 12:1-9 not only appears to allude clearly to

<sup>52</sup> See Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus and Mark*, 221-91; Marcus, *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark*, 31-41.

<sup>53</sup> Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*, 102-03.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 103-04.

the imagery of the vineyard song of Isa 5:1-7, but also is combined with the quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22-23 in Mark 12:10-11.<sup>55</sup> This practice reveals the Gospel of Mark's (Mark's Jesus) characteristic way of using OT.

In his 2002 article, "Egyptian Viticultural Practices and the Citation of Isa 5:1-7 in Mark 12:1-9," Kloppenborg Verbin indicates that a main issue in the understanding of the parable of the wicked tenants of Mark's Gospel is surely the doubtful probability that Isa 5:1-7 is essential to the formation of the parable.<sup>56</sup> Kloppenborg Verbin comments that provided the Isaianic allusion is indispensable for the organization of the parable, "it is natural – virtually inevitable – to read the parable's characters intertextually in relation to Isaiah's vineyard."<sup>57</sup> If so, as pointed out by Watts, the connection between Mark 12:1-9 and 12:10-11 explicitly shows Mark's intention of interpreting the parable of the wicked tenants: "The fenced vineyard with vat and tower is Zion with its Temple and altar, the owner is Yahweh, the vine his people, the tenants Israel's leadership, the servants the prophets, and the owner's 'beloved' son Jesus."<sup>58</sup> Marcus also notes that "the wicked tenants are the rejecters of the stone, the stone itself is the son, and the 'lord of the vineyard' is God."<sup>59</sup>

Kloppenborg Verbin contends that on the grounds of the observation of "the

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<sup>55</sup> See Craig A. Evans, "How Septuagintal Is Isa. 5:1-7 in Mark 12:1-9?," *NovT* 45 (2003): 105-10; *Idem*, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, WBC, vol. 34B (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001), 224-28; John S. Kloppenborg Verbin, "Egyptian Viticultural Practices and the Citation of Isa 5:1-7 in Mark 12:1-9," *NovT* 44 (2002): 134-59; Klyne Snodgrass, *The Parable of the Wicked Tenants*, WUNT 27 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1983), 72-112; Watts, "The Psalms in Mark's Gospel," 33; Marcus, *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark*, 111-14; Hooker, "Isaiah in Mark's Gospel," 42-43.

<sup>56</sup> Kloppenborg Verbin, "Egyptian Viticultural Practices and the Citation of Isa 5:1-7 in Mark 12:1-9," 134.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> Watts, "The Psalms in Mark's Gospel," 33. See also Kloppenborg Verbin, "Egyptian Viticultural Practices and the Citation of Isa 5:1-7 in Mark 12:1-9," 134.

<sup>59</sup> Marcus, *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark*, 111.

legal and horticultural aspects of ancient viticulture” the Isaiah allusion in Mark 12:1, 9 was secondary and Septuagintal, pointing out that “the scenario presented by Mark is economically and legally incoherent and that this incoherence is principally a function of the Isaian elements in Mark 12:1.”<sup>60</sup> The main points of Kloppenborg Verbin’s argument are predominantly derived from “the LXX’s reconceptualization” of the vineyard song of Isa 5:1-7 and “the influence that Egyptian viticultural practices have exerted on the LXX’s rendering.”<sup>61</sup>

Mark 12:1, 9	Isa 5:1-5 (LXX) <sup>62</sup>
1 Kai. h;rxato auvtou/i/j evn parabolai/j lalei/n\ <u>avmpelw/na</u> a;nqrwpoj <u>evfu,teusen</u>	1 a; sw dh. tw/  hvgaphme,nw  a= sma tou/ avgaphtou/ tw/  avmpelw/ni, mou <u>avmpelw.n</u> evgenh,qh tw/  hvgaphme,nw  evn ke,rati evn to,pw  pi,oni
kai. <u>perie,qhken fragmo.n</u>	2 kai. <u>fragmo.n perie,qhka</u> kai. evcara,kwsa kai. <u>evfu,teusa</u> a;mpelon swrhc
kai. <u>w;ruxen u`polh,nion</u> kai. wv kodo,mhsen pu,rgon kai. evxe,deto auvto.n gewrgoi/j kai. avpedh,mhsenÅ	kai. wv kodo,mhsa pu,rgon evn me,sw  auvtou/ kai. <u>prolh,nion w;ruxa</u> evn auvtw/  kai. e;meina tou/ poihsai stafulh,n evpoi,hsen de. avka,nqaj
9 <u>ti,</u> ou=n <u>poihsai</u> o` ku,rioj tou/ <u>avmpelw/nojÈ</u>	3 kai. nu/n a;nqrwpoj tou/ Iouda kai. oi` evnoikou/ntej evn Ierousalhm kri,nate evn evmoi. kai. avna. me,son

<sup>60</sup> Kloppenborg Verbin, “Egyptian Viticultural Practices and the Citation of Isa 5:1-7 in Mark 12:1-9,” 136. See also *Idem*, “Isaiah 5:1-7, the Parable of the Tenants, and Vineyard Leases on Papyrus,” in *Text and Artefact: Religion in Mediterranean Antiquity: Essays in Honor of Peter Richardson*, ed. S. G. Wilson and M. Desjardin (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), 111-34.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>62</sup> See *Ibid.*, 153-54.



evleu, setai kai. avpole, sei  
tou.j gewrgou.j kai. dw, sei  
to.n avmpelw/na a;lloijÅ

tou/ avmpelw/no,j mou  
4 ti, poih,sw e;ti tw/|  
avmpelw/ni, mou kai. ouvkv  
evpoi,hsa auvtw/| dio,ti  
e;meina tou/ poih/sai  
stafulh,n evpoi,hsen de.  
avka,nqaj  
5 nu/n de. avnaggelw/  
u`mi/n ti, poih,sw tw/|  
avmpelw/ni, mou avfelw/  
to.n fragmo.n auvtou/ kai.  
e;stai eivj diarpagh,n kai.  
kagelw/ to.n toi/con  
auvtou/ kai. e;stai eivj  
katapa,thma

Kloppenborg Verbin's conclusion that the allusions to Isa 5:1-7 in Mark 12:1-9 "are purely Septuagintal"<sup>63</sup> seems to be rather excessive, and has been criticized by Evans who argues that there still remains a "Semitic flavor of the parable as a whole and the Semitic coherence of the Markan context and framework throughout"<sup>64</sup> in Mark 12:1-9. However, as even Evans agrees, Kloppenborg Verbin's inquiry has significant merit for the continuing examination of Mark's Gospel.<sup>65</sup>

From the point of view of the context of Mark's Gospel, the quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22-23 in Mark 12:10-11 appears to be an ornament to the parable of the wicked tenants. The connection between the allusion to Isa 5:1-7 and the quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22-23 in Mark 12:1-11, is enhanced by the linguistic and thematic similarity.<sup>66</sup> With regard to this parallel, Marcus observes:

The rejection of the stone corresponds to the rejection of the servants and the

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

<sup>64</sup> Evans, "How Septuagintal Is Isa. 5:1-7 in Mark 12:1-9?," 110.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Marcus, *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark*, 111.

son in the parable, its vindication by the Lord corresponds generally to the action of ‘the lord of the vineyard’ in 12:9, and the words ‘builders’ (oivkodomou/ntej) and ‘head’ (kefalh.n) are reminiscent of the building (wv|kodo,mhsen) of the tower (12:1) and the wounding of one of the servants in the head (evkefali,wsan, 12:4).<sup>67</sup>

Similarly, according to Snodgrass, the link between the parable of the wicked tenants and the psalm quotation is consolidated not only by the wordplay between !b (son) and !ba (stone), but also by the rational “equation of the rejected son and the rejected stone.”<sup>68</sup> This is also reinforced by “the equation of tenants and the builders.”<sup>69</sup>

The psalm quotation in Mark 12:10-11 is clearly identical to the LXX syllable by syllable.

Mark 12:10-11	Ps 117:22-23 (LXX)
10 ouvde. th.n grafh.n tau,thn avne,gnwte\ <u>li,qon</u> <u>o]n avpedoki,masan oi`</u> <u>oivkodomou/ntej( ou-toj</u> <u>evgenh,qh eivj kefalh.n</u> <u>gwni,aj\ 11 para. kuri,ou evqe,neto</u> <u>au[th kai. e;stin qaumasth.</u> <u>Evn ovfgalmoi/j h`mw/nE</u>	22 <u>li,qon o]n</u> <u>avpedoki,masan oi`</u> <u>oivkodomou/ntej ou-toj</u> <u>evgenh,qh eivj kefalh.n</u> <u>gwni,aj</u> 23 <u>para. kuri,ou evqe,neto</u> <u>au[th kai. e;stin qaumasth.</u> <u>evn ovfgalmoi/j h`mw/n</u>

The structure of the quotation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22-23 in Mark 12:9-10 also exhibits its chiasmic pattern.

12:10a	ouvde. th.n grafh.n tau,thn avne,gnwte\  12:10b	li,qon o]n avpedoki,masan oi`  oivkodomou/ntej( A
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<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> Snodgrass, *The Parable of the Wicked Tenants*, 96. See also Watts, “The Psalms in Mark’s Gospel,” 34; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 340.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*





Even though the psalm quotation is literally identical to the LXX, the Gospel of Mark explicitly attempts to apply it to the distinct context and reinterpret it from the view of Christology – messianic interpretation.<sup>76</sup> The wording of *kefalh.n gwni,aj* which seems to have been a favorable and frequent Christian employment for the rejection and demise of Jesus prior to his vindication, necessarily results in attention to the imagery of Christ.<sup>77</sup> Kim argues that the weight of the psalm quotation does not lie on the rejected stone image, but lies on that of “its vindication or exaltation”.<sup>78</sup> Thus the key intention in the psalm quotation of Mark’s Jesus is to confirm “the divine will for his vindication or exaltation after his rejection and death.”<sup>79</sup> In this light, it is not unlikely that the phrasing of *kefalh.n gwni,aj* is connected with the Temple. As pointed out by Kim, quoting Ps 118 (LXX 117):22-23, Jesus portrayed himself as “the foundation stone of a new temple”<sup>80</sup>, which will be established by his passion – the rejection and death.<sup>81</sup> This also relates to the New Exodus imagery of Mark’s Gospel.<sup>82</sup> As a result, it may well be said that the main focus of both the parable of the wicked tenants and the psalm quotation is the identification of Jesus who fulfills the OT prophecies.<sup>83</sup>

### 3. The Quotation of and Allusion to the Suffering Servant of Isa 53

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<sup>76</sup> See Jocelyn McWhirter, “Messianic Exegesis in Mark’s Passion Narrative,” in *The Trial and Death of Jesus: Essays on the Passion Narrative in Mark*, ed. Geert Van Oyen and Tom Shepherd, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology 45 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 84-85.

<sup>77</sup> See France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 462; Hooker, “Isaiah in Mark’s Gospel,” 43; Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*, 110-11.

<sup>78</sup> Seyoon Kim, “Jesus – The Son of God, the Stone, the Son of Man, and the Servant: The Role of Zechariah in the Self-Identification of Jesus,” in *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Otto Betz (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1987), 135.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 142. See also Hooker, “Isaiah in Mark’s Gospel,” 43.

<sup>82</sup> Watts, “The Psalms in Mark’s Gospel,” 35.

<sup>83</sup> See McWhirter, “Messianic Exegesis in Mark’s Passion Narrative,” 77-85; Kim, “Jesus – The Son of God, the Stone, the Son of Man, and the Servant: The Role of Zechariah in the Self-Identification of Jesus,” 135-38; Hooker, “Isaiah in Mark’s Gospel,” 43.

Along with the imagery of Christ as the rejected stone, that of Christ as the suffering servant of Isa 53 also plays a significant role in depicting the passion of Christ in both 1 Peter and the Gospel of Mark. In this regard, it is crucial to note that there exists a noteworthy quotation of, or allusion to, the imagery of Christ as the suffering Servant in Isa 53 between 1 Pet 2:22-25b and Mark 10:45.<sup>84</sup>

### 3.1. The Suffering Servant in 1 Pet 2:22-25a

The expression of *Cristou/ paqh,masin (paqhma,twn)* is used twice in 1 Peter among the NT.<sup>85</sup> 1 Pet 4:13 reads:

avlla. kaqo. koinwnei/te  
toi/j tou/ Cristou/  
paqh,masin cai,rete( i[na  
kai. evn th/| avpokalu,yei  
th/j do,xhj auvtou/ carh/te  
avgalliw,menoiÅ

But rejoice in so far as you share Christ's sufferings, that you may also rejoice and be glad when his glory is revealed.

Also 1 Pet 5:1 reads:

Presbute,rouj ou=n evn  
u`mi/n parakalw/ o`  
sumpresbu,teroj kai.  
ma,rtuj tw/n tou/ Cristou/  
paqhma,twn( o` kai. th/j  
mellou,shj avpokalu,ptesqai  
do,xhj koinwno,j\

So I exhort the elders among you, as a fellow elder and a witness of the sufferings of Christ as well as a partaker in the glory that is to be revealed.

The similar wording of *promarturo,menon ta. eivj Cristo.n paqh,mata* (the sufferings destined for Christ) occurs in 1 Pet 1:11. This suffering imagery of Christ seems to be "Peter's characteristic way of referring both to Christ's redemptive

<sup>84</sup> Michaels, "St. Peter's Passion: The Passion Narrative in 1 Peter," 393, notes that "whatever remote similarity Peter's language may have to Mark's (see Mark 10:45, 14:24) is best explained here by a common dependence on Isaiah."

<sup>85</sup> See Michaels, "St. Peter's Passion: The Passion Narrative in 1 Peter," 387.

death on the cross and to the events leading up to it.”<sup>86</sup> In fact, 1 Pet 1:18 construes the death of Jesus as “ransom.”<sup>87</sup>

Most of all, the suffering imagery of Christ is noticeably manifested by 1 Pet 2:22-25. Schutter notes that these passages exhibit “the most elaborate reorganization or rewriting of Is.53.”<sup>88</sup> In addition, Elliott comments that 1 Pet 2:21-25 shows an inventive and unique intermingling of a diversity of “Israelite, Hellenistic, and primitive Christian traditions.”<sup>89</sup> This means that Christ’s imagery symbolizes a merger of the “Hellenistic concept of a moral model with the primitive Christian tradition of the disciple.”<sup>90</sup> As a matter of fact, 1 Pet 2:21-25 depicts the sufferings of Christ as that of the Servant of Isa 53. The author of 1 Peter selectively quotes and alludes to the LXX,. Thus, Schutter says that he is liable for the “development.”<sup>91</sup>

1 Pet 2:22 o]j a`marti,an ouv  
evpoi,hsen ouvde. eu`re,qh  
do,loj evn tw/| sto,mati  
aevtou/

Isa 53:9 o[ti avnomi,an ouv  
evpoi,hsen ouvde. eu`re,qh  
do,loj evn tw/| sto,mati  
aevtou/

2:24d ou- tw/| mw,lwpi  
iva,qhte

53:5d evpV auvto,n tw/|  
mw,lwpi auvtou/ h`mei/j  
iva,qhmen

2:25a h=te ga.r w`j pro,bata  
planw,menoi

53:6a pa,ntej w`j pro,bata  
evplanh,qhmen a;nqrwpoj  
th/| o`dw/| auvtou/  
evplanh,qh

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Mark 10:45 also attempts to interpret the death of Jesus as ransom.

<sup>88</sup> Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, 143. See also J. de Waal Dryden, *Theology and Ethics in 1 Peter*, WUNT II, 209 (Tübingen: Mohr, 2006), 178-85.

<sup>89</sup> Elliott, *1 Peter*, 543.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 543-44.

<sup>91</sup> Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, 143. Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 211-12, underlines that 1 Pet 2:23 exhibits “fundamental aspect of the Passion narrative without representing particular parts of the narrative” in the Gospel of Mark. See also Jobes, *1 Peter*, 194.

This section comprises the most widely continued quotation of and allusion to Isa 53 among the whole NT, except for Acts 8:32. The thought of Christ's vicarious sacrifice in 1 Pet 2:21-25 is most likely a distinctive merit of this letter, since it does not occur in different NT literatures that cite or allude to Isa 53.<sup>92</sup> Therefore, 1 Pet 2:21-25 has been presented as the core account of Christology of 1 Peter, and Christ's sufferings have also played a chief Christological role in the letter.<sup>93</sup> In this regard, Matera's observation deserves mention:

The Christology of 1 Peter is a Christology of suffering. It affirms that the sufferings of Christ were uniquely redemptive and the necessary prelude to his glory. . . . by focusing on the sufferings of Christ, 1 Peter shows the intimate relationship between Christology and the Christian life: the *past* suffering of Christ is the *present* condition of believers, while the *present* glory of Christ is the *future* glory of those who follow in the steps of the suffering Christ.<sup>94</sup>

Some scholars have contended that 1 Pet 2:22-25 is a citation from a preexisting Christian hymn. After Windisch (1911) this view is held by Boismard, Bultmann, and Goppelt.<sup>95</sup> The main points of the argument, as outlined by Goppelt, are as follows: (1) the transition from second person to first person to second person; (2) the transition of the audience from Christian slaves (servants) to all believers; and

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<sup>92</sup> See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 541, 548. Although Acts 8:32, Luke 22:37, and Matt 8:17 quote or allude to Isa 53, however, the concept of vicarious sacrifice of Christ does not clearly occur in these verses. See also Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 210.

<sup>93</sup> Jobes, *1 Peter*, 192. See also J. Ramsey Michaels, "Catholic Christologies in the Catholic Epistles," in *Contours of Christology in the New Testament*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: William. B. Eerdmans, 2005), 274-79. Thus, S. Pearson, *The Christological and Rhetorical Properties of 1 Peter*, Studies in Bible and Early Christianity 45 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001), 39, sees Isa 52-53 as the "controlling source behind 1 Peter." See also Earl Richard, "The Functional Christology of First Peter," in *Perspective on First Peter*, ed. Charles H. Talbert, NABPR Special Studies Series 9 (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986), 133-39.

<sup>94</sup> Frank J. Matera, *New Testament Christology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999), 184. (Italics Matera's)

<sup>95</sup> See H. Windisch, *Die katholischen Briefe*, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament 15 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1911), 62-63; M.-E. Boismard, *Quatre hymnes baptismales dans la première épître de Pierre* (Paris: Cerf, 1961), 111-32; R. Bultmann, "Bekenntnis- und Liedfragmente im ersten Petrusbrief," in *Exegetica*, ed. E. Dinkler (Tübingen: Mohr, 1967), 294-95; Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 207-10.

(3) the frequent use of the relative pronoun  $\omega$  [j].<sup>96</sup> This position, however, has been criticized by Best, Osborne, Michaels, Achtemeier, and Elliott.<sup>97</sup> Elliott argues that (1) the switch in the personal pronoun might well occur through the employment of any material, as well as the immediate use in Isa 53; (2) the shift in the audience is the author's tactic; and (3) the relative pronoun  $\omega$  [j] is often employed throughout 1 Peter, including the sections which are not hymnic.<sup>98</sup> In this respect, it is more plausible to see that the author of 1 Peter not only quoted Isa 53 LXX, but also interpreted and applied it to the addressees.<sup>99</sup>

Although 1 Pet 2:22-25 seems to use the terminology of Isa 53, these verses follow the order of incidents in Christ's passion.<sup>100</sup> Hooker, thus, mentions that although the author of 1 Peter does not use Isa 53 as a 'proof text,' his employment of this source has "moved here beyond simple appeal to 'what is written' to the exploration of its *significance*."<sup>101</sup> This means that the author of 1 Peter clearly renders "new sense of Isa 53."<sup>102</sup> Jobes observes:

Because Jesus suffered a death reserved for slaves under Roman law, his identity as Isaiah's Suffering Servant (slave) is corroborated. Furthermore, this mode of death, which the Romans reserved for slaves and others lacking Roman citizenship, strengthens the identification between the plight of the "servant" Peter addresses in 2:18 and the Suffering Servant.<sup>103</sup>

Also, provided that the addressees of 1 Peter are mainly Gentiles, the author of the

<sup>96</sup> Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 207-08.

<sup>97</sup> See Best, *1 Peter*, 120; T. P. Osborne, "Guide Lines for Christian Suffering: A Source-Critical and Theological Study of 1 Peter 2,21-25," *Biblica* 64 (1983): 381-408; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 136-37; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 192-93; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 549-50.

<sup>98</sup> Elliott, *1 Peter*, 549-50.

<sup>99</sup> Jobes, *1 Peter*, 195.

<sup>100</sup> Paul J. Achtemeier, "Suffering Servant and Suffering Christ in 1 Peter," in *The Future of Christology: Essay in Honor of Leander E. Keck*, ed. Abraham J. Malherbe and Wayne A. Meeks (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 180. Also Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, 143, comments that "a variety of elements which appear in his [the author's] handling of Is. 53 indicate the presence of a pesher-like hermeneutic."

<sup>101</sup> Morna D. Hooker, "Did the Use of Isaiah 53 to Interpret His Mission Begin with Jesus?," in *Jesus and the Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 and Christian Origin*, ed. William H. Bellinger and William R. Farmer (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998), 93. (Italics Hooker's)

<sup>102</sup> Jobes, *1 Peter*, 195.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

letter seems to be drawing attention to the position that they had held among God's people.<sup>104</sup>

### 3.2. The Suffering Servant in Mark 10:45

Mark 10:45 reads, *kai. ga.r o` ui`o.j tou/ avnqrw,pou ouvkh=lqen diakonhqh/nai avlla. diakonh/sai kai. dou/nai th.n yuch.n avtou/ lu,tron avnti. pollw/nÅ* ("For even the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give His life as a ransom for many.") This verse has widely been construed as Christ's perception of his suffering based on the suffering Servant in Isa 53.<sup>105</sup> In 1959 Hooker and Barrett independently produced works that argued against the consensus.<sup>106</sup> In her work, *Jesus and the Servant*, Hooker contends that even though Gospels disclose "a considerable number of possible references" to Isa 53, "no sure reference to any of the Servant Songs exists in those passages where Jesus speaks of the *meaning* of his death: there is no evidence that either he or the evangelists had the suffering of the Servant in mind."<sup>107</sup> Instead, Hooker argues the possibility that the imagery of suffering originated from echoes on the Son of Man in Dan 7.<sup>108</sup> In his article, "The Background of Mark 10:45," Barrett expresses a similar argument to Hooker's when he says that the imagery of suffering comes from the Maccabean backdrop to the Son of Man in Dan 7, and the correlation between Isa 53 and Mark 10:45 is "much less definite and

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>105</sup> As respects a distinctive study for this issue, specifically see Sharyn Dowd and Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, "The Significance of Jesus' Death in Mark: Narrative Context and Authorial Audience," in *The Trial and Death of Jesus: Essays on the Passion Narrative in Mark*, ed. Geert Van Oyen and Tom Shepherd, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology 45 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 10-16. Dowd and Malbon, *Ibid.*, 16, argue that the death of Jesus in Mark's Gospel is construed as release from both demonic powers and tyrannical powers.

<sup>106</sup> See Morna D. Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant* (London: SPCK, 1959); C. K. Barrett, "The Background of Mark 10:45," in *New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson*, ed. A. J. B. Higgins (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), 1-18.

<sup>107</sup> Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant*, 148-50.

<sup>108</sup> See *Idem*, *The Son of Man in Mark* (London: SPCK, 1967), 103-47.

more tenuous than is often supposed.”<sup>109</sup>

But Hooker and Barrett’s argument has been criticized by Jeremias, France, and Kruse in that they not only treated the logion in a fragmentary method, but also dealt with the terminological affinities separately.<sup>110</sup> In his 1983 work, *“The ‘Son of Man’ as the Son of God*, Kim also underlined that the wordings of *dou/nai th.n yuch.n auvtou/ lu,tron avnti. pollw/n* in Mark 10:45 should be understood in light of Isa 43:3 and 53:10-12.<sup>111</sup> Kim’s observation deserves mention:

Since *polloi*, and *dou/nai th.n yuch.n auvtou* thus make us think that in Mk 10.45 Jesus has Isa 53 as well as Isa 43 in view, is it not probable that he also sees a material correspondence between *rp̄k* in Isa 43.3f. and *~Xa* in Isa 53? . . . For in the latter it is the Ebed’s vicarious suffering of the penalty for the sins of “many” (so that they may be accounted righteous) which is designated as *~Xa*. It may well be that Jesus sees his death as the *rp̄k* of Isa 43.3f. because as the *~Xa* of the Ebed in Isa 53.10-12 it is actually the substitutionary suffering of the penalty for the sins of Israel and the nations which redeems or frees them from the penalty at the last judgement. . . . Thus, when Mk 10.45 is seen through Isa 43 because of the decisive correspondence *lu,tron avnti.=txt rp̄k*, the connection of the former with Isa 53 is more clearly visible. . . . When Isa 43 and 53 together provide all the elements of the logion so clearly and harmoniously, there is no reason to appeal to the texts like 2Macc 7.37ff.; 4Macc 6.26ff.; 17.21f. which provide only a partial parallel to the logion, or suspect that the logion was built by the Hellenistic Jewish church reflecting this martyrological tradition.<sup>112</sup>

More recently, in his 1998 article, Watts also indicates that “even when a saying is regarded in its totality, it must also be located within the broader context of the evangelist’s presentation of Jesus’ ministry.”<sup>113</sup> He goes on to say:

. . . insufficient attention has been paid either to the hermeneutical framework provided by Mark’s Gospel as a literary whole or to those indications which the

<sup>109</sup> Barrett, “The Background of Mark 10:45,” 13-15. See also C. S. Rodd, *The Gospel of Mark*, Epworth Commentaries (London: Epworth Press, 2005), 131. Hugh Anderson, *The Gospel of Mark*, NCB (London: Oliphants, 1976), 257.

<sup>110</sup> See J. Jeremias, review of *Jesus and the Servant*, by M. D. Hooker, *JTS* 11 (1960): 142; R. T. France, “The Servant of the Lord in the Teaching of Jesus,” *TynBul* 19 (1968): 28; C. G. Kruse, *New Testament Foundations for Ministry: Jesus and Paul* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1983), 44.

<sup>111</sup> See Seyoon Kim, *“The ‘Son of Man’ as the Son of God*, *WUNT* 30 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1983), 50-58.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 55-58.

<sup>113</sup> Rikki E. Watts, “Jesus’ Death, Isaiah 53, and Mark 10:45: A Crux Revisited,” 126.

Markan Jesus offers as to the provenance of linguistic parallels has often neglected the mixed nature of Markan citations of and therefore perhaps allusions to the OT, the highly allusive fashion in which Mark's Jesus often appeals to OT texts, the often idiosyncratic or less common translational choices evident in Isaiah LXX, and the phenomenon of semantic change which raises questions about the validity of relying solely on the LXX to determine linguistic parallels. When all of these factors are considered, the case for an allusion to Isaiah 53 in the passion prediction and Mark 10:45 is rather stronger than Hooker or Barrett suggests.<sup>114</sup>

Moreover, there seems to remain a significant literary characteristic of the Gospel of Mark which should be considered. As Moyise points out, while the other Gospels manifest "a set of quotations as a sort of running commentary on the narrative", on the contrary, citations in the Gospel of Mark are "on the lips of characters in the story (mainly Jesus)," except for its opening (Mark 1:2-3), which clearly cites "scripture as editorial comment."<sup>115</sup> Nevertheless, this observation does not suggest that Mark's Gospel betrays "no scriptural commentary" on the occurrences which he reports, but does mean that there exists a somewhat broad combination of "allusions and echoes that fill out Mark's narrative and engage the reader in a variety of ways."<sup>116</sup> In this light, Moyise's argument that "Mark has told the story of Jesus' passion in such a way that it evokes the righteous sufferer of the psalms and probably also the suffering servant of Isaiah and the smitten shepherd of Zechariah" is certainly persuasive.<sup>117</sup> A number of quotations and allusions in the Gospel of Mark are merged and associated in an integrated way.<sup>118</sup>

Simultaneously, the composite quotation in the prologue of Mark's Gospel (Mark 1:2-3) must be considered. Although Mark 1:2a reads, *Kaqw. j ge,graptai*

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<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> See Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction*, 21; Hooker, "Isaiah in Mark's Gospel," 35; W. S. Vorster, "The Function of the Use of the Old Testament in Mark," *Neotestamentica* 14 (1981): 70.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>118</sup> See Watts, "Jesus' Death, Isaiah 53, and Mark 10:45: A Crux Revisited," 128; Kee, "The Function of Scriptural Quotations and Allusions in Mark 11-16," 175; Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," 319-21.



evn tw/| VHsai<a| tw/| profh,th| (“As it is written in Isaiah the prophet”)<sup>119</sup>, the quotation in the prologue consists of a combination of Exod 23:20, Mal 3:1, and Isa 40:3. In this regard, Marcus’ indication that “the fusion of two or more scriptural passages into one conflated citation is a characteristic Markan method of biblical usage” is remarkable.<sup>120</sup> As mentioned above, since the conflated quotation in Mark 1:2-3 is the solitary “editorial” one in his Gospel and is ascribed to Isaiah, it seems likely that Isaiah was the most crucial document in the Old Testament for Mark the evangelist.<sup>121</sup> Based on this fact, Marcus and Watts regard this prologue citation as the key vertical of understanding Mark’s Gospel.<sup>122</sup>

In a related vein, Mark 9:12 might well be investigated as the Old Testament

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<sup>119</sup> Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction*, 21-22, notes that “ancient copyists dealt with the discrepancy by omitting the word ‘Isaiah’ and turning ‘prophet’ into a plural. Thus most of our surviving manuscripts read, ‘As it is written in the prophets’ (hence KJV).” Concerning the ascription of the combined citation to Isaiah, Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the New Testament*, 62, indicates that “the earliest representative witnesses of the Alexandrian and the Western types of text” support a reading of “in Isaiah the prophet.” Thus, Moyise, *Ibid.*, 22, also suggests that “the most common is that Mark is using a testimony source where the texts had already been combined. Mark ascribes it to Isaiah either because he was unaware of its composite nature or because ‘Isaiah’ stands for ‘prophets’ in the same way that ‘Psalms’ can stand for ‘writings’ (see Luke 24.44).” Marcus, *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark*, 17-22, proposes that since he desires his community to know that “gospel” is “as it is written in Isaiah the prophet,” Mark’s ascription of 1:2-3 to Isaiah was intended, thus citing as a fulfillment of the promise of the retrieval in Isaiah. See also Hooker, “Isaiah in Mark’s Gospel,” 49; *Idem*, “Who Can This Be?: The Christology of Mark’s Gospel,” in *Contours of Christology in the New Testament*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: William. B. Eerdmans, 2005), 82.

<sup>120</sup> Marcus, *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark*, 15. See also Morna D. Hooker, “Mark,” in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of B. Lindars*, ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 220; Kee, “The Function of Scriptural Quotations and Allusions in Mark 11-16,” 175-78.

<sup>121</sup> See Hooker, “Isaiah in Mark’s Gospel,” 35, 49; Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction*, 30. In the case of 1 Peter, Isaiah seems to be the most significant book for its author in view of the fact that he heavily quotes or alludes to Isaiah. This may also imply the close literary relation between 1 Peter and Mark. See Woan, “The Psalms in 1 Peter,” 213.

<sup>122</sup> See Marcus, *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark*, 12-47; *Idem*, “Mark and Isaiah,” in *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. A. B. Beck, A. H. Bartelt, P. R. Raabe, and C. A. Franke (Grand Rapids: William. B. Eerdmans, 1995), 449-66; Watts, *Isaiah’s New Exodus and Mark*; Beavis, *Mark’s Audience: The Literary and Social Setting of Mark 4.11-12*, 110; Steve Moyise, “Is Mark’s Opening Quotation the Key to his Use of Scripture?,” *Irish Biblical Studies* 20 (1998): 146-58.

context of Mark 10:45. As a matter of fact, Barrett has argued that the suffering of Jesus came from the Maccabean backdrop to the Son of Man in Dan 7<sup>123</sup>, however, his argument has been criticized by Watts for ignoring “the one indication that the Markan Jesus himself gives as to his understanding of his suffering, namely, Mark 9:12.”<sup>124</sup> According to Watts, it might seem that Jesus’ use of Son of Man as a self-identification ostensibly points out a backdrop of Dan 7. However, considering not only the fact that there exists no immediate “OT prophecy of a suffering Son of Man” and “a suffering Son of Man”, it is scarcely the key of Dan 7. Further, the fact that the Markan Jesus is not opposed to connecting “otherwise ‘unrelated’ OT texts or motifs,” does not make the case for Dan 7.<sup>125</sup> Therefore, in light of Mark’s Isaianic horizon, “that Mark’s Jesus should join two previously unconnected ideas – Son of Man and Isaianic ‘servant’ imagery – is not surprising.” It can also be argued that the notional and terminological backdrops to Mark 9:12 might well have originated from Isa 53.<sup>126</sup>

In this light, the three passion predictions in Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:33-34 also play a significant role in the context of Mark 10:45. The wording of *polla. pa, scw* in Mark 8:31 and *paradi, dwmi* in Mark 9:31; 10:33 are very likely an allusion to Isa 53. The word *paradi, dwmi*, specifically, is also much more outstanding in Isa 53.<sup>127</sup> On this point, Watts has testified that “the Markan Jesus’ understanding of his death” is profoundly and notionally dependent on Isa 53.<sup>128</sup> Even though one accepts that the Markan Jesus was “among the first to see a suffering Son of Man” in Dan 7, the notional and terminological affinities indicate that he drew the bulk of the depictive

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<sup>123</sup> Barrett, “The Background of Mark 10:45,” 13-15.

<sup>124</sup> Watts, “Jesus’ Death, Isaiah 53, and Mark 10:45: A Cruc Revisited,” 131.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 133-34. This argument is also supported by Otto Betz, “Jesus and Isaiah 53,” in *Jesus and the Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 and Christian Origins*, ed. William H. Bellinger and William R. Farmer (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998), 83-87.

<sup>127</sup> See *Ibid.*, 134-35.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 136

particulars of the suffering from Isa 53.<sup>129</sup> In light of this observation, it is reasonable to conclude that the noted intention of the death of Jesus in Mark 10:45 is more probably associated with the overt suffering servant in Isa 53 rather than with that of the implicit Son of Man.<sup>130</sup> At the same time, this also shows the Gospel of Mark's characteristic use of the OT, namely, the synthetic allusion to the OT.<sup>131</sup>

#### 4. The Allusion to Ezek 34: the Messianic Shepherd / Sheep without a Shepherd

1 Pet 2:25 exhibits its synthetic use of the OT, namely, a blend of the quotation of Isa 53:6a and the extensive allusion to Ezek 34. This pattern of OT use is also distinctive of Mark's Gospel. Also, in view of the metaphorical relation between Christ as "the messianic" shepherd of Israel and Israel as sheep without a shepherd<sup>132</sup>, Jesus' compassion for the huge crowd of Israel and the expression of *h=san w`j pro,bata mh. e;conta poime,na* ("they were like sheep without a shepherd") in Mark 6:34 are most likely a clear and extensive allusion to Ezek 34.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 137. For details of the discussion, especially see *Ibid.*, 136-51. See also D. J. Moo, *The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion narratives* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1983), 360; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 420-21; Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 120; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 315; Witherington III, *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 288-90; Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross*, 591-93; Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 383-85; Bowman, *The Gospel of Mark*, 218-19; Kee, *Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel*, 47; Lamar Williamson Jr, *Mark, Interpretation* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1983), 109-91.

<sup>131</sup> Alberto de Mingo Kaminouchi, *'But It Is Not So Among You': Echoes of Power in Mark 10.32-45*, JSNTSup 249 (New York: T&T Clark International, 2003), 145.

<sup>132</sup> See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 538. Osborne, "Guidelines for Christian Suffering," 403; Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 113; Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 124; I. J. du Plessis, "The Relation between the Old and New Testament from Perspective of Kingship/Kingdom – including the Messianic motif," *Neotestamentica* 14 (1981): 50; Ben J. de Klerk and Fika J. van Rensburg, *Making a Sermon: A Guide for Reformed Exegesis and Preaching Applied to 1 Peter 2:11-12, 18-25* (Potchefstroom: Potchefstroom Theological Publications, 2005), 61.

<sup>133</sup> Of course, the phrasing of *w`sei. pro,bata oi-j ouvk e;stin poimh,n* is used in Num 27:17, and the expression of *w`j poi,mnion w-| ouvk e;stin poimh,n* (*w`j pro,bata oi-j ouvk e;stin poimh,n*) is employed in 1 Kings 22:17 (2 Chr 18:16). Similar imagery is also found in Jer 23:1-4. However, as mentioned above, in terms of the symbolical relationship between Christ as the messianic shepherd of

#### 4.1. The Combination of Isa 53 with Ezek 34 in 1 Pet 2:25

The phrasing of *h=te ga.r w`j pro,bata planw,menoi* in 1 Pet 2:25a comes from Isa 53:6a. However, the author of 1 Peter shifts the first plural pronoun to second plural.<sup>134</sup>

Isa 53:6a (LXX)	1 Pet 2:25a
<i>pa,ntej w`j pro,bata</i>	<i><u>h=te</u> ga.r w`j pro,bata</i>
<i><u>evplanh,qhmen</u> a;nqrwpoj</i>	<i><u>planw,menoi</u></i>
<i>th/  o`dw/  auvtou/</i>	
<i>evplanh,qh</i>	

In this vein, as Elliott observes, based on the fact that the word *evpestra, fhte* and the metaphor of “the return of straying sheep” are not used in Isa 53<sup>135</sup>, the author extensively alludes to Ezek 34 in 1 Pet 2:25b.<sup>136</sup>

Ezek 34	1 Pet 2:25b
4 <i><u>evpestre,yate</u></i>	
6 <i><u>avpostre,fwn</u></i>	<i><u>evpestra, fhte</u></i>
10 <i><u>avpostre,yw</u></i>	
16 <i><u>evpistre,yw</u></i>	
23 <i>kai. avnasth,sw evpV</i>	<i><u>poime,na</u></i>
<i>auvtou.j <u>poime,na</u> e[na kai.</i>	
<i>poimanei/ auvtou,j <u>to.n</u></i>	
<i><u>dou/lo,n mou David</u> kai.</i>	

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Israel and Israel as sheep without a shepherd (Ezek 34:5-24; 37:24), these verses do not seem overtly to reflect a correlation as much as does Ezek 34. See also Elliott, *1 Peter*, 538.

<sup>134</sup> See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 537; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 198; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 150; Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 146; Osborne, “Guidelines for Christian Suffering,” 401-02.

<sup>135</sup> Elliott, *1 Peter*, 537.

<sup>136</sup> See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 537-38; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 198-99; Senior, *1 Peter*, 80; Osborne, “Guidelines for Christian Suffering,” 403; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 150; Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 113-14; Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 215; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 204; Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 124-25.

e;stai auvtw/n poimh,n

evpi,skopon

11 evpiske,yomai

Ezek 34 intensively and prominently shows the relation between God as the shepherd of Israel and Israel as sheep without a shepherd more than any other OT passage. In particular, poimh,n in Ezek 34:23-24 remarkably exhibits a messianic imagery, which is repeated in Ezek 37:34. This significantly sheds light on the NT's identification of Jesus with the messianic shepherd, since the NT does not portray God as shepherd, but manifestly does depict only Christ as shepherd.<sup>137</sup> In view of the fact that the phrasing of to.n poime,na kai. evpi,skopon tw/n yucw/n u`mw/n is clearly construed as Christ, 1 Pet 2:25 also evidently shows the same relation between Christ as shepherd and Christians.<sup>138</sup> The identification of Christ with a shepherd is also explicitly disclosed by the expression of avrcipoi,menoj in 1 Pet 5:4.<sup>139</sup>

#### 4.2. The Allusion to Ezek 34 in Mark 6:34

Mark 6:34 reads, kai. evxelqw.n ei=den polu.n o;clon kai. evsplagcni,sqh evpV auvtou,j( o[ti h=san w`j probata mh. e;conta poime,na( kai. h;rxato dida,skein auvtou.j polla,Å (“And as he landed he saw a great crowd, and he had compassion on them, because they were like sheep without a shepherd; and he began to teach them many things.”) This verse is apparently associated with “wilderness motifs” in view of the

<sup>137</sup> See Osborne, “Guidelines for Christian Suffering,” 403; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 538; Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 113-14; Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 124-25.

<sup>138</sup> See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 538; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 198-99; Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 147; Senior, *1 Peter*, 77; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 151; Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 113-14; Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, 215-16; Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 124-25.

<sup>139</sup> See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 539; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 199; Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 114.

background of the place. As a matter of fact, the word *ε;rhmon to,pon* as the backdrop of the place is repeated in Mark 6:32-33.<sup>140</sup> Lane notes that a great crowd who follow Jesus and the apostles “are representative of Israel once more in the wilderness.”<sup>141</sup> In this light, this verse plays a significant role in the account of the miracle of Jesus feeding five thousand people with the five loaves and the two fish. Distinctively, while this account occurs in the four Gospels, the wording of *ο[ti h=san w`j pro,bata mh. e;conta poime,na* is only employed in Mark 6:34.

In light of this sequence, comparing Mark 6:34 with Ezek 34 (37:24), there remains a conspicuous parallel between them.

Ezek 34 (37:24)

Mark 6:34

5a kai. diespa,rh ta.  
pro,bata, mou dia. to. mh.  
ei=nai poime,na j

kai. evxelqw.n ei=den  
polu.n o;clon kai.  
evsplugcni, sqh evpV  
aevtou, j(

8c para. to. mh. ei=nai  
poime,na j

23 kai. avnasth,sw evpV  
aevtou.j poime,na e[na kai.  
poimanei/ aevtou, j to.n  
dou/lo,n mou David kai.  
e;stai avtw/n poimh,n

ο[ti h=san w`j pro,bata mh.  
e;conta poime,na(

24 kai. evgw. ku,rioj  
e;somai avtoi/j eivj qeo,n  
kai. David evn me,sw|  
avtw/n a;rcwn evgw.

kai. h;rxato dida,skein  
aevtou.j polla, Å

<sup>140</sup> See Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 225; Witherington III, *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 217

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 226. See also Bernhard Citron, “The Multitude in the Synoptic Gospels,” *SJT* 7 (1954): 416.



ku,rioj evla,lhsa

37:24 kai. o` dou/lo,j mou  
Dauid a;rcwn evn me,sw|  
a;vtyw/n kai. poimh.n ei-j  
e;stai pa,ntwn o[ti evn  
toi/j prostagmasi,n mou  
poreu,sontai kai. ta.  
kri,mata, mou fula,xontai  
kai. poih,sousin auvta,

Ezek 34:5, 8 repeatedly indicates that there is no true shepherd for Israel. Thus, God promises that he will place over Israel a messianic shepherd, his servant David in Ezek 34:23-24; 37:24. The shepherd metaphor in Ezek 34 is clearly connected with “the wilderness.”<sup>142</sup> Since there is no whole chapter which not only intensively and outstandingly manifests the relation between God as shepherd of Israel and Israel as sheep without a shepherd, but also shows God’s promise of establishing a messianic shepherd other than Ezek 34, Mark 6:34 might well be observed against the background of Ezek 34.<sup>143</sup> Certainly, the shepherd delineations of Ezek 34 are crucial for the depiction of Jesus as “the shepherd fulfilling God’s purpose in seeking out the lost, the weak, the abandoned.”<sup>144</sup> As the messianic shepherd, Jesus’ feeding function may clearly be recognized as a key to the Gospel of Mark’s feeding

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<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.* See also Witherington III, *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 217

<sup>143</sup> See Timothy Wiarda, “Story-Sensitive Exegesis and Old Testament Allusions in Mark,” *JETS* 49 (2006): 502; Eugene LaVerdiere, *The Beginning of the Gospel*, vol. 1 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1999), 172-73; Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 226; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 265; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 205; Witherington III, *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 217; van Iersel, *Mark: A Reader-Response Commentary*, 225; Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross*, 323; Hooker, *The Gospel according to ST Mark*, 165; Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 340; Bowman, *The Gospel of Mark*, 155; Wilfred Tooley, “The Shepherd and Sheep Image in the Teaching of Jesus,” *Novum Testamentum* 7 (1964): 15-19.

<sup>144</sup> Joseph A. Grassi, *Loaves and Fishes: The Gospel Feeding Narratives*, *Zacchaeus Studies: New Testament* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 21.

account.<sup>145</sup> Wiarda posits this view by noting that the feeding account mainly concentrates on Jesus as “the eschatological shepherd and provider.”<sup>146</sup> It is most likely that Mark 6:34 overtly shows that Jesus, who became the messianic shepherd for Israel without a shepherd, fulfills the promise of God in Ezek 34.<sup>147</sup>

## 5. The Quotation of and Allusion to Isa 40: 8

Finally, there also remains the quotation of Isa 40:8 in 1 Pet 1:25 and the allusion to it in Mark 13:31b. It is most likely that Isaiah is the key prophet to the author of 1 Peter based on the fact that the book of Isaiah is the most frequently quoted and alluded to in it, and the statement *profh/tai oi` peri. th/j eivj u`ma/j ca,ritoj profhteu,santej* in 1 Pet 1:10.<sup>148</sup> Specifically, in the case of Mark 13:31, it consists of a conflated allusion, namely, a combination of the allusion to Isa 51:6 (Ps 101:27a, LXX) with that to Isa 40:8, which also exhibits the Markan (Markan Jesus) characteristic use of the OT. More crucially, from the view of the Markan hermeneutical key, shown by the prologue in 1:1-3 – *vArch. tou/ euvaggeli,ou vIhsou/ Cristou/ iui`ou/ qeou/Ð* – the phrasing that *oi` de. lo,goi mou ouv mh. pareleu,sontai* in Mark 13:31b not only plays a

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<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> Wiarda, “Story-Sensitive Exegesis and Old Testament Allusions in Mark,” 502. Wiarda, *Ibid.*, 504, argues that “interpreters must take particular care to integrate allusion analysis with a more comprehensive process of narrative interpretation that includes tracing plots, sensing nuances of characterization, and seeing how small details function within larger scenes.” Thus, he, *Ibid.*, 489, draws attention to “story-sensitive exegesis,” and notes that it deals with “Gospel narratives as realistically depicted time-of-Jesus scenes and through the stories they tell about human actions and motivations. It treats places and objects as concrete entities, and seeks to be sensitive to unfolding plots and nuances of characterization.”

<sup>147</sup> LaVerdiere, *The Beginning of the Gospel*, 173.

<sup>148</sup> See Moyise, “Isaiah in 1 Peter,” 175; Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 24. It seems likely that at least 1 Pet 1:10-2 may also be observed from the view of the Isaianic New Exodus, just as Watts did Mark’s Gospel from that view. See also Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, 100-09. Schutter, *Ibid.*, 109, notes that “in more than one way it may be legitimate to call 1 Pet. 1.10-2 a hermeneutical key, since it not only gives unmatched insight into what by all appearances is at least a major aspect of the author’s hermeneutical stance, but also allows for convenient access to his use of the OT elsewhere in the letter.”



significant role in the integrated interpretation of Mark's Gospel, but also betrays the close literary relation between the Gospel itself and 1 Peter.<sup>149</sup>

### 5.1. The Quotation of Isa 40: 8 in 1 Pet 1:25

As one of the explicit quotations, 1 Pet 1:24-25 cites Isa 40:6-8 and is compared with the LXX and the MT as follows.

1 Pet 1:24-25	Isa 40:6-8 (LXX)	Isa 40:6-8 (MT)
24 <u>dio,ti pa/sa</u> <u>sa.rx w`j co,rtou</u> <u>kai. pa/sa do,xa</u> <u>auvth/j w`j a;nqoj</u> <u>co,rtou\ evxhra,nqh</u> <u>o` co,rtou kai. to.</u> <u>a;nqoj evxe,pesen\</u>	6 fwnh. le,gontoj bo,hson kai. ei=pa ti, boh,sw <u>pa/sa</u> <u>sa.rx co,rtou</u> <u>kai. pa/sa</u> <u>do,xa</u>	lK' ar' q.a, hm'ä rm:ßa'w> ar'êq. rmEäao lAq..6 `hd, (F'h; #yciîK. ADßs.x;-lk'w> ryciêx' rf"âB'h;- yKi² #yciê lbe(n"â 'rycix' vbeÿ"7 `~['(h' ryciÐx' !kEïa' AB+ hb'v.n"â hw"ßhy> x;Wri lbe(n"â ryciÐx' vbeÿ"8
25 <u>to. de. r`h/ma</u> <u>kuri,ou me,nei eivj</u> <u>to.n aivw/na</u> tou/to de, evstin to. r`h/ma to. euvaggelisqe.n eivj u`ma/j)	7 <u>evxhra,nqh o`</u> <u>co,rtou kai.</u> <u>to. a;nqoj</u> <u>evxe,pesen</u> 8 <u>to. de.</u> <u>r`h/ma tou/</u> <u>geou/ h`mw/n</u> <u>me,nei eivj</u> <u>to.n aivw/na</u>	s `~l'(A[l. ~Wqiÿ" WnyheÐl{a/-rb;d>W #yci

A significant difference exists between the LXX and the MT; verse 7 in the MT is totally absent in the LXX. This difference between them demonstrates that the author

<sup>149</sup> Jobes, *1 Peter*, 127.

of 1 Peter follows the LXX and not the MT.<sup>150</sup> On the other hand, there are three differences between 1 Peter and the LXX. First, the particle  $\omega\acute{\nu}\nu\eta$  in 1 Pet 1:24 was added to shift the metaphor into a simile. Next, the term  $\alpha\nu\eta\gamma\rho\omega, \rho\omicron\upsilon$  was changed into a pronoun  $\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\tau\eta/\eta$  which shows that 1 Peter is closer to the MT rather than to the LXX only at this point. Finally, the author of 1 Peter transformed the wording of  $\tau\omicron\upsilon/ \gamma\epsilon\omicron\upsilon/ \eta\grave{\mu}\omega/\nu$  in the LXX into  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota, \omicron\upsilon$  in his epistle, consequently, this transformation is overtly deliberate and renders a much more essentially significant theological meaning – the Christological application.<sup>151</sup>

Specifically, there is debate about the interpretation of  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota, \omicron\upsilon$ . It is clear that  $\rho\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha \tau\omicron\upsilon/ \gamma\epsilon\omicron\upsilon/ \eta\grave{\mu}\omega/\nu$  of Isa 40:8 in the LXX is taken as a subjective genitive. Nevertheless, on the basis of the substitution of  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota, \omicron\upsilon$  for  $\tau\omicron\upsilon/ \gamma\epsilon\omicron\upsilon/ \eta\grave{\mu}\omega/\nu$ , there seems to be a possibility of a shift from a subjective genitive to an objective genitive, although it is difficult to decide which. Achtemeier supports an objective genitive construction, pointing to “the tendency in Christian tradition to identify the message Jesus spoke and the message spoken about Jesus.”<sup>152</sup> Achtemeier’s position is supported by Elliott and Schreiner. Elliott also argues that as far as verses 10-12 and 25b are concerned, “the word that endures forever is the word about Jesus Christ, his suffering, and glorification.”<sup>153</sup> Schreiner opines that  $\rho\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota, \omicron\upsilon$  is “the word about the Lord Jesus,” by noting that “the historical

<sup>150</sup> See Moyise, “Isaiah in 1 Peter,” 176; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 141; Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, 124; Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 78-79; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 390; Goppelt, *A Commentary on I Peter*, 127; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 77; Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 96; Senior, *1 Peter*, 48; Prasad, *Foundations of the Christian Way of Life according to 1 Peter 1, 13-25: An Exegetico-Theological Study*, 377.

<sup>151</sup> See Moyise, “Isaiah in 1 Peter,” 176-77; *Idem*, *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction*, 110; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 141-42; Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, 130; Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 79; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 391; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 78-79; Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 96; Senior, *1 Peter*, 48.

<sup>152</sup> Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 141-42. See also Prasad, *Foundations of the Christian Way of Life according to 1 Peter 1, 13-25: An Exegetico-Theological Study*, 383.

<sup>153</sup> Elliott, *1 Peter*, 391.

Jesus did not proclaim the gospel to believers in Asia Minor.”<sup>154</sup> On the contrary, Michaels strongly contends that the interpretation *kuri,ou* should be taken as a subjective genitive by emphasizing that *kuri,ou* is being applied Christologically, which means “the message Jesus proclaimed, so that in Peter’s context the statement becomes a parallel to Jesus’ own pronouncement” that *o` ouvrano.j kai. h` gh/ pareleu,sontai( oi` de. lo,goi mou ouv mh. pareleu,sontai* in Mark 13:31.<sup>155</sup> Michaels’ argument, however, is somewhat weakened by his own reference that “to Peter, the message of Jesus and the message about Jesus are the same message, just as they are to Mark (1:1, 14-15) and to the author of Hebrews (2:3-4).”<sup>156</sup> To this end, prior to reaching a final decision, a cautious and balanced observation should be considered. Consequently, Schutter’s observation deserves mention. Schutter indicates that considering that 1 Pet 1:12 and 23 portray “the message as having its origin from God” and *qeou/* in Isa 40:8 is construed as a subjective genitive, the substitution of Lord for God may still follow the preponderant construction as a subjective genitive in Scripture.<sup>157</sup> He also points out that the author of 1 Peter consistently identifies Jesus with Lord in both 1:3 and 2:3, thus the use of *kuri,ou* in the citation might well maintain the construction as a subjective genitive – the word of the Lord.<sup>158</sup>

In summary, Schutter suggests that the author of 1 Peter is developing a concealed “double-meaning”, which makes it difficult to decide whether the interpretation is an objective genitive or a subjective genitive.<sup>159</sup> Therefore, Schutter concludes that “in his [the author’s] hands it has been made to apply particularly to

<sup>154</sup> Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 96-97.

<sup>155</sup> Michaels, *1 Peter*, 79.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, 126.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*

the Christian experience, because ‘the message from the Lord (God)’ of Isaiah’s prophecy is none other than ‘the message about the Lord (Jesus)’ which imparted to the addressees a new experience.”<sup>160</sup> Schutter’s conclusion appears to be much more careful and persuasive.

## 5.2. The Conflated Allusion to Isa 51:6 (Ps 101:27a, LXX) and Isa 40: 8 in Mark 13:31

The Markan Jesus’ saying in 13:31 is most probably grounded on Isa 51:6 (Ps 101:27a, LXX) and Isa 40:8.<sup>161</sup> The wordings between them are compared as follows.

Mark 13	LXX
<p>31a <u>o` ouvrano.j kai. h` gh/ pareleu, sontai</u> (</p> <p>31b <u>oi` de. lo,goi mou ouv mh. pareleu, sontai</u></p>	<p>Isa 51:6 <u>o` ouvrano.j w`j kapno.j evsterew,gh h` de. gh/ w`j i`ma,tion palaiwgh, setai</u> (Ps 101:27a <u>auvtoi. avpolou/ntai</u>)</p> <p>Isa 40:8 <u>to. de. r`h/ma tou/ geou/ h`mw/n me,nei eivj to.n aivw/na</u></p>

In terms of the allusion to Isa 40:8 in Mark 13:31b a point remains for clarification. This concerns the meaning of *lo,goi mou* (my words). Although “my words” ostensibly seems to refer to the preceding words in the present context, it should also be emphasized that “my words” requires an application to Jesus’ entire teaching.<sup>162</sup>

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> See Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 480; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 540; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 376; Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross*, 792; Hooker, *The Gospel according to ST Mark*, 321; Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 335.

<sup>162</sup> See C. S. Mann, *Mark*, AB, vol. 27 (New York: Doubleday, 1986), 538; van Iersel, *Mark: A Reader-Response Commentary*, 409 ; Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the*

In this respect, Jesus' proclamation most probably reveals a Christological confirmation, which means that the steadfastness of Jesus' word is equivalent to that of God's word.<sup>163</sup> Subsequently, concerning the fact that Isa 40 is one of the "key chapters of Isaiah"<sup>164</sup> in Mark's Gospel as shown by its prologue, the explicit allusion to Isa 40:8 in Mark 13:31b would be viewed as a part of the hermeneutical key to the Gospel itself – My words [the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God] will never pass away.

## 6. Conclusion

1 Peter and Mark's Gospel prominently draw attention to the suffering of Christ and apply the imagery of the rejected stone of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 and that of the suffering servant of Isa 53 to it. Certainly, Isaiah and the Psalms seem to be the most crucial of the OT documents for the author of 1 Peter and the Gospel of Mark considering that they quote and allude to them so intensively. On the other hand, the imagery of Christ as the messianic shepherd of Ezek 34 is also strongly emphasized by both 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel.

In view of this OT use between 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel, a conspicuous characteristic remains. In the case of Mark's Gospel, such as the merged quotation of the prologue in Mark 1:2-3, a composite citation and an extensive combination of allusions is Mark's distinctive method of use of the OT. The citation of Ps 118 (LXX

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Cross, 792; Hooker, *The Gospel according to ST Mark*, 321-22; Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 336; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 376. Specifically, van Iersel, *Ibid.*, 409, relevantly comments, "That Jesus' words will not pass away is of central importance to the reader, particularly in this context. It implies that all his predictions and promises remain, even when the last human being has disappeared from the face of the earth and the last bit of heaven and earth has ceased to exist."

<sup>163</sup> France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 540. Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 480, also comments that "what is said of God in the OT may be equally affirmed of Jesus and his word." Furthermore, it is remarkable that Peter is one of the four disciples (Peter, James, John, and Andrew) who were listening to Jesus' teaching in Mark 13.

<sup>164</sup> Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction*, 116.

117):22 in Mark 12:10 is viewed from this aspect because the citation is a section of the parable of the wicked tenants in Mark 12:1-12, which comprises the synthesis of the allusion to Isa 5:1-7 with the citation of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22-23. The identical type is manifested in 1 Pet 2:4-8, which is composed of the compound of the allusion to Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 and the conflated citation of Isa 28:16, Ps 118 (LXX 117):22, and Isa 8:14. Both 1 Pet 2:22-25, which contains the compound of the citation of Isa 53 and the allusion to Ezek 34, and Mark 10:45, which holds the merged allusion to Isa 53 and Dan 7 display the merged and integrated way of using the OT.

Finally, considering the two key factors mentioned above, little reason remains to resist the conclusion that 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel reveal a close literary connection between them, which could certainly be evidence that Mark was the contributive amanuensis of 1 Peter.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this work is to explore Mark's possible involvement in the writing of 1 Peter in light of the practice of first century letter writing. Even though Peter was one of the pillar Apostles, his letter 1 Peter has been ignored by NT scholarship. However, after Elliott's reproach, a considerable number of scholarly works have made their appearance. Subsequently, as regards its authorship, there remain two major trends among modern scholars. While quite a number of scholars accept the authenticity of 1 Peter, a sizeable number favor pseudonymity.

There seem to remain several modern critical issues relevant to the authorship of 1 Peter. These relate to the linguistic problem, the historical problem, the doctrinal problem, and the practice of pseudonymity. These problems of 1 Peter lead modern scholarship to reject the Petrine authorship of 1 Peter and contend that 1 Peter is pseudonymous. However, the pseudonymous hypothesis overlooks the probability that Peter, as a contemporary of Paul, must have employed an amanuensis while writing his epistle, which was the outstanding practice of first century letter writers, including Paul himself. In contrast, although the amanuensis hypothesis appeals to Peter's reference in 1 Pet 5:12, *Dia. Silouanou/ u`mi/n tou/ pistou/ avdelfou/( w`j logi,zomai( diV ovli,gwn e;graya* ("By Silvanus, a faithful brother as I regard him, I have written briefly to you") and identifies Silvanus as its amanuensis, however, the Greco-Roman epistolary evidence shows that the formula *gra, fw dia, tinoj* identified *only* the letter-

carrier. In this regard, the current arguments for and against the authenticity of 1 Peter are not sufficient.

On the other hand, remarkably, Peter also refers to Mark as a greeter in 1 Pet 5:13. In this vein, it should also be mentioned that Tertius who was the amanuensis of Romans greets its recipients, *avspa,zomai u`ma/j evgw. Tertioj o` gra,yaj th.n evpistolh.n evn kuri,w|* (Rom 16:22). If Silvanus was the amanuensis for 1 Peter, he may well have greeted its addressees, but Peter did not mention it. In this light, Peter's reference in 1 Pet 5:13, *VAspa,zetai u`ma/j h` evn Babulw/ni suneklekth. kai. Ma/rkoj o` ui`o,j mou* (She who is in Babylon, chosen together with you, greets you, and so does Mark my son), supports the probability that Mark could have been the amanuensis of 1 Peter. Mark was clearly a very literate man, if, as is likely, he was Peter's *e`rmhneuth,j* and the author of the Gospel of Mark based on the references in the early church, including Papias' note, and Peter almost certainly used amanuenses while writing his epistle as Paul did. It should also be noted that Peter's reference in 1 Pet 5:13, *Ma/rkoj o` ui`o,j mou*, plays a crucial role as a historical reference implying the steady relationship between Peter and Mark.

The thesis of this study is that Mark was the contributive amanuensis for 1 Peter with Peter's allowance of a free hand in the composition. This work investigated Mark's involvement in the writing of 1 Peter from five angles by means of a historical and comparative approach. The five criteria are the dominant practice of using an amanuensis in first-century letter writing, the noteworthy employment of an amanuensis by Paul as a contemporary of Peter, historical connections, linguistic connections, and literary connections. Chapter two surveyed the two main proposals regarding authorship of 1 Peter including modern critical issues relevant to authorship. Since Cludius' criticism (1808), there seems to be a trend in modern



scholarship regarding the authorship of 1 Peter, namely, 1 Peter is not Petrine. A considerable number of scholars have queried the genuineness of 1 Peter based on the linguistic problem, the uses of excellent Greek and the Old Testament (LXX) in the letter. They contend that 1 Peter is a pseudonymous epistle. However, this hypothesis is not acceptable, since the early church rejected the practice of pseudonymity and since there remains no example of a pseudonymous epistle in the first century.

Since the question of the authenticity of 1 Peter on the grounds of linguistic and historical problems is a modern tendency, the conclusion that 1 Peter is not Petrine is hasty. A number of scholars have advocated the authenticity of 1 Peter by noting that Peter employed an amanuensis in writing epistles and allowed him to have considerable freedom based on the practice of first-century letter writing. In other words, the linguistic problem must be seen in light of the internal evidence of 1 Peter, the external evidence in the early church, and the practice of first-century letter writing. Therefore, considering Peter's use of amanuenses and his allowing a free hand in the process of writing, it is certainly rational to include the Petrine authorship of 1 Peter as a *bona fide* possibility.

In chapter three, first century letter writing was examined and presented as a practical and supportive background for this work. It is anachronistic to compare the concept of ancient literate with that of contemporary literate using the same criteria. Clearly, reading and writing were separate capabilities in Greco-Roman society. Writing was a rather professional skill, mainly associated with amanuenses due to the technical trouble of penning on papyrus and the difficult access to writing equipment. As revealed by quite a number of extant papyri, generally many people in the lower classes in Greco-Roman society did not acquire the ability to write in their own hands.

Although some of them were partially literate, they were, however, still functionally illiterate. Therefore, there exists the illiteracy formula in the extant papyri.

The role of an amanuensis in Greco-Roman antiquity was classified as a transcriber, contributor, and composer. An amanuensis' role as a contributor was the most common in Greco-Roman antiquity. Obviously, the use of an amanuensis, particularly in the writing of official (business) letters, was a prevalent tendency among people of all ranks and classes, regardless of whether the author was literate or illiterate. Even though, occasionally, both the lower and upper classes would write private letters personally, they still employed an amanuensis to write them. In particular, when an author was ill, then an amanuensis actually wrote an epistle on his behalf. Moreover, business and the laziness of the author were reasons for employing an amanuensis. Importantly, there exists a collegueship between the authors and their personal amanuenses. It must also be emphasized that no matter what the amanuensis' role was or whether a letter was an official or a private one, the writer assumed full accountability for the contents of the letter, because he was liable for checking the final draft of the amanuensis.

In chapter four, the process of Paul's letter writing was examined in light of first century letter writing, and the practice of using an amanuensis for Peter's employment of an amanuensis. Of the thirteen traditional Pauline epistles, Paul undoubtedly engaged an amanuensis in the writing of six at least. Five of Paul's letters manifestly disclose the appearance of an amanuensis by underlining a change in handwriting. Paul employs a formula,  $\text{th/| evmh/| ceiri,}$ , in 1 Cor 16:21, Gal 6:11, Col 4:18, 2 Th 3:17, and Phlm 19. In the case of Romans, Tertius is identified as its amanuensis. Namely, three of the *Hauptbriefe* were penned through an amanuensis, and this fact notably and evidently indicates Paul's preference and

practice of employing amanuenses while writing his epistles. A statement of the letter being written by an amanuensis and a change in handwriting are viewed as explicit evidence for employing one. The appearance of a postscript is treated as an implicit indicator for engaging an amanuensis. In light of Paul's uses of the autograph postscripts in 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, and Philemon, the case for the use of an amanuensis for 1 Thessalonians and 2 Corinthians is stronger.

Identifying Paul's amanuensis is crucial for this issue, since the extent of the free hand given him may depend on whether a secretary was one of Paul's co-workers who was gifted and trusted or one contracted in the market. In light of the practice of letter writing in Greco-Roman antiquity, it seems very likely that Paul would probably allow an amanuensis to have a free hand when he was a gifted and a trusted colleague. This probability is surely established by the instances that Cicero, Atticus, Quintus, and Alexander the Great employed their amanuenses as contributors. Therefore, it is most likely that Paul's amanuensis probably acted as a contributor, a role which was the most common in Greco-Roman antiquity.

In this light, Peter, as a first century letter writer and a contemporary of Paul, almost undoubtedly engaged an amanuensis in the writing of his epistle allowing him to have a free hand, namely, employing him as a contributive amanuensis. On the other hand, 1 Pet 5:12 does not render Silvanus an amanuensis since the wording of *gr̄a, fw dia, tinoj* is solely used for identifying the letter bearer in the Greco-Roman epistolography. Even so, this fact does not eliminate the probability that Peter employed an amanuensis in the composition of his epistle. Therefore, there remains a real possibility that Mark may well be the amanuensis of 1 Peter based on 1 Pet 5:13 and Papias' fragment. If Mark in 1 Pet 5:13 is the same as the person who is the

author of the Gospel of Mark, this robustly implies that Peter gave Mark, a talented and trusted co-worker, extra freedom while writing 1 Peter in light of the practice of first-century letter writing.

In chapter five, the close relationship between Peter and Mark through their ministry based on 1 Pet 5:13 and the references to Mark in the early church including Papias' note reported by Eusebius was explored and presented as evidence of historical connections between two individuals. Acts exhibits not only that Mark was obviously associated with the Jerusalem church, which implies, at least, that he was also indirectly connected with Peter, but also that Mark as a co-worker of Paul and Barnabas took part in a missionary journey and had significant duties. In this vein, Mark in the Pauline letters has been described constantly as Paul's helpful co-worker. Colossians, Philemon, and 2 Timothy demonstrate that Mark is clearly associated with the Asia Minor churches, specifically, the Colossian church, and had been with Paul in Rome. It is probable that during the period of Paul's later ministry, Mark must have been working as his collaborator in the areas of Rome and Asia Minor.

In this vein, 1 Pet 5:13 also shows the close relationship between Peter and Mark in Rome. The early Christian writers indicate that Peter stayed some time in Rome and was martyred. This sheds light on the probability that Mark's eventual duty in Rome must have set him working alongside Peter.

While some dispute still exists regarding its interpretation of Papias' fragment, there is also a separate description of Mark by the *Anti-Marcion Prologue* to the Gospel of Mark and Hippolytus of Rome. The early Christian writers have coherently reported that Mark was Peter's *e`rmhneuth,j* and the Evangelist. Unless there is a decisive factor that rejects the early church tradition about Mark, in light of both the close relationship between Peter and Mark from 1 Pet 5:13 and the

practice of first-century letter writing, which surely perform as historical evidence to maintain the argument that Mark was the contributive amanuensis of 1 Peter.

In chapter six, the syntactic correlation, the distinctive features of terminology, and the significant and frequent use of  $\omega\acute{\nu}\nu$  for a simile between 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel were explored and presented as possible evidence that implies linguistic connections between. Even though the quality of 1 Peter's Greek has been treated as a good, the author of 1 Peter is unlikely to have been a native speaker of Greek. Consequently, considering that Mark's Greek is not a translation Greek, there remains a significant syntactic correlation between 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel. Furthermore, they not only have common use of characteristic vocabulary, words which are infrequent in the NT, but also employ similar terms for the suffering of Christ. Besides, the comparative particle  $\omega\acute{\nu}\nu$  is engaged in a distinctive manner in them.

In chapter seven, the common Old Testament quotations (allusions) in 1 Peter and the Gospel of Mark and their conflated and integrated use of the OT were investigated and presented as possible evidence that implies surprising literary connections between them. 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel outstandingly emphasize the suffering of Christ and apply to it the imagery of the rejected stone of Ps 118 (LXX 117):22 and that of the suffering servant of Isa 53. Isaiah and the Psalms are probably the most crucial documents in the OT for the author of 1 Peter and the Gospel of Mark considering that they cite and allude to them so deeply. Also, the imagery of Christ as the messianic shepherd of Ezek 34 is powerfully underscored by both 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel.

From the pattern of the OT use between 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel, a prominent characteristic emerges. The author of Mark's Gospel quotes or alludes to

the OT through a merged and integrated method. Mark 12:1-11, 10:45, and 13:31 demonstrate this way. Similarly, the author of 1 Peter also cites or alludes to the OT by the same method and this feature is manifested by 1 Pet 2:6-8 and 2:22-25. Therefore, based on these two key features, there seems to be little reason to reject the conclusion that 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel disclose a close literary connection between them, which could be evidence that Mark was the contributive amanuensis of 1 Peter.

Although there remains the similarity of theology and thought between 1 Peter and Mark's Gospel, which may arise from the linguistic and literary similarity between them, however, this affinity of theology and thought might well originate from Peter, not Mark. Because Peter was one of the pillar Apostles and Mark was not only one of the co-workers of Peter, but also his son, albeit figuratively. It is most likely that Peter influenced Mark and contributed to the theology and thought of Mark's Gospel, namely, as Petrine Gospel.

The greeting of 1 Peter claims that its author is the Apostle Peter. There remains no instance of a pseudonymous letter in the first century and the early church rejected the practice of pseudonymity. In this regard, the problem of 1 Peter should be viewed in light of the internal evidence of 1 Peter and the external evidence in the early church. Thus, considering everything mentioned above, this work concludes that Mark was the contributive amanuensis for 1 Peter with Peter's allowance of greater freedom in the composition.

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