

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.¹ 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.²

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.³ 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.⁴ It is generally suggested that Paul’s naming his associates in the address of his letters is “largely a matter of courtesy.”⁵ 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

¹ 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.

² Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 16.

³ 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.

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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?⁶

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.⁷

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.⁸ Although a term "we" in Paul's letters would be assumed as "an editorial we,"⁹ the addressees of those correspondences, as emphasized by Murphy-O'Connor, would have seen "the 'we' at face value" as mentioning "the senders."¹⁰ 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,"¹¹ and there is no proof to recognize them as "anything other than co-authors."¹² In conclusion, the concept of author in Paul's letters that list co-senders should be enlarged beyond only Paul himself.¹³

⁶ Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 34.

⁷ *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."

⁸ *Ibid.*, 35. Except for 2 Corinthians, Philippians, and Philemon.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ *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."

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

¹³ 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 preference¹⁴ and practice of employing

Writing, 36.

¹⁴ 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.¹⁵

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.¹⁶

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.¹⁷ However, there is debate over the integrity of Romans 16,¹⁸ and the various places in the doxology of

¹⁵ 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.

¹⁶ 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.

¹⁷ 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"

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

Rom 16:25-27 in manuscripts¹⁹, 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 Ephesus²⁰ was adopted by Manson. Manson argues that Romans had originally existed in a form of fifteen-chapters, indicating that P⁴⁶ places the doxology of Rom 16:25-27 solely at the end of Rom 15.²¹ 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 16.²² Nonetheless, he also suggests that Rom 1:1-15:13 is “a record made by Paul and his clerical helpers of a real discussion.”²³ 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.”²⁴ In his elaborative 1977 monograph, *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans*, Gamble has explored the issue of the textual

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

¹⁹ P⁴⁶ has uniquely the doxology of Rom 16:25-27 at the end of Rom 15. P⁴⁶ 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*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 37. It is significant to mention that P⁴⁶ would date back to the later first century. On this view, see Young Kyu Kim, “Palaeographical Dating of P⁴⁶ to the Later First Century,” *Biblica* 69 (1988): 248-57. According to Kim, *Ibid.*, 254, P⁴⁶ 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.

²⁰ Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 318.

²¹ 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.

²² *Ibid.*, 236.

²³ *Ibid.*, 240.

²⁴ 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.²⁵ He argues that “it [P⁴⁶] 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.”²⁶ 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.”²⁷ 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.”²⁸ 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.²⁹ To this end, Rom 16:22 is still valid as evidence of Paul’s use of an

²⁵ 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.

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

²⁷ *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.”

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 127.

²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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?")³¹ This remark shows that Alexis occupies an intimate relationship among them.³²

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.³³ 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.³⁴

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

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.

³⁰ Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 76, 170.

³¹ Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 5.20.9.

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

³³ *Ibid.*

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

same place as almost everyone else, in the market.”³⁵ 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.³⁶ As regards Paul’s co-workers, Ellis points to “long-term co-workers,”³⁷ including Barnabas, Mark, Titus, Timothy, Luke, Priscilla (Prisca) and Aquila, Erastus, Apollos, Trophimus, and Tychicus.³⁸ 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.”³⁹ Actually, letter writing in antiquity required a considerable expenditure, including supplies and secretarial and carrier labor.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ 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

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 90.

³⁶ 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.”

³⁷ 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.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 187.

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

⁴¹ 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.⁴² 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,⁴³ the possibility that Paul used his co-worker as his amanuensis is no less plausible than the argument by Richards.⁴⁴

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 19.⁴⁵ 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.")⁴⁶ In another letter, Cicero states, "*Haec ad te mea manu.*" ("I write this in my own hand.")⁴⁷ 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

⁴² 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."

⁴³ 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.

⁴⁴ 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."

⁴⁵ 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.

⁴⁶ 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.

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

the words”)⁴⁸

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.⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹ 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.⁵² 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.⁵³ Thus Bahr’s position has been criticized by

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

⁴⁹ 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*, 3rd 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.

⁵⁰ 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.

⁵¹ See Bahr, “The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters,” 34-36.

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

⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ Longenecker correctly points out that the non-literary correspondences in antiquity betray a much shorter subscription part.⁵⁵ 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.”⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ As Richards insists, “The evidence in antiquity strongly indicates that such authorial references always begin the autographed section,”⁵⁸ thus, these autographs explicitly mean that the author took over from an amanuensis and penned the words himself at precisely that point.⁵⁹

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 2:2.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ 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.

⁵⁵ Longenecker, “Ancient Amanuenses,” 291.

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

⁵⁷ 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.”

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

⁵⁹ 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.

⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹ 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."⁶² 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."⁶³ 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.⁶⁴

2.1.2. Implied Pointers

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.

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

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

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 120-21.

⁶⁴ *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."⁶⁵ 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."⁶⁶ 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."⁶⁷

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.⁶⁸ 1 Th 5:27-28, in fact, seems to be corresponding to 2 Th 3:17-18.⁶⁹ Remarkably, Paul employs the first person plural almost throughout 1 Thessalonians, whereas he uses the first person singular in 1 Th 5:27.⁷⁰ Thus, apparently, considering Paul's statement of 2 Th 3:17, ο[evstin shmei/on evn

⁶⁵ 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.

⁶⁶ Bahr, "The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters," 33.

⁶⁷ Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 179.

⁶⁸ 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.

⁶⁹ Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, 7.

⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹

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.⁷² 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.⁷³ Paul's severe tone in chapters 10-13 seems in keeping with the stern words shown in his autograph postscripts.⁷⁴ 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

⁷¹ 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.

⁷² 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.

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

⁷⁴ 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.⁷⁵ For instance, Cicero also occasionally used comparatively lengthy postscripts.⁷⁶ Thus, presenting 2 Cor 10-13 as Paul's postscript is not unconvincing.⁷⁷

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.⁷⁸ 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 3:1.⁷⁹ 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."⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹ The specifically individual tone of Paul in Phil 4:10-23 renders the possibility of it being his subscription.⁸²

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

⁷⁵ 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.

⁷⁶ 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.

⁷⁷ 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.

⁷⁸ 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.

⁷⁹ Bahr, "The Subscriptions in Pauline Letters," 38.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* (Italics Bahr's)

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

⁸² *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.⁸³

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

⁸³ 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 6:21.⁸⁴

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.⁸⁵ 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."⁸⁶ In this regard, Richards' argument that Paul's preference for an amanuensis should be investigated in the circumstances of his letters seems quite persuasive.⁸⁷ 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.⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹

Difference in style in genuine correspondences can be not only the most credible pointer of an amanuensis, but also the most arguable.⁹⁰ 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

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

⁸⁵ Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 181

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 181-82.

⁹⁰ *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.⁹¹ Harrison also points out that 112 typical Pauline particles, prepositions, and pronouns are missing in the PE.⁹² 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.⁹³ 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.⁹⁴ He concludes, based on a statistical method, that the author of the PE is not Paul, but a pious Paulinist of the second century.⁹⁵

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.”⁹⁶ Later, Hitchcock studied Philo, and wrote *Philo and the Pastorals*. Hitchcock added six *hapax legomena* to that of Harrison.⁹⁷ He contends that “of the 181 *hapax legomena* in the Pastorals, 121 are in Philo, that is 67 percent, whereas of 485 *hapax*

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

⁹² *Ibid.*, 35-37.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 68-70

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 85.

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

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

legomena in the Paulines 258 or 54 percent are in Philo.”⁹⁸ 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.⁹⁹

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.¹⁰⁰ 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.¹⁰¹ 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.”¹⁰² A comparatively high value of *C* “points to a peculiarity of style.”¹⁰³ 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%.¹⁰⁴ Based on the comparatively higher value of *C* of the PE, they conclude that “the linguistic evidence

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 135.

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

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

¹⁰² *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

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *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.”¹⁰⁵

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.¹⁰⁶ Robinson points out that Grayston and Herdan treat the PE and Thessalonian letters as one unit, respectively, whereas the other Paulines are regarded separately.¹⁰⁷ 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.¹⁰⁸ 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.”¹⁰⁹

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

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

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

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 286.

¹⁰⁹ *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.”¹¹⁰ On the basis of the grammatical database of Barbara and Timothy Friberg¹¹¹, Kenny employs ninety-six different features¹¹² 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.¹¹³ Kenny in particular excludes sentence-length because he treats it as “of very ambiguous value.”¹¹⁴

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.¹¹⁵ 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.¹¹⁶

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.”¹¹⁷

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

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

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

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 84-100.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 98-100

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 100.

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

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.¹²¹

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."¹²² Barr accepts the Pauline authorship of the PE.¹²³

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

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

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

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 86.

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

¹²² *Ibid.*, 103.

¹²³ *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.¹²⁴ Likewise, Jeremias notes that the circumstances of Paul's internment prevented him from penning the epistle himself.¹²⁵

A distinctive study with regard to the amanuensis hypothesis of the PE, is Prior's inquiry.¹²⁶ 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.¹²⁷ 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."¹²⁸ He also argues that Paul wrote, that is, he virtually penned, 2 Timothy himself.¹²⁹ Prior makes no final judgment on 1 Timothy and Titus, and suggests all the other Pauline epistles were written by a secretary.¹³⁰ 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."¹³¹ 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.¹³² If so, according to Prior, Philemon would have been written by Paul

¹²⁴ Roller, *Das Formular der paulischen Briefe*, 21.

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

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

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 167-70.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹³² *Ibid.*

himself, nevertheless, Prior presumes that Timothy would be the amanuensis of Philemon by reason of the statement in Phlm 1:19.¹³³

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.¹³⁴ In fact, there is a remarkable linguistic similarity between the PE and Luke-Acts.¹³⁵ 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.¹³⁶ Moule classifies the similarities between the PE and Luke-Acts into three categories, including words, phrases, and ideas.¹³⁷ 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

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 187.

¹³⁵ 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.

¹³⁶ Scott, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 334-49.

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

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

Furthermore, Strobel¹³⁹ and Spicq¹⁴⁰ 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."¹⁴¹ 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.¹⁴² 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."¹⁴³ In this

¹³⁸ 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, peiqarcei/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.*

¹³⁹ See *ibid.*, 198-210.

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

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

¹⁴² Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, 426.

¹⁴³ 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.¹⁴⁴ He contends that “Luke was the secretary whose language was sometimes utilized by Paul as he formulated the contents of the letters.”¹⁴⁵ 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.¹⁴⁶ Such a prominent attention to the Christian widows by Luke-Acts and 1 Timothy also discloses the close correlation between them.¹⁴⁷ 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’.”¹⁴⁸ Riesner seems to allow for the probability that Luke was the amanuensis for the PE.¹⁴⁹ 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.¹⁵⁰

Although there is a measure of consensus among modern scholars concerning the authorship of Hebrews¹⁵¹, namely, it is an anonymous letter, however,

¹⁴⁴ Knight, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 50-51.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

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

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 247.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 255.

¹⁴⁹ See *Ibid.*, 257-58.

¹⁵⁰ 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’.”

¹⁵¹ 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, P⁴⁶, 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.¹⁵² 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 P⁴⁶ 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= P⁴⁶

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

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

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.

¹⁵² 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.¹⁵³ These fourteen letters of Paul in the collection were placed along with their recipients.¹⁵⁴

The letter to the Hebrews was not addressed to a person, but to a congregation. Thus, P⁴⁶ places Hebrews after Romans¹⁵⁵ 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

¹⁵³ Trobisch, *Paul's Letter Collection: Tracing the Origins*, 24.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁵⁵ P⁴⁶ places Paul's letters to congregations along with their extent. See *Ibid.*, 13-17.

thirteen epistles at some time.¹⁵⁶

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.”¹⁵⁷ 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.”¹⁵⁸

Trobisch indicates that “the only place Hebrews is found in the extant manuscripts is among the letters of Paul,”¹⁵⁹ 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.”¹⁶⁰

Although Hebrews commences without a typically epistolary opening, it ends with a letter closing.¹⁶¹ At this point, Bruce sees Hebrews as “a homily in written form, with some personal remarks added at the end.”¹⁶² 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

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 25-26.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ See C. Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux*, Etudes Bibliques, vol.1 (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1952), 19-20.

¹⁶² 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.¹⁶³ 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.)¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ 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.

¹⁶⁴ 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.¹⁶⁵ 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.¹⁶⁶ 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.¹⁶⁷ It is most likely that Paul's amanuensis acted as a contributor (editor), because this

strongly due to "the close chronological and geographical origins" of his correspondences.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 194.

¹⁶⁶ *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.

¹⁶⁷ *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.¹⁶⁸

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).¹⁶⁹

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.

¹⁶⁸ *Idem, The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, 195.

¹⁶⁹ 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.”¹⁷⁰

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.”)¹⁷¹ 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.¹⁷² 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.¹⁷³

In conclusion, Paul’s amanuensis’ role is most likely intermediate between “the extremes of transcriber and composer,”¹⁷⁴ namely, a contributor (editor), as reconstructed by Richards.

¹⁷⁰ Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 4.8.2.

¹⁷¹ 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.

¹⁷² 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.”

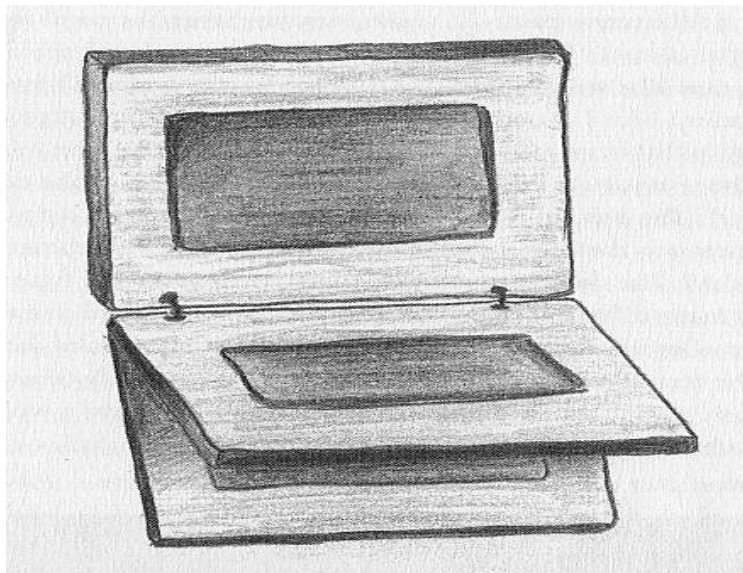
¹⁷³ Ellis, “The Pastorals and Paul,” 45.

¹⁷⁴ Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*, 93.

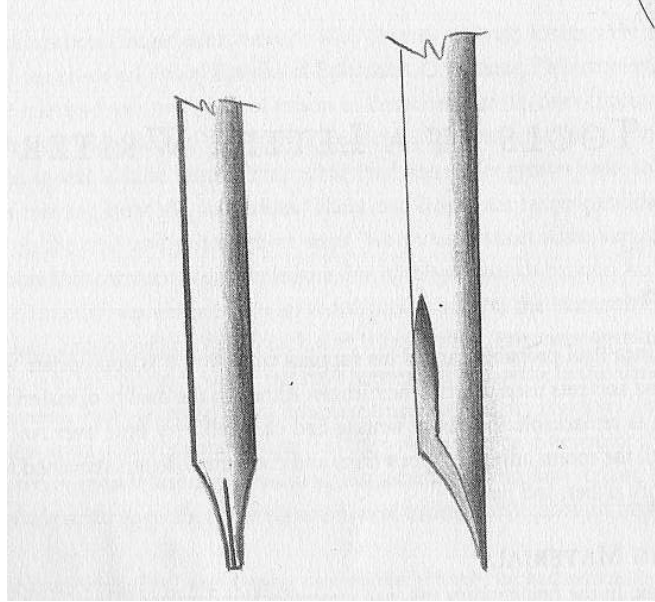
Paul (and his team) dictated the letter, compromising between a painfully slow, syllable-by-syllable rate of speech and the rapid rate of normal speech. The secretary, unable to take shorthand, also compromised. Unable to maintain the complete precision of verbatim transcription, the secretary took notes 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.¹⁷⁵

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.¹⁷⁶

Figure 6. Wax Tablets and a Reed Pen

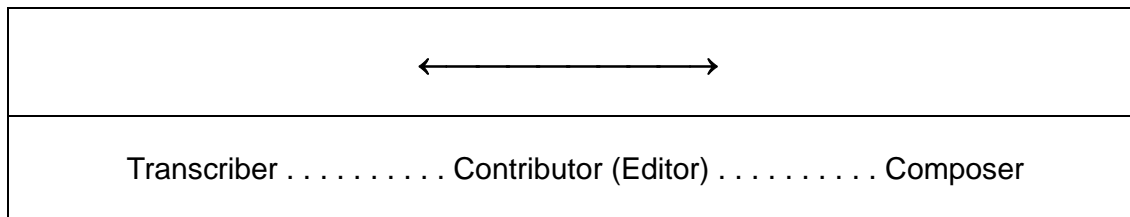


¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*
¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*



(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.¹⁷⁷

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.” ¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, 3.36.3-10.

¹⁷⁸ 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
 avto.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.”¹⁷⁹

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.”¹⁸⁰

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:

¹⁷⁹ Ignatius, *Letter to the Philadelphians* 11:2. See also Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, 214; Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 418.

¹⁸⁰ 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.
 geo.n disko, 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.”¹⁸¹

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.¹⁸² 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.”¹⁸³

Thus, there are outstanding parallels between Smyrnaeans, Philadelphians, and Romans:

¹⁸¹ 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.

¹⁸² Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 419-20.

¹⁸³ 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.¹⁸⁴ 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.”)¹⁸⁵

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

¹⁸⁴ 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.

¹⁸⁵ 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.”¹⁸⁶

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.¹⁸⁷ 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.¹⁸⁸ 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.¹⁸⁹

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

¹⁸⁶ Polycarp, *letter to the Philippians* 14. This example is also quoted by Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 423.

¹⁸⁷ 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.

¹⁸⁸ 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.

¹⁸⁹ 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 lupon 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."¹⁹⁰

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.¹⁹¹

P. Oxy 937 dates back to the third century A.D., and reads:

¹⁹⁰ 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.

¹⁹¹ 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.”¹⁹²

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.¹⁹³

To the contrary, Eusebius’ citation from Dionysius’ letter mentioning Clement’s *Letter to the Corinthians* is frequently argued as an example that this

¹⁹² P. Oxy 937. This example also cited by Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 425.

¹⁹³ Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 425.

formula does not mention the letter carrier but refers to the amanuensis.¹⁹⁴

“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.”¹⁹⁵

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.¹⁹⁶

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,”

¹⁹⁴ 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.

¹⁹⁵ Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, 4.23.11. Lake translates *grafei/san* as “sent,” not “written.”

¹⁹⁶ 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.¹⁹⁷

The majority of manuscripts of Romans show its stretched superscription as “))) pro.j `Rwmai,ouj evgraw, fh avpo. Kori,ngou dia. Foi,bhj)))) “¹⁹⁸ 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.¹⁹⁹

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.²⁰⁰ In spite of the compelling examples, quite a number of scholars argue that this phrase identifies Silvanus as the secretary.²⁰¹ Some scholars insist that it is

¹⁹⁷ 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.

¹⁹⁸ See Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 477.

¹⁹⁹ Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 426.

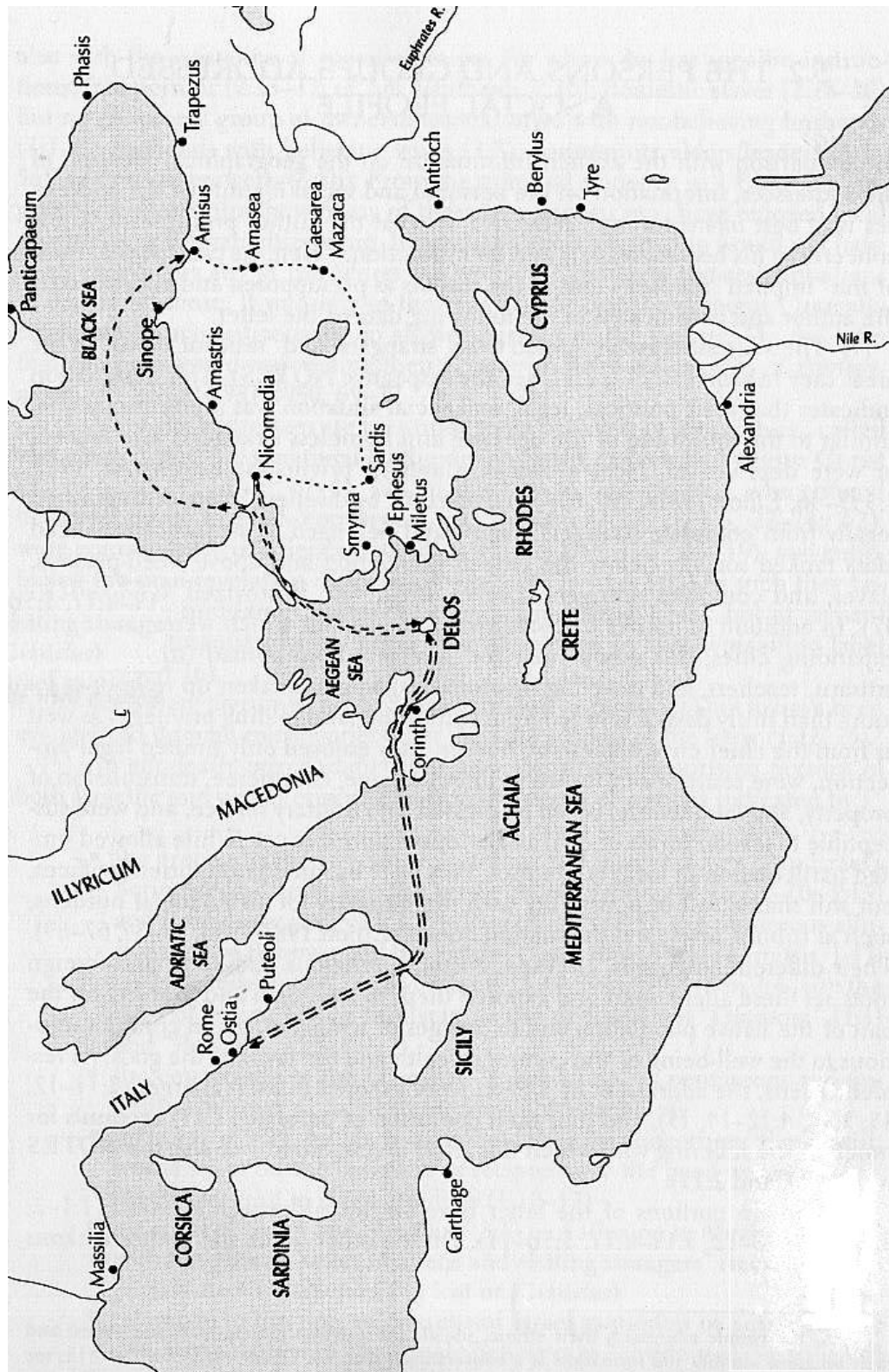
²⁰⁰ See Nisbet, *An Exposition of 1 and 2 Peter*, 210; Brown, *1 Peter*, 623-26; Leighton, *Commentary on First Peter*, 510; Huther, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the General Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 243; Manson, Plummer, and Sinclair, *The Epistles of Peter, John, and Jude*, 115; Kümmel, *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.

²⁰¹ 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

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.”²⁰² Beare’s insistence has been championed by Best and Goppelt.²⁰³ However, Achtemeier fairly and astutely responds to this argument by emphasizing Paul’s missionary travels, which are described in Acts.²⁰⁴ Davids also argues that “surely the bearer was expected to make the whole circuit, and that was the very reason for describing the circuit.”²⁰⁵

Although the argument of Selwyn, Cranfield, and Goppelt that if Silvanus were solely the courier, ἀγγελὸς, ἑρμῆς or ἑρμῆς would be a rather relevant term, seems to be plausible, nonetheless, the examples do not uphold it.²⁰⁶

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.²⁰⁷ Nonetheless, the argument that Silvanus was the letter carrier does not remove the probability that Peter used an amanuensis while composing the letter.²⁰⁸ 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 ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος καὶ ἐμὴ συνεκλεκτὴ καὶ Μαρκῶς 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

²⁰² Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: the Greek Text with Introduction and Notes*, 183.

²⁰³ See Best, *1 Peter*, 176-77; Goppelt, *A Commentary on I Peter*, 369.

²⁰⁴ Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 350.

²⁰⁵ 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.

²⁰⁶ 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.

²⁰⁷ Richards, “Silvanus was not Peter’s Secretary,” 432.

²⁰⁸ Carson and Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 645.

Peter's *ἐπισημειωθῆς* and the author of the Gospel of Mark on the grounds of Papias' note. Apparently, *Μαρκῶς οὐκ εἶχε, ὡς* 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.²⁰⁹

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 *γραφῶν διατινοῦ* 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

²⁰⁹ 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.