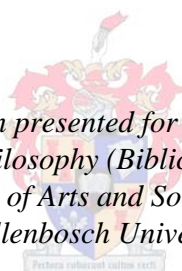# The Pastoral Letter in Early Christianity up to the Early Fifth Century C.E.

by
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Promotor: Prof. Johan Carl Thom

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, Joohan Kim, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature: Joohan Kim   Date: December 2012

ABSTRACT

This dissertation aims to trace a Christian letter tradition, i.e. the pastoral letter type, during the first five centuries of this era. With this in mind I outlined the problem statements, goals, theoretical points of departure, research questions, hypotheses, methodologies and structures in Chapter I of the dissertation.

I surveyed the history of modern studies on Greco-Roman epistolography in Chapter II. There I looked at how the study of Christian letters was related to Greco-Roman epistolography and what it contributed to the history of modern study on Greco-Roman epistolography. In the process I also focused on the study of the Christian letter tradition that flourished especially during the middle of the twentieth century. I pointed out some weaknesses in the preceding studies, such as limiting the analysis of letters to certain periods, failure to consider generic features and lack of attention to psychagogical intention. At the end of the chapter I concluded by pointing out what still remains to be done, such as considering a broader range of sources and periods, and paying more attention to how the pastoral letter continued to function during the first five centuries of our era.

On the basis of the preceding survey I then focused in Chapter III on the generic features of Greco-Roman hortatory letters and their psychagogical functions to provide the background of a broader hortatory tradition for explaining the generic features and functions of the earliest Christian letters, i.e. the letters in the NT. From this research I concluded that Greco-Roman hortatory letters followed the pattern of common Greco-Roman letters in terms of structural and formal features. However, they not only focused on the guidance or education of the recipients in terms of function, but for effective persuasion the authors also employed various rhetorical devices which are often found in the other genres of hortatory works.

In Chapter IV I analysed the letters in the NT in order to show that these letters resonate with the hortatory letters that were composed for psychagogy (viz. pastoral care). Firstly, I focused on the

analysis of Paul's first letter, i.e. 1 Thessalonians, to show that the author of the first Christian letter was as pastor above all concerned with pastoral care, and for effective pastoral care he borrowed from the Greco-Roman hortatory letter tradition. From this analysis I concluded that 1 Thessalonians can be located in the hortatory letter tradition, but has its own distinct character differing from common hortatory letters. These features must have resulted from Paul's efforts to take care of his believers in the Christian faith. In the remainder of this chapter I analysed the rest of the letters in the NT, considering the outcome of the analysis of 1 Thessalonians together with the broader hortatory tradition. I found that the rest of the letters in the NT could be classed as hortatory letters for the purpose of psychagogy, i.e. pastoral letters, in terms of both their structural and formal features, and of their composition, purpose and function.

In Chapter V I analysed a number of selected pastoral letters from early Christian authors. Firstly, I surveyed the history of Christian letters and their authors to provide a general background for this chapter. From these authors and their letters, I chose sixteen pastoral letters from fifteen Christian leaders based on stated criteria, and analysed them, considering both the earliest Christian pastoral letters (viz. the letters in the NT) and the broader Greco-Roman hortatory letter tradition. As a result of this analysis I found that these selected letters had features in common with the earliest Christian pastoral letters, especially in terms of their purpose and function, as well as distinctly Christian characteristics. I then compared the outcome of this analysis with selected letters from non-pastoral Christian letter types (viz. the festal or paschal letter type, the synodic letter type, the papal letter type and the "essay in letter form"). I found that, though the selected pastoral letters and non-pastoral letters had some literary features in common, such as structure and form, and employed rhetorical devices, they nevertheless differed in terms of purposes and function.

In the last chapter, Chapter VI, I briefly summarised the entire dissertation.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie proefskrif het ten doel om die bestaan van 'n Christelike brieftradisie, nl. die pastorale brieftipe, in die eerste vyf eeue van hierdie era na te spoor. Vir hierdie doel het ek die probleem- en doelstellings, teoretiese uitgangspunte, navorsingsvraagstukke, hipoteses, metodologieë en strukture van die proefskrif in Hoofstuk I uiteengesit.

In Hoofstuk II het ek 'n oorsig gegee van moderne studie oor die Grieks-Romeinse epistolografie. Ek het ook nagevors hoe die studie van Christelike briewe aansluiting vind by die Grieks-Romeinse epistolografie, en watter bydrae hierdie studie tot die ontwikkeling van moderne studie oor die Grieks-Romeinse epistolografie gemaak het. Bykomend hiertoe het ek gefokus op die studie van 'n Christelike brieftradisie wat veral gedurende die middel van die twintigste eeu gefloreer het, en het sekere leemtes in hierdie vooraafgaande studies uitgewys, nl. die feit dat die analise van briewe tot slegs sekere periodes beperk is, en die versuim om generiese eienskappe en pastorale oogmerke in aanmerking te neem. Daarna het ek aan die einde van die hoofstuk aangedui wat nog gedoen behoort te word, soos om 'n breër spektrum van bronne en tydperke te benut, en om aandag te gee aan volgehoue tendense in die teorie en praktyk van psigagogiese briewe gedurende die eerste vyf eeue van hierdie era.

In die lig van bogenoemde oorsig het ek in Hoofstuk III gefokus op die generiese eienskappe van Grieks-Romeinse hortatiewe briewe en hulle psigagogiese funksies, om die agtergrond te skets waarteen die generiese eienskappe en funksies van die vroegste Christelike briewe, nl. die briewe in die NT, teen 'n breër hortatiewe tradisie bestudeer kan word. Na aanleiding van hierdie ondersoek het ek tot die slotsom gekom dat Grieks-Romeinse hortatiewe briewe die algemene patroon van Grieks-Romeinse lettere met betrekking tot strukturele en formele eienskappe gevolg het. Nietemin was die funksie daarvan nie net gemik op die voorligting of onderrig van die ontvangers nie, maar die skrywers het ook vir die doel van oorreding verskeie retoriese middels ingespan wat dikwels in ander genres van hortatiewe werke gebruik is.

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In Hoofstuk IV het ek die briewe in die NT ontleed om aan te toon dat hierdie briewe behoort tot die hortatiewe briewe wat opgestel is vir die doeleindes van psigagogie, d.w.s. pastorale sorg. Eerstens het ek gefokus op die analise van Paulus se eerste sendbrief, nl. 1 Tessalonisense, om uit te wys dat hierdie eerste Christelike skrywer as pastor boweal gemoeid was met pastorale sorg, en vir die doeleindes van effektiewe pasorale sorg deels gesteun het op die Grieks-Romeinse hortatiewe brieftradisie. Uit hierdie analise kon ek aflei at 1 Tessalonisense geskaar kan word by die hortatiewe brieftradisie, maar tog die eiesoortigheid behou waardeur dit verskil van algemene hortatiewe briewe. Hierdie eienskappe moes voortgespruit het uit Paulus se bemoeienis om te sorg vir sy volgelinge in die Christelike geloof. In die daaropvolgende deel van hierdie hoofstuk ontleed ek die ander sendbriewe in die NT teen die agtergrond van die resultate van die analise van 1 Tessalonisense asook die breër hortatiewe tradisie, en geraak tot die gevolgtrekking dat die ander sendbriewe in die NT ook geklassifiseer kan word as hortatiewe briewe vir psigagogie, d.w.s. pastorale briewe, beide wat hulle strukturele en formele eienskappe aanbetref, en die doel van hulle samestelling en funksie.

In Hoofstuk V het ek probeer om 'n aantal geselekteerde pastorale briewe van vroeë Christelike skrywers te ontleed. Eerstens het ek die geskiedenis van Christelike briewe en hulle skrywers as algemene agtergrond vir hierdie hoofstuk uitgelig. Uit hierdie skrywers en hulle briewe het ek sestien pastorale briewe van vyftien Christelike skrywers, leiers van mede-Christene, gekies, gebaseer op bepaalde kriteria. Dié het ek geanaliseer teen die agtergrond van die vroegste Christelike pastorale briewe, nl. die briewe in die NT, asook die breër Grieks-Romeinse hortatiewe lettere tradisie. Deur hierdie analise kon ek vasstel dat hierde geselekteerde briewe behalwe hulle Christelike eienskappe ook ooreenkomste met die vroegste Christelike pastorale briewe toon, veral met betrekking tot hulle doel en funksie,. Daarna het ek die resultate van hierdie analise vergelyk met geselekteerde briewe van nie-pastorale Christelike brieftipes, nl. die feesbrief, die sinodale brief, die pouslike brief en die essay in briefformaat. Alhoewel die geselekteerde pastorale briewe en die

nie-pastorale briewe ooreenkomste getoon het wat literêre eienskappe soos struktuur, formaat en retoriese gebruike aanbetref, verskil hulle van mekaar in terme van doel en funksie.

In die laaste hoofstuk, Hoofstuk VI, word die proefskrif kortliks opgesom.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, all things I achieved came from my Lord, Jesus. Thus, above all, I thank Him for everything.

Secondly, I deeply thank my *Doctorvater*, Prof. Johan Carl Thom for his patient guidance. After having completed my theological studies in South Korea, I came to Stellenbosch in order to be guided in my scholarship by an advanced scholar, Prof. Thom, but I have to confess I got this and much more through his guidance, i.e. a mature life style and attitude to the world. Everything I needed for scholarship have been given through my professor in Stellenbosch University (2006-2012, MA course work and Ph.D.). I also thank the two external examiners, Prof. John T. Fitzgerald (University of Notre Dame) and Prof. Hennie F. Stander (University of Pretoria), and the internal examiner, Dr. A. Kotzé (Stellenbosch University), for their appreciative comments on my dissertation. Furthermore, I met other lecturers and staff in my department who helped me improve myself and get better in all aspects. For this, I thank Dr. S. Thom, Mrs. A. de Villiers, Mrs. N. Brand (Latin), Prof. J. Cook (Semitic languages), Mr. F. Pauw (Classical Greek) and Ms. B. Cyster (secretary).

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DEDICATION

Uxori Meae Dilectae

Jung Sun (Sunny) Park

ABBREVIATIONS

I use the abbreviations of *SBLHS* (see below) for biblical and non-biblical authors. In some cases I use abbreviations of LSJ (see below) where *SBLHS* does not offer assistance. For convenience sake, I list some abbreviations though they are mentioned in the above two books:

ABR	*Australian Biblical Review*
Aev	*Aevum: Rassegna de scienze, storiche, linguistiche, e filologiche*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
ANF	*Ante-Nicene Fathers*
APF	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*
AThR	*Anglican Theological Review*
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BDF	*A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Edited by F. Blass, A. Debruuner, and R. W. Funk. Chicago, 1961.
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CTJ	*Calvin Theological Journal*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
Int	*Interpretation*
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JETS	*Journal of Evangelical Theological Society*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library

LSJ	*A Greek-English Lexicon.* Edited by H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996
Louw-Nida	*Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament based on Semantic Domains: Introduction & Domains*. Edited by J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida. 2 vols. Vol. 1. New York, 1988
LXX	Septuaginta
NA²⁷	*Novum Testamentum Graece*. Editied by B. Aland, K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C. M. Martini, and B. M. Metzger. 27th ed. Stuttgart, 1993
NIV	New International Version
NKJV	New King James Version
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
*NPNF*²	*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series 2
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
PG	*Patrologia graeca* [= *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca*]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1857-1886
PL	*Patrologia latina* [= *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina*]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 217 vols. Paris, 1844-1864
RB	*Revue biblique*
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Paper
SBLHS	*The SBL Handbook of Style.* Edited by P. Alexander et al. Peabody, Mass., 1999
TLG	*Thesaurus linguae graecae: Canon of Greek Authors and Works*. Edited by L. Berkowitz, and K. A. Squitier. 3rd ed. Oxford, 1990
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

A. Problem

The letter genre played a prominent role in Greco-Roman literature. However, up to the nineteenth century C.E. the letter genre was regarded as either just a branch of classics and theology, or a supplement to historical studies. Letters have only recently begun to be studied as an independent field. This decisive change happened as a result of the discovery of the papyrus letters in Egypt at the end of the nineteenth century C.E. Since this discovery and Deissmann's subsequent studies on these papyrus letters, scholars have become interested in the letter genre, focusing on generic features such as the structure, the form and the function of both non-literary or documentary letters (e.g. Ziemann 1911; Exler 1923; Steen 1938; White 1972b; 1978; 1982; 1986; C.-H. Kim 1972; 1975; Buzón 1984; Klauck 2006; C. Kim 2011) and diplomatic or official letters (e.g. Welles 1933; Henneman 1935; White 1972a; Stirewalt 2003). These scholars tried to classify extant letters into appropriate categories: documentary letters, diplomatic or official letters and literary letters (e.g. Aune 1987:162; Weima 2000a:640-642; Stirewalt 2003; Klauck 2006:68; cf. Doty 1973:6-7). They also attempted to define the functions of each letter category or type on the basis of the results of their own analysis (e.g. White 1972a; 1986; White and Kensinger 1976; Stirewalt 1993; Trapp 2003; cf. Berger 1984b:1328), or according to ancient epistolary theories (e.g. Koskenniemi 1956; Thraede 1970; cf. Malherbe 1988) and the principles of rhetoric or social function (cf. Doty 1969; Stowers 1986).

The letter genre featured prominently in early Christianity as well (Doty 1973:18-19, 21-22; Vielhauer 1975:58). Consequently the study of Greco-Roman letters went hand in hand with studies of both the letters in the NT and patristic letters. This was possible because scholars had agreed thereupon that the letters in the NT, including Jewish letters, and patristic letters should be considered part of the Greco-Roman epistolography. However, the study of the letters in the NT was more affected than that of the patristic letters. So any new trend in the study of Greco-Roman epistolography not only promoted knowledge of ancient letters in general, but also shed new light

on the study of the letters in the NT. Furthermore, sometimes the study of the letters in the NT in turn advanced the studies of the Greco-Roman epistolography. For instance the study of the papyrus letters from Egypt opened a new phase in the study of the letters in the NT, especially the letters of Paul. Scholars of these papyrus letters focused above all on structural and formal features, and this resulted in the structural and formal outline of ancient non-literary letters (e.g. Ziemann, Exler and Steen). However, a few prominent scholars of the papyrus letters were also biblical scholars (e.g. Deissmann and Meecham), and they led such study as time passed. Thus the study of the structural and formal features of the papyrus letters from Egypt reached its peak in the studies of White, C.-H. Kim, Buzón, and C. Kim. This is true of the studies of the classification of Greco-Roman letters, of the epistolary theory of Greco-Roman epistolography and of their rhetorical features. The understanding of the letters in the NT has been renewed and advanced by all these studies.

However, though recent studies of Christian letters have progressed, some limitations still remain. These studies have tended to focus mainly on the investigation of the papyrus letters and their comparison to letters in the NT and sometimes to the letters of Ignatius (cf. White 1972b; 1983; 1984; Murphy-O'Connor 1995; Stirewalt 2003; Klauck 2006). Because of these limitations, such as limitation of sources and range of comparison, not only were important Greco-Roman letter types like the diplomatic or official letter and the literary letter ignored, but also important Christian letter types such as the festal or paschal letter, the synodal letter, the papal letter and the pastoral letter were hardly studied in any form. With reference to the present research this fact specifically implies that recent studies of Christian letters failed to identify the Christian pastoral letter as an important Christian letter type, which demonstrates the continuity between the letters in the NT and later Christian or patristic letters, as seen below. Of course, not all scholars noticed the similarity between the letters in the NT, especially Pauline letters, and later Christian letters. They did not interpret this from the perspective of a specific Christian letter type that could distinguish the pastoral letter type from both other Christian letter types and pagan letter types (Cross 2000:407). However, from the time of Paul to the fifth century C.E. it is possible to recognise the existence of a pastoral letter type in early Christian epistolography and to identify which features are limited to pastoral letters in terms of purpose, function and literary device. In other words pastoral letters were

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composed only for psychagogy (i.e. pastoral care), and authors of pastoral letters employed this letter type to guide their recipients with hortatory methods such as encouragement, exhortation, consolation, correction, rebuke and warning. Thus pastoral letters were not only very often sent from a church leader to believers, followers or subordinates, but also dealt with various pending questions posed by believers, and/or church and theological issues. For effective persuasion authors of pastoral letters employed various tools such as "relationship-oriented" expressions, quoting authoritative sources, the word of remembrance, lists of virtues and vices, lists of hardships, some Christian concepts, hortatory vocabularies and other verbal forms of exhortation.

Hints of the existence and development of the pastoral letter type are in fact found in a few studies. For instance White (1983; 1984; 1986) insisted that at least a so-called "apostolic letter tradition" existed in the period of the earliest Christian letters from Paul to Ignatius and Polycarp (cf. Doty 1973:21-22; Stowers 1986:45; Aune 1987). Furthermore, Longenecker (1983:102-106) suggested that it constituted an independent letter type. However, these scholars' suggestions were not widely accepted, because their research was not only carried out within a very limited scope in terms of period and sources, but also did not identify distinct features to establish the pastoral letter as a definite letter type. Nevertheless, these studies provide a good starting point for subsequent research on the pastoral letter type. The possibility of its existence also increases if we consider the letters written by the authors of the NT, especially Paul, and the letters written by later pastoral authors in similar epistolary situations. These were the church leaders who had to take care of believers facing various problems (cf. Watson 1997:649-650). When these leaders had to be away from their flocks, they tried to keep contact with them by means of pastoral letters. It is easy to imagine that in such cases authors might write pastoral letters by adapting the Greco-Roman epistolary tradition to their own situation for their own purpose, following as precedent the letters in the NT as a good example (Doty 1973:21-22; Aune 1987:203). Pauline letters especially could be a good model for later authors of pastoral letters to follow, because Paul was not only recognised as a

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good pastor, but his letters were also popular, influencing most Christians, just as Cicero was an example to Seneca and Pliny the younger (Levens 1930:xvii). [1] However, regardless of the possibility that the existence of a pastoral letter type can clearly be recognised, there has not been any comprehensive and systematic attempt to define a pastoral letter type, except for the few studies mentioned above.

Therefore in this dissertation I shall try to investigate the pastoral letter in terms of a distinctive letter type, and I will focus on its purpose, function and generic features. This goal naturally leads to the following questions: Where are Christian letters located within the history of Greco-Roman epistolography? What distinctive features make it possible to categorise pastoral letters as a group or type? And what significance did the pastoral letter type have in the history of Christian letters?

B. Goals, Theoretical Points of Departure, Research Questions, Hypotheses and Delimitation

My hypothesis is that the pastoral letters constitute an important and independent letter type in the Greco-Roman epistolography, and that this letter type indicates the development of a distinct Christian epistolography during early Christianity up to the early fifth century C.E. In order to demarcate the pastoral letter type this research will therefore start by asking the following fundamental questions: What was the relationship of Christian letters to Greco-Roman

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[1] Because the origin of Christian pastoral letters can be traced to Pauline letters, it may be proper to illustrate features of Pauline letters, and to compare them to features of letters in other categories. Firstly, compared to private letters, Pauline letters as pastoral letters are longer and more complicated, mixed both in content and composition (White 1972b; Watson 1997:650). Secondly, otherwise than literary letters, Pauline letters were not intended to be published, though they were sometimes circulated between several churches. Instead, they focused on pending questions that each church was facing (O'Brien 1997:551). Finally, in comparison to official letters, Pauline letters did not concern political themes, except for a few examples (e.g. Rom 13; cf. 1 Pet 2:13f.), and were not issued by any authoritative organisation (cf. Acts 15:22-33). Besides this they are more intimate, flexible in form and content (Stirewalt 2003:25; cf. Klauck 2006:69).

epistolography? What characteristics did the Christian letter tradition have distinct from pagan letter traditions? What was the position of the pastoral letter type in ancient epistolography? What role did the pastoral letter type play in Christian epistolography and early Christianity? With regard to a time period I suggest the early fifth century C.E. as *ad quam* for this research. First of all the fifth century C.E. was the golden age of the letter genre in Christian literature (Doty 1973:75). In addition the period beginning with Paul and lasting up to the fifth century C.E. shows clearly how the pastoral letter type developed as a specific letter type until Byzantine times.[2]

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[2] Apart from the two reasons mentioned above the fifth century C.E. has some further importance. According to Drobner (2007:187-222 [187-190]) this era is a milestone for periodisation for the following three reasons: (1) the breakup of the political union between the Eastern and Western Empires by Alaric and the Visigoths (410 C.E.), (2) the breakdown of the uniformity of language, culture and literature of the Roman Empire after the death of Augustine (430 C.E.) and (3) the Nestorian debates starting from 428 C.E. These political, cultural and theological events made the fifth century C.E. a significant period in the history of Christian literature. Scholars often suggest that the patristic period ends around the seventh and eighth centuries, i.e. the death of Isidore of Seville (died in 636 C.E.) in the West and that of John of Damscus (died in ca. 750 C.E.) in the East respectively (Patterson 1998:424; Drobner 2007:457). Since many church fathers were active during these latter centuries, I might have extended my research to this period. Certainly, we can find some traces of the tradition of a pastoral letter type in letters of this period. Nevertheless, I did not included this period for my research because of two reasons. Firstly, although the period between the fifth century and the eighth century forms part of the patristic period from the perspective of time, this period is distinguished from the first five centuries which are characterised by the unity or interaction of the culture, territory, language and social customs between the East and the West. As mentioned above, the empire was divided into two disparate worlds after the West was conquered by the Visigoths around the fifth century (Aland 1985:215; Drobner 2007:187-188), and each empire began to go its own way, which finally resulted in the Middle Ages of Western Europe in the Western Empire, isolated from the Byzantine Empire in the Eastern Empire. It was true in the religious or theological sphere too (Aland 1985:204-212). In this sense, the period after the first five centuries may be called an age of transition distinct from the the previous centuries (Logan 2002:13-14). Thus, when we investigate the tradition of the pastoral letter type in early Christianity, the period between the fifth century and the eighth century falls outside the designation "early Christianity". Secondly, the research of pastoral letters belonging to the first five centuries is enough to show the form of development of the pastoral letter type in early Christianity.

C. Methodology

In order to accomplish the above-mentioned aim, it is necessary to identify those letters among extant ancient letters that are qualified as pastoral letters in order to more accurately refine the structural and formal, and functional features of these letters (i.e. pastoral letters), and to investigate how these features developed during early Christianity and up to the fifth century C.E. It is necessary to start by distinguishing pastoral letters from non-pastoral letters. For this purpose two rough criteria for this classification are suggested, namely the historical relationship between the author and the recipient, and the epistolary situation that reveals the pastoral aim of the letters. Using these two rough criteria, I expect to distinguish pastoral letters written by Christian leaders to their recipients for pastoral purposes in specific situations. Next, in order to follow the development of, or change in pastoral letters throughout the first five centuries of this period, I intend analysing the selected letters themselves. This should disclose the literary and functional features of pastoral letters. From the results of this analysis, I expect to refine the criteria for the pastoral letter type more subtly and exactly. However, I think that analysis of the letters is still not in itself sufficient to accomplish the aims of this research. That is because the pastoral letter type did not occur simply during a limited period, but is found as a literary (sub)genre with social conventions that developed over a long period of time too (Aune 1987:13; cf. Fowler 1982). Therefore it is necessary to compare the selected pastoral letters to Christian non-pastoral letters in order to define the features of the pastoral letter type more acurately.

D. Outline of Research

This research will proceed as follows: Chapter I (Introduction) will show motivations for the research in the form of problem statements, and methodologies followed. Chapter II (History of Modern Studies in Greco-Roman and Christian Letters) will explore the background to the research. This will show what position the study of Christian letters takes in Greco-Roman epistolography and how much of it occurred. Chapter III (The Greco-Roman Hortatory Letter Tradition as Literary

Background of the Letters in the NT) will provide general information on Greco-Roman letters. This information will be used as criterion by which to distinguish Christian letters from common secular letters. Chapter IV (A Survey of the Letters in the NT and the Conceptualisation of Pastoral Letters) will focus on two aspects, namely to identify the letters in the NT as pastoral letters, and to suggest what features Christian pastoral letters possess (in accordance to Chapter III). Chapter V (Analysis of Selected Pastoral Letters up to the Early Fifth Century C.E.) will analyse selected pastoral letters by focusing on their content and function. Some formal and structural factors will also be investigated, though they are not critical to confirm the pastoral letter as an ancient letter type. Finally, Chapter VI (Conclusion) will provide a summary of the results of this study.

CHAPTER II: HISTORY OF MODERN STUDY OF GRECO-ROMAN AND CHRISTIAN LETTERS

Although the letters in the NT and early Christian letters had their own particular niche in the history of Greco-Roman literature, it cannot be denied that these letters not only formed part of it, but were also formulated under the same conditions. In order to find a proper place for the pastoral letter type (i.e. the Christian psychagogical letter) as a Christian letter tradition within the Greco-Roman epistolography, it is reasonable to survey the history of the study of Greco-Roman letters as well as of Christian letters. A survey of both fields will provide the background and basis for this dissertation about a Christian letter tradition embodied by the pastoral or Christian psychagogical letter type.

First I shall delineate a history of the study of Greco-Roman letters. In the process I shall summarise the history, focusing in the main on each respective period and its representative author(s). A modern history of the study of Greco-Roman letters can in fact be divided into the following four phases: "Studies before A. Deissmann," "A. Deissmann and His Study of the Papyrus Letters from Egypt," "Literary Formal Analysis" and "Epistolary Theories and Rhetorical Approaches." In this chronological series of four phases, it becomes clear that the scholars of each successive phase tried to understand the ancient letters better than the previous scholars respectively, no matter whether they accomplished their purpose or not. Within this general survey I shall secondly examine the scholarly history of modern study of Christian letters, focusing on the interrelationship between studies in the theological and the patristic areas, and studies in the Greco-Roman epistolography. Where necessary I shall deal independently with some themes limited to Christian letters, because both theology and patrology have their own discipline for approaching texts. However, a more fundamental problem occurs in dealing with the history of the study of Christian letters. This is because most scholars of Christian letters have mainly paid attention to the letters in the NT. Relative to this the study of the letters of the early church fathers has proceeded without any consideration of the letters in the NT from an epistolary point of view. There have been a few attempts to deal comprehensively with ancient Christian letters, both canonical letters and the

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letters of the early church fathers, but such attempts were often limited to the letters of the apostolic fathers such as Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna. Since this is the case, I shall handle this theme as a whole in order to clarify its history.

A. Studies before A. Deissmann

1. R. Bentley (1662-1739 C.E.) and the Emergence of the Modern Critical Approach

Although the letter genre was considered only a supplement to the ancient Greco-Roman literature, it was certainly both indispensable and very popular during early Christianity, as well as in the Greco-Roman world. Nevertheless, the letter genre only recently found an independent position within the study of Greco-Roman literature. The first epistolary scholars started their research by considering the problem of the authenticity of the literary letters of ancient authors from a critical point of view. Prior to the "renewal" (Pfeiffer 1976:vii) or "revival" (Sandys 1967a:xxiv, 1ff.) of classical scholarship since the 1300s C.E. onwards, there had been a tendency for people to accept the authenticity of ancient letters uncritically and without question. However, a new attitude towards classical studies on the ancient works led to a more historical-critical trend. In the field of the letter genre the first historical-critical discussion arose around the late 1600s C.E concerning the problem of the authenticity of the letters of Phalaris (ca. 570-554 B.C.E.). The first and foremost example of this trend is found in the works of Bentley, which were published in 1697 (1836) and 1699 (1816).[3] Dealing with the *Epistles of Phalaris* among others, Bentley (1836 [1697]:135) expressed doubt about their authenticity, saying "I believed it might be even demonstrated that the *Epistles of Phalaris* are spurious."

However, the value of Bentley's work on the history of epistolary studies relies not only on the fact that he demonstrated the spuriousness of the *Epistles of Phalaris*, as Jebb pointed out

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[3] This first dissertation was published as an appendix to William Wotton's *Reflections upon the Ancient and modern Learning* published in 1694 (the second edition, 1697) (Pfeiffer 1976:147).

(1882:74). Instead, Bentley's research above all showed how to deal with ancient letters in a critical manner. For example, in deciding the authenticity of the *Epistles of Phalaris,* Bentley (1816 [1699]:861) used "arguments from words and language." Thus Bentley (1816 [1699]:387-388) identified a word, πρόνοια, as evidence of spuriousness, because it was used by "the sophist" "to express the notion of God's Providence" in the third epistle of Phalaris, while "before Plato's time πρόνοια did not signify Divine Providence, nor was it ever ascribed to the deity; but was used only to denote human consideration and forecast." The existence of this kind of anachronism was decisive proof of his argument. Furthermore, his study on the *Epistles of Phalaris* caused classicists to pay attention to letters, though this lasted for a short time only. Of course, this did not mean that the publication of Bentley's dissertations set in motion an independent study on the letter genre. In fact this did not happen until the end of the nineteenth century. In this sense it should be said that Bentley's studies on ancient literary letters progressed as a part of classics in general. Nevertheless, Bentley's studies should be considered the first modern studies on ancient letters because of their theme and range of sources. It is undeniable that since the research of Bentley "it has been generally (and rightly) accepted that" most ancient letters, which were handed down to us under the names of famous figures in antiquity, "are not what they claim to be, but instead the work of later authors impersonating these great figures of the past" (Trapp 2003:27).[4] Besides this, the fact that Bentley's method affected the study of the NT, including its letters, still makes him worthy of being quoted in the history of Greco-Roman epistolography.

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[4] Bentley used ancient letters "to prove for the first time that these and similar letter collections were created by other authors than their attributed authors, and at much later times" (Klauck 2006:120). However, we also find sharp criticism against Bentley's logic (e.g. Stirewalt 1993:27-42). Stirewalt (1993:27) criticises Bentley's opinion because of his weak starting-point, namely "Bentley's identification of the letters with Galen's forged document."

2. Revival of Epistolary Studies in the Nineteenth Century and Newly Discovered Papyrus Letters from Egypt

Although a new chapter opened in the study of ancient literary letters after Bentley's epochal works (Pfeiffer 1976:150), a thorough research on Greco-Roman epistolography had not been undertaken by the nineteenth century C.E. Ironically, this was caused by Bentley's study itself. To quote Stirewalt (1993:29), "Bentley's attack was so irrefutable and the stigma of forgery so deeply impressed" that for quite a time classicists did not deal with "the larger corpus of Greek letters, previously so highly esteemed." Another reason seems to be lack of any easily accessible corpus of Greek or Roman letters. Editing works of Greek and Latin classics actually started around the first quarter of the nineteenth century C.E. Within this scholarly trend some classicists collected literary letters (cf. Sandys 1967b:144-204). The representative editors were Orelli (1815), Westermann (1851-1858) and Hercher (1873). Their works seemed not to be considered important in classical scholarship in those days, because, for example, Sandys (1967b:185-186) hardly mentioned any publication of a corpus of letters other than Hercher's work. Besides this, studies on the letters did not advance until the emergence of A. Deissmann (1866-1937) and his works. In between there were only a few scholars such as Roberts (1843), Martin (1865) and Albert (1869). Therefore the era immediately before Deissmann could be viewed as a still germinating period in epistolary scholarship. Nevertheless, both the emergence of these editions and the introductory studies show that scholars began not only to recognise a letter genre in classics, but also to pay attention to the study of ancient letters (Stirewalt 1993:29).

However, a fundamental differentiation from the previous study was caused by another factor. Epistolary scholarship prior to the nineteenth century C.E. was already restricted in range due to both limited sources and lack of awareness about the value of the papyrus letters newly discovered in Egypt. Scholars before the nineteenth century C.E. could access only literary letters that were transmitted to them (and us) through the literary tradition. There were few exceptions. The above-mentioned classicists such as Robert, Westermann and Hercher were also constrained by this limitation, although they initiated a fresh approach to ancient letters. However, the discovery of the papyrus letters made it clear that, in order to describe and understand the history of Greco-Roman

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epistolography, the literary letter tradition[5] alone is not enough, because the literary letter tradition consists of "a fragment of the ancient world" (Deissmann 1965 [1909]:3). On the significance of the discovery of the papyri for the history of Greek literature, Renner (2009:284) for example recently wrote as follows:

> The most spectacular and extensive finds of completely new Greek literature occurred for the most part at the end of the nineteenth century, when papyrology brought to light several entire ancient literary works that were previously known only as names . . . The body of ancient Greek literature continued to expand on the basis of papyrological evidence. By the early part of the twentieth century, more Greek authors or individual compositions had been 'rediscovered,' and many additions made to the existing corpora of several Greek authors, often forcing scholars to rethink their approaches to these writers' works. Indeed, the papyri had begun to substantially change the landscape of ancient Greek literature as it was known to the modern world.

Thus we can say that a most decisive change in the field of Greco-Roman epistolography occurred around the turning point of the nineteenth century into the twentieth century, when both the excavation of the papyrus letters was at its height[6], and scholars also started to recognise and utilise their immeasurable value in research. Through the excavation of papyrus letters both types and quantities of Greco-Roman letters increased in number. While until 1881 only about a hundred and fifty papyrus letters were available (Exler 1923:19), now scholars had access to "many thousands of often fragmentary letters" (Stowers 1992:291), so they no longer lacked new sources (White 1972a:1).

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[5] I used this expression as a counterpart to White's "the documentary letter tradition" (1986:189, 193).

[6] According to Kenyon (1899:3-7) the second excavation in the Fayyum (Socnopaei Nesus) in 1892 and the excavation in Oxyrhynchus a few years later by Grenfell and Hunt had the greatest value among the discoveries of papyri since 1752. On general information about the history of excavation, see Preisendanz 1933; Cuvigny 2009:30-58 (30-44) and Longenecker 2011:207.

With the discovery of the papyrus letters epistolary scholarship entered a second epoch. The focus of this second epoch was the new source for the study of ancient letters, i.e. "non-literary" letters that formed a pair with literary letters. About this Stowers (1992:291) remarked as follows: "The papyrus letter together with those preserved by literary transmission provides a view of the whole world of letter writing from Hellenistic times to the Byzantine period" (Cf. Longenecker 2011:206). This second epoch is clearly distinguishable from the first one that was delineated by Bentley in the seventeenth century, because the first one happened simply by a change in the understanding of extant sources, i.e. to view ancient letters critically, especially in terms of the authenticity of the authors and the works. Now the newly discovered papyrus letters helped scholars to increase their knowledge "about how diffused the practice of letter writing was among the Greeks in antiquity or about the style of the common Greek letter" (White 1972a:1). Besides this, these papyrus letters revealed that the assumption that ancient letters mainly dealt with matters of "an official or literary nature" was in error and corrected it. In fact the papyrus letters include a large number of private letters that dealt with private business (White 1972a:1). In a word, "[d]ie Papyruskunde . . . haben uns auch den Weg zu einer besseren Kenntnis des griechischen Briefes eröffnet" (Koskenniemi 1956:9), and the contents of the discovery "have revolutionized the study of epistolography" (Exler 1923:19).

B. A. Deissmann and His Study of Papyrus Letters from Egypt

A. Deissmann was an erudite pioneer of this new scholarship. He was recognized by later epistolary scholars as one of the first to realise the importance of the Egyptian papyri (Porter 1991b:12), convincing scholars that these papyri were important for understanding the NT (Malherbe 1983:32), and advancing biblical scholarship especially by means of popularisation, publication and study

(Doty 1969:184-185). Deissmann wrote a numbers of books.[7] Among them two books, *Bible Studies* (1909 [1895]) and *Light from the Ancient East* (1965 [1909]), as well as one article, "Epistolary Literature" (1901), are significant in terms of the Greco-Roman epistolography. Although his studies on the papyrus letters arose from his interest in the letters of the NT, Deissmann (1909:21), who was described as also a classicist by Doty (1969:187), formulated his evaluation of these papyrus letters compared to literary letters, in his term "epistles," as follows:

> The author is forced to confess that, previous to his acquaintance with ancient papyrus letters (such as it was- only in facsimiles), he had never rightly known, or, at least, never rightly realised within his own mind, what a letter was.

As a result of this evaluation of the papyrus letters Deissmann (1901:1323-1324) divided the extant *corpus epistularum* into two types: "the real letter" ("letter") and "the literary letter" ("epistle"). According to Deissmann (1965:228-229) the "letter" is "something non-literary, a means of communication between persons who are separated from each other" and "[c]onfidential and personal in its nature," but the "epistle" is "an artistic literary form, a species of literature, just like the dialogue, the oration, or the drama" and "intended for publicity" as its aim. In a nutshell, "[t]he letter is a piece of life, the epistle is a produce of literary art" (Deissmann 1965:230).

Though this suggestion may have had some influence in Deissmann's own time, even his contemporaries did not hesitate to criticise this dichotomy (e.g. Ramsay 1994 [1904]:18; Wendland 1912:344; Milligan 1913:94-95; Meecham 1923:110; Robertson 1934:85, n. 6). Actually Deissmann's division was made too mechanically, being incoherent as well. For instance, the letters ("so-called letters" or "epistolary letters" in Deissmann's term) which are placed "between letter and epistle," Deissmann did not hesitate to describe as "bad letters in which the writer ceases to be

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[7] For a complete list of Deissmann's works, see Doty 1969:183-184, n. 2.

naïve, perhaps because he thinks himself a celebrity and casts a side-glance at the public between every word, coquettishly courting the publicity to which his lines may some day attain" (Deissmann 1965:230). As another example Deissmann (1901:1324) described "the professed letter" as a letter "in which the writer is no longer unrestrained, free from self-consciousness in which with some latent feeling that he is a great man, he has the public eye in view and coquettes with the publicity which his words may perhaps attain." In his view this is no letter. Such a strict and rigid attitude towards classifying ancient letters influenced his understanding of the NT letters, as well as later biblical scholarship. Commenting on this later, Doty (1969:185) complained as follows: "It [sc. Deissmann's dichotomy] still appears in many of the NT handbooks and introductions." Nevertheless, Deissmann's studies above all motivated later epistolary and biblical scholars to pay attention to the letters themselves, especially to non-literary letters, and encouraged them to deal with the letters in terms of a genre. Furthermore, Deissmann's dichotomy, though incomplete, made later scholars realise the importance of letter-classification or typology to understand the character of the letter.

However, the most important contribution of Deissmann's studies is that thereby he stimulated the interest of both biblical and non-biblical epistolary scholars in analysing the newly discovered sources, and especially biblical epistolary scholars began to compare them to the letters in the NT.[8] Paradoxically, Deissmann did not try to fully analyse the forms and functions of letters.

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[8] With reference to the influence of Deissmann upon subsequent biblical scholarship, there is another important point to be made, namely that Deissmann's studies helped to define the social levels of early Christians within the Greco-Roman world. Particularly in dealing with Paul's communities, Deissmann applied his dichotomy theory to Pauline letters to define the identity of Paul's church members (cf. Malherbe 1983:32: "Deissmann clearly believes in a correlation between social class and literary culture"). According to facts or implications found in the earliest Christian writings, the earliest Christians belonged to the socially lowest class, because Pauline letters show at least the same social level as the papyrus letters, i.e. the lowest one. By the 1970s this suggestion had actually repeatedly been acknowledged and canonically used in biblical scholarship to understand the earliest Christian community, when new suggestions from some scholars such as Malherbe (1983) and Meeks (1983) appeared. In modern times Deissmann's social understanding based on Pauline letters has been reexamined in the field of biblical scholarship by the method of "Social-Scientific

What is more, Deissmann's studies even resulted in putting scholars off from analysing the form of letters. Weima (1994a:16) pointed this fact out clearly:

> Deissmann's portrayal of Paul's letters as documents haphazardly thrown together has largely controlled the thinking of the present century, with the result that it has severely impeded any formal, epistolary analysis of the apostle's writings. Thus while the early decades of the twentieth century witness a phenomenal growth of form-critical studies on the Synoptic Gospels, the same period, paradoxically, saw almost no research on the form of Paul's letters and on the ways in which epistolary analysis contributes to a better understanding of his writings.

Nevertheless, through Deissmann and the "deissmannic" scholars[9] a new chapter opened in the Greco-Roman epistolography. Studies of some formal features of both pagan and Christian letters, and also their corresponding functions began to be undertaken. The results were prolific. Furthermore, besides the above-mentioned direct and/or indirect contribution to Greco-Roman epistolography, it is important to note that Deissmann's studies steered later epistolary scholarship in a certain direction. Though there were subsequently still some scholars who dealt with literary letters, since Deissmann epistolary studies have been led even up to the present time by biblical

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Criticism." Criticism of Deissmann can be summarised as follows: "In Deissmann's writings, there is a strict delineation between the 'literary' world and the 'unliterary' world which has more to do with his rather naïve Romantic sociological approach, than with distinctions necessarily drawn from in-depth study of the New Testament studies" (Pearson and Porter 1997:149). However, no matter whether Deissmann's suggestion of social division is correct or not, nobody can deny his contribution to understanding biblical writing in terms of social perspective, however rudimentary. Thus Elliott (1993:17, 138) relegates Deissmann's method to "Earlier Social-Historical Studies."

[9] By the adjective, "deissmannic," I mean "pertaining or focusing on nonliterary written materials" in research. From the contemporaries of Deissmann (viz. Moulton, Michigan, Meecham, Ramsay etc.) to some recent scholars, such as participants of the series *Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament* (e.g. P. Arzt-Grabner [2003] etc.) and *New Documents illustrating Early Christianity* (e.g. G. H. R. Horsley, S. R. Llewelyn etc.), the "deissmannic" scholars have mainly depended upon newly discovered non-literary written sources in their studies, especially studies of the NT (cf. Arzt-Grabner 2010a:11-12).

scholars or interdisciplinary scholars of the classics and the NT, who were interested in only non-literary letters or along with literary letters. To sum up: Deissmann's studies can be regarded as very valuable, because he initiated a positive approach to ancient letters.

C. Literary Formal Analysis[10]

Since Deissmann[11] and up to the 1980s a few scholars were interested not only in the literary formal features of the papyrus letters, such as structure, form and formula,[12] but also their functions. The result of these analyses was the recognition of some letter types in terms of function, for example the letter of introduction and recommendation, the petition, the family letter, the memorandum and the royal correspondence (White 1986:193-197 [197]; 1988:88-95; cf. Exler 1923; Welles 1933; Hennenman 1935; Keyes 1935; Mullins 1963; C.-H. Kim 1972; White 1972a; 1984:3; Buzón 1984). Not all scholars referred to Deissmann's works. Nevertheless, most scholars undeniably had

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[10] In this dissertation, the phrases "literary formal analysis" and "literary formal analytical" are used as more or less equivalent to "form criticism" and "form-critical" respectively. Athough the latter phrases are more commonly used, I prefer the former terminology, following the important lead of J. L. White who first employed this in his influential contributions to the study of Greco-Roman epistolography.

[11] Malherbe (1983:57) said Deissmann's "concentration on the papyri has influenced form criticism studies of letters until recently," i.e. the 1970s. Saying this, however, I do not mean that all subsequent scholars consulted Deissmann's works during their studies, or that they always agreed with Deissmann's suggestions on epistolography, or his interests, even when they mentioned them. Actually White (1972b:xi-xii, 43), one of the foremost literary formal analysts of letters, ascribed the lack of literary formal analysis of the letters in the NT prior to himself, to Deissmann's concept of the letter. For post-"deissmannic" scholars, it was more meaningful that Deissmann's studies were almost the first on the papyrus letters, and that, especially for theologians, his works changed the direction of the studies on the letters in the NT.

[12] On the distinction between structure, form and formula, I follow White's suggestion (1972a:11) that structure means the "functional items" which are necessary to a letter, such as opening, body and closing, "and their arrangement, irrespective of overt form in a given letter." Form means "the overt character (vocabulary, syntax, and style) of structural items in actual letters" and formula means "embellished or stylized form."

Deissmann's work in mind. If not, they at least started from the same point as Deissmann: Firstly, they kept an open mind and a positive attitude towards ancient letters, no matter whether they were literary or non-literary, though the non-literary letters took the lead. Secondly, their study of letters was based on formal analysis. Another phenomenon was the huge participation of biblical scholars in this field. Thus it is impossible to describe a history of the study on literary forms of letters during those times without reference to these biblical scholars.

1. Earliest Literary Formal Analysis

a) Introduction

In his monograph aiming at distinguishing the opening and closing forms of the newly discovered papyrus letters, Exler (1923:13) dealt with his sources under the following four subtitles: the opening formulas, the closing formulas, the date formulas and the conventional phrases.[13] As can be seen from these subtitles, his study followed a scholarly trend to base new studies on analysing papyrus letters in terms of "letter-form" (Exler 1923:12; cf. Welles 1934:xlii). From the point of view of its contribution to ancient epistolography, his study was a "pioneering" study and "ground-breaking" for "more specific investigation" by subsequent scholars (White 1972a:1-2). Prior to Exler there had been a few scholars engaged in the same subject, such as Mahaffy (1895), Gerhard (1905), Ziemann (1911) on non-literary (private) letters, Schubart (1920) on official letters, Pease (1902) on literary letters, and Findlay (1911), Wendland (1912), Meecham (1923) on Christian

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[13] Actually the aim of Exler's study was "to investigate the origin of the Greek letter-form." However, he confesses that he had to give his aim up immediately, because "[u]nfortunately our papyri do not take us back, at least in the field of epistolography, to before the third century B.C.," when forms of most letter type had already been fixed. So Exler changed the direction of his study to the illustration of "the history of the Greek letter-form during the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods" (Exler 1923:11-12; cf. White 1986). Recently Stirewalt (1993) also tackled a similar theme, i.e. the origin of the letter. According to him the official or diplomatic letter preceded the other letter types (Stirewalt 1993:4; cf. White 1986).

letters. Two of the most outstanding figures among these were Ziemann on non-literary and non-biblical letters, and Meecham on biblical letters.

b) F. Ziemann and H. G. Meecham

The work of Exler (1923:12), aiming "to illustrate the history of the Greek letter-form," was preceded by more than a decade by that of Ziemann, who also recognised the value of the papyrus letters and other sources. Basing his work on the epistolary formulas, Ziemann (1911:vii) made the following claim: *Possumus nunc, id quod ante nostram aetatem fieri nequibat, historiam epistolici sermonis scribere* ("Now we are able to do what could not be done before our age, to write a history of epistolary discourse" [my translation]). Ziemann analysed the forms of letter openings and closings under the four subdivisions: *de praescripto et inscriptione, de valetudinis formula, de salutationibus in exordio et fine epistularum*, and *de clausula*, and explained their functions. His work proved that papyrus letters are not only helpful, but even decisive in describing both the nature and characteristics of Greco-Roman letters. Nevertheless, Ziemann's formal analysis was still limited in at least two respects. Firstly, his sources for analysis were selective. Although this selective use of sources was adequate to accomplish his aim, the result was insufficient for comprehensively defining the formal features of papyrus letters.[14] Besides this, another fundamental limitation was the fact that some important collections of papyrus letters were published around and after 1911, i.e. after the completion of Ziemann's dissertation (Exler 1923:12-13).

Meecham's work was published in the same year as Exler's dissertation (1923). In his attempt to show "the similarity between the letters of the NT and contemporary private correspondence," and so to discover "what light is cast by the Oxyrhynchan private correspondence

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[14] In later literary formal analytical studies the insufficiency of the sources of previous studies was often criticised. For example C.-H. Kim (1972:2-3) pointed out that Keyes, a pioneer in the study of the letter of recommendation, missed a few important characteristics of this letter type, because "his collection of papyrus letters of recommendation was not extensive." Along with the example of Ziemann's study, the case of Keyes' study stresses the most important prerequisite for comprehensive literary formal analytical studies.

upon the epistolary features" of the letters in the NT, Meecham (1923:113-127) provided some useful samples that point out the need of literary formal analytical studies in biblical scholarship. However, Meecham's study contained a few decisive, if unintended, mistakes. He limited the source of his analysis to two hundred and eight Oxyrhynchan papyrus letters and simply compared them to Pauline letters in order to find similarities, without identifying the common formal and formulary features of the Oxyrhynchan letters. Consequently his examples are fragmentary, i.e. comparison of either a word to a word, or a phrase to a phrase. As a result Meecham's study was neither comprehensive nor systematic. In addition Meecham never tried to understand the formal features in the context of the epistolary genre. Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that Meecham's study adequately revealed the value of comparative formal analysis between non-literary letters and the letters in the NT. In particular he even provided a good example of comparison in the structure of non-literary letters and the letters in the NT. Meecham (1923:113-114) reached the conclusion that papyrus letters have the following fourfold structure: opening address or salutations, thanksgiving and prayer for the addressee, substance of the letter containing directions and personal news etc., and farewell greetings and closing prayer. According to him Pauline letters follow "this outline of epistolary structure" with little adaptation to the "needs of readers and the exigencies of local circumstances."

c) F. X. J. Exler

Due to the above-mentioned limitations of the earliest formal analytical works of Ziemann and Meecham, Exler's work can be considered a basic and leading study on the formula, form and structure of non-literary papyrus letters from Egypt. His study is often quoted by later "deissmannic" literary formal analysts. Through his study both form and formula came to be more clearly delineated according to each letter type, and his concentration on the letter opening and closing confirmed that the letter body existed independently in a letter just as White (1972a) pointed out later, although this conclusion appeared in an appendage to his main study. In addition his attempts to both group non-literary papyrus letters into the four groups (i.e. familiar letters, business letters, official letters, petitions and applications) and also to analyse the epistolary form of each

group, made it possible to recognise the important and decisive relationship between the letter type and its epistolary form. But Exler's most important contribution to the history of epistolary studies was that he determined the direction of the subsequent formal analytical study, since he not only dealt with a number of papyrus letters as far as was possible, but also used the inductive results of his analysis to draw up an outline of the formal features of those letters. Exler (1923:133) then came to the following conclusion: "[T]hroughout the entire period covered by our investigation there is a remarkable similarity in the formulas employed. Their phraseology remains substantially the same." This conclusion was not only sound, but useful for subsequent formal analysts.

Nevertheless, Exler's study also had a few limitations. Exler did not concern himself with the middle section of the letter, i.e. the body, though it is the main part of the letter (White 1972a:8). Nor were his criteria for classifying letters into four groups consistent, as also Exler himself (1923:23) confessed them to be "somewhat arbitrary." Without any consistent primary criteria Exler classified letters on the basis of "the contents of the documents," and then considered the "similarity of form" of both letter opening and closing (Exler 1923:23). Superficially Exler had something in common with later formal analysts such as White (1971a; 1971b; 1972a; 1972b; 1986), C.-H. Kim (1972; 1975) and Buzón (1984) as well as C. Kim (2011). However, Exler did not progress beyond the point where he dealt with his letters without sorting them into proper categories as he had always done, and he did not deeply consider the relationship between form, content and function. A more systematic formal analysis of Greco-Roman letters only later became part of scholarship.

2. Further Development of Literary Formal Analysis

After Exler there appeared a group of scholars, though not a school, which emphasised the importance of a relationship between literary formal features (structures, forms and formulas) and their functions in order to understand the character of ancient letters. Their aim was not only to identify the features of ancient letters, whether literary or non-literary, biblical or non-biblical, but also to describe letter-writing in antiquity by distinguishing each specific letter type in terms of outcomes based on source analysis, instead of depending upon content, epistolary theories and other ancient literary theories, such as rhetoric and oration. The latter interest was well summarised by C.-

H. Kim (1972:3) as follows: "It is primarily form and structure that make a particular type of letter distinct from other kinds of letters" (cf. Mullins 1963:46, in relation to the letter of recommendation). The literary formal analysts recognised that the epistolary formal features, including structure, form and formula, are decisive not only to understand or interpret the letters themselves, but also to demarcate a letter type distinguishable from other letter types. The presupposition of an existing connection between literary formal features and functions steered the epistolary studies of that time into literary formal analysis, especially in the field of biblical scholarship of the NT. Because of this the studies of this period gave rise to two phenomena. The first was related to dealing with sources. Letters were grouped in terms of a specific type or kind and analysed. Scholars such as Olsson (1925), Welles (1934),[15] partly Henneman (1935)[16], partly

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[15] Welles' study is different from others, especially in terms of sources. Welles dealt with royal or diplomatic letters. However, it should be noted that his study expanded beyond a simple literary formal analysis of the royal letter to the related scholarship of Greek language, just as Meecham (1923:25-26) did with some private letters found in Oxyrhynchus (viz. the *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus*, vols. I-XV). This, however, was only one of the three merits of the newly discovered letters as Deissmann had already implied in his works, i.e. as a source of Greco-Roman epistolography, as a source of Koine Greek and as a supplement for literary historical works. On this point Meecham (1923:9) said, "The pioneer work of Dr. G. ADOLF DEISSMANN . . . has given stimulus and direction to all subsequent research." Naturally Welles acknowledged these marginal values in his study. Thus Welles (1934:vii) said, "The letters of the kings of the Hellenistic period are interesting for their content and for their language. In both fields they are primary historical sources." So these scholars can be placed into an independent group, just like groups such as literary formal analysts (e.g. White, C.-H. Kim, Buzón and C. Kim), and "ancient epistolary theorists" (e.g. Koskenniemi, Traede and Malherbe). But I did not put Meecham and Welles in an independent group here, because this research focuses on the generic features of Christian psychagogical letters (viz. pastoral letters), and because the above-mentioned studies were actually undertaken by either philologists or historians rather than epistolographers. Furthermore, I categorised Welles and Meecham as literary formal analysts, because their works contain analytical outcomes of both papyrus letters and royal letters (Meecham 1923:46-95 and Welles 1933:xxxvii-li).

[16] Henneman (1935:1) wrote as follows: "Am meisten wird er [sc. Trajan, the emperor] wieder vor unserem inneren Auge lebendig, wenn wir ihn in seinen Briefen reden und handeln sehen. Hier ist es gerade der Stil, der den Charakter Trajans besonders offenbart. Machen wir den Stil zur Grundlage einer Charakteristik, so müssen wir aber auch fragen, was darin auf den Kaiser selbst, und was auf seine Kanzlei zurückgeht." From these words, I find that his real interest was historical, though he mentioned the style analysis of Trajan's letters (viz. the royal letters). Nevertheless, like the

Koskenniemi (1956)[17], Mullins (1963), White (1972a; 1972b; 1978), C.-H. Kim (1972; 1975) and Buzón (1984), no matter whether they were biblical scholars or not, carried out their studies by considering a specific letter type or kind. Their studies contributed towards not only identifying the literary forms and formulas of letters and their functions, but also defining many specific types of ancient letters according to literary-formal features and functions. These studies also showed that most literary formal analyses were undertaken in the field of biblical scholarship of the NT. That is to say that, along with the recognition of the importance of the literary formal analysis and the interpretation of the letters in the NT, the studies of ancient Greco-Roman epistolography developed concurrently with biblical scholarship. Subsequently interdisciplinary interaction occurred in the study of Greco-Roman epistolography, though not consistently. For example Archer (1951/52), a classicist, dealt with a theme like "Epistolary Form in the New Testament." Mullins also used to treat the interrelationship between papyrus letters and letters in the NT (1963; 1964; 1968; 1972; 1972/3; 1973; 1977; 1980; 1984). However, in many cases those who collected formal analytic data on ancient letters for their own purposes were biblical epistolary scholars, especially students of Paul's theology. On the one hand, they focused upon finding some common features between the letters in the NT, in particular Pauline letters; on the other hand, they emphasised both the discontinuity and the continuity between the letters in the NT and non-biblical papyrus letters in terms of structure, form and formula, and function. To quote Dormeyer (1998:24-25), "intensive

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works of Welles and Meecham, Henneman's work fits into the category of the formal analyst, because his work contains some outcomes from the analyses of letters.

[17] According to White (1972a:1) both Exler (1923) and Koskenniemi (1956) conducted "pioneering studies" prior to his own "with regards to phraseology" and "the motivation behind Greek letter-writing." But it is uncertain what White meant by the expression "the motivation behind Greek letter-writing," because White (1986:189) later placed Koskenniemi into the group of the "ancient epistolary theorists" along with Traede (1970) and Malherbe (1977a) (cf. Malherbe 1988:1). Nevertheless, because Koskenniemi (cf. 1956:18-53) dealt with the generic features of ancient letters, he can to a certain extent be grouped with the formal analysts. This course is supported by White's evaluation (1972a:3, n. 3): "Koskenniemi's study, though not purporting to investigate the form of the Greek letter, nevertheless defines the same threefold structure of the letter as Exler had."

analysis of the literary parallels between letters in antiquity and Pauline letters only finally started to take place," though it was not limited to the 1960s, as we can see from the following list of scholars: Lohmeyer (1926; 1927), Roller (1933), Champion (1934), Schubert (1939a; 1939b), Dahl (1951), Bardley (1953), Sanders (1962), Bahr (1966; 1968), Funk (1967a; 1967b; 1982b; 1982c), Bandstra (1968), Bjerkelund (1967), Thraede (1968/69), Roetzel (1969), Francis (1970), Jewett (1970; cf. 1969), Berger (1974; 1984b), Boers (1975/76), Cuming (1975/76), O'Brien (1977; cf. 1974/5; 1979; 1980; 1997), Nijenhuis (1981), Longenecker (1983; cf. 1974b), Coetzer (1984), Olson (1984; 1985), Roberts (1986) and Weima (1994a; 1994b; cf. 2000a; 2000b).

What then was the core of literary formal analysis, and what was definitely contributed by literary formal analysis to both Greco-Roman epistolography and the biblical scholarship of letters in the NT? In order to answer these questions it would be logical to focus on the works of the best literary formal analysts. Literary formal analytical study actually attained its peak around the 1970s-1980s in the works of scholars such as White (1972a; 1972b; cf. 1971a; 1971b; 1978; 1982; 1983; 1984; 1986; 1988), C.-H. Kim (1972; 1975; cf. 1981), C.-H. Kim and White (1974) and Buzón (1984) in the area of common Greek-Roman epistolography (cf. C. Kim 2011), and those of theologians such as O'Brien (1977), Schnider and Stenger (1987) and Weima (1994a; 2000b) in the area of biblical epistolography. Of these White's studies were particularly important and influenced both the study of Greco-Roman letters and their relationship to biblical letters, especially Pauline letters. Studies of both C.-H. Kim and Buzón are worthy of mention too.

a) J. L. White

The literary formal analyst, White (1972a:2), stated as follows at the beginning of his most important work: "It now seems appropriate to turn attention to specific letter types and their correlative forms" (cf. C.-H. Kim 1972:1). White's words reveal the two main interests of his research. Firstly, he intended investigating the relationship between specific structures of Greek letters and the corresponding Greek letter types. Secondly, he would use these outcomes to understand Greek letters (White 1972a:69). In fact White assumed that nobody could understand the nature of ancient letters "until he can posit the form and structure peculiar to each type" (White

1972a:69), so he focused on presenting "the only discrete letter types which are identifiable according to stereotyped language and structural features" (White 1984:3). To succeed in this aim White focused on the letter body and the formal features of the petition as a model of study. Firstly, he criticised the previous studies of Exler (1923) and Mullins (1963) on the grounds that "Exler has posited the distinctive opening and closing of the letter of petition, but has failed to recognise the background to the request in the letter. On the other hand Mullins is very perceptive in his analysis of the essential items at the heart of the letter, but fails to acknowledge the opening and closing" (White 1972a:8). And then, White focused on revealing the "deep and fundamental structure" of the petition, namely the opening (salutation, lineage item, vocation, residence item), the background (delineating the occasion for writing the petition), the request, and the closing (farewell) (cf. White 1972a:5-7; P.Oxy. 487, a model petition proposed by J. L. White). He also proved that there was an "integral connection between letter type and specific structural items" (1972a:63-65). Moreover, proceeding with his study on the petition, White (1972a:66, 69) suggested some criteria for defining a letter type, i.e. both "the overt similarities (of vocabulary and syntax)" and "the deep structure" in a group of letters (cf. C.-H. Kim 1972:3). According to White (1972a:9, 63) the letter of petition was in this sense "a discrete letter type."

White was interested not just in the common Greek letter tradition, but also in improving the understanding of the letters in the NT. White (1972a:67) made this clear in the following words: "My special interest in investigating the form and structure of the common Greek letter stems from a desire to understand and interpret the letters of the New Testament." Therefore in his subsequent studies (1972b; 1978; 1982; 1983; 1984; 1986; 1988; cf. 1971a; 1971b) White continuously tried to correlate the results of his studies on common papyrus letters from Egypt with understanding the letters in the NT. Distinct from contemporary biblical scholars, he was involved in clarifying the nature of papyrus letters from Egypt to further his own studies on the letters of the NT, especially, Pauline letters. In two books published in 1972 White (1972a and 1972b) offered clues to both understanding and interpreting the structures, forms, formulas and their functions in the letters of the NT. Particularly with his book, *Form and Function of the Body of the Greek Letter: A Study of the Letter-Body in the Non-Literary Papyri and in Paul the Apostle* (1972b), White contributed to

"the structural analysis of the letter body" of Pauline letters (1972b:xi). [18] Through an exhaustive comparison of the letter body between papyrus letters and Pauline letters, White made possible the interpretation of the letter body on the basis of epistolary formal features.

White's studies increased the understanding of the Greco-Roman epistolography in three areas. Firstly, through his formal analytical studies, prompted by the above-mentioned two motivations related to biblical studies, a history of the common Greek letter was now accepted as part of the Greco-Roman epistolography. Especially his third book, *Light from Ancient Letters* (1986), shows this to be true. Thus I think this book is good enough to be used as an introduction to the Greek letters preserved in the Egyptian papyri. Secondly, his comprehensive formal analyses of both the common Greek letters and the letters in the NT (1972a; 1972b; 1978; 1982; cf. 1971a; 1971b) contributed to understanding the character of the Greco-Roman letters and their functions on the basis of more objective data, not simply on content. In addition they offered grounds for defining the letter genre, especially in relation to common Greek letters. [19] Finally, his subsequent studies on the letters in the NT (e.g. 1983; 1984) expedited the formulation of the concept of a Christian letter tradition. Moreover, through White' studies, it can no longer be denied that in defining a literary genre or type, at least in the epistolary genre, some common literary features such as structure, form, formulas and expression, besides the purpose and the function of the composition, play a decisive role. At this point it can be said that, by identifying some of the literary formal features of the letters in the NT, especially Pauline letters, White contributed to a debate about a Christian letter tradition in the subsequent decades. On a detailed discussion of this theme, see section 3 below. [20]

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[18] Prior to his first monograph, *Form and Structure of the Official Petition* (1972a), he published two articles (1971a; 1971b).

[19] Among those who contributed to defining any type of letter of this kind, are C.-H. Kim (for the letter of recommendation [1972] and the invitation [1975]) and Welles (for the royal letter [1934]).

[20] Prior to White there were in fact some scholars who insisted on (or implied) the possibility of the existence of a Christian letter tradition, starting from (genuine) Pauline letters, or at least within the corpse of letters in the NT (e.g.

b) C.-H. Kim

C.-H. Kim also contributed to increasing the knowledge of common Greek letters from the practical perspective (cf. C.-H. Kim 1972:1-2). In the same way that White was interested both in defining a letter type in terms of structure, form and function (cf. C.-H. Kim 1972:3; 1975:391-392) and in improving background knowledge in order to understand the letters in the NT (cf. C.-H. Kim 1972:1, 143; 1975:391, n. 1), C.-H. Kim demarcated some letter types, such as the letter of recommendation (1972) and the invitation (1975). As White had also observed (1972a:66, 69), C.-H. Kim (1972:3) thought that literary formal analysis would be able to produce good results when the analysis of epistolary forms and formulas were in accordance with the analysis of the structure, because the function of form and formula in letters was related to the basic structure. Thus C.-H. Kim said of the letter of recommendation that without this twofold investigation the literary formal analysts could not definitely identify and fully understand the letter of recommendation as a specific type of Greco-Romans letter. Through his study we now know that the structure of the letter of recommendation consists of five elements: the opening (salutation formula and *formula valetudinis*), the background (identification formula and background proper), the request period (request clause, circumstantial clause and purpose or causal clause), the appreciation and the closing (*formula valetudinis* and closing salutation) (C.-H. Kim 1972:7; cf. P.Mich. 33, a model letter proposed by C.-H. Kim). This method was also applicable to the study of the invitation. C.-H. Kim suggested that the structure of the invitation consists of seven elements: an invitation-verb, the invited guest, the identity of the host, the purpose, the occasion of the feast, the place and the date (C.-H. Kim 1975:392; cf. P.Oxy.110, a model letter proposed by C.-H. Kim). In addition C.-H. Kim's study (1972) helped to free White from the criticism against his initial basic studies that "letters of petition, because of their official nature, have a formal character which is not analogous to more

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Deissmann 1901; Ramsey 1994 [1904]; Wendland 1912). However, they did not, or could not offer any evidence for their claim.

common letter types" (White 1972a:66). As can be seen in C.-H. Kim's work (1972) the letter of recommendation is not only a specific letter type in the Greco-Roman epistolography, but also "personal (not official) and friendly in nature" (White 1986:194). From all the above it can be said that C.-H. Kim's comprehensive study of the letter of recommendation and the invitation contributed a page to the history of the study of Greco-Roman letters.

c) R. Buzón

Before the publication in 1986 of White's masterpiece on the formal analytical study of common Greek letters, in which he promoted four letter types as examples of "the Greek documentary letter tradition," i.e. the "Letters of introduction and recommendation," the "Letters of petition," the "Familiar letters" and the "Memoranda," with some explanations of both literary formal features and functions (White 1986:193-197), another important book was published in 1984 by R. Buzón. He had the same purpose as his predecessors. Buzón (1984:11) expressed the aim of his research as follows: "Wir haben uns zur Aufgabe gestellt, die Briefe und Urkunden im Briefstill der Ptolemäerzeit auf ihre Struktur und ihre Formeln hin zu untersuchen." With this in mind Buzón not only dealt comprehensively with various types of papyrus letters under the categories of *Briefe persönlichen Charakters*, *Empfehlungsbriefe*, *Geschäftsbriefe* and *Verwaltungsbriefe* (Buzón 1984:1-198), along with some documents in epistolary form, such as *Quittungen*, *Schuldscheine* and *Verträger* (Buzón 1984:199-236), but also analysed their literary formal features on the basis of their structures and forms (Buzón 1984:237-244). Buzón's epistolary study was not an original attempt, yet it can be said to be a notable work in terms of being almost an unique formal analytical study of the papyrus letters and their characteristics, which arose from purely epistolary concerns with papyrus letters and not from a biblical epistolary interest. As such it can be located between the work of Exler (1923) and C. Kim (2011).

d) Other Literary Formal Analysts

In the area of the biblical scholarship of letters the results of formal analytical study and its methodology were widely accepted and comprehensively applied to understand the letters in the NT, especially, Pauline letters. Representative works are those of Funk (1967a; 1967b; cf. 1982b; 1982c), O'Brien (1977), Schnider and Stenger (1987), Lambrecht (1994b), Weima (1994a; 1994b; 2000b) and Murphy-O'Connor (1995). They often limited their interest to a special part of the letter. For example Schnider and Stenger (1987) and Murphy-O'Connor (1995) focused on the more general structural and/or formal features of letters in the NT, O'Brien (1977) and Lambrecht (1994b) on the thanksgiving or the proem, Funk (1967a; 1967b; cf. 1982b; 1982c) and Mullins (1973) on the visit-talk section, and Weima (1994a; cf. 2000b) on the closing. Nevertheless, their studies directed interest in the epistolary nature of the letters to structural and formal lines. Recently C. Kim (2011) did research on the style and structure of the Christian private letters on papyri between the third and the fourth or fifth century C.E. In this study C. Kim proved that Christian private letters found in Egyptian papyri were Christianised both in the prescript and the subscript (cf. C. Kim 2011:31-63) and in its own peculiar fivefold structure ("Eingangsgruß – *Formula Valetudinis Initialis* – Briefkörper – *Salutatio* an andere/von anderen – Abschliedsgruß mit Erweiterung"), though many of them still followed the precepts of common Greek private letters on papyri (C. Kim 2011:122-183 [182]).

3. Research on the Christian Letter Tradition in the Period of Literary Formal Analysis

Throughout the history of the study of Greco-Roman letters there were a few successive debates on whether or not the so-called Christian letter tradition had existed in the times of early Christianity. Such debates were caused by the fact that the letter genre was not only the literary genre most favoured by Christians, but also played a very important role in churches (cf. Doty 1973:18-19). On this question scholars have two disparate opinions.

Firstly, some scholars did not recognise any kind of independent Christian letter tradition at all. They insisted that there was no Christian letter tradition that had started from the letters in the NT, nor were the letters in the NT and other Christian letters different from pagan letters. Instead

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these scholars thought that even Paul, the first Christian letter writer, did not create something new in the history of ancient Greco-Roman epistolography, but simply adapted the Greco-Roman letter tradition for his own purpose as his contemporary pagan letter writers often did. For example, Berger (1984b:1332) was of the following opinion:

> Trotz dieser Differenzen meint man, den paulinischen Brief der *common letter tradition* einreihen zu können: Der Brief ist Kommunikation zwischen getrennten Freunden, Ersatz für Mündlichkeit und zeichnet sich aus durch den Gebrauch stereotyper Sätze.

Furthermore, such scholars did not accept any indication of a continuance or a development between the letters in the NT (i.e. the earliest Christian letters) and the letters of later Christian authors.

On the other hand, from an early period of modern scholarship on Christian letters, most scholars insisted that a Christian letter tradition, or some Christian letter types, had existed in the first few centuries of this era. They basically agreed that Paul became the "creator of a literary subgenre: the Christian epistle," by having adapted "the Greco-Roman letter for his missionary work" (Brown 1983:788, n. 2; cf. Gamble 2002:198; Klauck 2006:436), and also that his letters had initiated a new letter type or tradition, and so had influenced subsequent Christian letters as a letter model (Deissmann 1901:1327; Wendland 1912:367, 375; Baxter 1953:xiii; Stowers 1986:41, 46; Ramsay 1994:18, 22). Before the 1970s this was assumed by most scholars even with limited evidence. However, as a result of literary formal analysis with the increase of interest in the letter genre around the 1970s, the situation changed. Every effort was made to find a trace of the Christian letter tradition. A more systematic and intensive study on the Christian letter tradition began with literary formal analysis. This new approach was above all directed towards generic features in order to identify the genre or type of a letter in terms of structure and form.

The definition of a genre or a type is commonly based on the content, function and form of a work (Berger 1984a:17; Aune 1987:13). However, scholars, especially literary formal analysts,

often emphasized the importance of form among the above-mentioned three factors, because the form is the most likely to disclose the genre of a work. Strecker (1997:27) expressed this as follows:

> The concept of genre relates not to aesthetic considerations, restricted to describing and classifying literary materials, but to formal characteristics of individual forms, seeking to reconstruct their relationships and development.

Furthermore, formal features, being one of the "constituent elements of the genres that frame them" (Aune 1987:13), are more decisive in defining the genre of a work when we consider the relationship of form to the other two factors of genre, namely content and function. Because of this relationship Longenecker considered them to be inseparable. Thus Longenecker (1983:101) said: "Since form and content in varying degrees are inseparable in the study of any body of literature, it is necessary to give attention not only to what is said, but also to how it is said – viz. to the form used to convey meaning and to the function served by that particular form." With regard to defining the genre of the letters in the NT, this means that such an undertaking is deeply concerned with the literary formal features of the letters in the NT, though their content and function should not be ignored. From this perspective it may be said that study of the literary formal features of letters is a prerequisite for demarcating a Christian letter tradition, and this is also applicable to the research on the pastoral letter type (cf. Aune 1987:13; 1997:lxxx; Pearson and Porter 1997:131-137 [134]). Thus many scholars, especially literary formal analysts of the letters in the NT, devoted themselves to this field of study, and as a result most scholars who advocated a Christian letter tradition, were literary formal analysts.

Among such literary formal analysts White distinguished himself. By providing proof through the comparative analysis of ancient letters, White opened a new phase in the study of the letters in the NT, and his results provided some generic grounds for insisting on the existence of a

Christian letter tradition. To do this White (1983:444) first made comparative studies between Pauline letters and the papyrus letters from Egypt,[21] and reached the following conclusion: "[T]he Apostle Paul was the foundation figure in the evolution of the letter in the direction of an apostolic letter tradition, as the formal and material evidence attests." In other words White proclaimed the existence of "the Christian letter tradition, or at least the apostolic letter tradition which we find it in the NT" (White 1984:1739). This conclusion is of course based on his literary formal analysis of Paul's seven letters (viz. Romans, 1 & 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians and Philemon [White 1988:97; cf. 1972b; 1983:436-444; 1984:1749]), and on the comparison of the results of the analysis with other letters in the NT. This is made particularly clear in his article, "Saint Paul and the Apostolic Letter Tradition" (1983), and this conclusion was confirmed afterwards with slight modification (White 1984: 1739-1755; 1988:96-101). The unique features of Pauline letters, which White pointed out and which were shared by later Christian letter authors in the NT and a few apostolic fathers, can be distinguished by two factors, i.e. the epistolary situational factor and the literary formal or conventional factor. First, White (1983:436-437) identified some general features of Paul's seven letters. He pointed out that Pauline letters are longer and more literary than documentary letters, and have "the official, albeit familiar, tone" (White 1983:436). And Paul "always wrote in his capacity as an apostle" in his letters that "were communal in nature" and "intended to be read aloud to the Christian communities" with the possible exception of Philemon (White 1983:436-437). Besides this, Pauline letters have "the religious nature of the epistolary setting" that gives "formal expression and recognizable identity to Paul's letters" (White 1983:437). This religious nature is confirmed by "the opening prayers of thanksgiving and blessing, the summarizing doxologies, the embedded hymns and confessions, the

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[21] In his two important studies on the "common letter tradition" done in 1972, White stated as follows: "It has been my intent in this investigation to throw some light on the literary genre, the common letter, to which Christian letters are related" (1972a:69) and "[t]he primary purpose of this study is the structural analysis of the body of the Pauline letter. The study represents, in the author's opinion, an additional step in the interpretation of the total form of the Pauline letter" (1972b:xi).

appeals to Scripture, the catechetical types of instruction (*paraenesis*) and the closing grace benediction" (White 1983:437; cf. 1984:1739; 1988:96, 101). In addition to the above-mentioned general features, White listed distinguishing features found in each part (viz. the opening, the body and the closing) of Pauline letters (White 1983:437-440; cf. 1984:1740-1750; 1988:98-100). In the opening Paul replaced a common greeting, χαίρειν, with an independent phrase, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη, and he Christianised even this phrase with an expression, ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (White 1983:437). And Paul made his status as apostle clear by addressing his recipients with familiar designations such as "the saints," "the church," "called," "sanctified," and "beloved." These expressions show that the author and the recipient are considered to be "religiously and communally united by means of God's grace." Such mutuality was also often expressed by Paul with the vocative, ἀδελφοί (White 1983:437). In the closing Paul used a grace benediction such as ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησου Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν, instead of common words of farewell, i.e. either ἔρρωσο (ἔρρωσθε) or εὐτύχει (διευτύχει). White pointed out that this benediction had been used in the setting of Christian worship (e.g. Heb 13:25; Rev 22:21; cf. *1 Clem.* 65:2), but its employment as epistolary style came from Paul (White 1983:438). A command to greet one another with a holy kiss is also a distinguishing feature of the closing of Pauline letters (White 1983:438). According to White Paul used the thanksgiving for the well-being of the recipients, which is different from the custom of the "thanks-offering phrase to the deity" in documentary letters, which focused on the author's welfare (cf. White 1983:438). And here Paul entreated God to do the same as that for which he had already given thanks, to obtain even greater benefits (White 1983:438). Sometimes this section accompanies "the Christian hope regarding Christ's second coming" that functions as a motivation for the recipient to lead a blameless life (White 1983:438-439). White said that, though Pauline letters show less stereotyped patterns in the body than in other parts of the letter, they share a similar purpose, i.e. Paul's intention to offer "spiritual advice and direction to Christian congregations" (White 1983:439). It is notable that Paul often used as body closing the "expression of apostolic authority," which serves to appeal "most forcefully to his recipients to attend to his apostolic advice" (White 1983:439). In Pauline letters such apostolic authority was carried out through the apostolic *parousia*, which was Funk's term

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describing "the letter, the dispatch of an emissary, and Paul's own presence," and through "the rehearsal of his past conduct with the recipients and/or his reminder of previous instruction (*parenesis*)," i.e. "the parenetic appeal to the Christian tradition" (White 1983:440-441). In particular the latter's function as "a summons to eschatological preparation" is warranted by the prayer and wish of peace (White 1983:441-442). In other words, the prayer and wish of peace in Pauline letters (e.g. Rom 16:20; Gal 6:15; Phil 4:4-7; 1 Thess 5:23) not only provide "a kind of eschatological climax to the entire message" preceding it, but also projects the "outcome of the recipients' obedience" (White 1983:442).

White stressed that both the literary formal features and similar epistolary situations of Paul's seven letters were copied by later Christian authors, such as the other apostles in the NT and some apostolic fathers, though traces can also be found of non-Pauline influence, i.e. the Hellenistic letter tradition (White 1984:1755-1756; 1988:100). Thus White (1983:442-444; cf. 1984:1751-1754; 1988:100-101) pointed out the following similarities: Firstly, "invoking apostolicity in the opening address" was repeated in various forms (White 1983:442-443). Secondly, in most of the other letters the independent introductory greeting of Paul's seven letters was used (White 1983:443). Thirdly, many letters, though not all, contain a grace benediction at the closing instead of a common farewell (White 1983:443). Fourthly, some letters show a pattern similar to the thanksgiving and/or benediction of Paul's seven letters (White 1983:443). Fifthly, the "expression of apostolic authority, such as the apostolic *parousia* and the *parenesis*, appears in many letters (White 1983:443-444). Finally, the prayer and wish for peace at the end of the body occurs (White 1983:444).

For White all this indicated that "[t]he apostle Paul was the primary influence in the formation of the Christian letter tradition, or at least the apostolic letter tradition which we find in the NT," and simultaneously "Paul's letters provide both the beginning point, and the norm for our investigation of the NT letters" (White 1984:1739). However, this conclusion was not only White's. The same opinion was expressed by Doty (1973:21-22; cf. 1973:18-19) in the following words:

> [A]t no time after the writing and publication of the Pauline letters were early Christian writers able to ignore the impact of the Pauline letters. They were the model for early Christian literature in ways that the gospels and histories could not be, and the line of generic contact continued from Paul down through the encyclicals and papal letters of subsequent centuries.

This is also true of other scholars such as Stowers and Gamble. Thus Stowers (1986:41) thought that "Paul, the Hellenistic Jew, provided the most important model for Christian letters until Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil became the most imitated letter writers in the Byzantine church." Gamble (2002:198) also summarised the value of Pauline letters to later Christians in the following words:

> It is, however, a more general measure of success that, despite their specific addressees and occasional character, most of Paul's letters came to be valued and preserved, and were soon widely disseminated among other churches both within and beyond Paul's own mission field. It was in consequence of this that Paul's letters had their greatest influence. At the same time, Paul's practice served to inaugurate the long and broad tradition of letter-writing in Christianity.

To summarise: Scholars who advocated the existence of a Christian letter tradition, based this on the following facts: Firstly, Paul was the creator of the Christian letter type. Secondly, Pauline letters, as the first Christian letters, played a key role in the emergence of a Christian letter tradition, and the Christian letter tradition came into existence afterwards. Finally, this letter tradition embodied the form of a letter for the guidance of the church, i.e. a Christian psychagogical letter or pastoral letter type (cf. Longenecker 1983:104).

D. Epistolary Theories and Rhetorical Approaches

For about one and a half century after the discovery of the papyrus letters in Egypt the study of ancient letters focused on literary formal analysis,[22] and in the course of time showed a tendency to turn to the study of biblical letters, especially focusing on Pauline letters in the NT. Particularly concerning the inclination towards studies on the letters in the NT, it can be said that recent epistolary studies entered into a new phase. Classical and biblical epistolographers began to cooperate in a development of both areas. Stirewalt (1993:vii) summarised the situation in this way: "At the present time a wealth of material covering almost every aspect of the field has accumulated. The work has been done both by classical and by biblical scholars." Of course, this does not mean that recent epistolary studies lost their diversity. Pagan classical letters published since the middle of the nineteenth century were continually studied from various perspectives. Yet these publications were limited to some professional classical studies on ancient literary letters (e.g. Rosenmeyer 1994; 2001; 2006; Trapp 2003). As a result of this interdisciplinary interaction, most biblical scholars who were interested in the letters in the NT, did not now hesitate to borrow outcomes from non-biblical scholarship, and to apply these to biblical studies. Consequently "[d]etailed knowledge of epistolary conventions and of the use of the letter in the Hellenistic world should grow considerably as biblical scholars and historians focus upon the literary types (genres) of primitive Christian literature" (Doty 1973:x). The fact is that recent studies on Greco-Roman epistolography cannot be evaluated without including biblical scholarship. They are now complementary. Furthermore, recent studies on Greco-Roman epistolography should include a perspective on how recent biblical studies on epistolography proceeded. Accordingly, I shall write a history of studies

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[22] This differs greatly from that of the time of the discovery of papyrus letters in the nineteenth century. In that period epistolary studies actually began in at least three different areas, i.e. collecting letters and doing research on them, arguments about the authenticity of ancient letters, and dealing with papyrus letters (cf. Stirewalt 1993:vii).

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on ancient epistolography with the emphasis on biblical studies of the letters in the NT in the subsequent section.

1. The Emergence of a Theoretical Approach and Biblical Studies on Epistolography

Some attempts to understand both biblical and non-biblical letters in the light of ancient literary theories (either epistolary or rhetorical) appeared in the 1970s. Differing from the previous literary formal analysts, who considered their primary task to be the identification of the literary formal features of letters and their functions, this new trend aimed to set and to understand ancient Greco-Roman letters within their own social settings.[23] This approach was of course not completely new to studies on Greco-Roman (including Christian) epistolography. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, some scholars on ancient epistolography were interested in such ancient theories, collected ancient texts containing these theories and published them (cf. Sykutris 1931:190-191). Even during the time when literary formal analysis flourished, the interest in ancient literary theories (either epistolary or rhetorical) never ceased (e.g. Sykutris 1931; Koskenniemi 1956; Thraede 1970; Doty 1973). However, through the newly aroused interest in ancient literary theories since the 1970s, studies on ancient epistolography entered a new phase.

The background to the emergence of this tendency was complex. Its emergence was neither due to interest in literary theory (either epistolary or rhetorical) to effectively explain the Greco-Roman epistolography, nor due to some doubts of the previous literary formal analytical approach, especially by biblical scholars. Instead interest in the literary theories arose because of the

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[23] Actually, this agrees with one of Deissmann's suggestions (1901:36): "Just as the language of the Bible ought to be studied in its actual historical context of contemporary language; just as its religious and ethical contents must be studied in their actual historical context of contemporary religion and civilization, so the biblical writings, too, in the literary investigation of them, ought not to be placed in an isolate position." In this regard Stowers (1986:17) implies that it can be a kind of revival of Deissmann's presupposition: "Deissmann saw that literary form and social context were interrelated," differing from later scholars such as Exler and others. Nevertheless, as opposed to Stowers, who considered both non-literary and literary letters, epistolary theories and even rhetoric practices in his studies, Deissmann rarely examined this kind of material, except for non-literary letters.

following situations that epistolary scholarship faced since 1970s: Firstly, its emergence was a natural development that ensued after some basic studies on the newly discovered sources were completed. [24] Through various studies on the literary formal features of the Greco-Roman letters epistolary scholarship accumulated sufficient outcomes to define what features the ancient Greco-Roman letters have from a literary formal perspective. Consequently the next question to be asked arose from the field of the epistolography, i.e. a search for a balanced view of understanding the Greco-Roman epistolography from both practical and theoretical perspectives. Secondly, some critics of literary formal analysis repeatedly pointed out problems, such as the anachronism of a formal analysis approach, a wrong presupposition of the necessary relationship between structure and form and their function, and the lack of comprehensive studies on the letter body in comparison to studies on the letter opening and the letter closing. Biblical scholars especially found insufficient examination of the letter body in literary epistolary analysis most problematic. In their view literary formal analysis did not succeed in providing clear indications to explain the relationship between structure and form and their functions in interpreting the content of the letter body, which is the most important and essential part of a letter, and conveys the aim of the letter-writing. Furthermore, biblical scholars complained that they could not understand the content of the letters in the NT by means of literary formal analysis that just provides an explanation of "how parts of letters are constructed," nor "why certain letter formulae were used rather than others" (Hughes 1989:30) For this reason biblical scholars now turned to the rhetorical criticism of letters, which was considered to "help scholars to identify the lived situation of the letters in the NT" (Hughes 1989:30). Thirdly, in similar vein as the above-mentioned uncertainty, biblical scholars recognised that some overlapping features between non-literary letters and literary letters are found in the letter body of the letters in the NT. According to them, though the letters in the NT can be said to belong to the

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[24] Of course, with the expression "basic studies" I do not mean the completion of such research. Instead I use this for the kind of text-analytical study that appears as a phenomenon of scholarship after new discoveries such as Qumran or Nag-Hammadi.

category of the non-literary letter in its basic character (especially in the epistolary situation of the authors), they contain various rhetorical devices and literary sources that are often limited to literary letters. Moreover, these scholars recognised that the literary features (and content) of the body of the letters in the NT cannot be explained only from the perspective of non-literary letter tradition. Even White, a representative literary formal analyst, partly agreed with this proposition. Although he excluded both the "literary" letter and the "Hellenistic royal (diplomatic)" letter in his study, White (1986:3) also said that "[t]he use of rhetorical techniques, especially in the theological body of St. Paul's letters, indicates that a knowledge of these traditions is quite relevant to the study of early Christian letters." This means that the letters in the NT are more complicated and refined in arrangement, style and content than papyrus letters. Scholars again began to pay attention to literary letters and their features, especially of the letter body, and utilised literary devices.[25] Finally, another decisive but often hidden cause of the emergence of this tendency, especially in the area of biblical studies, was a change in the attitude of approaching the letters in the NT. Scholars again started to regard the letters in the NT as the earliest source of providing a social picture of some of the earliest Christian communities (cf. Malherbe 1983:31). Although the shift in both presupposition and methodology had a clear starting point in the history of biblical literary criticism, it remains a chicken-and-egg problem, i.e. whether the compositional and substantial features of letters led to such a shift, or whether a change in methodology made such an interpretation possible. However, it is true that, since Deissmann defined the identity of the earliest Christian community as the socially lowest class, most biblical scholars up to the 1970s (viz. the period of literary formal analysis) had rarely paid attention to the meaning and function of the letters of the NT from the point of view of

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[25] Cf. Koskenniemi (1956:5, 11) pointed out the limit of the previous studies as following: "Die vorliegende Untersuchung ist ursprünglich aus einem Interesse für den Papyrusbrief entstanden und befasst sich auch vorwiegend mit dem griechischen Brief als solchem, wie er uns durch Funde auf ägyptischem Boden bekannt geworden ist," but, nevertheless, "[w]eniger ist vor laüfig die Stellung des Papyrusbriefes im Vergleich zu den übrigen bekannten griechischen Briefen behandelt worden . . . [I]n umfassenderem Sinn ist dem Verhältnis des Papyrusbriefes zu den anderen Briefen jedoch keine Behandlung zuteil geworden."

social background in the Greco-Roman world. In fact, under influence of Deissmann, most biblical scholarship up to that time had thought that the letters in the NT were some occasional products of the socially lowest and uneducated class, and could not contain any elaborated factors. However, around the 1960s-70s biblical scholars started to realise that the earliest Christians were not just people of the socially lowest class, but belonged to a middle class, or at least to a mixed class, which existed between the intellectuals (often authors of writings in the NT) and non-literary people (Malherbe 1983:29-31; cf. Schütz 1982; Meeks 1983; Stowers 1986; 2001).[26] Accordingly, biblical scholars began to think that the letters in the NT could no longer be studied only in relation to non-literary letters, as the literary formal analysts did.[27] Considering the social structure which the earliest Christians belonged to, and their literary or cultural connection with the contemporary world, biblical scholars focused on re-evaluating the outcomes of the previous studies of literary formal analysts, and began to offer other scholarly outcomes based on a new understanding of the social position of the earliest Christians. In fact it can be said that this is the fundamental cause of the emergence of the theoretical approach to ancient letters.

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[26] Some scholars who suggested this social approach to biblical studies on epistolography, often emphasised that, apart from literary formal analysts, they succeeded to a "deissmannic" scholarly tradition. For example, Malherbe (1983:x) expressed his respect for Deissmann and the scholarship of his contemporaries. In the case of Stowers, summarising Deissmann's contribution to throwing light on "the style and genre of the letters, the social class and context of the letter writers, and the relationship of Christian writings to Hellenistic and Jewish cultures," he suggested that, apart from literary formal analysis, biblical scholarship now has to focus on the social context of the letters in the NT, just as Deissmann had done (Stowers 1986:17-20 [18]). Therefore these scholars, who belonged to this "deissmannic" group, proceeded with their studies by evaluating, criticizing and modifying Deissmann's studies. Cf. Malherbe (1983:59): "[I]t is likely that further investigation of Paul's style of letter writing will further modify Deissmann's view of the social level represented by Paul's letters."

[27] It has to be pointed out that this comparison is impossible, because most literary formal analysts did not consider any relationship between the non-literary letters and the social class within which the letters appeared, as Deissmann did. The literary formal analysts simply analysed the letters and classified them. Even in the comparative studies between these letters and the letters in the NT no clear recognition of the relationship appeared. While the relationship was necessary to advance the literary formal analysis of the letters, it was ignored by most literary formal analysts, no matter whether this was intentionally or unintentionally.

In reaction to these factors a new scholarly approach (or method) to epistolary studies appeared. This approach resulted in both a devaluation of papyrus letters, at least in biblical epistolary scholarship, and literary formal studies on them, by the application of ancient literary theories (either epistolary or rhetorical) as higher interpretative devices to understand ancient letters (especially the letter body), and also to define the type of a letter and to concentrate on the letters in the NT as a part of the Greco-Roman epistolography. There were two phases in the development of this new approach: The first phase was a deductive theoretical approach that tried to understand ancient letters (especially the letters in the NT) from the perspective of ancient epistolary theorists and/or of classical rhetoric, and the second one was an inductive or descriptive approach that tried to understand ancient letters (especially the letters in the NT) in terms of their own logic and/or arrangement (cf. Penner and Stichele 2009:253).

2. The Deductive Theoretical Approach

a) "Ancient Epistolary Theorists"[28]

Some scholars tried to look at Greek-Roman epistolography with a balanced view towards both practice and theory. Sykutris (1931), Koskenniemi (1956), Thraede (1970) and Doty (1973) dealt with non-literary letters, literary letters and even epistolary theories as a whole in their works. They thought that, having considered epistolary theories from antiquity, they could attain a better understanding of both the character of letters and practice of letter-writing in the Greco-Roman world. For them ancient epistolary theories primarily offered some ideals for letter-writing, and revealed the nature of Greco-Roman epistolography.

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[28] Cf. With regard to this expression, Reed (1997:171, n. 4) wrote as follows: "By 'epistolary theorist' I include the authors of the epistolary handbooks as well as those learned letter writers who make less systematic (sometimes casual) comments about letter writing." I follow this concept in my dissertation, because in their studies most modern scholars on epistolography have dealt with both groups that Reed mentioned. Actually "Ancient Epistolary Theorists," which was used as the title of this section, was borrowed from Malherbe (1988), who also included both those groups.

Firstly, after having asserted that "[d]er Zweck der gelehrten Theorie war natürlich, dem praktischen Briefschreiben zu dienen, indem man Grundlagen für den Briefstil gab und Regeln dafür aufstellte," Koskenniemi identified three characteristics of the Greco-Roman epistolography, i.e. *philophronesis*, *parusia* and *homilia*. They were considered to indicate a friendly relationship as a motivation for the letter-writing, its use in place of a face-to-face meeting and the contents of a presumed conversation respectively (Koskenniemi 1956:34-47; cf. Doty 1973:12). However, Koskenniemi did not stop there. He extended his study to the question of whether or not these three factors were embodied in practical letter-writing, and if so, in what features they were embodied in letters (Koskenniemi 1956:64-200; cf. Klauck 2006:189). Through his study Koskenniemi put the priority on epistolary theory rather than on epistolary practice. Even the epistolary formal features were considered to be a mirror of the epistolary theory.

Agreeing to these three extracts of Koskenniemi's from ancient epistolary theories, Doty (1973:14-15) added some stylistic features on the basis of Demetrius' work, such as "brevity," "clarity" and limit of subject matter. Thraede (1970) also demonstrated that these principal characters of Greco-Roman letters had persisted with some modifications up to the period of late Antiquity. Above all, Thraede extracted them through the analysis of letters, not simply from either epistolary theories or handbooks. Through such an approach Traede revealed that letter-writing in the Greco-Roman world was closely related to epistolary theories.

However, the increase of interest in ancient epistolary theories in the field of epistolary scholarship began a bit later. Malherbe stood at the front. By publishing original texts of ancient epistolary theories with English translations in 1977 and 1988,[29] Malherbe opened the way to the generalisation of ancient epistolary theories in the field of epistolary scholarship (cf. Porter 1993:110). In fact, already before Malherbe this trend appeared in Thraede's work (1970). However,

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[29] Actually the book, published 1988, was a reprint of the article of 1977 (viz. 1977a). They are in fact the same work. The reason why I mention both of them is to point out the starting point of the generalisation of ancient epistolary theories in the scholarship on epistolography.

because the original texts that Thraede produced were not only of late antique Greco-Roman epistolography, [30] but also without translations (cf. Thraede 1970:17-19, 25-26, 192-214 and elsewhere), Thraede's study was not serviceable to modern scholars of the Greco-Roman epistolography. For this reason the publication of Malherbe's two works (1977a; 1988) enabled scholars to approach ancient epistolary theories more easily. Keeping to his contemporary form of literary criticism (viz. the socio-scientific approach), Malherbe tried to understand the letters in the NT (especially 1 Thessalonians) against the social, religious and cultural background of the Greco-Roman world (Malherbe 1987; 1989a; 2000; 2004; 2005; 2010; 2011).[31] In this respect the manner of Paul's letter-writing is closely related to the topic of this dissertation. Because Malherbe's Paul was a *hellenisticus* (1989a:9), a seasoned preacher, a mature thinker (2000:77) and "an accomplished letter writer" (2000:90), who was different from Deissmann's Paul as a non-literary person (1965:240) and "a true letter-writer, not an epistolographer" (1901:1327), it was natural to Malherbe that Pauline letters reflected literary features that were rarely found in papyrus letters. This understanding of Malherbe's of Paul's identity informs his interpretative position that, because the letters in the NT, especially Pauline letters, were rooted in the Greco-Roman letter tradition and were composed by an educated author, either rhetorical or epistolary theories should be considered

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[30] In many cases they appear as a part or the whole of a letter, not in technical books except for a few.

[31] In his study Malherbe's first interest was in the letter writer, Paul, not in the situation of the Thessalonian church. Malherbe wanted to describe Paul in his contemporary context and to interpret his first writing as a product of such an individual. Malherbe said that Paul was a pastor, who was still distinguishable from contemporary philosophers, though there were some similarities, and he wrote the pastoral letter with the aim of pastoral care, adopting certain conventions for his own use. Cf. Malherbe 1987:vii: "The relationship between early Christianity and the culture in which it took root has engaged my interest for some time. Initially I focused on the Christian effort, in its apologetic literature, to interpret itself to the larger society and defend itself against attacks"; Malherbe 1983:7: "The neglect of early Christianity's social context and social make-up during the last sixty years is surprising in light of the intensity with which the subject was discussed around the turn of the century," i.e. at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. For Malherbe's studies with the socio-scientific approach, see *Ancient Epistolary Theorists* (1977a; cf. 1988), *The Cynic Epistles* (1977b) and *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (1983).

in interpreting those letters.[32] Malherbe thought that ancient social communication was built on rhetorical practices, and that the letter as a special means of communication was also part of such practices. Therefore, differing from literary formal analysts, Malherbe made a point of focusing his study on ancient epistolary or rhetorical theories (Malherbe 1988:1). However, Malherbe did not entirely agree with the typical rhetorical analysts who appeared after him. Although Malherbe recognised that ancient epistolary theories were deeply related to classical rhetoric, he hardly thought that they were the same (Malherbe 1988:2; 2000:96). Thus in most cases Malherbe interpreted Pauline letters by considering either some inherent features of letter-writing, i.e. the above-mentioned three characteristics of the letter (viz. *philophronesis*, *parusia* and *homilia*) that were firstly suggested by Koskenniemi, or ancient epistolary or rhetorical theories (Malherbe 1987:68-78; 1989b:49-50, 52-53; 2000),[33] and Malherbe showed that this approach was more successful to understand Paul and his letters (Malherbe 1983:58-59).

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[32] However, there has been some disagreement about defining Paul's identity. For example, contrary to Malherber, Ellis (2009:83-89) suggests consistently looking at Paul against a Hellenistic Jewish background. Looking at Paul from this perspective, Paul's knowledge of Greco-Roman rhetoric and epistolography was intermingled with his Jewish educational background. Cf. Ellis 2009: ". . . Paul's background lies in Jerusalem . . .. His knowledge of Greek was gained there, in a bilingual home or in a Jewish school. It probably embraced the Greek Old Testament and other Jewish Greek writings. His rabbinical education in Hebrew under Gamaliel I would have included a biblical rhetoric of preaching and exposition of Scripture, a rhetoric that originated in or was influenced by (Alexandrian Jewish) Greek rhetoric. But it is unlikely that his education included pagan Greek literature or training in Graeco-Roman rhetoric" (89); and "[a]lthough Paul used the general epistolary conventions common to his day and secretaries whose style may have been influenced by Greek rhetorical skills, it is unlikely, in the light of his background and training, that the Apostle composed the form or content of his epistles in the fashion of Graeco-Roman rhetoric" (94). On the basis of these arguments, Ellis (2009:94-95) suggests the following: "The rhetorical analysis of Paul is in principle correct. But it cannot be accomplished by currently popular interpretations based solely and directly on Graeco-Roman texts and handbooks, an often-used approach . . . To be successful, it needs to be inclusive of the Apostle's Jewish background and to pay attention to the Dead Sea Scrolls, targumic and rabbinic traditions, and to pre-Christian Jewish Greek writings as the major media through which the Graeco-Roman literary techniques came (indirectly) to bear upon Paul and upon his epistles."

[33] For an application to the study on the *Correspondences between Paul and Seneca*, see Malherbe 1991:415-419.

A comprehensive application of ancient epistolary theories to the study of the letters in the NT and other letters was realised by Stowers. In his important studies on ancient epistolography, Stowers (1992:290) stated his position as follows: Since the letter has three important characteristics, i.e. "its occasionality, its fictional personal presence, and its ability to absorb other genres," the letter is "obviously embedded in the social contexts and interactions of particular historical moment" more than other literary genres. Thus, "[t]o understand early Christian letters more nearly as ancient writers and readers would have understood them requires some understanding of the typical social context of letter writing in the Greco-Roman world" (Stowers 1986:27).[34] This assumption immediately led Stowers to his study of letter types, because he thought that letter types reflected "social relationships" based on three kinds of social relationships: the hierarchical relationship between superordinates and subordinates, the relationship of equality based on friendship, and the social relationship of the household, that has characteristics of the previous two relationships and their function in the Greco-Roman society (Stowers 1986:27, 49).

What basis then did Stowers offer in order to understand letter types? In particular Stowers (1986:51) referred to the three genres of Greco-Roman classical rhetoric, i.e. the *judicial* speech, the *deliberative* speech and the *epideictic* speech (cf. Lanham 1991:164; Lausberg 1998 [§§ 59-65]; Corbett and Connors 1999:23-24). However, as opposed to later classical rhetorical analysts, Stowers did not try to interpret letters on the basis of the genres of classical rhetoric (here Aristotelian rhetoric). Instead, Stowers tried to look at letters by understanding each rhetorical type within the context of social interactions. Thus Stowers (1986:58-173) divided letters into the following six categories based on the relationship between the author and the recipient: the "letters of friendship," the "family letters," the "letters of praise and blame," the "letters of exhortation and

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[34] What has also to be mentioned is Stowers' use of the ancient epistolary handbooks of Demetrius, Libanius or Proclus, Bologna Papyrus etc. Differing from general evaluations of them, he thought the handbooks to "picture a typical social interaction that could be transacted through letters," not simply to show some "formal rhetorical-literary features or stylistic traits." In this way Stowers (1988b:78) expected to correct "the narrowly form-critical approach to letters" that was dominant in his times.

advice," the "letters of mediation" and the "accusing, apologetic, and accounting letters." In the view of Stowers (1986:54-55) neither letter-writing as a social activity, nor the letter type as a reflection of the social relationship, can actually be considered apart from rhetorical practices. Of course, Stowers also did not consider epistolary and rhetorical theories to be identical. Stowers (1986:52) said clearly that the letter tradition was "essentially independent of rhetoric," just as Malherbe did. Nevertheless, in one respect Stowers differed from Malherbe. Stowers interpreted letters and their types, found in some epistolary handbooks, within the functional dimensions of social relationship, and focused on the classification of letters based on their content, without considering epistolary formal features. This approach of Stowers' contributed to the understanding of other letters as well as the letters in the NT within their broader context (Malherbe 1988:8).

b) Deductive or Classical Rhetorical Approach

Taking a different position to that of the "ancient epistolary theorists,"[35] some biblical scholars attempted to apply Greco-Roman classical rhetoric to interpreting the letters in the NT, and to determining their letter types. Their basic presumptions were twofold: Firstly, with respect to the character of letter-writing in the Greco-Roman world (cf. Cicero, *Fam.* 12.30.1; *Att.* 8.13.1; 9.10.1; 12.53; Demetrius, *Eloc.* 223-224, 230-231; Seneca, *Ep.* 17.1.) all kinds of communications were part of rhetoric. Because letter-writing was indeed partly connected to real communication, it is possible that letters might have been composed according to one or more rhetorical speech types,

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[35] Malherbe (1988:2; 1991:415) thought that epistolary theory was a part of ancient rhetoric, at least in later antiquity. Stowers (1986:34) also said, "Letter writing remained only on the fringes of formal rhetorical education throughout antiquity. It was never integrated into the rhetorical systems and thus does not appear in the standard handbooks . . . The rules for certain types of speeches, however, were adapted for use in corresponding letter types. So, for example, a letter of consolation written by a person with rhetorical training may more or less follow the form of the consolatory speech." However, these statements do not mean that scholars such as Malherbe and Stowers thought that there were no differences between epistolary theories and the systematic rhetorical practices of real letter-writing. Nevertheless, differing a little from the "ancient epistolary theorists," the rhetorical analysts who are treated in this section mainly started from the rhetorical point of view (cf. Betz 1974/75:377).

which were common to those who received any level of education (cf. Aune 1987:13). Secondly, the letters in the NT, especially Pauline letters, cannot be understood simply in terms of the non-literary letter tradition. In their composition and the employment of rhetorical devices, particularly the letters in the NT show complexities different from the non-literary papyrus letter. In this sense the letters in the NT can be said to be based on the literary letter tradition. However, apart from the above aspects, another basic reason why the rhetorical approach was accepted by most biblical scholars is because classical rhetoric was considered not only suitable to explain the character of the letters in the NT, but also able to provide a key to the solution of the problem of the structural or compositional complexity of the letter body.

Though many biblical scholars attempted the rhetorical approach, I shall mention one scholar in this section because its aim is simply to demonstrate the existence of the rhetorical approach, which is distinguished from the above-mentioned epistolary theoretical approach (viz. "ancient epistolary theorists"). Studies that belong to this group are mainly related to some theological problem and to its rhetorical framework.

The first modern scholar who applied classical rhetoric to understand the letters in the NT was H. D. Betz (1974/5; 1976; 1979; cf. 1985) (Strecker 1997:22, 61). Betz demonstrated the value of Greco-Roman rhetoric to understand the letters in the NT, especially in terms of their unity and also the letter body. In his study Betz focused on Galatians (1974/75; 1976; 1979).[36] In his initial article on this rhetorical approach (1974/75),[37] Betz suggested dealing with Galatians in two main sections, namely the epistolary framework (1974/75:355-359) and the body of the letter (1974/75:359-377). Betz handled the epistolary framework, i.e. the prescript (1:1-5) and the postscript (6:11-18), from the perspective of epistolography. On the other hand, the body of the

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[36] Later, his interest expanded into 2 Corinthians (Betz 1985). But I do not deal with his work on 2 Corinthians because the approach of this work is actually the same as that of the study of Galatians.

[37] This article was reprinted recently in Nanos 2002:3-28.

letter (1:6-6:10) was analysed according to classical rhetoric (1974/75:353).[38] Through his vigorous "formal analysis" of Galatians according to the arrangement of classical rhetoric (1974/75:377), Betz showed Galatians to be an example of the "apologetic letter" genre (1974/75:354). In the study of letters, especially Galatians in the NT, Betz demonstrated the validity of this rhetorical approach with the following analysis of the arrangement: the *exordium* (1:6-11), the *narratio* (1:12-2:14), the *propositio* (2:15-21), the *probatio* (3:1-4:31) and the *paraenesis* (5:1-6:10). This meant two things for contemporary scholars of ancient epistolography: Firstly, in relation to the debate with Deissmann, neither were Paul and his community of the socially lowest strata, nor were the letters in the NT (here Galatians) impromptu. Arguing that Galatians was a "well-composed and, both rhetorically and theologically, sophisticated 'apology,'" Betz (1979:2) suggested that Paul "founded the Galatian churches not among the poor and the uneducated, but among the Hellenized and Romanized city population" (cf. Aune 1987:13; Malherbe 2000:97). Secondly, Betz's study offered a good example of how the body of the letter in the NT is managed and understood within ancient literary contexts.[39] At the point where both studies of the literary formal analysts and "ancient epistolary theorists" had revealed their limitations in interpreting the letter body,[40] Betz's new approach was very useful, especially to interpret and understand the letter body.

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[38] In this sense Betz (1974/75:353) set himself to analyse Galatians "according to Graeco-Roman rhetoric and epistolography."

[39] Explaining the disagreement with White (1971b) about the starting point of the letter body (White suggested Gal 1:11 according to Betz who did Gal 1:6), Betz (1974/74:359, n. 2) made the following comment about using non-literary letters: "The difference comes about because White takes 'the private Greek letters of the papyri as a basis of comparison' (p.62). Our analysis shows that this basis is too small for a comparison with Paul." However, White did not suggest Gal 1:11 as the starting point of the letter body (White 1971b:97; 1972b:49, 51-52). This is Betz's clear mistake.

[40] For example, though White (1972b:46-68) identified some general epistolary features of the letter body of Galatians, they are only directly helpful to divide the body into its subsections, but limited in interpreting its contents. On the other hand, Stowers (1986:134) found a few passages in *Letters of Rebuke* that paralleled epistolary formulas in Galatians, but he did not attempt to interpret them.

Since the emergence of Betz's initial article, a number of studies have appeared that followed this approach, sometimes agreeing with Betz, sometimes disagreeing with and/or modifying his conclusions (Classen 2002:2, n. 3; cf. Kennedy 1984:144-152; Smit 1989; Classen 2002:1-28). However, no matter to which extent each of these approaches were applied, scholars after Betz considered three genres (viz. the judicial type, the deliberative type and the epideictic or panegyric type) of classical rhetoric in analysing letters, while hardly considering epistolography. In their application of classical rhetoric most scholars just tried to cut a letter into various parts according to some standard forms of classical rhetoric (cf. Betz 1974/75:369). Furthermore, main parts of the letter, such as the opening and the closing, are often excluded from their analysis, though a few studies include one or both of them. For example, Betz (1974/75:356-357) suggested the postscript of Galatians (6:11-18) to be seen not only as an epistolary convention, but also as the *peroratio* or *conclusio*, i.e. "the end and conclusion of the apologetic speech forming the body of the letter." These facts compelled subsequent biblical scholars on epistolography to reconsider the indiscriminate application of classical rhetoric to the letter genre. For such scholars the letter was still a letter, though the letter seems to be influenced by classical rhetoric. Therefore, as the next step in the study of ancient letters, subsequent scholars commenced to identify some compositional features of the letters in the NT inductively.

3. The Inductive or Descriptive Approach

Two major problems in the application of the deductive rhetorical approach to the study of epistolography were that some contradictory outcomes of studies had often appeared, even of the same letter, through using the three rhetorical genres in analysing letters,[41] and that there was little

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[41] For some contradictory suggestions of the generic type of Galatians in terms of classical rhetoric, compare Betz 1974/75 (reprinted in Nanos 2002:3-28) (Galatians is based on the *judicial* speech), with Kennedy 1984:144-152 and Smit 1989 (reprinted in Nanos 2002:39-59) (Galatians is based on the *deliberative* speech).

concern about the character of any analysed letter as letter.[42] For this reason, on the one hand, some scholars questioned the justification of using the indiscriminate application of classical rhetoric in the study of the letter genre, especially the letters in the NT. They tried to focus on the epistolary features of their texts (here the letters in the NT). On the other hand, scholars who claimed to be free from the severe restrictions of classical rhetoric, tried not only to harmonise epistolary features with rhetorical features in understanding a letter, but also to describe the outline of letters on the basis of the inductive outcomes of the analysis of letters according to their logical development.

Criticism of some of the indiscriminate application of classical rhetoric in understanding the letters in the NT started with the former group, of which Porter (1993; 1997b; 2001b; 2007) is one. Criticising the attempt to interpret letters in the light of classical rhetoric as "modern conceptual," Porter questioned the justification of the application of classical rhetoric to epistolography. Thus Porter (1993:109-110) stated as follows:

> But do the ancients give any credence to such a supposition? How would one go about finding such support? How would one formulate a theoretical justification for analysis of the Pauline epistles by means of the formal categories of ancient rhetoric? The fact that there has been some apparent success in this procedure (for example, in the work of Betz, Jewett, Watson and others) is a proof that this kind of thing can be done from the standpoint of modern interpretation; it is not a proof that the ancients would have had any recognition of this procedure.

Furthermore, Porter (2001b:103) complained that deductive rhetorical analysis "either minimizes or altogether neglects the clear epistolary features of the Pauline letters." Of course, Porter agreed that there are "clear functional relations" between classical rhetoric and ancient epistolography. Nevertheless, Porter (2001b:108) explained that the basis of such a platitude was "by virtue of the

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[42] Therefore, in my view, such a one-sided rhetorical analysis seems to be a revival of the non-epistolary approach from the time before Deissmann.

need to communicate and the finite linguistic means by which this is possible." Therefore Porter (1993:122) said that if the term "rhetoric" is applied to the analysis of letters, especially Pauline letters, it should be applied in terms of the "universal sense to describe interpretation using a variety of analytical models (both ancient and modern)," not of the "formal sense to describe particular, culture-specific features used by practitioners of rhetoric."[43] Thus in Porter's view rhetorical genres that seem to appear in Pauline letters, especially in their arrangement (*dispositio* or *taxis*) according to each rhetorical genre, "probably did not consciously influence the writing of the letters" (Porter 1997b:543). In this sense it can be said that Porter did not insist on a complete differentiation between classical rhetoric and ancient epistolography. Porter (1997d:585) partly accepted the use of classical rhetoric. Furthermore, we find that ancient rhetorical books sometimes mention epistolography. However, it should be carefully applied. Porter (1993:115, 122) said that the reason for such care was that, even when the ancient rhetorical books deal with the letter genre, "the only significant discussion of epistolary material concerns stylistic matters." Even from the perspective of "the evidence of the ancients themselves," the justification for classical rhetoric is for the "analysis of matters of style in the epistles" (cf. Porter 1997d:576-584 [on a definition and a list of the styles]).[44] Consequently Porter (1997b:543) suggested that scholars should follow "the defined structure" of the letter genre in order to understand the letters of Paul correctly. To sum up: By saying that "[t]he letter form can set legitimate parameters for the kinds of exegetical conclusions that can be drawn from the various sections of the letter," Porter (1997b:549) not only warned of the risk of indiscriminate application of classical rhetoric to the letters (viz. the deductive rhetorical

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[43] Cf. Reed 1993:322: "*Functional* similarities between Paul's argumentative style and the rhetorical handbooks do not prove a *formal* relationship between them" (emphasis original; cf. Reed 1997:171).

[44] Porter thus suggested a direction for future studies: "[t]he analysis of matters of style in the epistles . . . is worth exploring in future work" (Porter 1993:122). Up till that time most biblical rhetorical analysts had mainly concentrated on the rhetorical structure (viz. the arrangement) of the letters in the NT (cf. on a brief history of rhetorical approach, Olbricht 2007:325-326).

approach), but also suggested more discriminating study of the letter, its structure and epistolary features, and the relationship between its literary features and their functions.

On the other hand, some scholars of the latter group who wanted to harmonise epistolary features with rhetorical features in understanding a letter as well as to describe the outline of letters on the basis of the inductive outcomes of the analysis of letters, started to analyse the letter itself according to its logical or compositional sequence, sometimes considering both epistolary and rhetorical features or simply focusing on the logical development of the text. Firstly, these scholars who attempted the harmonisation of epistolary features with rhetorical ones, above all put emphasis on epistolary characteristics such as structures, forms and formulas in the outline of a letter. However, at the same time they did not ignore the rhetorical features of the letter body, especially of Pauline letters.[45] Longenecker's work (1990) provided a good example of this approach. Porter (1997b:546) classified Longenecker as a classical rhetorical analyst on the basis of Longenecker's outline of Galatians, which divided the letter into the *salutatio*, the forensic rhetorical section (viz *exordium, narratio, propositio* and *probatio*), the deliberative rhetorical section (viz. *exhortatio* I and *exhortatio* II) and the *subscriptio*. Yet it is not easy to decide whether or not Porter's evaluation was in fact correct, because Longenecker himself expressed doubt about his position: "Paul seems to have availed himself almost unconsciously of the rhetorical forms at hand, fitting them into his inherited epistolary structures" (cf. Porter 1997b:543 [on unconscious use of rhetoric]). As we can see below Longenecker's original outline of Galatians follows the epistolary structure (1990:vii-viii), which differs from Porter's presentation abbreviated in a form emphasising a "rhetorical structure," which, according to him, was offered by Longeneckerians. Longenecker (1990:cv) thought that Galatians was a common letter in accordance with White's view (1972b:xii) that "the

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[45] On this point they differ from, for example, the studies of Malherbe (2000, especially 78-92) and Watson (2003; but see 1994:124-125), in which both rigidly applied only epistolary features to their researches, depending on ancient epistolary theorists and/or modern epistolary scholars. Porter (1997b:503-553 [543-550]) also depends on epistolary formal features in the analysis of Pauline letters which minimalises the rhetorical influence in letter writing.

common letter tradition, though certainly not the only tradition on which Paul depends, is the primary literary *Gattung* to which Paul's letters belong." However, Longenecker (1990:cix) judged that in the letter body "then-current rhetorical forms and modes of persuasion" were used for the presentation of Paul's argument. As a result Longenecker (1990:cv-cix) drew the outline of Galatians as follows: (1) the salutation (1:1-5); (2) the rebuke section (1:6-4:11, forensic rhetoric prominent): a. the occasion for writing and/or issues at stake [*exordium*]; b. the autobiographical statements in defense [*narratio*]; c. the proposition of Galatians [*propositio*]; and d. the arguments in support [*probatio*]; (3) the request section (4:12-6:10, deliberative rhetoric prominent): a. the exhortations against the judaizing threat [*exhortatio*, part I]; b. the exhortations against libertine tendencies [*exhortatio*, part II]); (4) the subscription (6:11-18). This outline is surely based on epistolary structure, not on rhetorical arrangement. [46] This eclectic-inductive approach of Longenecker's well displays one of the main trends in the most recent biblical studies on epistolography, though there are various aspects.

Other scholars are more focused on the logical or compositional sequence of the text. A good example showing this approach is the work of Tolmie (2005). After having evaluated the rhetorical studies (viz. deductive rhetorical approaches) on Galatians prior to himself, Tolmie (2005:27) explained his method as follows:[47]

> In the light of the considerations outlined above, I have therefore decided not to follow the general trend in the rhetorical analysis of the Letter to the Galatians: I do not choose a specific rhetorical model – ancient or modern – to "apply" to the letter; I rather chose to reconstruct Paul's rhetorical strategy from the text itself, using the letter itself as the starting point.

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[46] After this outline, Longenecker added: This, "the basic epistolary structure", is going to "serve as the basis for our outline of the letter and that will inform our exegesis in the commentary proper" (Longenecker 1990:cix).

[47] Tolmie (2005:28) names his approach "*a text-centred descriptive analysis of the way in which Paul attempts to persuade the Galatians*" (emphasis original).

According to Tolmie (2005:27-28), Paul composed his letter "to persuade the Galatian Christians that 'his' gospel was the correct one," because there must have been "a challenge from Christian-Jewish missionaries who tried to 'correct' Paul's gospel." Tolmie (2005:28) said that it is in this (rhetorical) situation that Paul would have sent his letter that "is dominated by Paul's attempt to persuade his audience to remain committed to his version of the gospel." Based on this approach, Tolmie divided Galatians into eighteen sections that are considered to represent "one particular phase in Paul's overall rhetorical strategy in the letter" in each of those sections (Tolmie 2005:29).[48] These eighteen phases, however, do not work independently. Instead, Tolmie (2005:235) mentioned that "an even more basic strategy underlying the eighteen phases" seems to be detectable. By isolating "Paul's *objective* in a particular phase" from others, and then grouping some phases that "have a similar object" together, he says, "Paul's overall strategy in the letter can be reduced to *six basic rhetorical objectives* which he wishes to achieve." They are as follows: (1) 1:1-2:10 (viz. phases 1-4): convince the audience of his divine authorisation, (2) 2:11-3:14 (viz. phases 5-7): convince the audience that his gospel is the true gospel, (3) 3:15-25 (viz. phases 8-9): convince the

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[48] The eighteen phases are as follows (Tolmie 2005:234-235): (1) 1:1-5: adapting the salutation in order to emphasise the divine origin of his apostleship, (2) 1:6-10: expressing disgust at events in the Galatian churches in order to force them to reconsider their position, (3) 1:11-24: recounting events from his life in order to prove the divine origin of his gospel, (4) 2:1-10: recounting his second visit to Jerusalem in order to prove the acknowledgement of the content and origin of his gospel by the authorities in Jerusalem, (5) 2:11-21: recounting his version of the incident at Antioch in order to show how he stood firmly for the 'truth of the gospel,' (6) 3:1-5: a series of accusatory rhetorical questions used to remind the Galatians of events they experienced that support his gospel, (7) 3:6-14: an example and arguments based on the authority of Scripture to counter the Scriptural arguments of the opponents, (8) 3:15-18: an *a minori ad maius* argument used to dissociate covenant and law, (9) 3:19-25: explaining the purpose of the law in such a way as to emphasise its inferiority, (10) 3:26-29: reminding the Galatians of their baptism as proof that they became children of God by faith, (11) 4:1-7: an analogy to guardianship used in order to contrast spiritual slavery and sonship of God, (12) 4:8-11: rebuking the Galatians for turning to religious slavery again, (13) 4:12-20: a series of emotional arguments, (14) 4:21-5:1: an allegorical argument, based on the authority of Scripture, used to urge the Galatians not to yield to spiritual slavery, (15) 5:2-6: a strict warning against circumcision, (16) 5:7-12: vilifying the opponents, (17) 5:13-6:10: urging the Galatians to have their lives directed by the Spirit and (18) 6:11-18: adapting the letter closing for a final refutation.

audience of the inferiority of the law, (4) 3:26-5:1 (viz. phases 10-14): convince the audience that the "gospel" of the opponents represents spiritual slavery, and instead, urge them to remain spiritually free by adhering to his gospel, (5) 5:2-6:10 (viz. phases 15-17): convince the audience to act as he wishes them to, not to succumb to the pressure to be circumcised, to avoid the opponents, and to live according to the Spirit and (6) 6:11-18 (viz. phase 18): final refutation of the opponents (Tolmie 2005:240). In this section I will neither evaluate nor criticise Tolmie's approach, because it goes beyond the focus of my research. Nevertheless, I should mention here that his work clearly shows one alternative to traditional rhetorical approaches of biblical epistolary scholarship (cf. Tolmie 2005:247).

E. Concluding Summary

1. General Summary of the Study of Greco-Roman and Christian Letters

In the above section I briefly looked at the history of the modern study of Greco-Roman and Christian letters. In the process I divided the history into four phases, and for each phase I tried to explain the main issues of epistolography by examining representative scholars and their studies. Considering the importance of Deissmann's position in the history of Greco-Roman epistolography, I divided the history into two periods, i.e. a period before Deissmann's studies and one after them, and dealt separately with Deissmann's studies.

In the first phase, the epistolography within the pre-deissmannic period, I examined Bentley's study and his contribution. Bentley discussed the authenticity of Phalaris' letters with a critical approach, and concluded that these letters were forgeries. About his contribution to the history of Greco-Roman epistolography, it may be said not only that through the critical study of Phalaris' letters, the letter itself became an object of classical studies, but also that subsequent research on ancient letters, including the letters in the NT, was steered towards the questioning of authenticity.

In the second phase I emphasised the influence of the discovery of the papyrus letters in Egypt, Deissmann's study of them and his use of them in the area of biblical scholarship. Although

Bentley's influence affected the study of epistolography, this was mainly limited either to the criticism of letters, or to the compilation or publication of letters for such research. Deissmann above all emphasised the importance of these papyrus letters to both the history of Greco-Roman epistolography and the Christian letters, especially the letters in the NT.

In the third phase, after Deissmann, some scholars such as Ziemann, Meecham and Exler not only gathered information on the papyrus letters from Egypt through analysis, but also provided more detailed knowledge of a part of the Greco-Roman epistolography. Other scholars started to use these letters and the knowledge gained from them to understand and interpret the letters in the NT, particularly Pauline letters. Especially with the emergence of the genre criticism in biblical studies, more and more interest in this field arose. Consequently, around the 1970s most literary formal studies on papyrus letters were carried out by biblical scholars.[49]

However, it was in the course of the fourth phase around the 1980s that studies on ancient epistolography increasingly showed a tendency to focus on the letters in the NT, or were at least very often related to the letters in the NT. Beyond the simple comparison of the letters in the NT with Greco-Roman letters, during this period scholars started considering the social background of letters, especially in the NT, and their functions in the social systems of the Greco-Roman world. Particularly in the area of the studies of biblical letters, the ancient epistolary theories were at first employed to understand the letters in the NT. And since the ancient epistolary theories were closely related to rhetoric, directly and indirectly, rhetorical or oratorical methods of analysis were popular. However, one difference between these two approaches was relatively obvious, because, while the former (viz. the ancient epistolay theories) was interested in looking at the social implications of letters in Greco-Roman society, the latter (viz. the rhetorical/oratorical analysis) was mainly focused on interpreting the letter body, at least in the field of biblical studies. In this field it was a logical step after the literary formal analysis.

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[49] At this period Buzón (1984) was almost unique as a scholar who was not interested in the letters in the NT.

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Actually, we can find what appears to be a discontinuity between the first three phases and the last one. It is at this point that, while the first three phases were mainly concerned with revealing the nature and features of the letter genre in antiquity, no matter whether or not it included the letters in the NT, the last phase mainly focused only on themes of interpreting of the letters in the NT. Nevertheless, we cannot call it a discontinuity. Instead, we should consider this phenomenon to reflect a phase in the study of ancient epistolography, because the study of the letters in the NT went hand in hand with the study of ancient epistolographical studies since at least the second phase. Furthermore, speaking more precisely, the letters in the NT also present a facet of Greco-Roman epistolography.[50] Thus it must be conceded that each phase of the study of ancient epistolography has contributed to the development of the research, just as literary formal analysis stimulated the emergence of both epistolary theories and rhetorical approaches.

2. Limitations of Previous Study of a Christian Letter Tradition

Through my survey of Greco-Roman epistolography and some general comments on a Christian letter tradition, a few limitations of previous studies became clear in relation to the aim of this dissertation, i.e. to define a Christian psychagogical or pastoral letter type. Firstly, even if Christian letters, including the letters in the NT, are a part of the Greco-Roman epistolography, the attempt to define a Christian letter tradition (viz. the pastoral letter type) often proceeded by focusing on the letters in the NT, or the letters of the apostolic fathers. The ways in which biblical scholars described a Christian letter tradition reflects this situation clearly. In other words, the range of the

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[50] However, this phenomenon does not give the complete picture of the most recent research on ancient Greco-Roman epistolography. In fact, research on ancient pagan and Christian letters has advanced in various fields. For example, some scholars have still worked in the area of literary formal analysis (e.g. Buzón 1984; Weima 1994a; Stirewalt 2003). Others scholars have been interested in general aspects of ancient epistolography (e.g. Trobisch 1989; 1994; Richards 1991; 2000; 2004) and in the pagan and Christian letters themselves, as well as the relationship between the pagan letter and Christian letters (e.g. Stirewalt 1993; Rosenmeyer 1994; 2001; 2006; Costa 2001; Trapp 2003; Klauck 2006). Of course, classical scholarship on ancient literary letters, including patristic letters, has never ceased.

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application of the concept of a Christian letter tradition (viz. the pastoral letter type) was too limited in terms of time and sources. In most cases the concept of a Christian letter tradition was formed on the basis of about thirty letters that belonged to a very short period, at the maximum a hundred years from Pauline letters to Polycarp's letter, and that were written by only a few authors. Thus scholars often referred to the early Christian letter tradition as "the Christian letter tradition or, at least, the apostolic letter tradition, which we find in the NT" (White 1984:1739; cf. 1983:444) or "the Pauline letter tradition" (Doty 1973:18).[51] However, though some common factors appear in the literary formal features and epistolary situation within these letters, it can hardly be accepted that such similarities of such narrowly conceived source material can form a tradition or a literary type. Secondly, in defining a Christian letter tradition, scholars do not seem to sufficiently consider any generic features such as the function, the content and the formal epistolary features that are necessary to define a literary genre or type. Of course, during the period of literary formal analysis, studies on the formal epistolary features progressed markedly. Through this approach a few letter types of Greco-Roman epistolography were confirmed. However, even such attempts were inconsistently and selectively applied to the study of a Christian letter tradition. In addition, the other two factors of genre (viz. function and content) were hardly considered comprehensively. Finally, most scholars did not pay attention to any theoretical foundation for the validity of the existence of a pastoral letter type, i.e. the psychagogical intention. Neither the fact that the aim of a composition is decisive for the choice of the genre or type, nor that the choice of the genre or type implies the use of specific literary devices, were given enough attention. However, if we want to establish the existence of a pastoral letter type in early Christianity, we should define more exactly what the pastoral letter is in terms of its purpose or aim, including the function and content as well as form. To date there has hardly been any study in this direction.

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[51] Although they suggested other expressions, in most cases the expressions were used to describe the historical development from the authentic seven letters of Paul, to the deutero-Pauline letters, to the Catholic letters (and sometimes to the letters of Ignatius and Polycarp).

3. Further Study of a Christian Letter Tradition

The matters discussed above indicate that research to trace the existence of a Christian letter tradition, i.e. the pastoral letter type, should proceed with a number of considerations in mind: Firstly, defining a Christian letter tradition (viz. the pastoral letter type) should be carried out within a wider range of sources and time, and not be limited to the letters in the NT and the letters of Ignatius and Polycarp. In fact, in order to confirm that a letter group that shares common features forms a specific letter type, the literary phenomena of the letter group should preferably appear over longer periods of a few centuries or more. Therefore, in the following chapters a wide range of letters, starting with the letters in the NT, and covering several centuries, will be considered. Secondly, definition of the pastoral letter type (viz. a Christian psychagogical letter type) should be accompanied by an analysis of the continued phenomena in terms of both practice and theory. This means that research should focus on the function and content as well as the form (cf. Aune 1987:13). Especially in relation to the function, we need to look at a broader psychagogical tradition, because, if some letters can be classified as pastoral letters, they should show features of the psychagogical tradition. Christian characteristics should also be involved, because we are dealing with a Christian tradition of psychagogical letters, i.e. the pastoral letter type. Such Christian features may be identified through the analysis of the earliest Christian pastoral letters, i.e. the letters in the NT.

CHAPTER III: THE GRECO-ROMAN HORTATORY LETTER TRADITION AS LITERARY BACKGROUND OF THE LETTERS IN THE NT

Later Christian leaders composed and sent off their letters in various epistolary circumstances with pastoral care as aim, but these letters were not created in a vacuum. On the contrary, these letter writers were educated in their contemporary cultures, so obviously they knew not only the current tradition of letter composition, but were also conversant with Greco-Roman hortatory traditions, such as the moral philosophical tradition of psychagogy. It is another matter whether they wholly accepted it, partly adapted it, or completely rejected it. However, these Christian letter writers also had at hand the letters in the NT, such as Pauline letters and the Catholic Letters (cf. Athanasius, *Ep. fest.* 39).[52] It is possible that the letters in the NT, which were composed for pastoral care (Longenecker 1983:104; DeSilva 2004:29) and now handed down to Christian letter writers as the canon, became the models for the composition of pastoral letters to later Christian authors.[53]

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[52] The fourteen *Pauline letters* are Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, including Hebrews, according to the order in the present NT (according to the list of Athanasius, Hebrews is placed between 2 Thessalonians and 1 Timothy). The seven *Catholic Epistles* are James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1, 2 and 3 John and Jude, according to the order in the present NT. Some features that we can identify from the lists of the NT canon since the third century C.E. are that the letters in the NT were dealt with in two separate groups, i.e. thirteen or fourteen Pauline letters, and the seven Catholic Epistles, though variations still occur (on early Christian authors' lists of the letters in the NT, see McDonald 2002:591-597).

[53] On the influence of the publication of Cicero's letters upon subsequent Latin letter composition in the first century C.E, Brooke (1929:17) writes as follows: "Cicero's enormous literary prestige set up a standard in letter-writing which has dominated succeeding ages, from the Fathers to the eighteenth century, and no one who subsequently has tried to make a literary display in a letter has ever had Cicero quite out of his head" (cf. Doty 1973:2; Inwood 2007:133-148). On the other hand, with regard to the influence of Pauline letters, Doty (1973:21) says, "Certain post-Pauline letters revert to more orthodox Hellenistic letter models; others slavishly imitate Paul. But at no time after the writing and the publication of the Pauline letters were early Christian writers able to ignore the impact of the Pauline letter. They were the model for early Christian literature." In this sense Klauck's words (2006:442) are correct: "It is not by accident that the most influential letter writer of antiquity, despite Cicero's impressive correspondence, was an early Christian author, the Apostle Paul."

According to Stowers, such a phenomenon clearly occurred around the fourth and fifth century. Thus he says (1986:45): "These writers [sc. later Christian letter writers] achieved a synthesis of classical rhetoric and Christian tradition best exemplified in the East by Gregory of Nazianzus and in the West of Jerome and Augustine."

Of course, later Christian leaders composed their letters in their own epistolary and literary circumstances. This means that in each case the letter has its own characteristics. Nevertheless, we can imagine that they must have something in common in the form, the content and the function.[54] Doty (1973:75) in particular suggested that the lack of education of later Christian leaders up to the third century C.E. could possibly explain their dependence on the letters in the NT in composing their pastoral letters. Along with a general psychagogical state of mind, this dependence of later Christian letter writers on the letters in the NT must have produced similarities in their pastoral letters.

Thus, in order to find the relationship between the Christian pastoral letters of later authors and their literary precedents, it is now necessary to look at both the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition and the Christian tradition found in the letters in the NT. The letter writers of the NT obviously interacted with contemporary literary traditions, i.e. the Greco-Roman and Jewish hortatory and epistolary tradition. Of course, this interaction does not mean that the letter writers of the NT were indiscriminate and slavish imitators (cf. White 1983:437f.; Malherbe 1989c:70). But this fact forces us to pay attention to the literary and philosophical background of the letters in the NT. From that we can find out how the authors of the earliest Christian pastoral letters used such

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[54] In relation to the possibility of reference to the contents of the NT by the later Christians, DeSilva (2004:29) says: "Each text [sc. each book in NT] was written to serve some specific pastoral needs and answer a range of important questions arising out of the life of the church. Because these texts answered those perennial questions so well, they continued to provide the basic point of reference for each successive generation of Christians in ever widening circles from the texts' places of origin. Faced with the same or new challenges, Christians kept turning to *these* texts to find guidance from the apostolic witness and, ultimately, from their Lord himself" (emphasis original). If we consider "some specific pastoral needs" and reply to "a range of important question arising out of the life of the church," the letters in the NT are most to the point here.

traditions for their pastoral care in each epistolary situation, and to what degree later Christian pastoral letters were influenced by the letters in the NT. Thus below I shall firstly examine the structural and formal features of the Greco-Roman letter and the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition. In the next chapter (viz. chap. 4) I shall look at the letters in the NT in the light of Greco-Roman epistolary and hortatory traditions.

A. Epistolary Forms of Greco-Roman Letters

Modern scholarship on ancient Greco-Roman epistolography concurs in dividing the letters into three categories: the documentary or non-literary letter, the diplomatic letter and the literary letter.[55] However, regardless of these three distinct categories, Greco-Roman letters exhibit constant features of letter-writing in epistolary structure, form and external factors.

1. Structure of Greco-Roman Letters

The Greco-Roman letter has a threefold structure regardless of kind: the opening, the body and the closing.[56] Of course, some scholars thought there existed a few exceptions to this threefold structure,

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[55] Pointing out the difficulty of classifying the letters with the following words, "[t]he multitude of letters that have come down to us from antiquity presents us with considerable problems of classification that have not found a single simple or widely accepted solution," Klauck (2006:67, 68) suggests "a pragmatic solution that allows us to organize the material into suitable groupings for further work", as already mentioned in the text above.

[56] This does not mean that every extant letter preserves all three parts. In fact, due to various factors such as damage, abridgment by scribes in transmission, omission by letter writers avoiding repetition, writing customs and other factors, many letters do not preserve them all (cf. Thompson 1912:75). For example, with regard to the opening and closing of Apollonius' letters, Penella (1979:20) writes as follows: "There is a tendency, so long as Apollonius is the sender, to delete his name and simply write the name of the addressee in the dative case. This avoids needless repetition and saves space." We can find such examples in the letter collection of Isocrates. Among nine extant letters, only the first letter (*Ep.* 1) preserves the name of the sender, i.e. Isocrates (cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Epp.* 1-5). In fact, in the scribal tradition, such omission or suspension was normal. A good example is contraction, which "is the shortening of a word by omitting letters from the body and leaving the beginning and end" (Thompson 1912:75; cf. Patzia 2011:208-209). However, the

that is, the official petition, the private letter of recommendation, the letter of invitation and a few *quasi*-letters, such as lead curse tablets and questions to oracles. In the case of the official petition, the middle section between the opening and the closing is divided into two parts, the background and the request (White 1972a:63).[57] The private letter of recommendation also has a fivefold structure (C.-H. Kim 1972:7, 101).[58] On the other hand, the letter of invitation and the *quasi*-letters often lack a part of the common threefold structure, i.e. the opening (C.-H. Kim 1975:392-393, 397; cf. P.Oxy. 110). It is well known that the opening of the letter can never be omitted (White 1982:92).[59] However, in the case of the letter of invitation and the *quasi*-letters the omission was condoned, because the missing part was very often supplemented by non-written elements. For example, the letter of invitation must have been read sometime prior to the banquet by a messenger to the guest who was invited (C.-H. Kim 1975:397; cf. White 1978:295-296; 1982:92). If so, the opening was not necessary. Apart from these two exceptions, all the letter categories, i.e. the non-literary (viz. documentary) letter, the diplomatic (including royal) letter, the literary letter and even

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sacra nomina was not for saving room on the papyrus or parchment. For more information on the *sacra nomina*, see Thompson 1912:76-78, 86-87; Gamble 1995:74-78; Trobish 2000:11-19, 66-68; Hurtado 2006:99-100; Patzia 2011:208-210. Nevertheless, some literary letters preserve the full opening and closing, e.g. Demosthenes, *Epp.* 1-6; Plato *Epp.* 1, 2 [no closing], 4, 5, 6-9, 10, 11, 12 [no closing], 13; Ps.-Anacharisis, *Epp.*1-10 [no closing], Epicurus, *Epp.*1-3 [no closing].

[57] Thus: (1) the opening ([a] salutation; [b] lineage item; [c] vocation item; [d] residence item), (2) the background, (3) the request and (4) the closing. However, Stirewalt (2003:33) suggests a threefold structure of salutation, body, and subscription. This difference between White and Stirewalt resulted from Stirewalt's consideration of the second section of White (the background) as a subsection of the body (viz. the body-opening). If we accept Stirewalt's suggestion of the structure of the official petition, it can be said that most types of the Greco-Roman letter have a threefold structure.

[58] Thus: (1) the opening ([a] salutation; [b] *formula valetudinis*), (2) the background ([a] identification formula; [b] background proper), (3) the request period ([a] request clause; [b] circumstantial clause), (4) the appreciation and (5) the closing (C.-H. Kim 1972:7). However, concerning the Christian recommendation, C.-H. Kim (1972:101ff.) suggests a threefold structure.

[59] The invitations are not letters in the ordinary sense. Nevertheless, on the basis of the analysis of a few invitations (e.g. BGU 333, 596; P.Apoll. 73; P.Oxy. 112, 1214), C.-H. Kim (1975:397) suggested that invitations could have a real epistolary form when required by circumstances.

forged letters, presented a threefold structure, if none of the three parts was either lost by accident, or omitted in transmission due to various causes, especially in literary letters.

2. Opening, Body and Closing of Greco-Roman Letters

Each part of the threefold structure of a letter has its own epistolary conventions. The opening consists of the prescript and the proem. The body, which is said to consist of the body-opening, the body-middle and the body-closing, contains various formulas and themes according to diverse epistolary circumstances (White 1971b:20-21; 1982:92-100; Weima 2000b:642-644; Klauck 2006:42).[60] The closing consists of the closing greeting and other elements such as the closing health wish, the concluding exhortation and the visiting talk (cf. White 1971b:16-20).

In this section I will deal with these matters in the sequence of the opening, the closing, and the body. The reason why I decided on this uncommon order (viz. not the logical order of the opening – the body – the closing) is as follows: Firstly, the opening and the closing are the most characteristic parts of the letter genre, and secondly, these parts of the letters in the NT best show the characteristics distinguishable from those of contemporary letters.

a) Opening[61]

The opening of the Greco-Roman letter mainly consists of the following two components: the prescript (the sender, the recipient and the greeting) and the proem (the health wish or the prayer of supplication or the thanksgiving). But the proem does not always appear. However, the prescript always has to exist, because it is the ultimate mark of a letter, though it was often omitted in the

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[60] Klauck 2006:23: "This requires an internal structure that identifies the body's opening and closing and further typical letter formulas in between."

[61] Most literary letters that were transmitted in the literary tradition do not display all the elements of the letter opening that are found in the original letters, either written on papyri or inscribed on stone for preservation.

course of transmittance (White 1982:92).[62] The proem was an optional element, depending on the epistolary situation and/or on the type of letter (Klauck 2006:22; cf. P.Oxy. 119.5). Therefore, while we find the health wish (viz. the proem) even in the oldest extant Greek letters (SIG³ III 1259),[63] we sometimes cannot find it in a number of letters of the subsequent periods. It was often preferred to use the proem in familiar letters, rather than in diplomatic letters, literary letters and even some documentary letters, i.e. private business letters.

(1) Prescript

Commonly, the order of the three elements in the prescript of both the documentary letter and the diplomatic letter was often set in one of two forms such as ὁ δεῖνα τῶι δεῖνι χαίρειν ("A to B, greetings"), and τῶι δεῖνι ὁ δεῖνα or ἀπὸ ἢ παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος [χαίρειν] ("To B, A or from A [greetings]") whereas the proem appears in various forms and orders. The second form of the greeting, i.e. τῶι δεῖνι ὁ δεῖνα or ἀπὸ ἢ παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος [χαίρειν], was often preferred in petitions and applications.[64] But the first one was the more common form i.e. ὁ δεῖνα τῶι δεῖνι χαίρειν.[65]

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[62] However, we also have some examples that do not have a prescript from an earlier period such as the first or second century of this era (Llewelyn 1998b:123; e.g. P.Lips. 3.105; P.Oxy. 525).

[63] Deissmann 1965:149: Μνησίεργος ἐπέστειλε τοῖς οἴκοι χαίρεν *καὶ ὑγιαίνεν·* καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ἔφασ[κ]ε [ἔχεν] ("Mnesiergus sendeth to them that are at his house greeting *and health* and he saith it is so with him" [my emphasis]). Cf. Trapp 2003:50.

[64] E.g. the petition: Στατιλίῳ Μαξίμῳ τῳ κρατίστωι ἐπιστρατήγῳ παρὰ Νικίου ʽΑρπάλου ἀπʼ ʼοξυρ[ύγχ]ων πόλεως (P.Oxy. 487; cf. White 1972a:13-14; Klauck 2006:18).

[65] Exler 1923:62: "Throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods the formula: A – to B – χαίρειν is by far the most common. It is used by superiors writing to their inferiors, and by inferiors writing to their superiors. One need but read the opening phrases given above to realize that no distinction was made as to rank or superiority. Children use this formula in writing to their parents, and servants in writing to their masters. In the Christian era another formula came into use in which the order of the names was reversed, but it did not supplant the older form during the Roman period; judging from the evidence at hand one may say that the older form was used at least as frequently as the reversed formula" (cf. White 1982:93-94; Buzón 1984:239-240; Weima 2000b; Klauck 2006:17-21). E.g. (1) the letter of recommendation: ʼΑλεξίμαχος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν (P.Mich. 33; cf. C.-H. Kim 1972:11ff.), (2) the diplomatic (here royal) letter: Βασιλεὺς ῞Ατταλος Περγαμηνῶν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι χαίρειν (Welles, no.67; cf. 1934:267) and (3) the

On the other hand, the prescript of literary letters was often omitted, except for the name of the recipient in the dative case to identify a letter, though all the elements must have appeared in the original (cf. Penella 1979:20). Besides this, the author sometimes added some designations and/or ornamentation near to his name and/or the name of the recipient.[66] Also the basic greeting, i.e. χαίρειν, was often expanded or modified with some adverbs such as πολλά,[67] and πλεῖστα[68] (White 1982:93; 1984:1734, n. 9; cf. Exler 1923).

(2) Proem (Health Wish or Prayer of Supplicant and Thanksgiving)

Although the proem (especially the health wish) was not a necessary part of the opening, it used to appear there from the beginning of the Common Era onwards (Klauck 2006:21-23).[69] And the prayer of supplication and/or the thanksgiving were sometimes used as a surrogate for the health wish.[70] Besides these, certain conventions such as the expression of joy were also employed.[71]

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familial letter: Ἀπίων Ἐπιμάχῳ τῶι πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ πλεῖστα χαίρειν (BGU II 423; cf. Klauck 2006:42). For examples of literary letters, see Demosthenes, *Ep.* 1 (Δημοσθένης τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν) (DeWitt and DeWitt, LCL); Plato, *Ep.* 1 (Πλάτων Διονυσίῳ εὖ πράττειν) (Bury, LCL); Seneca, *Ep.* 1 (*Seneca Lucilio suo salutem*) (Gummere, LCL).

[66] E.g. P.Amh. II 40 (the second century B.C.E.): Ἠπιόδωρος τῶι Λεσώνει καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῦ Σοκνοπαίου χαίρειν; P.Oxy. 1768 (the third century C.E.): Ἡράκλειος Θέωνι καὶ Σαραπιάδι τοῖς γλυκυτάτοις τέκνοις χαίρειν.

[67] E.g. P.Tebt. I 12 (118 B.C.E.): Μεγχῆς Ἀμμωνίωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι πολλὰ Χαίρειν; BGU I 38 (the first century C.E.): Σερῆνος Ἀπολιναρίῳ τῷ πατρὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν; P.Oxy. 1665 (the third century C.E.): Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίων Αὐρηλίῳ Κλαυδίωι τῷ πατρὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν. Cf. Exler 1923:27-28.

[68] E.g. P.Oxy. 742 (the second century B.C.E.): Ἀντᾶς Φαύστωι πλεῖστα χαίρειν; BGU III 811 (98 C.E.): Κορνήλιος Ἀπολλῶι τῶι ἀδελφῷ πλεῖστα χαίρειν; P.Oxy. 528 (the second century C.E.): Σερῆνος Εἰσιδώρᾳ τῇ ἀδελφῇ καὶ κυρίᾳ πλαῖστα χαίρειν. Cf. Exler 1923:28-29, 30, 31, 54-55.

[69] Klauck (2006:21) defines the proem as the part of the letter containing stereotypical, longer or shorter transitional expressions and frequently found between the prescript and the body. Cf. the debate between Arzt-Grabner (1994) and Reed (1996) about the existence of the thanksgiving around the first century C.E. and the "thanksgiving" section in the letters in the NT, especially Pauline letters.

[70] E.g. BGU 423, *lines* 6-8: [Ε]ὐχαριστῶ τῷ κυρίῳ Σεράπιδι, ὅτι μου κινδυνεύσαντος εἰς θάλασσαν ἔσωσε εὐθέως.

[71] E.g. BGU 632, *lines* 5b-10: Μνίαν σοι ποιούμενος παρὰ τοῖς [ἐν]θάδε θεοῖς ἐκομισάμην [ἓ]ν ἐπι[σ]τόλιον παρὰ Ἀντωνε[ί]νου τοῦ συνπολ[ε]ίτου ἡμῶν. Καὶ ἐπιγνούς σε ἐρρωμένην λίαν ἐχάρην.

However, the appearance of the proem was mostly limited to the documentary letters found in Egypt.

b) Closing

In Greco-Roman letters the formula for the closing greeting most often takes one of the following two forms: ἔρρωσο (ἔρρωσθε) or its modification, and εὐτύχει (διευτύχει) (Exler 1923:69).[72] The ancient author seems to have chosen the one of these forms that was most suitable to the character of his own letter. Thus we can find that, with some exceptions, the formula ἔρρωσο (ἔρρωσθε) or its modification was commonly employed in familiar letters, as well as in official letters "between magistrates," while the formula εὐτύχει (διευτύχει) was mainly used in "rather formal communications," such as the official petition (Exler 1923:74).

Apart from the problem of the formula of the closing greeting, the closing had its own functions, and had some conventions which were employed for these functions.[73] In his study on the closing of documentary letters, Weima (2000b:643-644) summarised those conventions as follows: (1) the farewell wish (viz. the closing greeting), (2) the health wish or/and the (secondary) greetings, (3) the autograph, and (4) the illiteracy formula (cf. Klauck 2006:25).[74] Among them there are a few items still open for debate, namely whether or not they belong to the convention of the closing. For example, White (1993:151, n. 15) excludes the "autograph" from the conventions of the closing, and includes it in the list of conventions of the body-closing. Furthermore, White (1982:95) does not mention the "autograph" in another article, though he mentions the illiteracy formula. However,

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[72] We can find a modification such as ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι in some papyrus letters (e.g. BGU 423; 632). Cf. Klauck 2006:24.

[73] According to White (1984:1731), the main function of the closing and the opening is to "convey sentiments which enhance friendly relations."

[74] In addition to these, in his earlier study Weima (1994a:28-56 [51-55]) recognized two other formulas in the closing: the dating formula and the postscript. In his study on the petition White (1972a:37) also accepted the mark of the date in petitions as a formula.

except concerning the "autograph," White agrees with other scholars on the list of conventions of the closing (cf. White 1982:92).[75] Nevertheless, a number of letters finish with a simple "farewell," regardless of the letter type.

c) Body

In simple terms, the body of a letter can be said to be the part between the opening and the closing of the letter (White 1971b:20; Thorsteinsson 2003:19, n. 28). In this sense, most letters from the Greco-Roman world have a body. Nevertheless, handling the problem of the body is complicated. This results from the fact that the body shows great variety in its forms and functions. On this topic, White said not only that "[t]he body of the letter is less stereotyped than either the opening or the closing elements, since it is the message part of the letter. The less homogeneous nature of the body has been, therefore, one of the greatest hindrances to formal analysis" (1971a:91, n. 2), but he also stated that the letter body, which "expresses the more specific occasion of letter," mainly functions to "disclose or seek information" or to "make request or command" (1984:1731, 1736). Although

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[75] The reason why White excludes the "autograph" from the closing conventions can be accounted for as follows: Firstly, with regard to the article of 1982, White seems to focus only on clearly expressed or written formulas in the closing (cf. White 1984). In fact, White mentioned various other formulas apart from the "farewell wish" and the "illiteracy formula" in his study of 1972a, such as the "dating formula," the "physical identification formula" and the "signature formula" (1972a:37-38). However, the latter three formulas seem to be limited only to the official petition. On the other hand, because the study of White was mainly based on documentary letters from Egypt, such as family letters and private business letters, we can say that this is a very special case. Besides this, as Weima (1994a:46; 2000b:643-644) also mentioned, the recognition of the "autograph" comes from a change in handwriting, not through any formula(s). Therefore, to White the "autograph" cannot be a formula, except in the closing of the official petition. Secondly, with regard to the article of 1993, White limited his study to some of Paul's so-called genuine letters (viz. 1 Cor 16:21; Gal 6:11; cf. 2 Thess 3:17; Col 4:18). According to White (1993:151, n. 15), the "autograph" of Paul "conveyed his authority as well as his friendship", because, especially in 1 Cor 16:21, the "autograph" accompanies a warning, εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν κύριον, ἤτω ἀνάθεμα. μαράνα θά (cf. Gal 6:11-17; 1 Thess 5:26-27). Because White (1993:151, n. 15) thinks that "Paul's assertion of personal authority belongs more naturally to the close of the body than to the letter-closing," his exclusion of the "autograph" from the conventions of the closing follows logically. Klauck (2006:25) also excludes the "autograph" from the conventions of the closing.

his study is limited to the documentary letter tradition, I think White's assessment of the letter body can be applied to another two letter categories, i.e. the diplomatic letter and the literary letter. Nevertheless, we can find some fixed conventions, or an arrangement of contents in the letter body (White 1982:100). Especially with regard to traditional conventions found in the body of documentary letters, White (1986:203-211) provided a comprehensive item list of its epistolary conventions, i.e. the epistolary conventions of the body opening,[76] the conventions of the body middle,[77] and the conventions of the body closing[78] (cf. White 1971a:151-152; 1972b:1-41; 1978:299-308; 1982:98-100).

Nevertheless, the body of the documentary letters is not enough to explain the general features of the body of the Greco-Roman letter due to their nature. Most importantly, this is because of its brief length, its standardisation in form of composition and the variety of its contents. In fact, letters in the Greco-Roman world were composed with diverse aims, such as persuasion, teaching and even amusement, apart from simply conveying information or daily news. For effective results

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[76] The body opening should be divided into two categories with various subcategories. For example, (1) the informational formulas ([a] disclosure phrases, [b] notice of appended letter, [c] response to information received, [d] acknowledgment of or compliance with received and [e] περί with genitive) and (2) the request, instructions or "background" statements ([a] expressions conveying incredulity and dissatisfaction, [b] reference to multiple unanswered letters, [c] the expressions indicating urgency of response, [d] non-formulaic conventions setting out circumstances ["background"] of requests/instructions and [e] requests or instructions introducing the body and non-formulaic instructions introducing the body).

[77] The various transitional conventions are found within the letter body. For example, (1) the background to request, (2) the reply to inquiry ("περί [or ὑπέρ] δέ + genitive phrase" [both introducing the body and subsequently within the body; replying to some inquiry of the recipient, i.e. "concerning the . . ."] and (3) the turning to a new subject.

[78] The body closing should be divided into four categories with various subcategories. For example, (1) the appreciation formula (after statement of request, especially in letters of commendation; cf. White 1982:99), (2) the informational formulas ([a] formula disclosing information and [b] formulas requesting information), (3) the statements used to persuade, coerce, or threaten ([a] expressions indicating thanks, confidence, and a willingness to repay favors, [b] expressions urging responsible behavior and [c] expressions indicating the necessity of an urgent response) and (4) the statements of reassurance, concern, and other conventions ([a] expressions of prohibition, employing the subjunctives, [b] expressions of concern about the recipient using, [c] concluding transitions and [d] expressions indicating a willingness to help the recipient).

the senders of such letters often employed various literary devices[79] and sources in composing the main part of their letters (viz. the body) in order to attain their aims. This is true of both the diplomatic letter and the literary letter. According to Welles (1934:xlvii, xlviii), though many royal letters (as one of subgenres of the diplomatic letter) are written briefly and simply (e.g. Welles, no. 1) and sometimes all literary devices are ignored (e.g. Welles, nos. 31, 32), some letters (e.g. Welles, nos. 14, 15, 30) prove that the use of literary devices was widespread in letter-writing at that time. Needless to say, such phenomena were more obvious in the literary letter (Berger 1984b:1340-1363 ["Briefliche Teilgattungen"]).

3. Additional Features in Greco-Roman Letters

Apart from the above-mentioned elements, there are other characteristics of the Greco-Roman letter which can be defined as external or secondary features. Firstly, the sender often hired an amanuensis (secretary [e.g. Richards] or a professional scribe [e.g. Exler]).[80] The reasons for the employment of an amanuensis were diverse, i.e. author's private circumstances, such as a problem of health (Ps.-Socr. *Ep.* 31), an accident (P.Oxy. 3314) and others (Richards 2004:61). However, in most cases the sender hired an amanuensis because of his illiteracy (Richards 2004:60, 62). Thus we can sometimes find the "illiteracy formula" in the close of the letter (Weima 2000b:643-644; Klauck 2006:25).[81] Secondly, in most diplomatic and some documentary letters the date of their composition was preserved (cf. Exler 1923:78-100 [98-100]). However, the date was also often

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[79] Richards prefers the term rhetorical devices to literary devices. According to Richards (1991:132-136), this term includes two subcategories of (1) the literary devices and (2) the oratorical devices. His suggestion is acceptable because, as Richards pointed out in his book, letter writing reflects the nature of both written work and speech. Although later I borrow this term, here I use the "literary device" to avoid confusion with rhetorical argumentation found in the body.

[80] On the functions and roles of the amanuensis, see Richards 2004:59-80.

[81] On the "illiteracy formula," see Exler 1923:124-127. According to Exler (1923:127), whereas in "purely private" letters the amanuensis usually does not identify himself/herself, in "official" or "contractual and business" letters such identification seems to be required.

omitted, even in the diplomatic letter.[82] Thirdly, most letters were conveyed by carriers, either named or unnamed, no matter whether they were hired persons, travellers, slaves or friends (cf. Richards 2004; Allen, Neil and Mayer 2009b; Head 2009).[83] With regard to the functions of a letter carrier, especially the named letter carriers played an important role in the communication between the sender(s) and the recipient(s).[84] Finally, many documentary letters have the outer address preserved on the backside of the papyrus sheets as Schnider and Stenger (1987:3) say, "Bei antike Briefen unterscheidet man *äußere* und *innere* Adresse. Die *äußere* stand außen auf der Papyrusrolle, nannte Adressaten und Absender, manchmal auch den Bestimmungsort" (emphasis original).[85]

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[82] According to Exler (1923:98), the reasons for the absence of the date are threefold: (1) the papyrus letter cut off, (2) simple omission, especially in "private letters," and (3) no urgent need of dating the letters, even in "official letters," because "the carrier ordinarily was able to supply by word of mouth such information as the written document might lack."

[83] Levens 1930:x: "[T]here grew up a steady though unofficial traffic in letters between Rome and the provinces. Departing travelers would take leave of their friends with the word *Numquid in Sardiam vis?* Or *Numquid Romam vis?* (cf. *Q. fr.* ii. 2. I) as the case might be, and would take charge of letters found for the same destination as themselves." "But this was a slow method" because of travellers' various situations. "Accordingly, those who could afford it had among their slaves couriers (*tabellarii*) who could make fifty Roman miles a day on land, and take their chance of the first available sea-crossing." On the other hand, "[t]he companies of *publicani* who farmed the taxes had organized a service of *tabellarii* which was the nearest approach to a regular postal system in republican times" (Levens 1930:x-xi; cf. Brooke 1929:20). On the Roman postal system, see Llewelyn 1994b:13-22; 1995:339-349; Purcell 2012:1197-1198.

[84] Head 2009:296: "[T]he role of the letter-carrier was not exhausted by the physical delivery of the letter, but the letter-carrier had an important role in continuing or supplementing the conversation initiated (or at least expressed) by the written letter. This role could involve additional tasks only hinted at in the letter itself . . ., providing additional testimony regarding the main point of the letter . . ., or additional points of detail regarding some of the things mentioned in the letter" (cf. Llewelyn 1994d:50-57 [the letters in the NT and of the apostolic fathers]; Allen, Neil and Mayer 2009b:46-47 [the patristic letters]).

[85] The difference between the outer address and the prescript of a letter was explained by Deissmann (1965:148, n. 5) with the example of Pauline letters as follows: "In the commentaries on the letters of St. Paul the salutation which serves as introduction to the body of the letter is generally spoken of as the *address*. That is not correct: the address, as shown by this letter [sc. SIG[3] III 1259], the oldest that has come down to us, was written on the outside or on the cover of the folded letter, and in St. Paul's case was no doubt much shorter than the salutation. Not one of St. Paul's letters preserves it" (cf. Llewelyn 1994c:34; 1998b:123, 126).

4. Summary

Up till now I have looked at the formal features of the Greco-Roman letter. To sum up, its general features are as follows: In structure, regardless of the category of the letter (viz. the documentary or non-literary letter, the diplomatic letter and the literary letter), most Greco-Roman letters, except the petition, have a tripartite structure, i.e. the opening, the body and the closing, though not all parts are always preserved in every extant letter. Among these three parts, the opening and the closing have been called the indicators of the letter genre. The reason is surely that these two parts were preserved in firmly fixed form throughout the few centuries since the emergence of the letter, though some ornamentation and supplemental information were added to the basic conventions (White 1982; cf. Ziemann 1911; Exler 1923; Welles 1934; C.-H. Kim 1972; White 1972a; 1986; Buzón 1984). In contrast, the body was ever changing according to each epistolary situation. Although some recurring epistolary conventions and literary devices were often found in the body (cf. White 1972b; 1978; 1986), we can hardly say anything about how the body was generally constructed in terms of structural form, except for the rhetorical arrangement that sometimes appears in literary letters and rarely in diplomatic letters. Nevertheless, the body is the most important section of a letter, because it mainly contains whatever the sender wanted to communicate to the recipient. Besides these things, many letters sometimes contained a few external or secondary factors such as the date and the outer address. In addition, on the basis of the contents of some letters, or the cultural background of the sender, we get to know that a number of letters were not only written by the hired amanuensis or secretary, but also conveyed by hired persons, travellers, slaves and friends.

B. The Greco-Roman Hortatory Tradition and Hortatory Letters

I shall now turn to the problem of the function of the Greco-Roman letter. Actually, the letter has various functions, and so ancient authors divided letters into diverse types according to the purpose of each composition. Examples are found in two ancient handbooks for letter-writing, i.e.

Demetrius' *Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί* and Libanius' *Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες.* These handbooks introduce various letter types according to the functions and the contents, that is to say, the *Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί* and *Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες* offer twenty-one letter types and forty-one letter types respectively (Aune 2003:164; cf. Malherbe 1988:4-5).[86] Among these letter types, I am interested in a few that can be classified as the "hortatory letter." In both handbooks we can actually find a number of letter types which are closely related to the hortatory tradition, such as the letter of blame, the letter of reproach, the letter of reproof, the letter of consolation, the letter of praise, the letter of censure, the letter of encouragement, the letter of advice, and the letter of admonition (Stowers 1986:52; cf. Aune 2003:162-168). Stowers (1986) grouped such letter types under the title "*Letters of Exhortation and Advice.*"[87] My interest in such types comes from the fact that most letters in the NT not only belong to this category, but also share some features, such as the purpose, the function and the employment of literary devices, with the letters that are classified as hortatory letters. These hortatory letters aimed at providing guidance to the recipients, i.e. psychagogy, in order to benefit to them through the various methods of hortatory tradition, such as encouragement, consolation, advice, exhortation, correction, admonition, rebuke and censure.

This fact compels us to become well acquainted with the philosophical hortatory tradition in order to understand the hortatory letter. In fact, the study of the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition will reveal more general characteristics of hortatory letters as a hortatory genre, and also some special characteristics of hortatory letters as a letter genre, which are distinguished from hortatory works. For these reasons I will first look at the general characteristics, the function and the literary features of the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition, before investigating both characteristics and functions of the hortatory letter.

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[86] On the theories of ancient epistolography, see Malherbe 1988; Koskenniemi 1956:18-53; Thraede 1970:17-77; White 1982:290.

[87] Stowers (1986:91-152) classified ancient letter types into the following categories, based on social function: paraenetic letters, letters of advice, protreptic letters, letters of admonition, letters of rebuke, letters of reproach and letters of consolation.

1. The Greco-Roman Hortatory Tradition and Its Practice

a) A Brief Survey of the Greco-Roman Hortatory Tradition (viz. Psychagogy)

(1) Introduction

In the Greco-Roman world the hortatory tradition had been a part not of religion, but of Greco-Roman philosophy (Stowers 1986:9; cf. McNeill 1965:17).[88] Of course, this does not mean that religion totally ignored the issues of ethics, nor that Greco-Roman philosophers were interested only in ethics. However, it is very true that in antiquity the issues of ethics were handled by moral philosophers rather than by religious leaders, and "the heart of *philosophia* lies in ethics" (Trapp

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[88] Stowers 1986:37: "Conversion literature in the Greco-Roman world came from philosophy." From this perspective, there were some attempts to see early Christianity as a philosophical movement. Thus, Judge (2008:551 [1960 and 1961]) states as follows: "He [sc. Paul] is always anxious about the transmission of the *logos* and the acquisition of true *gnosis*. The mystery that he propagates is by that very fact a revealed secret, to be publicly inculcated by every means. The Christian faith, therefore, as Paul expounds it, belongs with the doctrines of the philosophical schools rather than with the esoteric rituals of the mystery religions. Another feature that marks Paul's teaching as philosophical rather than religious is its concentration upon ethics. A study of Paul's peers and rivals would also sharpen the point. They are constantly attacked on points of academic belief and moral practice. The religious activities of the Christian societies, the organisation and conduct of the cult, are only of minor concern." Stowers (2001:99-100) says, "From at least early in the second century there appear Christians like Justin and Athenagoras who with all seriousness style themselves philosophers and Christianity a philosophy. This identification became a major characteristic of ancient Christianity. I would argue that this claim made sense to many people because, as early as Paul, certain types of Christianity focused on intellectual practices and ordered these around a totalizing unitary vision of the good. Even though Christianity did not derive from philosophy in any direct way, but from Judaism, it shared the structural features that made it philosophy-like." However, other than Judge, who insisted that his opinion was based on the ultimate difference between Christian activities and the ritual activities of contemporary mystery religions, Stowers put the emphasis on the emergence of "a new form of religion based on the new shape of knowledge that depended on expert interpreters and teacher" under the influence of "the shift in knowledge" from "the local morals of people" to "a universal expertise regarding character and mind," which had appeared in Greek philosophical traditions since "the so-called Greek enlightenment" (Stowers 2001:101-102).

2007:6). Hellenistic philosophers, especially, gradually tended to focus on ethics, and in this process they realised that they needed some principles or devices to encourage their own moral and spiritual growth and that of their students (Thom 1995:77; cf. Perdue 1990:6). They presented themselves "as promoters of psychic health" (Graver 2010:273) and finally developed a system known as psychagogy (Malherbe 1992:301). The psychagogy "aimed, through character education, at the attainment of virtue and happiness, an achievement of which one could justly be proud" (Malherbe 2005:787). In this sense, we can say that the purpose of either practising philosophy or being a philosopher in the Greco-Roman world was completely different from today. In antiquity practising philosophy or being a philosopher meant neither attaining some professional philosophical knowledge, nor becoming a professor of philosophy at university as is the case at present. Instead, in antiquity practising philosophy or being a philosopher indicated caring for someone's life and/or leading his or her own life well (Trapp 2007:2; cf. I. Hadot 1986:444; Malherbe 1986:121; Stowers 1986:36). In other words, philosophy in antiquity, especially in the Hellenistic period, was "the art of living" (P. Hadot 1995:83) and "a way of life" (P. Hadot 2007:91). Thus Seneca, a contemporary of St. Paul, wrote to Lucilius in *Ep.* 90.1 as follows:

> *Quis dubitare, mi Lucili, potest quin deorum inmortalium munus sit quod vivimus, philosophiae*
>
> *quod bene vivimus?*
>
> Who can doubt, my dear Lucilius, that life is the gift of the immortal gods, but that living well
>
> is the gift of philosophy? (Gummere, LCL)

However, guidance towards a philosophical life did not always result in beneficial outcomes for the students or neophytes. In fact, philosophers' teachings frequently conflicted with the norms (i.e. either customs or culture) of contemporary society, though the philosophers had good intentions and urged people to search for a better life. In fact, because moral philosophers often "required a radical reorientation entailing social, intellectual, and moral transformation or readjustment which often resulted in confusion, bewilderment, and sometimes depresses" (Malherbe 1992:302; cf. 1987:36-37; 1990:387-388), converting to a "philosophical" life and trying to lead such a life, created

tension with existing social customs or norms in various ways (Stowers 1986:37; cf. Perdue 1990:13). Furthermore, such tension was not limited to private life. Instead, tension appeared also in public activities. As a result quite a few neophytes and even students of the new lifestyle (viz. the philosophical life) sometimes went back to their original lifestyle.

All these considerations led moral philosophers to the conclusion that "the initial conversion, whether a quiet commitment or a dramatic transformation, was not considered to be enough" and "[t]he aspiring student needed a philosophical guide or a doctor of soul" (Stowers 1986:37; cf. Ps.-Diogenes, *Ep.* 3). In other words, philosophers must have thought that even the students and certainly the neophytes needed continuous nourishment by a soul-guide, i.e. the philosopher, in order that they might stay committed to the learnt *modus vivendi* (Perdue 1990:6). So moral philosophers, as the soul-guides, were deeply concerned in this matter, and for their psychagogy towards their students and neophytes they employed the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition that aims to build up someone with diverse methods, such as praise or blame, persuasion or dissuasion.

(2) Origin and Development

These efforts of moral philosophers or soul-guides produced a well-developed system of care known as psychagogy (Malherbe 1992:301; cf. Rabbow 1954; I. Hadot 1969; 1986; P. Hadot 1995; 2007; Glad 1995; Rankin 2006). In the Hellenistic period many philosophers "devised ways of guiding their students toward spiritual maturity, and developed disciplines and practices that would enable a person to continue growing more mature by him- or herself. This system of intellectual, moral, and spiritual care, known as psychagogy (ψυχαγωγία, 'spiritual guidance'), was well-established in different philosophical traditions by the late Hellenistic and imperial periods" (Thom 1995:77; cf. Malherbe 1992:301; Glad 1995:17-23). Historically, its beginning goes back to Socrates (469-399 B.C.E.) and started being systematised by Plato (428/427-348/347 B.C.E.), Aristotle (348-322 B.C.E.) and his contemporary Epicurus (341-271 B.C.E.). Afterwards, the hortatory tradition was sustained and developed, especially by later moral philosophers and philosophical schools. Thus the Stoics, the Epicureans, the Cynics, the Sceptics and even the

Christians possessed their own, but also some common, practices for psychagogy (cf. Stowers 1986:37; Thom 1995:90-91).

Socrates' soul guidance focused above all on the care of his own soul (cf. Plato, *Apol.* 29e2). By examining himself, Socrates tried to show how an individual should take care of his/her own soul (Bonhoeffer 1989:286). In other words, "Socrates' mission consisted in inviting his contemporaries to examine their conscience and to take care for their inner progress" (P. Hadot 1995:90; cf. Plato, *Symp.* 215e6-216a5). Actually, having proven that he was correct in providing "a way of living by his own life and death," Socrates was considered to be "the model philosopher" in antiquity (Stowers 1986:36; cf. McNeill 1965:24). His way of life as a moral philosopher influenced the formation of "the perception of philosophical life" of later moral philosophers (P. Hadot 2007:92; cf. 1995:57). However, though most moral philosophers accepted Socrates' example as their presupposition of soul guidance, each philosopher and philosophical school practised soul guidance based on their own belief and understanding of the world, the human being and society (cf. I. Hadot 1986:444). As a result, the ancient practice of soul guidance differed from school to school, and even from philosopher to philosopher within the same school.

Plato, a pupil of Socrates, tried to develop his teacher's soul guidance. However, as opposed to his teacher, who expected self-examination from everyone, Plato was interested in taking care of others' souls (Bonhoeffer 1989:286). Plato above all tried to apply such soul guidance to his disciples in the Academy that was based on male friendship. "The characteristic lifestyle of this school, in which daily life was regulated by precise rules, such as those organizing common meals or determining the selection of the school's head, was marked on the one hand by dialogue . . ., and on the other hand by certain nutritional regulations as well as the 'exercise in preparation for death' . . ., which involved accepting the idea of separation from one's body" (P. Hadot 2007:92-93). Furthermore, his trust in psychagogy extended to the level of the state. In other words, Plato "believed that the Socratic guidance of souls could only come about through a polis, a Greek city-state, designed and governed by philosophers. Plato travelled to several places attempting to establish his ideal polis" (Stowers 1986:39).

Plato's disciple Aristotle left the famous *Protrepticus* - "a long tradition of putting exhortations to the philosophical life into the form of letters" (Stowers 1986:37). This work is known as the first systematic book on soul guidance (cf. Furley 2012:1228). Aristotle also developed a theory of soul guidance to take care of his disciples at the Lyceum, where the disciples pursued "a way of life that was dedicated to scientific inquiry, but also to contemplation" (P. Hadot 2007:93). This tradition was continued in the Peripatetic school (I. Hadot 1986:457).

Epicurus, a contemporary of Aristotle, made a huge contribution to the development of psychagogy (Malherbe 2005:787). Above all he himself retreated into "communities of 'natural friendship' which repudiated the Greek pursuit of honor and renown" (Stowers 1986:39; Gill 1995:32-33). This contrasted with Plato's form of soul guidance, which he tried to extend from the individual to the *polis*. Thus he himself retreated to his semi-ascetic communities, and "exhorted, encouraged, gave advice, settled disputed, taught his doctrine," and he conducted this guidance through letters when he could not guide his disciples face to face (Stowers 1986:39-40).

After Aristotle and Epicurus philosophy more frequently and explicitly functioned as "a healing art" (Graver 2010:273). The representative philosophical schools that systematically and theoretically developed this art, and used it as a means of education and care for disciples, were the Stoics, who partly succeeded to the heritage of Socrates, and the Epicureans. Nevertheless, other philosophical groups, such as the Cynics and Sceptics, did not ignore soul guidance, but pursued it through the practice of a specific lifestyle, though they refused any theoretical foundations (P. Hadot 2007:93; cf. Malherbe 1992:301; 2005:787).

The Stoics had their own theories of soul guidance (cf. P. Hadot 2007:93). Stoic philosophers focused on the healing of the "emotional imbalances of persons whose values are tied to external goods" (Graver 2010:274) and so "required of their adherents constant vigilance. . ., the continual moral purification of their intentions (to ensure that an action was motivated only by the aim of realizing what was morally good), untiring intellectual preparation for emotional shock resulting from any unfortunate events that might occur, and devotion to the community of the city and of human kind" (P. Hadot 2007:93). This Stoic way of life was mainly pursued by high-ranking persons such as Chrysippus (third century B.C.E.), Cicero (first century B.C.E.), Seneca (first

century C.E.), Dio Chrysostom (first century C.E.) and Marcus Aurelius (third century C.E.), because "Stoics tended to spiritualize a Cynic-like detachment, while at the same time supporting the social and political order" (Stowers 1986:37). However, we also find the former slave Epictetus (ca. 55 – ca.135 C.E.) as a leading Stoic philosopher (Inwood 2012:512).

The Epicureans were above all "concerned with liberating the spirit from the torment of anxiety (from fear of gods, of death, of suffering of any kind), as well as with placing limits on one's desires, not through the constraints of asceticism, but instead through the enjoyment of pure, unadulterated pleasures (which required abstention from politics, which was the source of much anxiety)" (P. Hadot 2007:93). For this, they tried to provide "scientific explanation for natural phenomena" (Graver 2010:273-274). Other areas of ancient philosophy, i.e. epistemology and physics, were considered to be "only the necessary intellectual conditions for a happy life" (I. Hadot 1986:445). Furthermore, they often recommended withdrawing and forming "their own communities of friends" to realise their ideals (Stowers 1986:37; Glad 1995:104; cf. Gill 1995:59-60). Their community pursued a "friendly atmosphere, the frugality of its common meals and the equality of masters and slaves, men and woman" (P. Hadot 2007:93; cf. Glad 1995:161-175). To this philosophical group Epicurus, Philodemus (first century B.C.E.) and Lucretius (died at ca. 55 B.C.E.) belonged.

The Cynics, who assumed that the human being was totally ensnared by vice, thought that harsh censure and rebuke were effective in soul guidance (Stowers 1986:36). However, within the same Cynic school, some Cynics thought that such harshness of treatment could kill those who needed soul guidance.[89] Thus they suggested that the soul-guide had to be gentler and even to adapt himself and his words to the condition of those who needed soul guidance (Stowers 1986:36-37). In any case, Cynics rejected a normal society as an unnatural and perverted (Stowers 1986:37; cf. Moles 2012:403). Such an attitude against normal society, appearing as "a rejection of all social

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[89] On the division between the "harsh, austere" Cynics and the "mild, gentle or hedonistic" Cynics see Glad 1995:91-94.

conventions, a strictly ascetic way of life, shamelessness, disdain for money, lack of respect for the powerful, provocative free speech (*parrhēsīa*) and absolute independence from all useless needs, characterized the life style of individuals like Diogenes of Sinope and Crates of Thebes and his wife Hipparchia" (P. Hadot 2007:93-94).

The Sceptics above all invoked the example of Pyrrhon of Ellis (ca. 365-275 B.C.E.), who is known as being the first Sceptic philosopher (Striker 2012:1245). They pursued conformity, while they rejected evaluating whether something was good or bad. They were utterly indifferent to all things, and considered the best thing to be "in a constant state of imperturbable peace of mind (*ataraxia*)" (P. Hadot 2007:94)

Finally, with the emergence of Christianity, this tradition and practice of soul guidance was adopted by Christians and developed in their own way (cf. Rankin 2006). Of course, pagan philosophical schools still sometimes flourished, as in the case of the school of Neo-Platonism (viz. the Academics) (cf. Stowers 1986:40; P. Hadot 2007:94). However, as time went by, interest in soul guidance tended to concentrate in nascent churches (cf. Stowers 1986:36). This was because Christians very often experienced persecution due to their faith. And many heretical teachings threatened the unity and even the existence of Christianity. Thus church leaders tried to console believers, or to set them firmly in their faith with pastoral care (viz. psychagogy). Therefore we not only have a number of pastoral works in the form of letters, speeches and sermons, but also a few guidebooks or manuals for a pastor (viz. a soul-guide).

(3) Various Forms of Exhortations in the Hortatory Tradition

In antiquity the philosophical hortatory tradition was not only used in various literary genres (Berger 1984a),[90] but different kinds of exhortations also occurred in the hortatory tradition, i.e.

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[90] Especially in the deliberative genre (viz. die *symbuleutische Gattung*) we can find more traces of the hortatory tradition than in others, i.e. the demonstrative genre (viz. die *epideiktische Gattung*) and the judicial genre (viz. die

paraenesis, *protrepsis* and *symboulē* (Stowers 1986).[91] Although all three kinds of exhortation aim at "exhorting" people, each one has its own inherent characteristics related to its specific purpose, according to the circumstances of the audience. For example, *paraenesis* is not only an inherent part of the hortatory tradition, but is also clearly distinct from *protrepsis* and *symboulē* in some respects. In its inherent nature, *paraenesis* includes "traditional maxims or precepts of wisdom, especially moral wisdom" (Stowers 1986:91; cf. Aune 1987:191; Perdue 1990:12; cf. Isocrates, *Nic.* 40-41; Ps.-Libanius, *Epistolary Styles* 5). Such features are shared with other kinds of exhortations, though they can be distinguished in practice. Thus the purpose of *paraenesis* was "advice and exhortation to continue in a certain way of life," which was different from *protrepsis* that was "hortatory literature that calls the audience to a new and different way of life"[92] (Stowers 1986:92; Perdue 1990:23; Harding 1998:107).[93] And in the nature of its exhortation it is different from *symboulē* that "would concern specific, occasional matter (e.g. Shall we sail or go by land?)." *Paraenesis* "would concern general universal matters," not based on someone's private opinion, though *paraenesis* was

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dikanische Gattung), though these three genres are all meant to change the audience: "In verschiedener Weise geht es dabei um Veränderung des Hörers" (Berger 1984a:17).

[91] This distinction should be considered apart from the "three modes of exhortation" of *paraenesis*, *protrepsis* and *diatribe* (on the distinction of "three modes of exhortation," see Malherbe 1986:121ff.; Ferguson 2003:322-323). While the "three kinds of exhortation" in the text above are based on the characteristics of each exhortation, the "three modes of exhortation" are related to the literary style.

[92] According to Aune (1992:91 and 95) *protrepsis* (in Aune's term, the λόγος προτρεπτικός or "speech of exhortation") "is a lecture intended to win converts and attract young people to a particular way of life," and its "central function . . ., at least within the context of their use by adherents of various philosophical schools and traditions, was encouraging *conversion*" (emphasis original). Stowers (1986:113): "Protreptic works urge the reader to convert to a way of life, join a school, or accepted a set of teachings as normative for the reader's life." This protreptic theory was explained well by Aristotle's *Protrepticus* and Cicero's *Hortensius* (Furley 2012:1228).

[93] While "[p]rotreptic works urged people to convert to the philosophical way of life, to join a particular school, or to adopt the moral conduct taught by philosophy," according to Ferguson (2003:322), *paraenesis* "involved habits of behavior already accepted within the society or community of which the parties were members." See Kotzé 2003:56: "Formulated differently: protreptic aims to change both the world view and the conduct of the addressee, while paraenetic presupposes a shared world view and aims only at improving the conduct of its audience."

sometimes adapted to a specific hortatory situation by each philosopher (Stowers 1986:93; Aune 1987:191; Malherbe 1987:76; Perdue 1990:12; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 94. 32-35).[94] Nevertheless, the distinction between them, especially between *paraenesis* and *protrepsis,* is still vague (Malherbe 1986:121-122, 124-125; Stowers 1986:92-93; Fiore 1986:41). The primary reason for this vagueness is that ancient authors rarely distinguished between them, especially between *paraenesis* and *protrepsis.* Thus Harding (1998:107; cf. Stowers 1986:92) said, "Both of these modes of address [sc. *paraenesis* and *protrepsis*], however, were termed 'paraenesis' in the Greco-Roman era." Besides this, we need to remember that *paraenesis* was broader in scope than *protrepsis* at that time. This fact also makes it difficult to distinguish *paraenesis* from *protrepsis* in the actual range (Malherbe 1986:124; Ferguson 2003:322). In reality, these two applications of the hortatory tradition were often mixed together. In this sense, Stowers' words (1986:92) are correct: "The distinction is always relative to audience's disposition toward the new life" (cf. Malherbe 1986:121; Thom 1995:77).[95]

b) Generic Features of Greco-Roman Hortatory Works

Up till now I briefly surveyed some general features of the Greco-Roman philosophical hortatory tradition. It is clear that the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition played an important part both in the

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[94] Providing Gal 4:12-20; 5:1-12; 1 Cor 11:2-16; Rom 8:12-17; 1 Cor 3:1-23; 1 Pet 3:18-23 as the proof texts of "advisable argument" (*symbuleutische Argumentation*) in the NT, Berger (1984b:1148) defines the private nature of *symboulē* in relation to *paraenesis* as follows: "In diesen Fällen handelt es sich um Paränese oder Mahnrede *mit ausführlichen Begründungen oder Kommentierungen*" (my emphasis). For me, the phrase "mit ausführlichen Begründungen oder Kommentierungen" ("with detailed proofs or comments") implies private factors added to traditional materials.

[95] Cf. Perdue 1990:24: "Protrepsis and paraenesis refer then, to two distinct, but connected stages along the way to virtue: entrance to the path of life and continuance in the course undertaken. Even when a text is explicitly protreptic in function (conversion), it may be used paraenetically, i.e., by those who reflect upon their earlier entrance into a particular stage of life, role, or group"; Kotzé 2003:55: "[M]ost authors on the protreptic genre agree that those who were already converted (already in a positive relationship with the speaker) formed a part of the audience of the protreptic, even though it is primarily aimed at converting the non-yet-converted."

sphere of life and in the field of literature in the Greco-Roman world. Firstly, in terms of the sphere of life, the hortatory tradition led the way to a new *modus vivendi*. Secondly, in terms of the field of literature, this tradition was used as the effective guide to a new *modus vivendi* and its maintenance. In other words, with regard to urging the conversion to a new *modus vivendi*, and guiding the students in sustaining a philosophical life, moral philosophers used to employ this hortatory tradition with standardised patterns or styles.

Considering these facts, we should now ask whether we can find any recurring generic features or patterns in the literary practice (viz. works) of the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition. However, we cannot be very optimistic about finding an answer, because the character of the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition is complicated, as already became clear above (cf. Kotzé 2003:50-51).[96] Furthermore, there is still a debate about defining what a genre is, and how to define a genre (cf. Berger 1984a:9-10, 16-17). While we can deductively assume some necessary elements and patterns in defining the genre of a literary work, such as structure, form and conventions, the problem still remains that we hardly find such necessary and constantly appearing factors and patterns that specify a genre. This is also true in the sphere of hortatory works. The fact that the hortatory tradition was conveyed through various literary forms, such as the discourse (viz. the monologue) and the letter makes the situation more complicated. To sum up, along with an inherent complication in defining a genre, diverse embodiments of the hortatory tradition in reality make it almost impossible to briefly summarise the characteristics of Greco-Roman hortatory works.[97]

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[96] Nevertheless, there is one good example of defining a hortatory genre. In his research on generic features, the λόγος προτρεπτικός, Aune (1992:101) inductively summarised the basic factors of most protreptic works into three elements: (1) ἐλεγκτικός or ἀπελεγκτικός, a negative section against rivals, (2) προτρεπτικός, ἐνδεικτικός or ἐπιεικτικός, a positive section for true philosophy, i.e. the theory of the persuader and (3) προτρεπτικός or παράκλησις, an optional section of "personal appeal to the hearer inviting the immediate acceptance of the exhortation."

[97] On the difficulty of defining the generic status for *protrepsis*, see Aune 1992:97. According to Kotzé (2003:51), who depends on M. D. Jordan's theory (cf. 1986:309-333), such an unsatisfactory situation is caused by the "communicative purpose" of each hortatory work: "It is my contention that it is the particular character of the communicative purpose of the protreptic that causes an even greater diversity in the content of protreptic texts and that is also responsible for the

Nevertheless, when we consider some literary genres to be embodiments of the hortatory tradition, such as the discourse and the letter, we can distinguish generic features common to extant hortatory works, and based on these findings we may extract some general literary features of the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition. It seems that these common features mainly came from both practical situations (viz. the purpose and the function) of the hortatory tradition and from literary formal features.[98] Practical situations especially must have boosted the rhetorical efforts (viz. literary and oratorical) of the philosophers in order that their psychagogy might be more fruitful. As a result some constant rhetorical patterns emerged, which exist in the hortatory works of each literary genre. Nevertheless, it is still difficult to assert that such constant elements were essential to the hortatory works. We can only say that they are useful as criteria to help us categorise some literary works as hortatory.

As we will see below, these common factors can be grouped into two categories, i.e. practical epistolary situations outside the text, and rhetorical epistolary factors employed in composition. Within the former category is found the hortatory tradition, such as the relationship between the philosophers and their students or audience, and the particular attitude of philosophers towards their students or audience (viz. the adaptation and application). To the latter category belong the rhetorical epistolary devices (viz. both literary and oratorical) employed for more effective psychagogy.[99]

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lack of pattern in the structural and stylistic features of extant examples of the genre . . . [T]he contents, the tone, the strategies of the author will depend totally on the kind of audience he or she envisages, which of course is an infinitely variable factor, and the relationship between the author and this audience, which can also vary." Although here Kotzé is talking about *protrepsis*, this situation can apply to other hortatory genres.

[98] Berger 1984a:17: "Gattung wird konstituiert durch ein bestimmtes Verhältnis, in dem *Inhalt, Form und Wirking zueinander* stehen" (my emphasis). Cf. Aune 1987:13.

[99] According to Richards (1991:132-133), "epistolary rhetoric" is divided into two categories: literary devices and oratorical devices, though these two devices are hard to distinguish in ancient letters "(a) because literary epistles were often 'speeches' cast into writing, (b) because more occasional letters are often a conversation put in writing, and (c) because some of the oratorical devices lend themselves easily to a written form." Nevertheless, these two kinds of

(1) Relational Factors other than the Text

One of the most outstanding features of hortatory works is the relationship between the teacher or philosopher and the students or audience. This feature can be summarised as the superiority of the teacher or philosopher as the soul-guide to the students or audience (Aune 1987:191; Perdue 1990:14-15). Of course, this does not mean simply that the relationship was hierarchical, based either on social position or official duties. Instead, the relationship of both sides was good, and sometimes seemed to be equal, because it was often marked by a bond of friendship, camaraderie and fraternity (cf. Perdue 1981:246; Malherbe 1992; Glad 1995:53-58). Nevertheless, it is true that in most cases the philosopher as the soul-guide was the superior in status and qualification, because of age, wisdom, experience and vocation.[100] Thus the philosopher sometimes based his qualification on the divine origin of the vocation (e.g. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 32.12; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 3.22.38-49). Besides this, the philosopher also claimed his qualification for his roles as a soul-guide by proving

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device differ in the medium through which the message is delivered. The literary devices "are probably composed in a written form and best noticed and appreciated there," whereas the oratorical devices "were used frequently in speeches" and sometimes in letters, though the oratorical devices "are being preserved only in written forms." As regards the means of each device, the literary devices include "analogy, chiasmus, parallelism and antithesis, the group of items of dramatic effect, and lists of virtues/vices and tribulations," and the oratorical devices that appear in ancient letters are "paraenesis, diatribe, and oration." In the case of a letter, it contains both features, because a letter was a semi-dialogical literary work.

[100] In terms of the four hortatory letter types (viz. the paraenetic letter, the letter of advice, the letter of admonition and the letter of consolation), Stowers (1986:96, 108, 127, 144) recognizes some fundamental elements of each letter type. Except for the letter of consolation, the other three letters have the following common fundamental elements: (1) the writer is superior to the recipient in age, wisdom, experience and other characteristics, and (2) the writer considers the good behavior and actions of the recipient afterwards. Besides this, according to Stowers (1986:144), even in the letter of consolation, after "[t]he writer expresses his grief and provides reasons why the recipient should bear up under the grief," the writer often "exhorts the grieving person to have fortitude." Therefore, we find words of exhortation as follows: "[Φ]έρε γοῦν τὸ γεγονὸς ὡς δύνῃ κουφότατα καὶ καθὼς ἄλλῳ παρήνεσας, σαυτῷ παραίνεσον" ("Bear, then, what has happened as lightly as you can, and exhort yourself just as you would exhort someone else") (Pseudo-Demitrius, *Epistolary Types* [Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί], 5, *lines* 17-18; Malherbe's text and translation [1988:33-34]).

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his moral status through rigorous self-examination (e.g. Julian, *Or.* 6.200C-200D, 200D-201A). According to Malherbe (1990:384), a person who voiced his admonitions to the weak out of good will "was required to examine himself and apply his admonition to himself" (cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 51.5; 77/78.42; Plutarch, *Adul. amic.* 71E-72A). Furthermore, the philosopher did not hesitate to proclaim his own integrity, which was gained from trying experiences in the past (viz. hardships), and his faithfulness to his philosophical life (e.g. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 8.15, 16). Through such steadfastness, gained by vigorous self-examination and from specific experiences, the moral philosopher could best demonstrate being qualified to be a soul-guide (e.g. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 8.15, 16; 39.3; Seneca, *Ep.* 29.4). On the other hand, many persons among the audience attending to the philosopher lacked such qualification (e.g. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 13.13). All these considerations were in fact based on the personality or morality of a person, not on social or official position. Therefore, psychagogy could be conducted by a member of a family to an older member. We have an example of such a case in a papyrus letter. P.Dryton 36 (or Sel.Pap. I. 101) is "an example of simple exhortation in a papyrus letter" – the son provided "encouragement for his mother and father" (Stowers 1986:97). Thus, we can say that in the practical application of exhortation, the relationship "of an older and wiser friend to a younger and less mature friend" can be taken for granted (Stowers 1986:39).

Another important factor other than the text of hortatory works is the fact that, in order to achieve his psychagogical purpose, the philosopher focused on pending questions from his students or neophytes, or the audience. Therefore, in accordance with each situation, the philosopher often not only employed diverse beneficial measures, but also adapted and changed treatments, just as a good physician does for his patient (e.g. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 77/78.37-45; Plutarch, *Adul. am.* 73C-74E; *Adol. poet. aud.* 46D-47D; Seneca, *Ep.* 64.6-10; cf. Malherbe 1986). Thus most philosophers tried to reinterpret and apply the sources of their psychagogy to each corresponding situation, while they did not disregard the value of traditional wisdom. Regarding this fact, we can mention Seneca's insistence on the importance of such reinterpretation and proper application. Seneca knew the value of traditional wisdom, and said as much in his *Ep.* 64.7: *Veneror itaque inventa sapientiae inventoresque* ("Hence I worship the discoveries of wisdom and their

discoverers"). For Seneca, entering "the inheritance of many predecessors" was "a delight" (*adire tamquam multorum hereditatem iuvat*) (*Ep.* 64.7). Nevertheless, using such traditional wisdom for psychagogy, Seneca emphasised proper reinterpretation and adaptation according to each corresponding situation. Thus, in *Ep.* 64.8, Seneca wrote as follows:

> *Puta relicta nobis medicamenta quibus sanarentur oculi: non opus est mihi alia quaerere, sed haec tamen morbis et temporibus aptanda sunt. Hoc asperitas oculorum collevatur; hoc palpebrarum crassitudo tenuatur; hoc vis subita et umor avertitur; hoc acuetur visus: teras ista oportet et eligas tempus, adhibeas singulis modum. Animi remedia inventa sunt ab antiquis; quomodo autem admoveantur aut quando nostri operis est quaerere.*

Assume that prescriptions have been handed down to us for the healing of the eyes; there is no need of my searching for others in addition; but for all that, these prescriptions must be adapted to the particular disease and to the particular stage of the disease. Use this prescription to relieve granulation of the eyelids, that to reduce the swelling of the lids, this to prevent sudden pain or a rush of tears, that to sharpen the vision. Then compound these several prescriptions, watch for the right time of their application, and apply the proper treatment in each case. The cures for the spirit also have been discovered by the ancients; but it is our task to learn the method and the time of treatment (Gummere, LCL).

In addition, we find that the philosopher did not hesitate to adapt himself to the situation of each of his students and neophytes, or audience (Malherbe 1986:50; Glad 1995; 2003).[101] Such practices

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[101] Cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 77/78.38: [A]ὐτὸς δὲ τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν πειράσεται διαφυλάττειν εὐσχημόνως καὶ βεβαίως, μηδέποτε λείπων τὴν αὑτοῦ τάξιν, ἀρετὴν δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην τιμῶν ἀεὶ καὶ αὔξων καὶ πάντας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἄγων, τὰ μὲν πείθων καὶ παρακαλῶν, τὰ δὲ λοιδορούμενος καὶ ὀνειδίζων, εἴ τινα δύναιτο ἐξελέσθαι ἀφροσύνης καὶ φαύλων ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἀκρασίας καὶ τρυφῆς, ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον ἀπολαμβάνων καὶ ἀθρόους νουθετῶν, ὁσάκισ ἂν καιροῦ τύχῃ τινός, ἄλλον μειλιχίοις, ἄλλον στερεοῖς ἐπέεσσι . . . ("But as for himself, the man of whom I speak will strive to preserve his individuality in seemly fashion and with steadfastness, never deserting his post of duty, but always

left diverse traces of some specific, but partly conventional, expressions in hortatory works. For example, we can often find some relational expressions such as "father-son," "mother/babysitter-baby," "physician-patient" and "teacher-student." All of them are used to describe the relationship between the philosopher and the student or neophyte, and the audience (rarely). Furthermore, the philosopher's expressions of humility can also be one of the examples of such adaptations. At the point that the philosopher's self-humility towards his students or neophytes, and even the audience, could possibly have been from the consciousness of the superiority of the philosopher in terms of morality and integrity, and also from the acceptance of his superiority by the students. Nevertheless, the humility of the philosopher should be viewed from the perspective of the adaptation for persuasion because such humility is based on the good relationship between the philosopher and the students. Thus, when this superiority became both a practical ground for the philosopher's psychagogy and a stimulus to produce some hortatory episodes, the relationship between the giver of the exhortation (viz. the philosopher) and its receiver (viz. his students or neophytes and the audience) is to be said to be one of the important generic factors of the hortatory tradition. To sum up, "[t]he responsible teacher who adapted himself to the conditions of his hearers, knew a wide range of styles of persuasion and was sensitive to how appropriate or inappropriate they were to any particular circumstance" (Malherbe 1986:121).[102]

(2) (Epistolary) Rhetorical Factors within the Text

Besides the above-mentioned features, we can find some persuasive (epistolary) rhetorical devices: Firstly, for effective psychagogy the moral philosopher tried to create a friendly atmosphere. Thus

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honouring and promoting virtue and sobriety and trying to lead all men thereto, partly by persuading and exhorting, partly by abusing and reproaching, in the hope that he may thereby rescue somebody from folly and from low desires and intemperance and soft living, taking them aside privately one by one and also admonishing them in groups every time he finds the opportunity, With gentle words at times, at others harsh . . .") (Crosby, LCL)

[102] Cf. Malherbe 1986:66: "The more reflective philosophers were acutely aware of the need to adapt their teaching" to the hortatory situation that they had at hand (cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 64.6-10).

he often addressed his students, neophytes, and the audience with "relationship-oriented" appellations and expressions, and also used to praise their behaviour. These things not only improved their relationship, but also helped the students to pay attention to the words of the philosopher (cf. Fiore 1986:17).

Secondly, the moral philosopher sometimes used certain authoritative sources to support his psychagogy. Thus, we can often find a quotation or allusion from sayings, proverbs, poetry and hymns (cf. Fiore 1986:18).[103] Aristotle (*Rh*. 1.2.2) divided the means of persuasion or argument into two categories, i.e. the artistic proofs (αἱ ἔντεχνοι πίστες) and the non-artistic proofs (αἱ ἄτεχνοι πίστες). While the artistic proofs are the art of rhetoric consisting of the rational appeal (*logos*), the emotional appeal (*pathos*) and the ethical appeal (*ēthos*), the non-artistic proofs are not part of the art of rhetoric, come from outside the art of rhetoric and are used for the support of arguments (Corbett and Connors 1999:17-19; cf. Lausberg 1998 [§ 350-352, 355]; Hanbinek 2005:103). The above-mentioned authoritative sources belong to one of the non-artistic proofs in Aristotle's category. Of course, because the philosopher himself was the superior to his students, the support of other authorities was not necessary. Nevertheless, the appeal to such sources must have intensified

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[103] Saying that "[t]he use of hymnic and poetic materials, usually of a traditional nature, is in keeping with paraenetic style," Wilson (1997:232, n.20) offers the following examples that employ such materials in the paraenetic context: Ps.-Diogenes, *Ep*. 7.2; Musonius Rufus, *Frg*. 9.45.7-9; Epictetus, *Diatr*. 3.10.2-3 (cf. 1.16.15-21); *Ench*. 53; Dio Chrysostom, *Or*. 17.9 (cf. 7.97-102); Seneca, *Ep*. 101.11; 107.11 (cf. 16.3); Iamblichus, *VP* 14.63; 35.259; cf. Col 1:15-20. Thus, saying that ". . . the citation of a hymn in a paraenetic letter is common feature . . ." (246), Gordley (2007:249) summarises the functions of "poetic and/or hymnic language" in the letters of Seneca as follows: "They can serve as examples to imitate (as in 107), negative examples to avoid (as in 101), or as reaffirmations of already accepted teaching (as in 16)." Besides this, he judges their value in the following words, ". . . these examples show the way an ancient author can utilize formal citation (as in the case of 101 and 107) or digression in an encomiastic style (as in the case of 16) in a way that supports the primary purpose of the composition" (ibid.; on his analysis on poetic or/and hymnic materials in Dio Chrysostom, see pp. 249-230 of his book). In summary, these materials "appear to have the function of supporting the main argument of the letter, either by providing an example, providing an ancient authority or otherwise providing material that is commonly accepted by the readers. This practice is widespread in antiquity and viewed favorably by those who discuss persuasive speech" (Gordley 2007:250).

the authority of his words of instruction, exhortation and correction, especially in confronting an enemy or opponent when conducting his psychagogy.

Thirdly, in practising his psychagogy, the moral philosopher mainly used some conventional and traditional themes, i.e. *topoi*. The *topoi* have been defined as "traditional, fairly systematic treatments of moral subjects which make use of common clichés, maxims, short definitions, and so forth, without thereby sacrificing an individual viewpoint" (Malherbe 1986:144; cf. Aune 2003:476-478) or more simply, "extended paraenetical statements on particular themes or topics" (Bailey and Broek 1992:62). However, according to Thom (2003), these definitions reveal a too limited understanding of the *topos*, because they only focus on the field of "moral subjects" or "paraenetic statements." The *topos* was in fact not limited to moral themes. According to Thom (2003:566-568), there are not only three types of *topoi*, i.e. (1) the logical or rhetorical *topos*, which offers "lines of argumentation or schemes of thought rather than 'material' ideas," (2) the literary *topos*, which "consists of literary themes or motifs that are used over and over again" and (3) the moral or philosophical *topos*, which mainly appears in Hellenistic moral writings. There are also topics such as (1) marriage, sexual love, the household, parents and children, the role of women, (2) friendship, frank speech and flattery, (3) education and training, (4) statesmanship, (5) anger and other passions, (6) pleasure and pain, (7) tranquility and equanimity, (8) progress in virtue, (9) vices, (10) personal adornment, (11) justice, (12) different ways of life (βίοι), (13) wealth and poverty, (14) providence, fate and suffering and (15) piety and the gods (cf. Malherbe 1986:144-161; 1992:320-325). Besides this, Thom (2003:568) added the following words: "Such lists may easily be extended if we cast our net wider to include other Graeco-Roman writings as well." Thus, employing these *topoi* with some modifications and interpretations in various situations, the philosopher could approach his students more effectively and systematically.

Fourthly, the moral philosopher employed personal models, including the philosopher himself (e.g. Plutarch, *Demetr.* 1.4-6; Ps.-Isocrates, *To Demon.* 9-15; Pliny, *Ep.* 8.13; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 6.5-6; 11.9-10; 52.1-9; 95.72; Lucian, *Demon.* 1-2; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 4.83-96) and some non-personal examples (e.g. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 48.14-16; Maximus of Tyre, *Dissertationes* 36) (Aune 1987:191; cf. Malherbe 1986:135-136; 1992:284-286; 2000:83-84). With such models and

examples the philosopher tried to make the students more easily understand the philosophical *modus vivendi*. In other words, the philosopher tried to point out "noteworthy humans whose lives and actions are portrayed as incorporating either the virtues or vices of the larger social order under discussion at a given point" (Perdue 1990:16). Thus, though not necessarily, such models and examples were sometimes combined with conventions such as the list of virtues and vices and the list of hardships (viz. the *peristasis* catalogue). Especially the protreptic and apotreptic functions of personal models or examples were considered "the heart of paraenetic letters" (Malherbe 2004:301).

Fifthly, there are a few lists that were customarily employed by the moral philosopher. They were the list of virtues and vices, the list of hardships (viz. the *peristasis* catalogue) and the household code (viz. *Haustafeln*). The list of virtues and vices was used with the aim of characterisation, description, exemplification, instruction, exhortation, apology, and polemic (Fitzgerald 1992:857; cf. Malherbe 1986:135; Aune 2003:89-91). Although the list of virtues and vices was not used just in hortatory works, nor found just in Greco-Roman literature, our sources are mainly Greco-Roman (including Christian) hortatory works, because "[t]he popularity of such lists resided, above all, in their utility for moral instruction and exhortation" (Fitzgerald 1992:859; cf. Aune 2003:90). The list of hardships (viz. the *peristasis* catalogue) was often employed as "rhetorical and literary foils for the depiction and demonstration of the sage's various qualities as the ideal philosopher" and functioned to "establish him as a reliable guide for those who aspire to the life of virtue" (Fitzgerald 1988:203; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 71.30; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 3.22.50-51). Through this list, the philosopher not only provided the authoritative model to be imitated, but also set himself up as such a model (Malherbe 1986:142; Fiore 1992:164). The household code (viz. *Haustafeln*) contained the lists of duties of members of a household, often appearing in paraenetic literature, such as the diatribe (Malherbe 1992:304-305; cf. Malherbe 1986:135; Balch 1988; 1992a; 1992b; 2003; Price 1990:162-178), and this code often provided principles that "outline the duties and responsibilities associated with the proper or ideal management of private affairs," especially in a few biblical texts (Balch 1992a:318).

Sixthly, the method of remembrance (viz. the way of reminding) was often employed in exhortation by the moral philosopher. The contents to be reminded of, are what the students already

know, what they were taught by the philosopher, what their former attitude presumably was, and what is commonly accepted by people (Fiore 1986:18). Thus the contents were often traditional and not new, and so the philosopher sometimes introduced the device with some phrase, such as "as you know" (e.g. Seneca, *Ep*. 94.26). Because the content of the advice was known to the students, the philosopher did not add further instructions or explain the reason for the advice, but just tried to remind his students of what they already knew and they had already been taught (Malherbe 2004:310; e.g. Isocrates, *Demon*. 9-10; Cicero, *Fam*. 1.4.3; 2.4.2; Seneca, *Epp*. 6.5-6; 11.8-10; Pliny, *Ep*. 8.24.1). In many cases, such advice was simply compliments on what they were doing, or encouragement to continue what they were doing (Malherbe 1986:125; 2004:310; Dryden 2006:116; cf. Cicero, *Quint. fratr*. 1.1.8; *Fam*. 6.10b.4; Seneca *Epp*. 13.15; 25.4). Additionally, this device functioned to reaffirm not only the contact between the philosopher and the students, but also the continuance between them and the tradition they had in common (Fiore 1986:18).

Seventhly, the moral philosopher used ornamentation in terms of rhetoric, i.e. the tropes and the schemes that are devices or patterns of language in which the meaning of a word is changed and enhanced (Lanham 1991:178). Ornamentation commonly pleases the audience, attracts them and disposes them to believe the speaker. Particularly, ornamentation adds different characteristics to the verbal expression, such as strength, polish, acuity, abundance, gaiety, delight, precision, variety and clarity (Rowe 1997:124). Tropes extend, expand or change the meaning of words, and they result from changing single words or expressions (Rowe 1997:124, 129; cf. Lanham 1991:178). Schemes or figures indicate the shaping of groups of words (Rowe 1997:129), and as opposed to tropes, they keep the literal meaning of words, but function with an important arrangement of some kind (Lanham 1991:178). Schemes have traditionally been categorised into two kinds, i.e. schemes of words, "that is words arranged in certain patterns," and schemes of thought, "in which the meanings of the word groups have standard intellectual and emotional shapes" (Rowe 1997:129). Among tropes and schemes, the ones often employed are metaphor, simile and antithesis. Especially antithesis, a thought scheme, is considered to be "the heart of the paraenetic enterprise" (Dryden 2006:115; cf. Stowers 1986:101), and is the most striking among all the tropes and schemes (Fiore 1986:20-21). Thus we can find the use of antithesis throughout all kinds of hortatory works (e.g.

Isocrates, *Demon.* 9-15; Maximus of Tyre, *Discourse* 15.1; 36.5; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 2.12.14; 4.1.159-69; Lucian *Demon.* 3-8) (cf. Malherbe 1989b:51). Besides these tropes and schemes, the diatribe was also often employed as a persuasive form by the philosopher. According to Stowers (1981:76), the diatribe is "not the technical instruction in logic, physics, etc., but discourses and discussions in the school where the teacher employed the 'Socratic' method of censure and protreptic. The goal of this part of the instructions was not simply to impart knowledge, but to transform the students, to point out error and to cure it" (cf. Aune 1987:219; Thorsteinsson 2003:124-125).[104]

Finally, the moral philosopher used to employ some hortatory vocabularies, and specific verbal forms such as the imperative, the hortatory subjunctive and the future indicative for a command.

c) Summary

The generic features of the above-mentioned Greco-Roman hortatory tradition can be summarised as follows: In antiquity the hortatory tradition above all functioned as a source for practising philosophy, i.e. leading a philosophical life, and also played a role as a means for the soul guidance of the moral philosopher towards those who needed some help to determine whether they would lead a philosophical life or not, and to sustain such a life always. Thus the first and foremost feature of the hortatory works was the psychagogical purpose, and it is either explicitly or implicitly found beyond the boundaries of the literary genres of hortatory works such as the letter, the discourse and the treaties. As we have already discussed above, such a psychagogical purpose, on the one hand, resulted in a specific relationship between the philosopher as the soul-guide and the students, i.e. the superiority of the philosopher to the students. On the other hand, such a purpose also motivated the philosopher to adapt the sources of psychagogy, and even himself, to the diverse circumstances of the students. Through both such superiority and adaptation, the philosopher could successfully carry

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[104] Malherbe 1992:317: "It is generally agreed today that the diatribe is not a literary *Gattung*, even if the term 'diatribe' continues to be used for the sake of convenience" (cf. Stowers 1981; 1988a; Aune 1992:101; Thorsteinsson 2003:124).

out his role and duty as a soul-guide. Secondly, for effective psychagogy, the philosopher employed persuasive skills, such as "relationship-oriented" expressions to create a friendly atmosphere, authoritative sources either as a support to his argument or a tool to intensify his authority, and various rhetorical devices such as *topoi*, the model to be imitated, the list of virtues and vices, the list of hardships (viz. the *peristasis* catalogue), the household code (viz. *Haustafeln*), the method of remembrance (viz. the way of reminder), various tropes and schemes, the diatribe, and hortatory vocabularies or specific verbal forms such as the imperative, the hortatory subjunctive and the future indicative for a command. Their consistent occurrence enables us to inductively extract some shared generic features from extant hortatory works.

2. Analysis of Selected Hortatory Letters

I mentioned above that the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition was conveyed in various manners (cf. Malherbe 1986:68-120; Aune 1992:97). Nevertheless, among these the letter genre was preferred by the moral philosopher for his psychagogy (Malherbe 1986:79; cf. Stowers 1986:38; Görgemanns 2004:1145). This was because of its flexibility in form and content, its facility of use, and its function of connecting people apart (Morello and Morrison 2007:ix-x; cf. Görgemanns and Zelzer 2004:1141-1142; Allen, Neil and Mayer 2009b:45). Thus we can find hortatory letters written by, or ascribed to, influential moral philosophers, such as Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Epicurus, Cicero, Seneca, Apollonius of Tyana, Plutarch, Pythagoras and Pythagoreans, Socrates and the Socratics, and authors of other Cynic letters (Sykutris 1931:202-204; Kytzler 1965:498; Schneider 1954:571; Trapp 2012:822-823; Görgemanns 2004:1145-1146; cf. Stowers 1986:91-173; Mitchell 1998:1761). In terms of function, most hortatory letters were used for psychagogy (viz. pastoral care). In other words, they were composed with a single purpose, i.e. guidance for students or neophytes or audience. Of course, they show both differences and diversities in character, and in form and content (viz. some are paraenetic, others protreptic and still others advisory). However, most differences and diversities were due to the various epistolary situations that the sender and the recipient were facing. I will analyse a few hortatory letters below, in order to determine what

characteristics hortatory letters have in common with the hortatory tradition, and how hortatory letters can be distinguished from non-epistolary hortatory works.

a) *Theano to Eubule* [*Greetings*] (Θεανὼ Εὐβούλῃ [χαίρειν]) (Städele, no. 5)[105]

Theano to Eubule is a pseudepigraphal letter and belongs to the Pythagorean tradition. Pythagoreans often emphasised the importance to society of the appropriate behaviour of family members, especially women and children (Malherbe 1986:82). This letter also provides a good example of the philosophical hortatory letter for such guidance.

In the prescript *Theano to Eubule* follows the common pattern of a prescript in Greco-Roman letters. In other words, the name of the sender precedes that of the recipient. This prescript also contains a traditional greeting, i.e. χαίρειν, though there is a problem about the authenticity of its transmission.

In this letter, focusing on advice to Eubule about the skills necessary for educating children, Theano points out Eubule's previous mistakes, i.e. spoiling her children (ἀκούω σε τὰ παιδία τρυφερῶς ἄγειν ["I hear that you are spoiling your children"]) (1, *line* 2), and nursing them like the offspring of Sardanapalus, the legendary Assyrian king, who epitomized a life given to pleasure (σὺ δ' οἷον Σαρδαναπάλλου γονὴν τιθηνῇ τὰ τέκνα ["you nurse you children like the offspring of Sardanapalus"]) (3, *line* 24). Then Theano gives her some good advice on how to educate her children. Firstly, Theano advises her that she must train her children not to fear what frightens them (δεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ φοβερὰ γυμνάζειν τὰ τρεφόμενα). By doing so, she will not allow her children to become the slaves of their emotions, gluttons for pleasure and afraid of pain (ἵνα μὴ τῶν παθῶν ᾖ δοῦλα τούτων καὶ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς λίχαν καὶ περὶ τοὺς πόνους ὀκνηρά). Instead, she will let them honour good things (ἵνα τὰ καλὰ πρὸ πάντων τιμῶσιν) (2, *lines* 11-14). Theano continues her advice to Eubule, not to let her children become slaves to pleasure by keeping

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[105] For this text, see Städele 1980:166-169, and for an English translation, see Malherbe 1986:83-85.

such pleasures away from them (τὰς τοιαύτας ἡδονὰς ἀφαίρει) and rearing her children austerely (τὴν τροφὴν αὐστηράν . . . ποιοῦσα), by letting them experience various extreme situations such as hunger and thirst, cold and heat (ἐῶσα καὶ κιμὸν καὶ δῖψος ἐνεγκεῖν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ψῦχος καὶ θάλπος), and by teaching them to respect for their peers and seniors (αἰδῶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν συνηλίκων ἢ τῶν ἐπιστατῶν) (4, *lines* 32-38). Of course, such training will seem to cause grief and pain to her children (2, *lines* 11-12). However, it can make her children noble in soul no matter whether they are extolled or rebuked (4, *lines* 37-38). This advice clearly shows that the letter is a hortatory letter written by a soul-guide to her student. In other words, Theano, a teacher, tried to correct Eubule's wrong conduct and to guide her to the correct behaviour.

In giving her advice, as we see from the above, Theano's attitude towards her student was strict. But Theano does not forget to use the friendly expression of [ὦ] φίλη to address her student, Eubule, (1, *lines* 6-7; 4, *lines* 32, 38, 41). This designation must have been intended to call Eubule's attention to Theano's exhortations. Besides this, Theano employed some rhetoric devices such as antithesis for effective psychagogy (e.g. 1, *lines* 2-4; 2, *lines* 11-15), a negative personal example (3, *line* 24), the metaphor of a good mother (1, *lines* 2-4), a *quasi*-list of hardships (4, *lines* 34-37), some hortatory terms (e.g. 1, *lines* 4 [σῶφρον], 7 [τὴν τροφὴν . . . ἔχειν and ἡ τροφή]; 2, *line* 11 [δεῖ and γυμνάζειν]; 4, *lines* 1 [ἐπιμελως], 38 [ἐπιτιμώμενα], 39 and 40 [ἀρετή]) and specific verbal forms for exhortation (1, *line* 4; 4, *line* 41). Though I regard the problem of the educational skill of Eubule as in reality a pending question, the education of children was a popular subject for discussion by the moral philosopher, i.e. a *topos* (cf. Thom 2003:567). Finally, another remarkable aspect of the epistolary situation of this letter is that it was very private. It is about a mother's way of educating of her children (ἔστι δὲ ἀγαθῆς μητρὸς οὐχ ἡ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπιμέλεια τῶν παίδων, ἀλλ' ἡ πρὸς τὸ σῶφρον ἀγωγή ["a good mother's responsibility is not to provide for her children's pleasure, but to lead them to temperance"]) (1, *lines* 2-4). This means that the pending question in the letter is important for the recipient. We may remember that such urgency is not only a feature of the letter genre, but also a unique factor in the hortatory letter, which distinguishes a hortatory letter from non-epistolary hortatory works. Everything points to the conclusion that *Theano to Eubule* reflects the hortatory tradition and belongs within the tradition.

b) Ps.-Diogenes, *Ep.* 3: *To Hipparchia* (Ἱππαρχίᾳ) (Fiore, no. 3)[106]

To Hipparchia is one of fifty-one letters that are ascribed to Diogenes of Sinope (ca. fourth century B.C.E.). Differing from the genuine letters that Diogenes Laertius (6.80) reports, these fifty-one letters are pseudepigraphal and belong to a later period (Malherbe 1977b:14). These letters were composed to justify the Cynic lifestyle (Malherbe 1977b:17), and *To Hipparchia* also clearly reveals this fact.

      To Hipparchia (Ps.-Diogenes, *Ep.* 3) offers an example of omission in the prescript to avoid unnecessary repetition throughout the literary transmission of the manuscript.[107] Thus, as in the above *Theano to Eubule* (Städele, no. 5), we can assume that the full prescript of *To Hipparchia* would be "A to B, greeting" (viz. a common form of the prescript).

      To Hipparchia provides a good example where the student is in need of continuous instruction from the teacher in order to keep up the philosophical lifestyle after having turned to philosophy. For this, firstly, Diogenes describes himself to Hipparchia as a philosophical guide (. . . ἡμῖν τε τοῖς εὐεργέταις τῆς φιλοσοφίας . . .) (*lines* 7-8; cf. Stowers 1986:37), and Diogenes as philosophical guide encourages Hipparchia to continue her philosophical life to completion. Thus Diogenes advised her as follows (*lines* 2-5):

> Ἀγαμαί σε τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ὅτι τε φιλοσοφίας ὠρέχθης γυνὴ οὖσα, καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας αἱρέσεως ἐγενήθης, ἣν διὰ τὸ αὐστηρὸν καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες κατεπλάγησαν. ἀλλ' ὅπως καὶ τέλος ἐπιθῇς τῇ ἀρχῇ σπούδασον.

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[106] For the text and translation, see Fiore 1977:94, 95.

[107] However, some letters preserve "greeting" in forms such as χαίρειν (e.g. Fiore, nos. 13, 14, 15 etc) and εὖ πράττειν (e.g. Fiore, nos. 10, 11, 12 etc). On the one hand, one letter has a full form of the prescript with a strange form of "greeting" such as Διογένης ὁ κύων τοῖς καλουμένοις Ἕλλησιν οἰμώζειν (Fiore, no. 28). On the other hand, a few letters contain the prescript without "greeting" such as Διογένης ὁ κύων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ (Fiore, no. 40) and Ὁ κύων Ἀρουέκᾳ (Fiore, no. 49).

> *I admire you for your eagerness* in that, although you are a woman, you yearned for philosophy and have become one of our school, which has struck even men with awe for its austerity. *But be earnest to bring to a finish what you have begun* (my emphasis).

This feature also appears in Diogenes' suggestion that Hipparchia is allowed to send letters to him "whenever" she needs philosophical guidance. This implies that Diogenes is ready to continue his guidance of her in each situation with the proper methods (*line* 8). Furthermore, we can find a mention that the letter genre is one of the useful literary devices for psychagogy, especially when a soul-guide and his student are physically separated from each other (*lines* 8-9). The employment of the letter genre implies urgency in dealing with the pending needs of the recipient (θαμινῶς ἐπιστέλλοις) (*line* 8). This is one of the important features of hortatory letters. However, in this letter, we find only a single specific verbal form of hortation i.e. an imperative (*line* 5). This seems to be due to the briefness of the letter and its purpose simply to encourage Hipparchia to continue what she is doing at present without additional corrections or explanations.

c) Ps.-Crates, *Ep*. 15: *To His Students* (Τοῖς ἑταίροις) (Hock, no. 15)[108]

According to Diogenes Laertius (6.98), Crates of Thebes, who flourished in the fourth-third century B.C.E., was not only a pupil of Diogenes of Sinope and an influential Cynic philosopher, but also left a collection of letters. However, *To His Students* does not belong to this collection. Instead, it is part of thirty-six pseudepigraphal letters attributed to Crates, which seem to have beeen written in the first or second century C.E. (Malherbe 1977b:10).

The prescript, *To His Students* (Ps.-Crates, *Ep*. 15) is not different from the above-mentioned one *To Hipparchia* (Ps.-Diogenes, *Ep*. 3). The original prescript must have been omitted in transmission.

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[108] For the text and translation, see Hock 1977:64, 65.

This short letter was composed by an anonymous (surely Cynic) philosopher, who aimed at encouraging his students to continue the philosophical lifestyle. Thus the philosopher advises them to shun "the worst of evils, injustice and self-indulgence" (τὰ τέλη τῶν κακῶν, ἀδικίαν καὶ ἀκρασίαν) and "their causes and pleasure" (τὰ τούτων ποιητικά, τὰς ἡδονάς) (*lines* 18-19); instead to pursue "the best of goods, self-control and perseverance" (τὰ τέλη τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐγκράτειαν καὶ καρτερίαν) and "their causes, toils" (τὰ τούτων ποιητικά, τοὺς πόνους) (*lines* 21-23). This advice urges them not to shun such things because of the severity they will bring about (μὴ διὰ τὸ τραχὺ αὐτῶν φεύγετε) (*lines* 23-24). As a whole, these admonitions do not reflect any specific epistolary situation. They are altogether general in content. However, we cannot deny that a teacher could also have sent such wide-ranging advice to his students. Nevertheless, the author tried to guide his students to the right way of living through Cynic teaching.

For this purpose the author employed various literary devices. For example, we can find the list of virtues and vices (*lines* 18-19, 21-22), the list of hardships (*lines* 22-23) and a deliberative question (*lines* 23-24). All these efforts focus on getting his students to pay attention to the philosophical life. This dedicated soul-guide gave his instructions to his students with three imperatives (viz. φεύγετε, διώκετε and μὴ . . . φεύγετε) (*lines* 18, 21, 23-24). The last imperative is especially connected with the list of hardships, and contains an instruction which urges overcoming the severity (*lines* 22-23). In this letter we can also recognize some contrastive expressions, which are often found in hortatory works, such as τὰ τέλη τῶν κακῶν and τὰ τέλη τῶν ἀγαθῶν (*lines*, 18, 21-22) and φεύγετε. . . and διώκετε. . . (*lines*, 18, 21; *lines* 24-25). These contrastive expressions serve to increase the recipient's concentration on the author's instructions. As mentioned above, it is uncertain whether or not this letter was sent because of some current problem that the author had to solve. However, we can come to a conclusion about the situation from the three imperatives (*lines* 18, 21, 23-24) and one deliberative question employed (*lines* 23-24). We should agree that these expressions seem to create a harsh tone in the letter. The urgency of Crates' psychagogy is also reflected in the following words (*lines* 20-21): [Μ]όναις γὰρ ταύταις καὶ παρούσαις καὶ ἐλπιζομέναις ἐνατενιεῖτε, ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐδενί ("For you will concentrate on these alone, both present

and future, and on nothing else"). Thus, we do not need to exclude some urgent epistolary situation existing in *To His Students* (Ps.-Crates, *Ep.* 15).

d) *Apollonius to the Platonic philosophers* (Ἀπολλώνιος Πλατωνικοῖς) (Penella, no. 42)[109]

Apollonius to the Platonic philosophers provides a good example where a literary letter almost fully preserves its prescript (cf. Penella 1979:20-21). In this prescript the order of sender and recipient follows the common pattern of private familial letters. However, the prescript also seems to function as a title or indicator of recognition, because other parts of the letter opening are missing, and the closing is also omitted (if not absent originally).

Apollonius of Tyana was a Neopythagorean, who was active around the first century C.E. (Thom 1997:79). We have more than a hundred letters, either written by him or ascribed to him (Thom 1997:86; cf. Penella 1979). Among them this short letter (Penella, no. 42), which consists of only twenty-one words, is likely to be a reply to an inquiry from the recipients (i.e. Πλατωνικοί) to him. Based on the contents, we can cautiously assume what the inquiry from the recipients in a previous letter was about. In terms of the good management of money, which was considered one of the qualifications of the true philosopher in antiquity, the recipients inquired about the issue of the acceptance of money as payment for philosophy. The issue of money was a traditional topic that philosophers used to deal with. Apollonius was not exceptional. Thus we can find other letters of Apollonius dealing with this problem. For example, he wrote a letter to his brother Hestiaeus (Penella, no. 45), in which he defended himself against a suspicion related to money, as follows (*lines* 18-21 cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 13.13):

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[109] For the text and translation, see Penella 1979:52, 53.

Εἰ τῶν ὄντων τὸ τιμιώτατον φιλοσοφία, πεπιστεύμεθα δ᾽ ἡμεῖς φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς

ὑπολαμβανοίμεθα μισάδελφοι, καὶ ταῦτα δι᾽ αἰτίαν ἀγεννῆ τε ἅμα καὶ ἀνελεύθερον. χρημάτων

γὰρ δήπου χάριν ἡ ὑποψία, τούτων δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπειρώμεθα καταφρονεῖν.

If philosophy is the most prized of all things and I am believed to be a philosopher, then I could

not rightly be suspected of hating my brothers, especially not for a base and selfish reason. For

it is money that is at the root of this suspicion about me. But I tried to despise money even

before I took up philosophy.

In a letter to Euphrates (Penella, no. 51), Apollonius advises Euphrates, who was unhappy because of a rumor he had received money from the emperor as a payment for his philosophy. Thus in the *Apollonius to the Platonic philosophers*, Apollonius shared his opinion about payment for philosophy with his recipients. Apollonius wrote as follows: φιλοσοφίας δὲ μισθὸν οὐ λήψεται, κἂν δέηται ("But he [sc. Apollonius] will not accept money as a payment for philosophy even if he is in need") (*line* 10). A similar thought is found in the above-mentioned letter to Euphrates, i.e. Penella, no. 51, *lines* 23-24 (ὅπερ οὐκ ἄτοπον εἰ μὴ φαίνοιο φιλοσοφιας εἰληφέναι μισθόν ["there would be nothing reprehensible in this {sc. receiving money}, if you did not appear to have taken the money as a payment for your philosophy"]). Of course there was an exception, namely, if the giver of the money were considered to be worthy by the philosopher, receiving the money would not be problematic (Penella, no. 42, *lines* 9-10). We cannot assert what person could be considered to be worthy by a philosopher, but on the basis of Penella, no. 51, *lines* 24-25 (παρὰ τοῦ πεπιστευκότος εἶναί σε φιλόσοφον ["from one who is convinced that you are a philosopher"]), one who practises philosophy and pursues a philosophical life, is surely indicated (cf. Penella 1979:91).

In this short letter we find that Apollonius, speaking in the third person, used himself as an example to make a point in giving advice (*line* 9). Besides this, two sentences, i.e. λήψεται δεόμενος ("[H]e will accept the money if in need") and οὐ λήψεται κἂν δέηται ("[H]e will not accept money . . . even if he is in need"), convey a contrastive concept, which is an example of antithesis (*line* 10). There is also a specific verbal form, i.e. the future indicative for a command (οὐ λήψεται) (*line* 10).

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C. Summary: Features and Functions of Hortatory Letters

Up till now, I have looked at the structural, formal and functional features of the Greco-Roman letter as a basis to understand the features in the letters in the NT. In the process of researching the common features of Greco-Roman letters, both the literary formal and functional characteristics were revealed.

In terms of formal characteristics (cf. chap. 3, section A. 4), most ancient letters show very stable structural features and conventions, though literary letters seemed to have much flexibility. Each part of the structure has its special function in relation to the structure of the whole letter. Besides this, each kind of letter category (viz. the documentary letter, the diplomatic letter and the literary letter), or letter type (e.g. the familial letter, the petition, the letter of recommendation and others) had a fixed form according to its kind, with some modification.

In terms of functional characteristics (cf. chap. 3, sections B. 1. c and 3), ancient letters were composed with various aims under various circumstances occurring in the Greco-Roman society. Especially the study of the features of hortatory letters showed clearly how closely the letter tradition is connected to the hortatory tradition. Besides this, we saw that the purpose of the composition not only sometimes brought out the emergence of the generic features of a literary (sub)genre, but also controlled or adjusted the function. Especially in case of hortatory letters, the constantly occurring purpose of psychagogy resulted in a specific letter type, i.e. the psychagogical letter. Actually, letters that belong to the so-called psychagogical letter type, show shared generic features, but also combined with other letter types, such as the paraenetic letter, the letter of consolation, the letter of rebuke and others, producing an integrated letter type for fulfilling various psychagogical aims. From the perspective of Ps.-Libanius (*Epistolary Styles* [45]), this psychagogical letter belongs to a "mixed style" composed "from many styles" (Malherbe 1988:72, 73).

All these facts are confirmed by the letters analysed above. They show not only the psychagogical purpose of each letter, but also common generic features of the hortatory tradition,

such as a hierarchal relationship between the sender and the recipient of letters, and various rhetorical devices. This means that these letters can satisfactorily be classified as hortatory works. Besides this, these letters have some inherent characteristics in common with the letter genre, such as the urgency of pending questions, daily tones of themes of letters, unsystematic composition, mixture of subjects and even purpose of letter dispatch. This fact indicates again that these letters are to be classified as hortatory letters. In all events, both facts surely indicate that a letter type dealing with the specific function of psychagogy in antiquity, i.e. the psychagogical letter, came into common use.

Finally, something that this chapter shows more clearly, is that the function of a letter cannot be separated from its purpose, and the function was even maximised by the choice of letter kind and the employment of various devices by the author for the achievement of letter-writing. This means that the function of the Greco-Roman letter was controlled by the purpose of letter-writing, i.e. the sender's intention. In the case of the psychagogical letter, the function(s), the contents and the rhetoric devices were determined by the moral philosopher's psychagogical intention or purpose. As a result, most psychagogical letters contained the shared generic features found in hortatory works, though they retained some peculiar factors found only in the letter genre.

CHAPTER IV: A SURVEY OF THE LETTERS IN THE NT AND THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF PASTORAL LETTERS

At the beginning of the previous chapter, I emphasised the importance of investigating the common Greco-Roman letter, focusing especially on its structural and formal features, and functions. This was because the letters in the NT have a relationship with the contemporary epistolography, at least as regards epistolary structures, forms and functions. Therefore the general structural and formal features and main function of the Greco-Roman letter was examined, focusing particularly on psychagogical letters. Comparing the structures, forms and functions of the letters in the NT with the results of the research in the previous chapter, I will now look at the characteristics of the letters in the NT, which can be the generic foundation of research on a Christian letter tradition, (i.e. the pastoral letter type or Christian psychagogical letter) during the subsequent five centuries.

If we want to characterise the letters in the NT as Christian psychagogical letters (viz. pastoral letters), we have to consider two matters above all, namely their contents and functions, though their epistolary structure and form are also important.[110] However, this is nothing new in the history of the study of the characteristics of the letters in the NT. There is already some consensus about the matter. Firstly, we can easily find the features of hortatory works in the letters in the NT.

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[110] The major problem is that no letter in the NT is a systematic work or manual for Christian pastoral care. In his study on the classical tradition of Christian pastoral care, Purves (2001:5) describes this situation well: "Theologians and pastors did not at first set out to improve the work of ministry by writing systematic handbooks of pastoral care. *Rather, theological reflection on pastoral ministry appears to have developed in response to needs that emerged in the coming together of human concerns within the context of the development of Christianity amidst the wider social and political world setting of the early church*" (my emphasis). Actually, not until 590 C.E., when the *Book of Pastoral Rule* by Gregory the Great was published, did anything "like a comprehensive pastoral care text book become available for the church" (Purves 2001:6). Of course, Purves did not refer to the letters in the NT, but to post-Apostolic works like *Second Clement* (ca. 150 C.E.). However, Purves' words can also be applied to the letters in the NT. This means that systematically and comprehensively extracting any "pastoral" factors from the letters in the NT is not easy. Nevertheless, some recognisable traces of pastoral activity during the earliest Christianity are to be found in them.

In fact, many scholars define kinds of letters in the NT within the hortatory tradition, though there are still some differences between them. Thus they categorised 1 Thessalonians (e.g. Stowers 1986:96; Malherbe 1987:78; Starr 2004:93; Klauck 2006:384-386), Colossians (e.g. Wilson 1997:225; Gordley 2007:242f.) and 1 Peter (Dryden 2006:6) as paraenetic letters, 1 Corinthians as either a friendly hortatory blaming letter (e.g. Glad 1995:244, 305) or a complex paraenetic and advising letter (e.g. Stowers 1986:96), and Romans as a protreptic letter (e.g. Stowers 1986:114; Aune 1992:119-120).[111] Therefore we can conclude without doubt that the letters in the NT were either a part of the Greco-Roman hortatory letter tradition, or were at least written in hortatory style (Sterling 1997:323; Aune 2003:334; Gordley 2007:245ff.; cf. Bailey and Broek 1992:62; Engberg-Pedersen 2004:47-72). With reference to this point, Stowers (1986:96) said that "[e]xhortation plays a major role in all the letters of Paul and Pauline school except Philemon. This is also the case for Hebrews, James, 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John." Focusing on 1 Corinthians, Glad (1995:244) was also of this opinion: "Paul's letters were written at a time when the hortatory tradition was in a state of flux and attempts at systematization were in their infancy. *His letters form a continuum with the*

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[111] However, the letters in the NT in fact "always fall into the category of the 'mixed' type - the letter that seeks to accomplish several goals in a single communication" (DeSilva 2004:534). For example, in relation to this classification, we should remember the complex relationship between *paraenesis* and *protreptic*. Thus Stowers (1986:92) says, "The distinction is always relative to the audiences' disposition toward the new life. Paul's initial preaching activity by which he established the Thessalonian church may be considered protreptic discourse . . . *These teachings, however, are no longer protreptic but now paraenetic*: 1 Thessalonians exhorts them to continue and grow in those things to which they were converted" (my emphasis). In relation to Romans, Aune (1987:219) provided a similar opinion: "If Romans was intended to present the gospel to recipients for the purpose of converting them to the Christian faith, the letter would be protreptic (i.e. symbouleutic) . . . However, since his intention was to present his gospel so that they will know more about its character and his mode of argumentation, Romans is primarily *epideictic* in intention. Yet Romans must be understood at two levels. While Paul's presentation of his gospel in Romans 1-11 is epideictic in its present context, in the prior setting of his ministry of preaching and teaching it was protreptic, i.e., its primary function was to demonstrate the truth of the Christian gospel and to convince the hearers to commit themselves to it and become Christian converts" (emphasis original). This is almost coincident with DeSilva's explanation (2004:534): "[E]ach smaller section of a Pauline letter could be heard as representing a single letter type, and it is often a helpful guide to interpretation to think about how each paragraph would have heard by Paul's readers, given the topics he invokes."

hortatory tradition in antiquity and hortatory techniques are prominent throughout his letters" (my emphasis) (cf. Wilson 1991 [Romans]; 1997 [Colossians]; Mouton 2002 [Ephesians]; Gordley 2007:242-255 [Colossians]; Ellis 2007 [sexual ethics in 1 Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians and Romans]; Fiore 1986 [1 and 2 Timothy, and Titus]; Harding 1998 [1 and 2 Timothy, and Titus], Malherbe 1989e [2 Timothy]; 2004 [Titus]; 2010 and 2011 [1 Timothy]; Baker 1995 [James]; Dryden 2006 [1 Peter]; Charles 1997 [2 Peter]). This indicates that most letters in the NT accord with the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition or at least resonate with that tradition. Thus the following opinion of Thurén (2004:353-354) is acceptable:

> Today it seems obvious that, by and large, early Christian exhortations follow contemporary Greek and Jewish philosophical and religious tradition and reflect the values of various groups in the surrounding cultures and societies. New Testament scholars have failed to demonstrate much original material in the early Christian exhortations themselves, although their combination and function many deviate from those of the neighboring culture. Yet surely the first Christians did not invent an essentially new set of rules or guidelines for a proper life.

This fact is important because it tells us about general features in both the content and style of the letters in the NT. However, a more important point arises from the fact that in the hortatory tradition, to which these letters in the NT belong, its features are closely connected to psychagogical practices.

Secondly, the pastoral functions of the letters in the NT were comprehensively studied by Malherbe (1987; 1989c; 1990; 2000:85-86; 2005; cf. Best 1988).[112] In his studies on 1 Thessalonians, Malherbe above all revealed that a deep relationship between hortatory tradition and

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[112] While Malherbe mainly tried to explain Paul's pastoral practice (especially in 1 Thessalonians) from the perspective of the philosophical hortatory tradition, Best focused more on the description of Paul's pastoral activity as found in Paul's letters. Of course, this does not mean that Best ignored Paul's contemporary pagan sources completely. For example, dealing with the matter of the origin of Paul's practice of imitation, Best (1988:60) wrote as follows: "Paul did not think up this idea for himself. Imitation of others was a widespread theme in the contemporary world."

psychagogy is reflected in letters of the NT (cf. Thom 1995:78). Malherbe (2000:85) summarised his study on the features and functions of 1 Thessalonians as follows: "The letter [sc. 1 Thessalonians] aims at nurturing the readers in this faith [sc. faith in the gospel], and its paraenetic features perform what we would call pastoral . . . The characteristics of recent converts are well ministered to by the paraenetic features of the letter."[113] Actually, Paul "has made a paraenetic letter serve his pastoral purpose" and such adaptation by Paul can be evaluated as one of "Paul's great achievements" in 1 Thessalonians and "a distinctive contribution by Paul" (Malherbe 1987:78). Malherbe's evaluation shows two aspects of Paul's pastoral activity, i.e. a motivation ("nurturing") and a means ("paraenetic features"). Of course, this concept of nurturing is not new and not limited only to Christian pastoral care (Malherbe 2005:787). Surely Thurén's words above (2004:353-354) are applicable to the matter of the psychagogical functions of the letters in the NT. Nevertheless, if Malherbe's suggestion is correct, 1 Thessalonians can be considered to be not only the earliest example of the existence of Christian psychagogy, but also as an epoch-making work in the Christian epistolography, i.e. the emergence of the Christian psychagogical letter type, or pastoral letter.[114]

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[113] In his study Best (1988:7-8) also described the features of Paul's pastoral aim, on the basis of some verses from 1 Thessalonians, as follows: "What Paul was attempting to do in his letters can be summed up in the reason he gives for sending Timothy to Thessalonica, 'to establish you in your faith and to exhort you (1 Thess 3.2). At 1 Thess 3.10 he says he prays earnestly to see them so that he may supply what is lacking in their faith. At 5.11, he directs the Thessalonians to 'encourage one another and build one another up'. This could equally describe his own work, for he adds 'just as we are doing.' His approach was never spiritual in the narrow sense for, as he prayed for those same Thessalonians that their 'spirit and soul and body' might be found 'sound and blameless' at the return of Christ (5.23), so he himself set out to meet the needs of the whole person." Although Best did not mention the functions of 1 Thessalonians as Malherbe did, Best's description also suffices to show Paul's pastoral interest in composing his letter(s).

[114] Malherbe (1987:2) seems to imply finding some traces of Paul's pastoral practice in his other letters: "First Thessalonians reflects this pastoral care of a fledging church more clearly than any of Paul's other letters." And his expression, "First Thessalonians is the best example of such a Pauline letter," also makes the same point (Malherbe 2005:791).

The above-mentioned consensus about the characteristics and functions of the letters in the NT provides both the motivation and foundation to consider the letters in the NT to be part of the Greco-Roman hortatory letter tradition. However, these outlines are insufficient for the further study in chap. 5, and also still require further research, especially in terms of the functions. Actually, I agree with DeSilva (2004:29), who claimed that entire books in the NT were composed with pastoral intent. However, I think such an opinion should be confirmed with some specific proofs, like literary-generic features, authors' statements about their purpose, and both literary and philosophical background, above and beyond any simple assumptions based on a general situational interpretation. Therefore I shall in the subsequent passage investigate the psychagogical features of the letters in the NT. For this analysis I shall start by looking at Malherbe's studies of the earliest pastoral letter (viz. 1 Thessalonians), because he set a comprehensive foundation for the study of the letters in the NT from a psychagogical perspective. By examining his studies, I think we can formulate some criteria, as well as identify the core concept of the character of the psychagogy (viz. pastoral care) of the letters in the NT. Furthermore, based on both these results, I shall carefully analyse the rest of the letters in the NT (viz. all the independent letters in the NT except 1 Thessalonians), and show that they also exhibit the pastoral characteristics that are found in 1 Thessalonians. Finally, I shall critically evaluate the generic features and itemise them for subsequent study in chapter 5.

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A. Characteristics of the Letters in the NT Distinct from Contemporary Letters: 1 Thessalonians as Case Study[115]

1 Thessalonians introduces the first influential Christian leader, Paul, unveiling his pastoral care for a newly-born Christian community. Malherbe's study can be said to describe credibly a genuine exposition of pastoral practices extended towards the early Christian community in Thessalonica. 1 Thessalonians may therefore with some validity be examined as one of the forerunners of the Christian pastoral letter type (cf. Malherbe 1987:2; 2000:85; 2005:787).[116]

1. Introduction

As I mentioned in the previous chapter (viz. chap. 3), converts in antiquity often faced difficulties due to their conversion, regardless whether in the sphere of philosophy or religion. This was also true of the believers of the church of Thessalonica (cf. Simmons 2000:840). In fact, along with the later internal problems of the church of Thessalonica, their conversion to Christianity was likely to have had the following effects: "religious and theological reorientation," and "social dislocation and,

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[115] In this section I will depend heavily on Malherbe's research because, as I have already briefly stated above, his work and research provide a good starting point to investigate the pastoral features of the other letters in the NT. Malherbe's specific study on Paul's pastoral activity in 1 Thessalonians is found in his works, *Paul and the Thessalonians: The Philosophic Tradition of Pastoral Care* (1987), "Paul: Hellenistic Philosopher or Christian Pastor?" (1989c), and "New Testament, Tradition and Theology of Care in" (2005). Actually, the article of 1989c is a kind of summary of the book published in 1987, and the most recent article (2005) is a summary of two previous works (cf. Malherbe 1989c:68, n. 6). Therefore, in proceeding with this section, it is reasonable to follow Malherbe's summary (2005:789-792), referring to the other two works (1987 and 1989c) if need be. However, regarding the disposition of the contents, I will rearrange these with a slight adjustment according to the order of the above-mentioned four items.

[116] Regarding the validity of the choice of 1 Thessalonians for a case analysis, it is worthwhile quoting Starr's words (2004:93): "Paul's paraenetic first letter to the Thessalonians provides an intriguing test case, since the letter was composed only half a year after the church was founded. Its congregation is thus entirely made up of recently baptized Christians, most of whom were pagan prior to their conversion and not Jewish. *Moreover, the details that Paul gives of the congregation's history allow us to trace the founding of this church more easily than we can Paul's other churches and enables us to sketch a fuller picture of how paraenesis functioned in the instruction of neophytes*" (my emphasis).

in many cases, psychological trauma, with a pervading sense of isolation or, in the language of Jewish proselytes, a feeling of having been orphaned from their families, friends, patriarchal traditions (cf. 1 Pet 1:18), as well as rejection by the society in which they had been reared" (Malherbe 2005:789; cf. 1987:46, 51; DeSilva 2004:527, 529-530). Besides these effects, the situation seemed to have been worsened "by Paul's abrupt departure," as well as "by opposition or suspicion from non-Christians" (Malherbe 1987:51; 2005:790; cf. 1 Thess 1:6; 2:14). All these circumstances compelled Paul to concern himself with the recently converted Christians he left behind at the church of Thessalonica in the same way as was described in 2 Cor 11:28b: ἡ ἐπίστασίς μοι ἡ καθ' ἡμέραν, ἡ μέριμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ("I am under daily pressure because of my anxiety for all the churches"). In this situation Paul, *the* leader of the church of Thessalonica, unhesitatingly acted to nurture them in various ways, such as dispatching an embassy to encourage them (cf. 1 Cor 4:16-17; Phil 2:19-24) and sending a letter, i.e. 1 Thessalonians (Malherbe 1987:61ff.; 1989c:73-74; 2005:791; cf. Funk 1967a; 1982b).[117] Therefore this psychagogical or pastoral intention either consciously or unconsciously influenced Paul's letter-writing in terms of form and content. Since the main function of co-authorship is likely to establish both/either the authority and/or the authenticity of a letter (cf. Elmer 2008:46-47), the existence of co-senders at the prescript of 1 Thess 1:1 (viz. Silvanus and Timothy) must have given effect to such psychagogical practices (cf. Richards 2004:32ff.). Therefore we can imagine that Paul as pastor and person finally responsible for the composition of his first pastoral letter, i.e. 1 Thessalonians, was concerned with its form and content, in order to achieve his purpose in composing the letter and getting his message across through the letter, as we shall see below.

In epistolary terms, on the one hand, 1 Thessalonians became to some extent Christianised and modified in form due to the above-mentioned effort, distinguishable from common Greco-Roman letters, and more appropriate for Christians to read and understand.

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[117] Except for these two actions, Malherbe pointed out that Paul used another ploy in the same situation, i.e. to direct the members of church "to continue among themselves the nurture he had begun" (Malherbe 1987:61, 78ff.).

Moreover, if Paul intended 1 Thessalonians to be used in any public service (cf. 1 Thess 5:27), such intention must have been reflected in the entire structure of 1 Thessalonians (cf. White 1983:98; Hansen 1989:29-30). On the other hand, Paul's psychagogical intention (viz. pastoral care) must have led him to choose persuasive tools in content and function for an effective psychagogy. Of course, the complicate epistolary situation of 1 Thessalonians makes it difficult for us to define in a word what persuasive tools Paul employed and, how and why he used them. However, we can imagine that, if Paul wanted to nurture his believers, and to guide (or reprimand) them, he must have used the appropriate epistolary rhetoric devices, which his recipients were accustomed to and accepted (Malherbe 1987:94; 2005:791; cf. 1 Cor 9:19; 10:33a), including authoritative sources such as the Scriptures, Jesus' sayings, creeds and hymns (cf. Fitzmyer 1967:11-13; S. Kim 2002a:225-242; 2002b; Holladay 2005:272-274). Of course, we find some features common to contemporary hortatory tradition in 1 Thessalonians. However, this letter also shows some unique characteristics that reflect Christian psychagogy both in content and practice. Surely, these unique characteristics arose from Paul's adaptation and modification of the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition to his own purpose, i.e. "to express his theological understanding of his enterprise and to form communities of believers" (Malherbe 1989c:71).[118] Consequently we can say that the study of Paul's pastoral care will clearly reveal features of the earliest Christian psychagogy and the outline of the Christian psychagogical letter type (viz. the pastoral letter) as a means of psychagogy. Thus I will look at both structural and formal features and psychagogical ones that appear in the earliest Christian pastoral letter in the subsequent sections (A. 2 and 3).

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[118] In relation to characteristics concerning Paul's "theological understanding," it is worth mentioning Malherbe's other statement in the same article (1989c:76-77): "It may well be the case that, when Paul is viewed as a theologian, the Hellenistic elements do *not* lie at the center of his thinking *but* provide the means by which he conducts his argument" (my emphasis).

2. Structural and Formal Features

Most Greco-Roman letters have to some extent fixed or customary structures and epistolary forms (cf. chap. 3, section A). This standarisation appears mainly in both the opening and the closing, while we can hardly find it anywhere in the body (cf. White 1971a:91, n. 2; 1972b). Such uniformity is said to be one of the features of the letters in the NT though both the structural and formal uniformity of the letters in the NT is to some extent distinguishable from that of general Greco-Roman letters (cf. White 1983). This means that the letters in the NT are deeply embedded in the common Greco-Roman letter tradition in terms of both structure and form. Nevertheless, the above-mentioned characteristic already appears even in the earliest Christian letter, i.e. 1 Thessalonians, though this feature was still not refined in comparison with other later canonical letters.

a) Structure of 1 Thessalonians

As we have seen, Greco-Roman letters have the threefold structure of opening, body and closing (cf. chapter 3, section A. 1). Fundamentally 1 Thessalonians seems to have this identical threefold pattern: opening (1:1-10), body (2:1-5:22) and closing (5:23-28). However, the details are different from those of common Greco-Roman letters. In other words, 1 Thessalonians exhibited an expanded structure, i.e. either a fourfold structure (viz. the prescript, the proem [or the "thanksgiving"],[119] the body and the closing), or a fivefold one (viz. the prescript, the proem [or the

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[119] Although the customary term for the proem in the letters in the NT is the "thanksgiving," I think that the term "proem" is more appropriate for this dissertation, because the "thanksgiving" is mainly limited to the "proem" of the letters of Paul, except for both the Pastoral Epistles (viz. 1 and 2 Timothy, and Titus) and some non-Pauline canonical letters (viz. General Letters). Besides this, in the letters in the NT we not only find other conventions instead of the "thanksgiving" (2 Corinthians, Ephesians, 1 Peter and 3 John; cf. 2 Timothy), but also nothing in place, at least in one of the seven so-called genuine letters of Paul (Galatians; cf. [1 Timothy], Titus; Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, 1 John, 2 John and Jude). Furthermore, non-Pauline canonical letters sometimes contain either the *quasi*-"thanksgiving" (cf. 1 Pet 1:3 ["eulogy"]), or other conventions which are found in the "proem" of the common Greco-Roman letter (e.g. 3 John 2

"thanksgiving"],[120] the body *proper*, the paraenetic section [or the so-called "*epistolary* paraenesis"[121]] and the closing). Though a threefold structure can be taken for granted, there are in addition some subsections. The main point is that, regardless of whether it is divided into a threefold, fourfold or fivefold structure,[122] the structure of 1 Thessalonians provides the typical outline

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[the "health wish"]). Thus here the term, "proem," is more appropriate than the "thanksgiving," though I will sometimes use both interchangeably.

[120] On the basis of this expanded structure, we can say that the proem or "thanksgiving" section (partly with the paraenetic section) is crucial in a discussion of the structure of the letters in the NT. Thus two articles about the "thanksgiving" in the middle of the 1990s, one by Arzt-Grabner (1994:29-46), who denied the existence of the formal "thanksgiving" section, and the other by Reed (1996:87-99), who refuted Arzt-Grabner's results, show between them the key role of the "thanksgiving" in dealing with the structure of Pauline letters.

[121] Aune (1987:191) suggested a distinction between "*epistolary* paraenesis, which is found in defined concluding sections of some Christian letters" and "*paraenetic styles*, which permeate letters." From this perspective, 1 Thessalonians is a letter written with "*paraenetic style*" containing an "*epistolary* paraenesis" such as Colossians (cf. Schreiner 1990:38). According to McDonald and Porter (2000) other epistolary paraenesis of the letters in the NT occurs in Rom 12:1-15:13; 1 Cor 5:1-16:12; 2 Cor 10:1-13:10; Gal 5:13-6:10; Eph 4:1-6:20; Phil 3:1-4:7; Col 2:16-4:9; 2 Thess 3:1-15; 1 Tim 5:1-6:19; Titus 2:1-3:14; Heb 13:1-19; (1Pet 1:13-5:11); 2 Pet 3:11-16 and Jude 17-23. But 2 Timothy, Philemon, James, 1 John, 2 John and 3 John do not have epistolary paraenesis. On the general function of epistolary paraenesis in Pauline letters, McDonald and Porter (2000:385) say, "The paraenetic part of the Pauline letter concerns Christian behavior, whereas the body of the letter concerns dogma or doctrine or a discussion of the fortunes of the apostle himself. The parenesis often specifies what is proper Christian behavior, using various traditional forms of moral instruction, including moral maxims, vice and virtue lists, and household codes." In this sense Theissen is right (2003:61): "The second part" of 1 Thessalonians "contains admonitions in which he [sc. Paul] defines Christian identity by setting it apart from the world around."

[122] Concerning the division of the letters in the NT, especially Pauline letters, scholars have offered various opinions: (1) supporters of a threefold structure: Porter (1997b:543) and White (1988:97); (2) supporters of a fourfold structure: Berger (1984b:1330-1331), Brown (1982:788-795; 1997:413), O'Brien (1997:551-552) and Weima (1994a:11); and (3) supporters of a fivefold structure: Doty (1973:27-43), Longenecker (1983:103; 1990:cvi) and Meecham (1923:113-114). On the one hand, supporting a fourfold structure, Brown points to the problem of the fivefold structure theory as an arbitrary division of the body into two parts, i.e. the body proper and the *epistolary* paraenesis. However, according to him, this division is invalid, especially in terms of epistolary conventions. Thus Brown (1997:416, n.16) says, "Many speak of two parts of the Body of the Pauline letter: first, a doctrinal exposé (the Pauline indicative), and then an ethical, paraenetic exhortation (the Pauline imperative). As valid as that analysis may be, it is based on content rather than form and ignores the stereotyped features at the opening and closing of the Body." On the other hand, insisting that the structure of Pauline letters is threefold in form, but fivefold in function, Porter (1997b:543) clearly says, "This is not,

followed by other Pauline letters and some non-Pauline canonical letters in the NT (cf. White 1972b:47; 1983).[123] So this can be said to be a characteristic of the letters in the NT, especially in Pauline letters, which are quite distinguishable from the common Greco-Roman letter tradition. Why Paul composed his letter(s) in this way is not clear, but according to some scholars, this formation was for a specific purpose, for example the usage in public service (cf. Porter 1997b:543). This shows clearly that the structure of 1 Thessalonians likely signifies the earliest Christian letter usage.

b) Opening, Closing and Body of 1 Thessalonians

(1) Opening

In the opening, this earliest Christian letter is different from that of the common Greco-Roman letter. Although the opening (1:1-10) of 1 Thessalonians consists of both the prescript (1:1) and the proem (viz. the thanksgiving [1:2-10]) as in the common Greco-Roman letter (cf. Weima 2000b:642), there are apparent differences between them. In the prescript (1:1) we can find creative and/or Christianised modifications, as Watson (1997:650) pointed out in the following words: "Christian letters typically expand the prescript by describing the sender and recipient in relation to God." We

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however, to say that each of the Pauline letters has all five of these elements. Nevertheless, when one of these sections is missing, it is worth asking whether there is a reason for this departure from his standard form." In similar vein, Klauck (2006:357-374) divides the structure of 1 Thessalonians into three parts with some subsections.

[123] Many scholars accept the literary influence of Pauline letters upon other canonical letters. For example, already in the early 1900s, Wendland (1912:367) said, "Daß im Kanon des N.T. die Briefe überwiegen, hat Paulus Vorbild bewirkt. Unter seinem Einfluß stehen mehrer oder weniger alle katholischen Briefe." Surely a collection (or publication) of Pauline letters became a catalyst in the emergence of a Christian letter type and literature (Wendland 1912:375 ["Muster und Anstoß"]). Nevertheless, here I intentionally try to avoid such a chronological approach because of the character of this dissertation. Although the problem of the origin of some Christian letter types, which surely started from the so-called genuine letters of Paul, also interests me, my interest is more in the influence of some of the conventional patterns of the letters in the NT on later Christian letter writers.

cannot in fact say that the prescript of 1 Thessalonians is much elaborated, such as that of Galatians. Nevertheless, its prescript retains some specific characteristics which were repeated in the later canonical letters of Paul himself and other authors. For example, in 1 Thessalonians, we find a Christianised modification of the recipients with a prepositional phrase, ἐν θεῷ καὶ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. But we do not find any additional items in relation to the author. Instead in 1 Thessalonians we find mention of co-senders, i.e. Silvanus and Timothy. Besides this, the recipients are collectively identified, not individually, i.e. ἡ ἐκκλησία Θεσσαλονικέων. However, the most remarkable characteristic is the syntactical structure of the prescript. In other words, while the prescript of common Greco-Roman letters is formed in a single sentence, that of 1 Thessalonians puts apart the greeting with the dative pronoun, indicating the recipients from the superscript. In addition, its prescript Christianised the form of the greeting into χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη,[124] as well as its function. Malherbe (2000:90) summarised this as follows: "[I]n the prescript (1:1), the form of the ordinary letter is modified by the addition of 'grace and peace.' This makes it different from both the Greco-Roman and Jewish letters, but appropriate to the setting in which it would be read, the church gathered for worship." These factors (except the Christianised greeting) are neither new nor limited to Christian letters.[125] However, those in 1 Thessalonians (and the other letters in the NT) are special both in degree and function. We can find such an example in the proem (viz. the

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[124] According to Reicke (1964:xxx), the syntax of the prescript of the letters in the NT shows the influence of the prescript of Jewish (and Oriental) letters (cf. White 1983:437). Such a Christianised greeting appears throughout the letters of the NT.

[125] For example, in relation to the mention of a named co-sender, which is one of the most outstanding features of the prescript of most letters in the NT, Richards says, "We find several examples of letters in antiquity with named cosenders." But Richards mentions that "[a]ctually, listing cosenders at all was a rare phenomenon" in the Greco-Roman epistolography. Among the 645 private letters listed by C.-H. Kim (1981), only six letters do have co-senders in the address (viz. P.Oxy. 118, 1158, 1167, 3094, 3313 and P.Zen. 35). Richards adds, nevertheless, "Yet none of these is even remotely analogous to Paul's letters." In other words, according to him, it was largely "a Christian phenomenon" (Richards 2004:34-35).

thanksgiving [1:2-10]).[126] The thanksgiving of 1 Thessalonians can primarily be considered an adaptation of the proem of common Greco-Roman letters (cf. Schubert 1939b:173). But compared to the proem of common Greco-Roman letters, the proem of 1 Thessalonians is longer, more substantial and more elaborate in terms of structure and form (cf. Malherbe 2000:90). In addition, the reason for "thanksgiving" (viz. its content) was different from that of Greco-Roman letters. For example, while the proem of BGU 423 (*lines* 6-8: εὐχαριστῶ τῷ κυρίῳ Σεράπιδι, ὅτι μου κινδυνεύσαντος εἰς θάλασσαν ἔσωσε εὐθέως ["I give thanks the lord Serapion because he immediately saved me when I was in danger at sea"; my translation]) simply offers the author's welfare as a surrogate of the common health wish (i.e. for that of the author Ἀπίων himself), that of 1 Thessalonians is for the recipients (White 1983:438; Arzt[-Grabner] 1994:46; Reed 1996:98; Malherbe 2000:90; cf. White 1978:297). The proem of 1 Thessalonians was "formulated as a thanksgiving, or more precisely as a report about the thanksgiving that Paul had directed to God on other occasions as part of his frequent intercessory prayers for the church" (Klauck 2006:361; cf. Malherbe 2000:90). 1 Thess 1:3-5 reveals this fact clearly.[127] Furthermore, in 1 Thess 1:6-10 Paul

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[126] The key point to distinguish between 1 Thess 1:2-10 and 1 Thess 2:1-3:13 is firstly how to understand the disclosure formula at 1 Thess 2:1. In terms of an epistolary convention, a disclosure formula is always employed within the body of a letter, especially the body opening (White 1971a:93; 1972b; 1978; 1986). Furthermore, when we consider the boundary of each part of a letter (viz. the opening [the prescript and the proem], the body [the body-opening, the body-middle, and the body-closing] and the closing), it is accepted that this kind of transitional convention plays a decisive role. Therefore scholars such as Sanders (1962:355-356), White (1971:94; 1972b:116-117) and Roberts (1986:96, 98-99) thought that the body of 1 Thessalonians starts from 1 Thess 2:1 (Sanders and White), or the "thanksgiving" is at least finished at 1 Thess 1:10 (Roberts). On the other hand, some scholars who dealt with the "thanksgiving" section in the letters of the NT, such as Schubert (1939b:16-27), O'Brien (1977:143-146), Aune (1987:206), Lambrecht (1994b:183-205) and Malherbe (2000:78, 103ff.), suggested that the "thanksgiving" of 1 Thessalonians extends to 1 Thess 3:13 on the basis of an inner relation of passages. Here I follow the suggestions of Sanders and White because of the above-mentioned decisive role of the disclosure formula in the transition from part to part, especially in the opening of the body.

[127] A pioneer of research into the "thanksgiving" section of the letters in the NT was Schubert (1939a; 1939b) (cf. Arzt-Grabner 2010b:129). In handling the so-called genuine letters of Paul, Schubert classified Pauline letters into two groups based on components of the "thanksgiving" section: (1) Rom 1:8-17; 1 Cor 1:4-9; 2 Cor 1:3-11; Phil 1:3-11; 1

praises his believers for their exemplary deeds in Christ. In other words, they received the gospel with a true heart (1 Thess 1:9-10) and became not only imitators of Paul and others, but also an example to fellow-Christians in Macedonia and Achaia (1 Thess 1:6-7). Because of their positive reaction towards the gospel, Paul did not want to say anything more, as we find in 1 Thess 1:8b: ὥστε μὴ χρείαν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς λαλεῖν τι ("so that we have no need to speak about it"). Actually, this favourable attitude is found throughout the whole letter. Thus Paul said to his recipients that ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε ἡ δόξα ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ χαρά ("Yes, you are our glory and joy!") (1 Thess 2:20; cf. 1 Thess 2:13ff.; 4:9-10a; 5:11). In this sense the proem (viz. the thanksgiving) of 1 Thessalonians can be said to imply the contents of the subsequent text after the proem (Malherbe 2000:90; cf. Aune 1989:186; 2003:269). About this Klauck (2006:362) says, "Even in his earliest epistolary proem,

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Thess 1:2-2:16 [1:2-3:10; 1:2-3:13]; Phlm 4-7 and (2) Col 1:3-23 and 2 Thess 1:3-12. More recently O'Brien (1977) dealt with this subject in similar vein: (1) Rom 1:8-10; 1 Cor 1:4-9; 2 Cor 1:3-11; Phil 1:3-11; 1 Thess 1:2-3; 2:13-16; 3:9-13; Phlm 4-6 and (2) Col 1:3-14; 2 Thess 1:3-4; 2:13-14. On the other hand, Schnider and Stenger (1987:43-45) expanded the application to all the letters in the NT: (1) Rom 1:8-12; 1 Cor 1:4-9; 2 Cor 1:3-7; Gal 1:6-7; Phil 1:3-11; 1 Thess 1:2-10; 2:13-16; 3:9-13; Phlm 4-7 and (2) Col 1:3-23; Eph 1:3-2:22; 2 Thess 1:3-12; 2:13-14; 2 Tim 1:3-5; 1 Pet 1:3-9; 2 Pet 1:3-11. Although Schnider and Stenger contributed to extending this research to all the letters in the NT, their study was also based on the literary analysis of components found in the "thanksgiving" of the letters in the NT. As a result, Schnider and Stenger's category became to be similar to those of Schubert and O'Brien. Most recently, however, Lambrecht (1994b:323) abandoned the above-mentioned category with the following comment: "A careful reconstruction . . . may both simplify and nuance Schubert's structural proposal." Thus Lambrecht (1994b:323) suggested a list coding (1) the stable "kernel" of the main clause (present: [a] "I thank," [b] "God," [c] "always"), (2) the reason for gratitude, i.e. the "memory" (past: [a] "for you," [b] "remembering [you] in my prayer," [c] "specific reason") and (3) a "petition" (future) (for the results of Lambrecht's analysis of the thanksgiving of five Pauline letters [Rom 1:8-10; 1 Cor 1:4-9; Phil 1:3-11; 1 Thess 1:2-5; 2:13; 3:9-10; Phlm 4-7], see Lambrecht 1994b:323-326). Lambrecht's approach is considered to be very useful to see the items of the "thanksgiving" at a glance (cf. Mullins 1972:382). Apart from the previous studies of the above-mentioned scholars, there can be another exposition of the division of the "thanksgiving," marked by the initial word of the "thanksgiving" of each letter in the NT: (1) the *eucharistō*-pattern: Rom 1:8; 1 Cor 1:4; Phil 1:3; Col 1:3; 1 Thess 1:2[; 2:13; 3:9-13]; 2 Thess 1:3[; 2:13]; Phlm 4, (2) the *eulogētos*-pattern: 2 Cor 1:3; Eph 1:3; 1 Pet 1:3 and (3) the *charin echō*-pattern: 2 Tim 1:3. Nevertheless, according to the "structure of Pauline Thanksgiving" of Lambrecht (1994b:325-326), these verses (1 Thess 1:3-5) resort under 2c, i.e. "'Memory' (past)-specific reason" of the "thanksgivings."

Paul takes advantage of the language of thanksgiving and intercessory prayer to lay a theological and spiritual foundation for the following letter and to draw his addressees into the exchange that the letter seeks to facilitate." In a word, the proem (viz. the thanksgiving) of 1 Thessalonians (2:1-10) functions "as a sign-post to the original readers to introduce the major themes of the letter" (Cook 1992:511; cf. Lambrecht 1994b:321; Watson 1997:650).

(2) Closing

Although the closing of 1 Thessalonians (5:23-28) also follows the common Greco-Roman letter tradition in function, i.e. to "convey sentiments which enhance friendly relations" (White 1984:1731), its form and content are to a certain extent different. Though there is still a debate about the identity of a few conventions such as the autograph (White 1993:151, n. 15; Klauck 2006:25), according to Weima (2000b:643-644) there are some conventions of the closing shared by the common Greco-Roman letter, namely the farewell wish or the closing greeting, the health wish, the (secondary) greeting, the illiteracy formula, the dating formula, the postscript and the autograph (cf. Doty 1973:14; White 1982:92; Weima 2000b:643-644). However, in a letter most of these conventions rarely appear together, except in a few cases.[128] In comparison to the closing of common Greco-Roman letters, the closing of 1 Thessalonians appears to be more extended and systematical, and these changes are carried forward to later canonical letters and other Christian letters (cf. White 1983:97, 98-99; Schreiner 1990:29-30; O'Brien 1997:552; Aune 2003:268, 269-270). Actually, though 1 Thessalonians is the earliest Christian letter, its closing (5:23-28) already

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[128] For example, P.Oxy. 300 (the late first century C.E. [Grenfell and Hunt 1899:301-302]), which was sent between relatives, contains the "(second) greetings" (in a second-person imperative [ἀσπάζου] and a third-person indicative [ἀσπάζεται] of ἀσπάζομαι [*lines* 6-10]), the "closing greeting" (ἔρρω[σο] [*line* 10]) and the "dating formula" (μη[νὸς] Γερμανικ[ ] β [*line* 11]); P.Oxy. 294 (22 C.E. [Grenfell and Hunt 1899:294-296]) provides the "health wish"; while P.Oxy. 531 (the second century C.E.), which was sent to a son by a father, simply closes with the "closing greeting" (ἔρρωσο, τέκνον [*lines* 28-29]) and the "dating formula" (Τῦβι ις [*line* 29]). Of course, this difference must have arisen from each epistolary situation.

contained most of these items: the peace blessing, i.e. a peace benediction and a word of encouragement (5:23-24: cf. Weima 1994a:176); the closing exhortation, i.e. a hortatory section - request prayer (5:25); the greeting, i.e. a holy kiss greeting (5:26); the closing exhortation, i.e. a hortatory section of a circulation of the letter (5:27; cf. Weima 1994a:176 [the autograph]); and the grace benediction (5:28).[129] Besides this, in its expression it is surely Christianised (White 1982:92-102; Weima 2000b:640-644; Klauck 2006:17-24, 42).[130] Among these, the most specific feature is

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[129] However, apart from the issue of the items forming the closing, their order is different in each letter in the NT. We need to note Schreiner's words (1990:30): "The order of these items varies in the different letters, lacking any obvious preformed pattern. The only constant is that the benediction comes at the end, except in Romans." And, with the examples of 1 Cor 16:15-18 and Col 4:16-17, Schreiner (1990:30) continues, "[T]he unusual nature of the conclusion leads the interpreter to ponder the significance of such a closing in this letter." Nevertheless, in limiting ourselves at least to the so-called genuine letters of Paul, we are likely to come to the same conclusion about any constant order as Weima (1994a:154), who said, "Even if additional items are found in a particular closing (e.g. joy expression, letter of commendation), or one of these epistolary conventions is missing, the sequence remains constant. This supports my contention that Paul's letter closings are not loose collections of final remarks, haphazardly thrown together, but rather are carefully constructed units." However, with some modification this statement can be applied even to the rest of Pauline letters and a few non-Pauline letters, except 3 John (3) and Jude (24-25), that contain the third person greeting and the doxology respectively.

[130] Aune (2003:268), though he limited the range of his study to the seven so-called authentic letters of Paul (viz. Romans, 1 & 2 Corinthians, Galatians, 1 Thessalonians, Philippians and Philemon), suggested closing formulas that consist of these five items: the peace wish, the request for prayer, the secondary greetings, the holy kiss and the autographed greeting. Prior to Aune, White (1988:97) had already identified elements belonging to the closing of the letter: the closing greeting from (to) third parties, the holy kiss greeting and the grace benediction, putting the autobiographical reference and the prayer of peace in the body section, i.e. the body closing (cf. White 1993:151, n. 15). Recently, Weima (1994a:154) tried to suggest a more fixed order for the closing, i.e. the peace benediction, the hortatory section (sometimes placed before the peace benediction), the greetings (common greetings [viz. the first person type, second person type and third person type], the [holy or love] kiss greeting and the autograph greeting) and the grace benediction. Weima's structure of the closing in particular is very useful to postulate the existence of a Christianised closing structure, because some non-Pauline letters in the NT display this model in a very similar pattern. For example, the closing of Hebrews (13:20-25) consists of the peace benediction (vv. 20-21a), the doxology (v. 21b), the closing exhortation or hortatory section (vv. 22-23), the greetings (v. 24) and the grace benediction (v. 25). 1 Peter (5:12-14) also closes with the autographical reference (v. 12), the greetings (vv. 13-14a: greetings [v. 13], the holy [here, love] kiss greeting [v. 14a]), and the peace benediction (v. 14b). Furthermore, 3 John (v. 15: the peace benediction [v. 15a] and the greetings [v. 15b]) seem to reflect this kind of closing, though lacking some components (cf. 2 Pet 3:17-18).

the use of the grace benediction with a Christianised modification (ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν) at the end of the letter (1 Thess 5:28) instead of a common subscript (viz. ἔρρωσο [ἔρρωσθε] or εὐτύχει [διευτύχει]) (cf. Schreiner 1990:30; Malherbe 2000:342). Furthermore, the modification of the Greco-Roman closing health wish to a prayer (1 Thess 5:23), and of the conventional greeting to the Christian communal one of a holy kiss (1 Thess 5.26), not only must have anticipated the public reading of 1 Thessalonians in the church (1 Thess 5:27),[131] but also signified pastoral care (Malherbe 2000:91). According to White (1983:438), this kind of Christianised farewell "may have arisen in the Christian worship setting." Considering the fact that this form appears both in the earliest of Christian letters and in later canonical and non-canonical letters, this usage was probably derived from Paul's epistolary practice (White 1983:438). Although we cannot prove it as in the case of the proem, it is certain that the employment of a benediction for a common subscript provides an example of the Christianisation of an epistolary convention.

(3) Body

The body of 1 Thessalonians occupies more than half of the whole letter (1 Thess 2:1-5:22). This length is uncommon among non-literary letters. Since in conveying a "more specific occasion of letter," the body of a common Greco-Roman letter mainly functions to "disclose or seek

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Of course, apart from the letters without the closing (i.e. James and 1 John), there are a few letters in the NT that show isolated forms. Firstly, 2 John follows the typical closing of the Greco-Roman letter (cf. Acts 15:29). Its closing finishes only with the greeting, without even the farewell (v. 13). Secondly, 2 Peter and Jude close their letters with a benediction and doxology.

[131] Of course, sharing a letter (even a private letter, and needless to say, also such letters as literary or official letters) with other individuals, groups or communities, was not strange in antiquity, though not widespread. E.g. Plato, *Ep.* 6. 323C: [T]αύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πάντας ὑμᾶς τρεῖς ὄντας ἀναγνωμαι χρή, μάλιστα μὲν ἀθρόους, εἰ δὲ μή, κατὰ δύο . . . ("[A]ll you three [sc. Hermeias, Erastus and Coriscus] must read this letter, all together if possible, or if not by twos . . .) (Bury, LCL); Col 4:16: [K]αὶ ὅταν ἀναγνωσθῇ παρ' ὑμῖν ἡ ἐπιστολή, ποιήσατε ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ Λαοδικέων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγνωσθῇ, καὶ τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναγνῶτε ("[A]nd when this letter has been read among you, have it read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and see that you read also the letter from Laodicea") (cf. Rev 1:3).

information" or to "make request or command" (White 1984:1731, 1736), the body of 1 Thessalonians is nevertheless not quite different from the body of contemporary letters. Even in terms of the structure of the body, the body of 1 Thessalonians accords with the tradition of non-literary letters, i.e. a tripartite division: the body opening (2:1-12), the body middle (2:13-5:11) and the body closing (5:12-22) (Klauck 2006:355-377; cf. White 1972b:68-72). Besides this, the body of 1 Thessalonians employed various epistolary formulas and conventions, which often appeared in the Greco-Roman non-literary letter (cf. Hansen 1989:29; Malherbe 2000:90-91),[132] but they were either selectively used or modified,[133] and new conventions were added for the purpose of this letter (White 1972b:97). Thus in 1 Thess 2:1 there is a disclosure formula that opens the body (i.e. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἴδατε . . .) though this is slightly modified from the basic disclosure formulas of γίνωσκε

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[132] The epistolary formulas employed in Galatians, e.g. are as follows: the astonishment-rebuke formula, the disclosure formulas, the grief or distress expression, the hearing or learning verbs, the joy expression, the notification of a coming visit, the "περί + genitive" phrase, the reassurance expression, the reference to writing, the reminder of past instruction, the request formula, the responsibility statement, the saying and informing verbs and the vocative to indicate the transitive (Hansen 1989:28-29; Longenecker 1990:cv-cvi; Mitternacht 2007:72). This analysis proves how deeply the letters in the NT are connected to contemporary letter traditions.

[133] On the basis of White's study (1986:203-211) we find that the epistolary conventions employed in the body of the documentary letter are over twenty in number. However, the conventions from those documentary letters employed by the letter writers of the NT are selective, not comprehensive. For example, on the major body-middle conventions, White (1972b: 114-115, n. 26) writes as follows: "Paul does not use (1) 'responsibility' expression, (2) receipt-transfer statements, (3) formulaic references to writing, and (4) the tandem conjunction δὲ καί (apart from Phlm 22 and even there δὲ καί probably marks a transition within the body-closing), unlike the papyri, as major transitional devices in the body-middle." Again White (1972b:115, n. 27) says, "Paul also employs verbs of saying and the περί with the genitive construction within the body-middle, but not with the major transitional force they exert frequently in the papyri. An important exception, however, is the major transitional force of the verb of saying in the body-middle of 1 Cor 1:17-3:1." Besides this, Paul modified them, as White pointed out elsewhere. For example, the fuller form (i) of the disclosure formula, γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι . . ., was changed into a formula, οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι . . ., in Pauline letters (White 1972b:95, 127, n. 3; cf. Rom 1:13; 11:25; 1 Cor 10:1; 12:1; 2 Cor 1:8; 1 Thess 4:13 [but White does not mention 1 Thessalonians]).

ὅτι . . . (P.Oxy. 295, *lines* 2f.) or γινώσκειν σε θέλω, ἄδελφε, ὅτι . . . (P.Oxy. 1493, *lines* 5f.).[134]

Other examples of epistolary formulas are found in 1 Thess 3:6 (ἄρτι δὲ ἐλθόντος Τιμοθέου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν καὶ εὐαγγελισαμένου ἡμῖν [my emphasis]);[135] 1 Thess 4:1 (λοιπὸν οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν [my emphasis]);[136] 1 Thess 4:9, 13 and 5:1 (περὶ δὲ τῆς φιλαδελφίας . . ., οὐ θέλομεν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τῶν κοιμωμένων and περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν, ἀδελφοί [my emphasis]);[137] and 1 Thess 5:11 (διὸ παρακαλεῖτε ἀλλήλους καὶ οἰκοδομεῖτε εἰς τὸν ἕνα [my emphasis]).[138] The tripartite structure of the body and the employed epistolary formulas, though to some extent modified, show that the body of 1 Thessalonians (and 1 Thessalonians itself) is more traditional, i.e. less Christianised.

Such a situation is also true in the composition of the body of 1 Thessalonians. Its body contains features of pagan literary letters such as literary and oratorical devices and sources which were used by Paul's contemporary authors (Berger 1984b:1340-1363; Aune 1987:194-197, 200-202; Schreiner 1990:36-39; Bailey and Broek 1992:38-54, 62-72, 195-198; cf. Berger 1984a; Witherington 1995:77). Thus in passages of 1 Thess 2:1-12 (especially, vv. 1-2 and 9), Paul described his past *modus vivendi* in Christ following the list of hardships that was preferred by contemporary moral philosophers. The dependence on this device is clearer if we remember that

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[134] Other examples that the disclosure formula begins the body opening in the letters in the NT are Rom 1:13; 2 Cor 1:18; Gal 1:11; and Phil 1:12 (White 1971a:94). According to White (1972b:72; cf. 1972b:70, n. 64), "The unusual form of the disclosure formula, i.e. the perfect tense and second person of the verb meaning 'to know,' is due to the fact that Paul's disclosure of what happened is corroborated by the Thessalonians' own knowledge of, and participation in, that event; a mutual understanding that the gospel was not mere talk but a manifestation of power exhibited in what both Paul and the Thessalonians 'became' on that occasion." On a general overview of epistolary conventions used in the body, see White 1986:203-211.

[135] An informational formula: "Someone came and said . . ." (White 1982:98; cf. 1986:207).

[136] A concluding transition: τὰ δὲ λοιπά (λοιπὸν οὖν) . . . ("For the rest . . [therefore, finally . . .]") (White 1986:206).

[137] A transitional convention of turning to a new subject or the "reply to inquiry": "Know *also* that . . ." and "I want you to know, *too*, that . . ." or "περί (ὑπέρ) δέ + genitive" construction ("concerning the . . . ") (White 1986:11).

[138] A transitional convention: "[T]he conjunctions, οὖν, διό, and ὅθεν, are standards means of indicating the transition from the background to a statement of request" (White 1986:211).

among Paul's contemporaries, the list of hardships functioned "as rhetorical and literary foils for the depiction and demonstration of the sage's various qualities as the ideal philosopher" (Fitzgerald 1988:203; Seneca, *Ep.* 71.30). In fact, Paul considered his manual labour as a hardship (cf. 1 Cor 4:12), and even described "his manual labor as a demonstration of self-giving and love for his converts" (Malherbe 1989c:70). Thus in 1 Thess 2:10 we find that Paul insists on his qualities of a leader based on his recipients' witness of his hardship (ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες καὶ ὁ θεός, ὡς ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀμέμπτως ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐγενήθημεν ["you are witnesses, and God also, how pure, upright, and blameless our conduct was toward you believers"]). In this sense, 1 Thess 2:1-12 can be considered to be an epistolary self-recommendation of Paul, and functions as a means to prepare the ground as well as possible for his own purposes (Klauck 2006:363). Besides this, Paul employed antithesis in 1 Thess 2:1-2, 3-4, 5-8 (cf. 5:6, 15). This device was used to give impact to what the author wanted to say through contrastive concepts or expressions (cf. Fiore 1986:20-21). This was preferred by moral philosophers (Aune 1987:206; Malherbe 2000:91-92) and was regarded as "the heart of the paraenetic enterprise" (Dryden 2006:115). Paul also used metaphors such as τροφός and τέκνα ("nurse" and "children") (2:7), and πατήρ and τέκνα ("father" and "children") (2:11). These metaphors increased the closeness between Paul and his recipients. He also presented models to be imitated (e.g. 2:14; 3:12-13; cf. 1:6, 7). As we have already seen in the previous chapter (chap. 3, section B. 1. b]. [2]), they were mainly employed in the hortatory tradition contemporary to Paul. Paul employed them in the body of 1 Thessalonians either to encourage or to persuade his recipients (Engberg-Pedersen 1987:571-572). Nevertheless, the body of 1 Thessalonians exhibits some differences to the body of Greco-Roman letters. The most arresting point is that the body of 1 Thessalonians contains a large measure of exhortation (4:1-5:22), i.e. the epistolary paraenesis. Besides this, the purpose of the body seems not to convey simple information, but to express more elaborate themes, as we often find in literary (and official

or diplomatic) letters, not in documentary letters, and to be composed for public performance like worship or address (1 Thess 5:27).[139] Naturally, in this case we can expect more sophisticated and developed argumentation, literary devices and modified epistolary formulas.

c) Additional Features in 1 Thessalonians

As in the case of the Greco-Roman letter (see chap. 3, section A. 3), the role of additional features such as the employment of an amanuensis or secretary, the date, the mention of a letter-carrier, and the outer address should also be taken into account as far as 1 Thessalonians is concerned. However, these features belong to non-Christianised factors in 1 Thessalonians, along with the body. Therefore the occurrence or non-occurrence of these features in 1 Thessalonians has limited meaning for understanding its content and nature. Firstly, 1 Thessalonians does not mention either the amanuensis or secretary. But the employment of an amanuensis or a secretary was very common in both Greco-Roman letters and the letters in the NT (cf. Longenecker 1974b:281-297; 2011:6-9; Richards 1991:189-194; 2004:59-80; Murphy-O'Connor 1995:1-14; Elmer 2008:46). Thus Peter and even Paul mentioned at least once that they employed an amanuensis for writing the letter, i.e. Silvanus (1 Pet 5:12) and Tertius (Rom 16:22). Furthermore, in other Pauline letters, there are indications of the employment of an amanuensis or a secretary (e.g. 1 Cor 16:21; Gal 6:11; Col 4:18; 2 Thess 3:17; Phlm 19), in which case "it appears that the intent was to establish the authenticity of the letter" (Elmer 2008:46-47). Nevertheless, 1 Thessalonians gives no such indication. However, on the basis of these references in other Pauline letters and the general cultural background, many biblical scholars agree that most parts of the body of the letters in the NT were written by amanuenses or secretaries in various ways (cf. Bahr 1966; 1968; Bandstra 1968;

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[139] On the liturgical elements used in Pauline letters, see Aune 1987:192-194; Bailey and Broek 1992:72-76; Strecker 1997:70-72. On the other hand, considering that oration implies public performance, some rhetorical analyses on the letters in the NT encourage such a possibility. On the summary of recent rhetorical analyses on 1 Thessalonians, see Aune 2003:461-462 and Klauck 2006:377-384.

Murphy-O'Connor 1995:6-7, 16-33; Witherington 1998:99-109). Thus we should consider the possibility that 1 Thessalonians was written by an amanuensis or a secretary.[140] Furthermore, though 1 Thessalonians mentions nothing of the kind, we find letter-carriers mentioned by name in other letters in the NT (e.g. Phoebe [Rom 16:1-2{?}], Tychicus [Eph 6:21-22; Col 4:7-9], Epaphroditus [Phil 2:25], Onesimus [Phlm 10-13; cf. Col 4:7-9{?}], Silvanus [1 Pet 5:12-13], Demetrius [3 John 12], Stephanus, Fortunatus, Achaicus, and/or Titus [1 Cor 16:15-18; cf. 2 Cor 2:12-13; 7:6-7], Titus and "the brother" [2 Cor 8:16-24], Zenas the lawyer and Apollos [Titus 3:13]). However, in 1 Thess 3:1ff., we read a report that Paul (and Silvanus) sent Timothy on an embassy to the church in Thessalonica. At that time Timothy must have carried a letter to the church and brought back a reply to Paul (and Silvanus). On this point, it is helpful for us to consider that in antiquity the particularly named letter-carriers often played an important role in the communication of the letter (Head 2009:283-291, 296; cf. Allen, Neil and Mayer 2009b:46-47). This is even truer as far as the named carriers of letters in the NT are concerned. When we consider the situation in 1 Thess 3, it is clear that Timothy was more than a simple postman (1 Thess 1:1; 3:2; cf. Funk 1982b; 1982c; Head 2009:298). On the other hand, 1 Thessalonians does also not contain (or preserve?) the date and the outer address which are sometimes found in Greco-Roman letters (Schnider and Stenger 1987:3).

d) Summary

The epistolary features of 1 Thessalonians were looked at above. In a word, the epistolary features of 1 Thessalonians can be explained as innovative adaptations and the Christianisation of contemporary epistolary formal conventions in both form and function. All these features were

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[140] The employment of an amanuensis has often caused another serious problem in the study of the letters in the NT. Bandstra (1968:180) expressed this point very clearly by asking, "How should the inspiration of the letters of Paul be conceived? Was Paul inspired or was his secretary inspired or both?" In relation to this question, we find a suggestive response by Richards (2004:229), saying that "[t]he entire letter-writing process can be considered 'inspired.' Inspiration does not require that a single writer produce a single draft of a letter. A team, led by Paul, using a secretary, making multiple drafts can be part of divinely supervised process which resulted in an inspired letter."

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found in the analysis of 1 Thessalonians: "Paul was an accomplished letter writer, thoroughly familiar with the epistolary clichés of the time but free and creative in the way he used those conventions" (Malherbe 2000:90). Firstly, in structure 1 Thessalonians consists of the threefold structure: the opening (1:1-10), the body (2:1-5:22) and the closing (5:23-28), which can be subdivided into the fivefold structure from the functional perspective (cf. Porter 1997b): the opening proper (viz. the prescript [1:1]), the independent proem or the thanksgiving (1:2-10), the body *proper* (2:1-3:13), the epistolary paraenesis (4:1-5:22) and the closing (5:23-28). Especially, this fivefold structure is clearly distinguishable from the common threefold division of the Greco-Roman letter in terms of both their external appearance and their functions.

Secondly, all parts of the letter except the body show Christianisation and particularisation for the epistolary situation, i.e. to care for Christians. In the prescript (1:1), we find a syntactical change of greeting with its Christian sources (1:1b), as well as modification through the identification of the sender with Christian phrases. Moreover, the co-senders of Paul, Silvanus and Timothy, seem to be a feature of 1 Thessalonians, because these co-senders play an important role throughout 1 Thessalonians, as well as in some later letters of Paul. And the collective plural recipients are also told to carry out Paul's epistolary vision for 1 Thessalonians, that the earliest church leaders should take care of the *church* (viz. ἐκκλησία). In the proem or the "thanksgiving" (1:2-10), we find a clearer example of Christianisation and particularisation. The proem of 1 Thessalonians focuses on the recipients and on thanks to God for the recipients' well-being and well-doing, instead of aiming at sharing information of the sender's well-being. The proem of 1 Thessalonians also functions as an introduction to the content of the letter. In the closing (5:23-28), 1 Thessalonians shows more elaborate and systematic forms compared to that of the common Greco-Roman letter. Moreover, together with the opening, the closing shows another good example of Christianisation. Thus the closing of 1 Thessalonians consists of the peace blessing (5:23-24), the closing exhortation (5:25), the holy kiss greeting (5:26), another closing exhortation (5:27) and the grace benediction (5:28). Among these, the grace benediction replacing the farewell of the Greco-Roman letter, is most distinctive. On the other hand, compared to the opening and the closing, the epistolary features of the body of 1 Thessalonians (2:1-5:22) are less Christianised. For example,

the body of 1 Thessalonians not only follows the typical division of the body, i.e. a "tripartite division" (viz. the body opening [2:1-12], the body middle [2:13-5:11] and the body closing [5:12-22]), but also is full of common epistolary formulas and conventions. Nevertheless, it was particularised for the epistolary situation not only in its composition and content but even in epistolary formulas and conventions. Thus the body of 1 Thessalonians is divided into two major sections: the body proper (2:1-3:13) and the epistolary paraenesis (4:1-5:22). Although these two sections are closely connected in function and substance, the paraenesis is separated from the body proper at the point that the former is focusing more on "practice," the latter on "theory" or the background of the practice. This phenomenon is rarely found in the body of the Greco-Roman letter. Besides this, as opposed to the body of most documentary letters, that of 1 Thessalonians employed various literary and oratorical devices and authoritative sources for its argument. Since the employment of such devices and sources is in most cases exclusive to literary letters, many scholars do not think that 1 Thessalonians simply presents as a documentary letter.

Finally, 1 Thessalonians does not preserve the date and the outer address, as many Greco-Roman letters do. It is not even sure whether 1 Thessalonians was written with the help of an amanuensis. Nevertheless, it is relatively certain that this letter was dispatched by a credible person or fellow Christian because, in 1 Thess 3:2ff., we can find a report that Paul (and Silvanus) sent Timothy on an embassy. In antiquity someone sent on an embassy often conveyed an oral message as well as a letter. In the case of 1 Thessalonians, it is possible that Timothy might have played such a role. However, 1 Thessalonians does not tell us anything about these matters with certainty.

3. The Psychagogical Function and Its Features: Pastoral Purpose

a) Introduction

We turn now to the issue of the function of 1 Thessalonians and its psychagogical features. 1 Thessalonians is commonly known as a paraenetic letter (Stowers 1986:96; Malherbe 1987:78; Starr 2004:93; Klauck 2006:384-386). As we have already seen, Paul composed this paraenetic letter for his psychagogy, i.e. pastoral care (Malherbe 1987:68; 2005:789, 791; Witherington

2006:29; cf. Glen 1964; DeSilva 2004). As I mentioned (viz. chap. 3, section B.1.a]), the conversion to a new *modus vivendi* caused various difficulties to the neophyte. This was the trying situation that the believers of the church at Thessalonica were facing. Thus, in 1 Thess 2:14b-15a (cf. 1:6), Paul says as follows (cf. Malherbe 2005:790):

Ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπάθετε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν

Ἰουδαίων, τῶν καὶ τὸν κύριον ἀποκτεινάντων Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας καὶ ἡμᾶς

ἐκδιωξάντων.

For you suffered the same things from your own compatriots as they did from the Jews, who

killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove us out.

This difficult situation must have compelled Paul to practise pastoral care for his pupils in faith. Of course, in some respects the recipients were already mature in faith (1:7; 2:14a; cf. 1:5), and they did not need any admonishing exhortations (1:8b; 4:9; 5:1b), although they did receive such exhortations as "you should do so more and more" (ἵνα περισσεύητε μᾶλλον) or "we urge you . . . to do so more and more" (παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς . . . περισσεύειν μᾶλλον) (4:1b and 10b respectively). Nevertheless, in the eyes of their spiritual father and teacher, they were still liable to "be shaken" by some persecutions – they had already begun to be shaken (3:3). In this situation Paul employed various means to urge and encourage them to "lead a life worthy of God," just as he had kept doing when he had been with them (2:12). This pastoral aim can be recognised from a number of expressions here and there in 1 Thessalonians. We can summarise them as follows: To begin with, when Paul could no more visit the church of Thessalonica himself (1 Thess 2:17-18), he decided to send his co-worker Timothy as his representative to provide pastoral care for them (Malherbe 2005:790; cf. 1 Cor 4:16-17; Phil 2:19-14). Thus in 1 Thess 3:2-3a Paul explained why he sent Timothy to the believers of the church at Thessalonica as follows (cf. 3:5):

Καὶ ἐπέμψαμεν Τιμόθεον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν καὶ συνεργὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ

Χριστοῦ, εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλέσαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν τὸ μηδένα σαίνεσθαι

ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν ταύταις.

And we sent Timothy, our brother and co-worker for God in proclaiming the gospel of Christ,

to strengthen and encourage you for the sake of your faith, so that no one would be shaken by

these persecutions.

These verses very clearly show Paul's psychagogical intention. According to the subsequent passage (3:6-9) Paul's *modus operandi* was in fact very successful. Nevertheless, Paul still expresses his intention to take care of them himself, which is another example of his psychagogical practice (3:10): [N]υκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ δεόμενοι εἰς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ καταρτίσαι τὰ ὑστερήματα τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ("Night and day we pray most earnestly that we may see you face to face and restore whatever is lacking in your faith"). Furthermore, some specific phrases allow us to induce Paul's pastoral intention and practice through this letter. Especially the repeated occurrence of the "reply to inquire" phrase (viz. the "περί + genitive" construction) reveals that Paul as pastor deals with some pending questions from his church (White 1986:11). For example, 1 Thess 4:13a reads as follows (cf. 4:9; 5:1): Οὐ θέλομεν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τῶν κοιμωμένων ("But we do not want you to be uninformed, brothers and sisters, about those who have died"). We do not know what actually happened in the church at Thessalonica. However, one thing is certain, Paul was dealing with a problem concerning the believers who had died before the *parousia*: the believers of the church of Thessalonica left alive were in distress because of the death of their fellow Christians (Malherbe 2000:263; cf. Fee 2009:165-166). To help his recipients, who were in trauma because of this loss (cf. 1 Thess 4:13b), Paul exercised his pastoral care by providing a theoretical basis, i.e. a kind of "speech," on Jesus and eschatological hope to comfort and persuade them (1 Thess 4:14-17; 5:23) (cf. S. Kim 2011:110-111, 115). Paul ended his explanation with some words of encouragement to help them overcome their grief by helping each other (1 Thess 4:18): Ὥστε παρακαλεῖτε ἀλλήλους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ("[T]herefore

encourage one another with these words").[141] On this point, we should keep in mind that much of the content of this exhortation is communal, not individual (e.g. 4:6, 9-10a; 5:11; cf. 1 Cor 5:9-13; 1 Thess 4:10b-12) (Malherbe 2005:791). Paul certainly wanted to build a Christian community as Christ's body, which should live in this world according to the purpose to which God called them (Malherbe 2005:791; cf. 2:12b). Finally, 1 Thessalonians itself provides the clearest evidence to show Paul's pastoral intention (Malherbe 2005:791). There is consensus that 1 Thessalonians was composed for pastoral care (cf. 2 Thess 3:14) and nobody denies that most portions of 1 Thessalonians are full of paraenetic elements (Malherbe 1989b; cf. 1 Thess 4-5 and elsewhere). Besides this, this letter was designed to be read before the whole congregation according to the church leader's aim, i.e. the pastoral care (5:27). In addition to the internal evidence of 1 Thessalonians, we find some implications that, when he employed the letter genre in his ministry, Paul had a particular psychagogical intention, i.e. the immediate handling of matters that the church was facing. As an example, we can cite 2 Thess 2:2, where we find a report that probably implies that Paul often used a letter to deal with pending questions. Another indication may be found in 2 Pet 3:14-16a, which also says something about this function of Paul's letters. Peter mentions Paul's letters there in the context of dealing with the problem of false teachings about Jesus' *parousia*, which was a pending problem in the Christian community.[142] All these examples are enough to

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[141] In 1 Thessalonians, we find similar treatments of pending questions. For example, a pending question (4:9a: περὶ δὲ τῆς φιλαδελφίας ["now concerning love of the brothers and sisters"]); an exhortation (4:10b: παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, περισσεύειν μᾶλλον ["but we urge you, beloved, to do so more and more"]); a pending question (5:1a: περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ["now concerning the times and the seasons"]); an exhortation (5:11: διὸ παρακαλεῖτε ἀλλήλους καὶ οἰκοδομεῖτε εἰς τὸν ἕνα ["therefore encourage one another and build up each other"]).

[142] 2 Pet 3:14-16a: Διό, ἀγαπητοί, ταῦτα προσδοκῶντες σπουδάσατε ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι αὐτῷ εὑρεθῆναι ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν μακροθυμίαν σωτηρίαν ἡγεῖσθε, καθὼς καὶ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς Παῦλος κατὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ σοφίαν ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν, ὡς καὶ ἐν πάσαις ἐπιστολαῖς λαλῶν ἐν αὐταῖς περὶ τούτων . . . ("Therefore, beloved, while you are waiting for these things, strive to be found by him at peace, without spot or blemish; and regard the patience of our Lord as salvation. *So also our beloved brother Paul wrote to you according to the wisdom given him, speaking of this as he does in all his letters . . .*" [my emphasis]). Though it is not clear what the prepositional phrase

reveal that Paul's primary purpose of composing 1 Thessalonians was pastoral (Malherbe 1987:68).[143]

b) Generic Features and the Psychagogical Function of 1 Thessalonians

Above we looked at Paul's psychagogical intention as found in 1 Thessalonians. For his effective psychagogy Paul employed various epistolary rhetoric devices and authoritative sources from the Greco-Roman and Jewish hortatory traditions, just as his contemporary moral philosophers often did. Thus, in 1 Thessalonians, we find conventional expressions and diverse epistolary rhetoric devices (viz. literary and oratorical devices), and material for his psychagogy (cf. chap. 3, section B. 1. b]).

(1) Relational Factors between the Teacher and the Student

In the previous chapter (chap. 3, section B. 1. b]. [1]), I mentioned that the most outstanding feature of hortatory works is the establishment of a relationship between the teacher as soul-guide and the student. Although a teacher sometimes humbled himself to the level of his student for the purpose of his psychagogy, in essence he was always the superior of his student in all respects. This was also true of Paul towards the recipients of 1 Thessalonians (e.g. 1:6; 2:6; 4:8; 5:12-13a; cf. 2 Cor 10:8;

περὶ τούτων in verse 16a indicates in this context, one thing is quite sure, that Paul's letters were considered to handle the pending problems that churches were facing since the very early times of Christianity (cf. Bauckham 1983:334-335).

[143] So Malherbe (2005:789) called the primary function of 1 Thessalonians "pastoral exhortation and comfort rather than doctrinal explication or correction." Of course, Malherbe's words do not mean that there is no mention of "doctrinal explication or correction" in 1 Thessalonians (e.g. 4:14-17). Instead, Malherbe's words should be understood to mean that this was employed in the area of pastoral care, not of doctrinal debate. This phenomenon is often found in other letters in the NT. Thus along with Malherbe's famous proposition, "[H]e [i.e. Paul] has made a paraenetic letter serve his pastoral purpose" (1987:78; 1989c:75; 2005:791), we should add another one, i.e. Paul's theoretical discussions also are directed towards his pastoral intention. Actually, as the former (i.e. the adaptation of the paraenetic style or letter to a Christian pastoral letter) "happens to be the earliest piece of Christian literature we possess" (Malherbe 1989c:75), so the latter also does (i.e. the use of theoretical discussions for pastoral care).

13:10) (Glad 1995:186). Especially as both the founder of the church and the giver of the gospel, Paul must have had absolute authority over them. We can find various direct and indirect expressions in 1 Thessalonians relating to this fact. Firstly, Paul acknowledged his superior position as apostle. In 1 Thess 2:6-7a we also find this, though a more extensive paragraph (viz. 1 Thess 2:1-8) focuses on Paul's self-humility in his pastoral care. Secondly, Paul proved himself to be a qualified leader to his recipients by showing his integrity through and in his experience of hardship (1 Thess 2:1-2, 9 [hardship], 10 [integrity]) (cf. Malherbe 1986:142; Fitzgerald 1988:203). As I have already mentioned in the previous chapter (viz. chap. 3, section B.1.b), the superiority of a moral philosopher to his student or audience was often gained and proven through his integrity that was not compromised under any circumstances. In the same way Paul proved his integrity as a mark of his superiority to his recipients (cf. Malherbe 1989c:70). Thirdly, the multiple-sender of 1 Thess 1:1 may imply the existence of either an authoritative entity or leadership in the earliest Christian community. Thus it is not strange to find exhortations about the relationship between the leader and the follower in 1 Thess 5:12-13a. Besides this, Paul (and Silvanus) sent Timothy as his ambassador to the church in Thessalonica in order that Paul may "strengthen and encourage" them (εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλέσαι) through his messages conveyed by Timothy (1 Thess 3:1-2; cf. Malherbe 2005:790). Furthermore, in 1 Thessalonians these leaders (here Paul and his co-workers), along with the Lord, appear as models of the Christian *modus vivendi* to be imitated (1 Thess 1:6; 4:1) (cf. Malherbe 1989b:51, 56). In the real world becoming a model to be imitated means the superiority of the model to the imitator in every sense. Finally, in this situation, Paul did not hesitate to exhort and admonish his recipients with various verbal expressions such as commanding or asking words (e.g. 4:1, 9b; 5:12). And Paul used specific verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative (e.g. 4:18; 5:11, 13) and the hortatory subjunctive (e.g. 5:1)

However, though he was in a superior position to his recipients, in 1 Thessalonians Paul emphasised a personal relationship between him and his recipients, which seemed to be a friendly

and otherwise equal relationship. From this fact we can recognise that Paul adapted himself for his pastoral care. In fact, Paul did not hesitate to use even "the images of a slave and a servant" (Glad 1995:187; cf. 1 Cor 3:5; 9:19; 2 Cor 4:5; 6:3-4; 8:4, 19, 20; 11:8).[144] In other words, Paul "refers to himself as an apostle only once, and then to disavow any special standing which apostleship might confer on him (2:6)."[145] Such a "relationship-oriented" attitude of Paul was also expressed by various metaphors, such as "a nurse (2:7), father (2:11) or orphan (2:17; RSV: 'bereft'), who yearns to see them as they do him (3:6, 10)" (Malherbe 2005:791),[146] and a designation of ἀδελφοί ("brothers and sisters" [e.g. 1:4; 2:1, 9, 14, 17; 3:7; 4:1, 10, 13; 5:1, 4, 12, 14, 25, 26, 27]). Of course, these "relationship-oriented" expressions were not new.[147] However, Paul's voluntary abandonment of his superior position towards his recipients was not common in antiquity. Instead,

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[144] Of course, this does not mean that Paul became a slave in the contemporary sense, i.e. by giving up his integrity to carry out their duties (Malherbe 1986:50). Cf. Malherbe 2005:790: "While the responsible philosopher would always safeguard his own integrity, he would give attention to individuals and vary his speech according to the conditions of the persons he addressed. He would lead people to virtue by adopting different means of persuasion."

[145] Malherbe 2005:790: "Yet Paul stresses . . . that in drawing the converts into a community around himself, he did so with gentleness rather than on the basis of his prerogatives as an apostle (I Thess. 2:6-7; cf. II Cor. 10:1), and that, although his demeanor was designed to offer them an example to follow (II Thess. 3:6-9), it was equally designed not to burden them or impede the progress of the gospel."

[146] With relation to Paul's psychagogical adaptation, these metaphors of Paul are very important, because in antiquity both nurse and father were considered to be the most suitable characters to practise soul guidance by descending to the level of their respective addressees. These two characters "were involved in persuading, guiding, supervising, or caring for others," and so "[i]deally," these characters "were viewed as 'one and the same' persons regardless of their involvement with people in different situations" (Glad 2003:19, 20).

[147] According to Malherbe (2005:790), Paul's reminiscence of his pastoral practice shows some similarities to Plutarch. Thus Plutarch (*Adul. amic.* 69C) said that, while frankness in speech, even between friends, should "have seriousness and character" (ἄλλως μὲν οὖν προσιοστέον ἐστὶ καὶ παιδιὰν καὶ γέλωτα τοῖς φίλοις· ἡ δὲ παρρησία σπουδὴν ἐχέτω καὶ ἦθος), the "proper" time is also important (ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ἐν παντὶ μὲν παρεθεὶς μεγάλα βλάπτει, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρρησίας διαφθείρει τὸ χρήσιμον). Besides this, the above-mentioned "relationship-oriented" expressions were a part of the adaptation-*topos* in antiquity (Glad 2003:19). Glad grouped these characters into three categories: (1) the most positive examples: teachers, fathers, and doctors, (2) other positive examples: mothers, nurses, philosophers, generals, pilots, counselors, friends and moral guides, and the orator and (3) the most common negative examples: flatterers, demagogues, and "the friends of many."

this willingness to self-humility was a characteristic of Paul's psychagogy (Malherbe 2005:790). Anyway, all these expressions not only reveal that Paul emphasised the already-mentioned personal relationship between him and his recipients for the purpose of his psychagogy, but also that Paul was true pastor (Malherbe 2005:791).

(2) Epistolary Rhetoric: Literary Devices and Oratorical Devices

Besides using the acceptance of authority and self-adaptation for his pastoral care, Paul employed various hortatory literary and oratorical devices (Malherbe 1989b:50-56; cf. chap. 2, section B. 1. b]. [2]). Firstly, Paul several times made mention of models to be imitated, which was considered to be "one of the most common devices used" in hortatory tradition (Malherbe 1986:135; 1989b:51, 56; cf. Aune 1987:191; Perdue 1990:16-17). On the basis of the content of 1 Thessalonians, we can accept that Paul (and his co-workers) became a model for the Christian *modus vivendi* while he had stayed with his recipients (2:9-10; cf. 2:2). Surely this was possible because Paul (and his co-workers) wanted "to share" with them "not only the gospel of God, but also" their own selves (2:8b). After having experienced the *modus vivendi* of Paul and his co-workers as an exemplary model of Christian life, the believers of the church in Thessalonica "became imitators" (μιμηταί . . . ἐγενήθητε) of Paul (and his co-workers) and even of the Lord (1:6). Besides this, by overcoming the persecutions that their predecessors in faith had endured, the believers of the church in Thessalonica also became a model to their fellow Christians in other provinces (2:14-15a; cf. 1:7). Thus Paul not only gave thanks to God, but also extolled his recipients because of their faithfulness to his teachings, i.e. the gospel. Secondly, the moral philosopher intentionally used well-known sources for his persuasion and tried to remind his audience of what they had already learnt from him or knew (Malherbe 1986:125; cf. Dryden 2006:116). This is true of 1 Thessalonians (Malherbe 2005:791). Thus we find expressions such as "even as you know" (1:5; 2:2, 5; 3:4), "as you know" (2:11) or simply "you know" (2:1; 3:3; 4:2; 5:2), "you have no need to have anyone write to you" (4:9; 5:1), "you remember" (2:9) or "you remember us" (3:6), "just as you are doing" (4:1), "and indeed you do it" (4:10), "just as you are doing" (5:11) and "that you do so more and more" (4:1) (Malherbe 1989b:51). Of course, the way that Paul used these phrases was a little different from

that of his contemporaries. In other words, Paul's contemporaries employed these expressions about traditional material as well as the contents of previous conversations, while Paul's expressions in 1 Thessalonians are limited to the latter.[148] On the other hand, in 1 Thess 4:13-18 and 5:1-7 we find one example that Paul was likely to use a well-known source. Here, facing a few pending questions from the church in Thessalonica (viz. problems of both the death of fellow-Christians and the times and seasons of Jesus' *parousia*; cf. DeSilva 2004:538-539), Paul gave the recipients authoritative replies with Jesus' sayings (S. Kim 2002b:261-264; 2002a:225-242). Finally, Paul employed antithesis as his contemporary moral philosophers did (Malherbe 1986:136). In 1 Thess 2:1-8, for example, we find "the delineation of which is done antithetically" (Malherbe 1986:125; 1989b:51; Stowers 1986:101). Besides this, in 1 Thess 2:1-2 and 9 we find that Paul illustrates the experience of his past life by referring to the list of hardships in the contemporary hortatory tradition. Another feature is the employment of "a wide range of hortatory terms" found throughout this "short" letter. Such hortatory terms are as follows (Malherbe 1989b:51): παράκλησις ("appeal, exhortation" [2:3]), παρακαλέω ("exhort" [2:13; 3:12, 7; 4:1, 10., 18; 5:11, 14]), παραμυθέομαι ("comfort" [2:12; 5:14]), (δια)μαρτύρομαι ("testify" [2:12; 4:6]), στηρίζω ("establish" [3:2]), παραγγελία ("instruction, precept" [4:2]), παραγγέλλω ("charge" [4:11]), ἐρωτάομαι ("beseech" [5:12]), νουθετέω ("admonish" [5:12, 14]), ἀντέχομαι ("help" [5:14]) and μακροθυμέω ("be patient" [5:14]). These terms reveal psychagogical functions in 1 Thessalonians (Malherbe 1989b:51-52). These epistolary rhetorical devices used in 1 Thessalonians also show that for his pastoral care for the believers of the church in Thessalonica Paul employed various devices that were used in philosophical hortatory works.

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[148] One possible exception to this is "you know" in 1 Thess 5:2. Here Paul surely employs a well-known (or "traditional" in Christian circles [?]) source, i.e. a "Jesus tradition." S. Kim (2002b:262) says, "The formulation 'You yourselves know accurately . . .' (autoi . . . akribōs oidate . . .) in 1 Thess 5:2 may also be an indication that allusions to Jesus's sayings are to be found in 1 Thess 5:1-7. It is widely recognized that verses 2 and 4 echo Jesus' parable of the thief (Matt 24:43 par. Luke 12:39), especially as the metaphor of thief is not applied in an eschatological context in the Old Testament and Jewish literature."

(3) Christian Characteristics of Psychagogy in 1 Thessalonians

Although Paul worked in the contemporary hortatory tradition in exercising his pastoral care, he was never "a slavish, unreflective follower of current practice" (Malherbe 1989c:70). This means that Paul adapted and also created some methods for use in his psychagogy for a newly created Christian community. Core differences between Paul and the contemporary philosophers were both about "their understanding of themselves and their tasks" and on "the way they carried out their task" (Malherbe 1987:58). In his works Malherbe (1987; 1989b; 1990; 1992; 2005) clearly revealed these differences by comparing Paul's writings to traditional hortatory traditions. These characteristics, which partly appear as common features in Christian psychagogical letters, are as follows: Firstly, Paul proclaims that his pastoral work was conducted under the sovereignty of the Trinity, i.e. God the Father, Jesus the Son and the Holy Spirit. In 1 Thessalonians Paul mentions "God's initiative and power" instead of his own achievement as a soul-guide (Malherbe 1987:58; 1989b:57-58). For example, regarding the qualities of a soul-guide, Paul's contemporary moral philosophers often emphasised their self-consistency, based on the conformation between their speeches and their deeds, and on their self-sufficiency, often proved by their hardships (Malherbe 1986:38). Such achievements consisted of the solid basis of their exhortations and further of their requests that their students or audience should imitate them. However, though Paul also acknowledged the importance of such qualities of a soul-guide (cf. Rom 2:1, 21-23), he focused on God's intervention, not on his own achievements (cf. Phil 3:12-16). Thus "[t]he themes of imitation (*mimēsis*) and deed/word (*ergon/logon*) are . . . utilized by Paul but are completely recast" (Malherbe 1989b:58). 1 Thess 1:5 provides a clear example:

> Ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγενήθη εἰς ὑμᾶς *ἐν λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει καὶ ἐν*
>
> *πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ [ἐν] πληροφορίᾳ* πολλῇ, καθὼς οἴδατε οἷοι ἐγενήθημεν [ἐν] ὑμῖν δι' ὑμᾶς.
>
> Because our message of the gospel came to you *not in word only, but also in power and in the*
>
> *Holy Spirit and with full conviction*; just as you know what kind of persons we proved to be
>
> among you for your sake (my emphasis).

In this report Paul emphasised that his activities and qualifications, which were to be imitated, were based on something beyond himself. In other words, "the Thessalonians became imitators of him as divine power, manifested in the gospel, was reflected in his life" (Malherbe 1987:58). Examples of such influence effected by God are found in other passages. It appears in the self-description of Paul as "bearer of the divine message" in 1 Thess 2, where Paul employed "Cynic traditions about the ideal philosopher" in describing his ministry in Thessalonica (Malherbe 1989b:58). Especially in 1 Thess 2:1-2, Paul told about the suffering that he experienced at Philippi and his boldness to speak, i.e. παρρησία (cf. 2 Cor 7:4). This word, παρρησία, which was originally a political term in antiquity, was associated with a "philosopher's freedom of speech which he exercised as a physician of men's souls" (Malherbe 1989b:59). [149] This was gained through the strength of those who were experiencing hardships. Based on this strength (e.g. "courage under attack" and "tenacity in preaching"), philosophers built up their "credentials as a preacher" and expressed their "intention to continue convicting the crowds of their sins" (Malherbe 1989b:59). Actually, Paul's report in 1 Thess 2:2-3 can be said to follow this tradition (cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 32.11.):

᾽Αλλὰ προπαθόντες καὶ ὑβρισθέντες . . . ἐν Φιλίπποις ἐπαρρησιασάμεθα ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν λαλῆσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν πολλῷ ἀγῶνι. ἡ γὰρ παράκλησις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐκ πλάνης οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀκαθαρσίας οὐδὲ ἐν δόλῳ.

But though we had already suffered and been shamefully mistreated at Philippi . . . we had courage in our God to declare to you the gospel of God in spite of great opposition. For our

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[149] Glad (1995:105-106) writes as follows: "The word παρρησία was originally used in the political sphere to express the right of the free-born Athenian but is from Isocrates onward an integral part of friendship." "The topic of frank speech is . . . a part of the theme of moral education, or the correction of faults among friends in the improvement of character," managed earlier by Plato (*Prot.* 325AB; *Gorg.* 525B), Aristotle (*Eth. nic.* 1171a21-1172a15; 1180a6-14; *Eth. eud.* 1242b35-1243a14; 1243b15-40; [*Mag. mor.*]. 1213b18-30]), Xenophon (*Oec.* 13.6-9) and Isocrates (*Or.* 1. 1-6, 11-12, 20, 22, 24-26, 29-31, 45-46; *Or.* 2. 2, 12, 28, 42-43, 45-49; *Or.* 15. 206-14, 289-90; *Or.* 3. 55, 57; *Or.* 8. 14-15, 70, 72; *Ep.* 4.3-4, 7, 9), and developed later by Philo (*Her.* 19, 21; *Migr.* 116-117), Plutarch (*Adul. amic.* 74D), Philodemus (*Lib.*) and Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.*) (Glad 1995:106-107).

appeal does not spring from deceit or impure motives or trickery.

Nevertheless, in this passage, we can also find that Paul's source of παρρησία was not "anything that he has attained." Instead, "[w]hile the moral philosopher was impelled by an awareness of his own moral freedom, acquired by reason and the application of his own will, Paul regards his entire ministry, as to its origin, motivation, content, and method, as being directed by God" (Malherbe 1989b:59).[150] This fact more clearly manifests in his prayers in this letter. In his prayers, (e.g. 1 Thess 3:11-13; 5:23-24), Paul was depending on God's total intervention in the life of his recipients, i.e. recent neophytes, though Paul kept exercising his pastoral cares towards them. This shows that Paul was striking a balance between God's guidance and his own efforts at pastoral care (Glad 1995:190). However, once again we can find here "God's initiative and power" in Paul's pastoral activities (cf. Malherbe 1987:58). Secondly, Paul's aim for pastoral care was different from that of the contemporary moral philosophers, who wanted to lead their listeners to a virtuous and happy life (Malherbe 1989b:60). Paul's aim was "not virtue, rather a life worthy of God, which is placed within an eschatological perspective" (Malherbe 2005:790).[151] For example, in 1 Thess 4:1, Paul said,

Λοιπὸν οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα καθὼς παρελάβετε παρ' ἡμῶν τὸ πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀρέσκειν θεῷ, καθὼς καὶ περιπατεῖτε, ἵνα περισσεύητε μᾶλλον.

Finally, brothers and sisters, we ask and urge you in the Lord Jesus that, as you learned from us *how you ought to live and to please God [as, in fact, you are doing]*, you should do so more and

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[150] Malherbe (1989b:59) also points out another difference, namely that Paul did not use his suffering to justify his own harsh παρρησία, as the Cynics customarily did.

[151] Compare 1 Thess 2:9, 12 to Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 77/78.41-42; Musonius Rufus, *Frg.* 8; and Ps.-Plutarch, *Lib. ed.* 7DE, F.

more (my emphasis).

Because of this, Paul did not hesitate to request help from those who were the inferior, in order to please God or to build up the knowledge of God. In fact, Paul, a soul-guide, was also partly an object of pastoral care. Thirdly, Paul's exhortations in 1 Thessalonians were not only Christocentric, but also often reinterpreted the faith of Jesus, no matter whether the phrases he employed were simple additions, not changing the meaning of given exhortations, or tools working to interpret them (Malherbe 1989b:60). Judging from this fact, we can thus accept that, "while Paul adopts the style from his contemporaries, he puts it to service in the expression of this conviction that the behavior he inculcates is pleasing to God, and that his precepts are given through Christ" (Malherbe 2005:791; cf. 1 Thess 4:1, 2). Finally, though this is not restricted to Christian exhortations, internal exhortations were one of the obvious features of Christian psychagogical letters (Stowers 1994:322; Glad 1995:190; Guerra 1995:36).[152] A good example of this is found in the early stage of Paul's pastoral care in 1 Thess 4:3-6:

Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ὑμῶν, ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας, εἰδέναι ἕκαστον ὑμῶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκεῦος κτᾶσθαι ἐν ἁγιασμῷ καὶ τιμῇ, μὴ ἐν πάθει ἐπιθυμίας καθάπερ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ εἰδότα τὸν θεόν, τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν τῷ πράγματι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, διότι ἔκδικος κύριος περὶ πάντων τούτων, καθὼς καὶ προείπαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ διεμαρτυράμεθα.

For this is the will of God, your sanctification: that you abstain from fornication; that each one of you know how to control your own body in holiness and honor, not with lustful passion, like the Gentiles who do not know God; *that no one wrong or exploit a brother or sister in this matter*, because the Lord is an avenger in all these things, just as we have already told you

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[152] On the Epicurean communal psychagogy, see Glad 1995:124-160.

> beforehand and solemnly warned you (my emphasis).

Concerning this passage, Malherbe (2005:791) notes as follows: "It is striking how often Paul's instructions have to do with relationships within the church. Even sexual morality is discussed as it relates to the rights of others in the community." This is probably one of the examples which are found in Paul's early letters about correction "in the light of a communal norm," concerning which Glad (1995:190) wrote in a broader context.

c) Summary

The discussion in this section indicates that for his pastoral care towards the recipients, Paul composed 1 Thessalonians either consciously with various elements of the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition in mind, or unconsciously under its influence. Why Paul employed the hortatory tradition was perhaps because he wanted to practise his pastoral care with a "language" that his recipients could understand. This supposition is supported by the point that the influence of Greco-Roman hortatory tradition was mainly limited to frames or expressions, but not extended to the theoretical or theological contents of 1 Thessalonians. Even shared elements overlap with general hortatory phenomena not limited to the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition. [153] Nevertheless, Paul wrote 1 Thessalonians for recipients who probably consisted of non-Jewish Christians, and conducted his ministry of them in the historical context of the Greco-Roman culture and social system. Thus we conclude that, at least in its character and function, 1 Thessalonians shares features corresponding to the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition.

Paul acknowledged his superiority to his recipients in authority, experience of Christ, knowledge of the Christian faith and other characteristics (cf. 1:6; 2:7a; 4:8; 5:12-13a). However, for effective psychagogy, he lowered himself to a level equal to that of his recipients. Paul and his

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[153] On *paraenesis* as a universal phenomenon, see Perdue 1990.

co-workers tried to gave up their right of leadership, i.e. their apostleship (2:7a). Instead, Paul adopted a serving leadership towards them, so that he could provide a model of Christian *modus vivendi* (e.g. 2:12; cf. 1:6). In addition, in 1 Thessalonians Paul employed authoritative sources as the basis of his exhortation, and various literary and oratorical devices for persuasion, such as the model to be imitated, the "the word of remembrance," antithesis, hortatory vocabularies and specific verbal forms of exhortation. Nevertheless, in 1 Thessalonians we find unique features of either formal or functional or substantial characteristics of Christian pastoral care, together with features shared with the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition (cf. Malherbe 1987:58). Firstly, the basis of Paul's psychagogy was very different from that of his contemporaries. In other words, Paul put the authority of his psychagogy (viz. pastoral care) on "God's initiative and power," not on himself (Malherbe 1987:58; 1989b:57-58). 1 Thess 1:15 provides a very clear example of this practice. Moreover, the purpose of his psychagogy was also different from that of his contemporaries. Paul considered the purpose of his psychagogy not to be a virtuous or happy life, but "a life worthy of God" (1 Thess 4:1). Due to these facts, it is natural to find that in most cases Paul's exhortations were offered or reinterpreted either "in the Lord Jesus" or "through the Lord Jesus" (1 Thess 4:1 and 2 respectively). Besides these characteristics, Paul's pastoral care tended to focus on the internal or mutual exhortation of church members to build up each other as the body of Christ Jesus, as we can find for example in 1 Thess 4:3-6 (Aune 1989:213; cf. 1 Thess 4:18; 5:11; Rom 14:19; 15:14; Heb 3:13; Jude 20). All these factors confirm Malherbe's words (1989c:71): "[W]hen he first formed churches . . . Paul made use of elements from the Greco-Roman philosophical moral tradition, but adapted them to express his theological understanding of his enterprise and to form communities of believers."[154]

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[154] For the general interrelationship between Christianity and antiquity, see Betz 1998b:269ff. Betz (1998b:271) summarises as follows: "'[A]ntiquity' and 'Christianity' do not simply stand in opposition to each other as monolithic blocks but as entities subject to mutual historical change."

The points discussed above confirm that 1 Thessalonians conforms to the Greco-Roman hortatory letter tradition that was often employed for psychagogy by moral philosophers. However, a more remarkable fact in relation to 1 Thessalonians is that this letter is the earliest Christian psychagogical letter (viz. the pastoral letter). Actually, Paul's employment of a letter to nurture his recipients was one of his great contributions to the history of Christianity (Malherbe 1987:78). Surely both the common factors and the differences from the precedent or contemporary hortatory tradition were caused by Paul's epistolary (viz. historical) situation, especially by his own perspective. In this sense, we can agree with Malherbe's words (2005:791), "Paul's religious and theological perspective . . . informs his pastoral care and marks the difference between him and his contemporary." Actually, Paul's pastoral activity found in 1 Thessalonians reflects "[t]he combination of philosophical moral tradition and Christian religious or theological warrant" (Malherbe 1989b:60), which was imitated and modified by the subsequent church leaders within and beyond the NT. Therefore, on the basis of the above-mentioned arguments, we can agree that Paul, one of the earliest and most effective pastors, employed the contemporary hortatory tradition. Besides this, Paul's method "was the correct psychagogical approach to his converts" (Malherbe 2005:790). Nevertheless, Paul is distinguished from his contemporaries "not only in the way he introduces his relationship with Christ and the gospel of God into the discussion, but especially in this perception of his method as a giving of himself to his converts" (Malherbe 2005:790), because his primary purpose was to preach "the gospel of God" to them and to urge them "to lead lives worthy of God" (1 Thess 2:9 and 2:12 respectively). Paul, founder and pastor of the church in Thessalonica, composed 1 Thessalonians as his first pastoral letter with a friendly tone, and sent it to the recipients, who were in trouble because of their choice to accept a new *modus vivendi* in Jesus Christ.

B. Analysis of the Other Letters in the NT

The previous analysis of 1 Thessalonians, the earliest example of Christian pastoral letter, sets a basis for the subsequent analysis of other letters in the NT. In the process we will find that a group

of generic and functional features from the earliest pastoral letter (cf. sections A.2.d and A.3.c of this chapter) repeatedly appear in other letters in the NT. Of course, this fact does not mean that the other letters in the NT are slavish copies of 1 Thessalonians. Here and there we find some differences between 1 Thessalonians and those letters, because the other letters in the NT were composed in different epistolary situations by various authors. In this sense, each of them shows its own uniqueness. Nevertheless, there are factors shared in content, style and function, as well as in structure and form. I think that these common factors, which were already connoted in the earliest Christian letter (viz. 1 Thessalonians), indicate the components of Christian psychagogical letters (viz. pastoral letters).

Where then did the shared features of the letters in the NT come from? There can be various sources. However, the common factors, other than differences, probably arose from the common purpose for the writing of the letter, i.e. the authors' psychagogical intention towards newly converted Christians, regardless of whether it concerned a group or an individual. Actually, we can say that this intention of the author or the aim(s) of the letters in the NT, which was concerned with pastoral interest, determined the nature of all letters in the NT. DeSilva (2004:29) stated a truth in relation to this fact: "Each text [sc. each letter of NT] was written to serve some specific pastoral need and to answer a range of important questions arising from the life of the church" (cf. Adamson 1983:21). As we have already seen from the results of the analyses of common psychagogical letters in the previous chapter (viz. chap. 3, section B.2), and of 1 Thessalonians (viz. the earliest Christian psychagogical letter) in this chapter (section A), the author's intention or aim to practise psychagogy led him to a particular decision in composing his letter, i.e. the employment of the hortatory tradition. Especially Paul's epistolary situation in 1 Thessalonians, i.e. taking care of newly converted Christians, influenced some characteristics of the earliest Christian pastoral letter, and this fact applies to other letters in the NT. In this sense, 1 Thessalonians is to be called not only Paul's first pastoral letter, but also the first Christian pastoral letter.

Therefore, the subsequent analyses of the rest of the letters in the NT, excluding 1 Thessalonians, will show how each author of a letter in the NT exercised his pastoral care, and what

features these letters, written with a multifaceted "single" intention or aim, shared. In dealing with them, I will divide the rest of the letters in the NT into two groups, i.e. the Pauline letters (viz. Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus and Philemon), including Hebrews, and seven General letters (viz. James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1-3 John and Jude). This bipartite division is based on church tradition as found in patristic evidence and extant manuscripts.[155] Firstly, the Pauline letters had been recognised from the earliest

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[155] According to Trobisch (2000:24), Codex Sinaiticus (01, ℵ) divided the letters in the NT into two groups of "the Pauline Letters" (viz. Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Hebrews, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon) and "the Praxapotolos" (viz. [Acts], the Letter of James, the two Letters of Peter, the three Letters of John, the Letter of Jude) (cf. Aune 2003:196). This division is often found in lists that Christian authors provided here and there. For example, Cyril of Jerusalem (ca. 315-386 C.E.) distinguished them as the fourteen letters of Paul (τὰς Παύλου δεκατέσσαρας ἐπιστολάς) and the Catholic letters of James, Peter, John and Jude (τὰς ἑπτὰ Ἰακώβου καὶ Πέτρου καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ Ἰούδα καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς) (*Catech.* 4.36), Athanasius (ca. 296-373 C.E.) as the fourteen letters of Paul the apostle (Παύλου ἀποστόλου . . . ἐπιστολαὶ δεκατέσσαρες) and so-called seven Catholic letters of the apostles (ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ καλούμεναι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἑπτά) (*Ep. fest.* 39.5), Gregory of Nazianzus (329/330-390 C.E.) as the fourteen letters of Paul (δέκα δὲ Παύλου τέσσαρές τ' ἐπιστολαί) and the seven Catholic [letters], among which one of James, two of Peter, three of John again, and Jude is the seventh (ἑπτὰ δὲ καθολικαὶ ὧν Ἰακώβου μία δύω δὲ Πέτρου τρεῖς δ' Ἰωάννου πάλιν· Ἰούδα δ' ἐστὶν ἑβδόμη) (*Carm.* 12.31), Amphilochius of Iconium (ca. 340-395 C.E.) as Paul, who wrote to the churches twice seven letters (Παῦλον σοφῶς γράψεντα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπιστολὰς δὶς ἑπτά) and Catholic letters (καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς) (*Iambi ad Seleucum* 289-319), and Epiphanius of Salamis (ca. 315-403 C.E.) as the fourteen letters of the holy apostle Paul (ἐν τεσσαρσικαίδεκα ἐπιστολαῖς) and the Catholic letters (καθολικαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς) (*Pan.* 76.5). Most fourth-century Western witnesses did not like the expression, "catholic." Thus we can see that, while most mentioned Pauline letters as a group of either thirteen or fourteen letters, concerning the so-called Catholic Letters, they often enlisted the author's name and the number of the letter. For example, Augustine (354-430 C.E.) called Paul's letters the fourteen letters of the apostle Paul (*quatuordecim Epistolis Pauli Apostoli*), but enlisted the rest by name, i.e. two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude and one of James (*Petri duabus; tribus Johannis; una Judae et una Iacobi*) (*Doct. chr.* 2.8-9). This is also true in the case of Jerome (ca. 345-420 C.E.; *Ep.* 53.8), Rufinus of Aquileia (340-410 C.E.; *Comm. in Symb. Apost.* 37), *Canon* 39 of the third council of Carthage (397 C.E.) and Innocent I (died at 417 C.E.; *Ad Exsuper. Tol.*). This phenomenon was already recognised by Nienhuis (2007:82). In addition, Marshall, Travis and Paul (2002) recently divided the letters in the NT under the following chapter titles of "Paul and his Letters," and "Letters by other Church Leaders," where Hebrews is included according to modern consensus. Krodel (1995a) also collected articles on these letters under the title of *The General Letters* including Hebrews. Most recently, Nienhuis (2007) dealt with the topic of the collection of these letters

period of Christian history (Porter 2008:192, 202; cf. 2004b: 126-127). This group was often divided into two subgroups, i.e. letters to communities and letters to individuals (cf. Porter 2008:200). One peculiarity is that in antiquity Hebrews was very often regarded as one of the letters in Pauline letter collection, which differs from today's consensus (Anderson 1966:437-438; Aune 2003:344). Of course, this does not automatically mean that Hebrews was either an authentic letter of Paul, or a member of Pauline letter collection. For example, Trobisch (1998:20, 22) effectively showed that Hebrews could be a later addition to Pauline letter collection of thirteen, on the basis of the analysis and comparison of extant NT manuscripts. Nevertheless, his detailed treatment of Hebrews in Pauline letter collection indicates that Hebrews had long been recognised in terms of Pauline letters since an early period. Furthermore, regarding the fact that P[46] includes Hebrews, Aland and Aland (1987:49) estimate as follows: "[T]he early Church assumed Hebrews to be Pauline" (cf. Rothschild 2009:217). Following the ancient letter arrangement of Pauline letters in a few important major NT manuscripts, which ancient Christians must have read and used,[156] I placed it between 2 Thessalonians and 1 Timothy. The second group, i.e. the so-called General Letters, however, seemed not to be recognised as a single group in early times. In fact, based on the evidence, by the fourth century C.E. they were named as ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαί ("catholic letters"), especially in the eastern churches (Aune 2003:195; cf. Patzia 2011:151).[157] This means that,

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under the title, *Not by Paul Alone: The Formation of the Catholic Epistle Collection and the Christian Canon*. In Nienhuis' *Catholic Letters*, Hebrews is excluded.

[156] By "major manuscripts" I mean Codex Sinaiticus (01, ℵ), Codex Alexandrinus (02, A), the archetype of Codex Vaticanus (03, B [cf. Hatch 1936:135]) and Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (04, C) that Trobisch named "[t]he four oldest manuscripts, which at the time of their production presented a complete edition of the New Testament" (Trobisch 2000:24-25; cf. Hatch 1936:136). Thus Trobisch (1994: 6-7, 9, 20) provides the following "Uniform Sequence" of Pauline letters that are found in the "four oldest manuscripts": Romans – 1 Corinthians – 2 Corinthians – Galatians – Ephesians – Philippians – Colossians – 1 Thessalonians – *2 Thessalonians – Hebrews – 1 Timothy* – 2 Timothy – Titus – Philemon (my emphasis). For an old but detailed explanation of the diversity of position of Hebrews in Pauline letter collection based on manuscripts and early translations of the NT, see Hatch 1936:133-151.

[157] The earliest patristic evidence that mentioned all the letters of this group is Eusebius of Caesarea (*Hist. eccl.* 2.25.1-7 [early fourth century C.E.]), Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* 4.33 [ca. mid fourth century C.E.]) and Athanasius of

because the dates of all evidence are relatively late (viz. the third century and onwards), we should not handle them as a single group in the concept of a collection, as is the case with Pauline letters (Nienhuis 2007:85). Nevertheless, I will treat them as one group. There are two reasons. Firstly, they were finally recognised as a group by ancient (of course late ancient) authors as I already mentioned above (du Toit 1989:231). Secondly, they had and have in any case existed as a pair with or a counterpart to Pauline letter collection in the letters of the NT, though, regarding the second reason, I should confess that it is partly a matter of convenience.[158] Before going further, I should add that letters of this second group have divided into two subgroups, i.e. group 1 (viz. James, 1 Peter and 1 John) and group 2 (viz. 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John and Jude), because the degree of acceptance of each letter appears to have differed in ancient churches,[159] and this indicates their influence on posterity (Guthrie 1970:736).

Alexandria (*Ep. fest.* 39 [367 C.E.]). This group is also found in canons of the synods of Laodicea (ca. 363 C.E.) in Asia Minor and of Hippo Regius (393 C.E.) and of Carthage (397 C.E.) in Northern Africa (du Toit 1989:230-231, 256; McDonald 2002:592, 595). And in three major uncial manuscripts, i.e. Codex Sinaiticus (01, א), Codex Vaticanus (03, B) and Codex Alexandrinus (02, A), dated around the fourth or fifth century C.E., these letters appear as one independent group (Aune 2003:196; Comfort 2008:xxii).

[158] In this sense Nienhuis' following comment on the attitude of recent scholarship on the so-called General Letters is worth listening to (2007:4): "Compared to the Gospel and Pauline collections, mainstream contemporary scholarship apparently finds it difficult to think of these seven letters as much more than an amorphous grouping of 'other writings' with a limited sense of internal coherence." Most recently, Davids (2009:416, n. 40) also considered them "as a supplement, a completion of the gospel and Pauline collections."

[159] While among the so-called General Letters 1 Peter and 1 John were mentioned by name even in the second century C.E. according to various witnesses, the rest (viz. 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John and Jude), including James, were mentioned after the third century C.E. (Gamble 1985:48). Thus it is not arbitrary to deal with them by dividing them into the above-mentioned two subgroups. The only problem of this division is the position of James. We do not have any explicit evidence for James before the time of Origien (184-254 C.E.) (Johnson 1995:126, 129; cf. Gamble 1985:48; Nienhuis 2007:19, 24, 44; Comfort 2008:xxi). Nienhuis (2007:100, 106, 121, 159-160, 163, 233, 238) most recently argued that James did not exist in the second century C.E., but was composed around that time or later. In fact, we know that James was mentioned "by name" in the third century C.E. by Origen (e.g. *Comm. Jo.* 19.6; *Comm. Rom.* 4.1; *Adnot. Lev.* 2.4) (Guthrie 1970:736-737; Vielhauer 1975:579; Moo 1990:15; cf. Nienhuis 2007:62, 99 ["Origen was the first on record to accept the letter"]). Even the earliest papyri that contain passages from James, i.e. P[20] (containing Jas

1. The Pauline Letters

As we can see in 1 Thessalonians and Acts, Paul was the pastor of many churches and a spiritual father to young pastors. Therefore, in each letter we can expect to find Paul in a position similar to that in 1 Thessalonians. Diverse descriptions of Paul and his status in each letter must surely have been caused by the disparate epistolary situations of the author and the recipients. Paul's flexibility in pastoral care is also one of the reasons. I will try to find some evidence for these facts in the pastoral letters below.

a) Letters dispatched to Communities

(1) Romans

(a) Structural and Formal Features

In epistolary structure and form Romans is fundamentally identical to 1 Thessalonians. Considering the facts, that Romans was composed during the last period of Paul's ministry before departing for Rome, while 1 Thessalonians was composed in the earliest period, that the length of the letters differs hugely, and that Romans is more theoretical in character, while 1 Thessalonians is relatively practical and personal, such a consistency of both structure and form is very remarkable. This shows that Paul as a letter-writer had his own epistolary style and technique. In any case, from a

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2:19-3:9) and P[23] (containing Jas 1:10-12, 15-18) belong to the third century C.E. (Aland and Aland 1987:97; Comfort 2008:xxx; cf. Nienhuis 2007:70). Thus if we consider this situation, James should be categorised in the second group along with 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John and Jude. However, some scholars maintain that James was quoted or alluded in earlier Christian literature such as *1 Clement* and the *Shepherd of Hermes* (Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:417; Johnson 1995:72-79). Other scholars have explained the existence of James in the second century C.E. by suggesting an early date of composition, i.e. before the 70s C.E. (Johnson 1995:121; cf. Moo 1990:33-34). Certainly, this position supports its classification into the first group. I agree with the opinion of the latter scholar group who insisted the early date of James.

functional perspective Romans consists of a fivefold structure, i.e. the opening (1:1-7), the thanksgiving or the proem (1:8-16a), the body (1:16b-11:36),[160] the epistolary paraenesis (12:1-15:13)[161] and the closing (15:14-16:27).[162] And as in the case of 1 Thessalonians, its opening and closing, and sometimes even its body, were also Christianised in content and expression. Especially in this letter we can see an indication that Paul employed an amanuensis, i.e. Tertius (16:22; cf. Longenecker 2011:5-6, 9-10). According to Jewett (2004:91), Phoebe, who was commended in Rom 16:1-2, was a letter-bearer.

(b) Analysis

Romans occupies a special position within Pauline letters. It is not only the longest letter of Paul, but also a letter dispatched to a church that was not founded by Paul himself. Especially in relation to the latter fact, the nature of Romans has been debated by scholars as posing a problem. For example, some scholars (e.g. Philip Melanchthon) considered Romans to be a tract or pamphlet or something of the kind, which contains the condensation of Paul's theological thoughts (cf. Jervis 1991:14-18; Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:247; Reicke 2001:68).[163] Their fundamental assumption

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[160] The body consists of the following five sections: 1:16b (theme of letter body: "God's power is [to become] the salvation to every believer," i.e. Jews first and then Greeks [viz. Gentiles]), 1:17-3:20 (sinful state of human beings), 3:21-5:21 (justification by faith), 6:1-8:39 (on sanctification of Christians) and 9:1-11:36 (God's plan for Jews and Gentiles).

[161] The epistolary paraenesis consists of the following two subsections: 12:1-13:14 (exhortation for individual) and 14:1-15:13 (exhortation for community).

[162] The closing consists of the following six sections: 15:14-33 (self-recommendation based on his integrity), 16:1-2 (recommendation for Phoebe), 16:3-16 (greetings), 16:17-20 (final exhortation), 16:21-13 (amanuensis greeting) and 16:24-27 (doxology for the subscript). On the fivefold structure of Romans, see McDonald and Porter 2000:461; on the threefold structure, see Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:109; Klauck 2006:302-303.

[163] Contrary to this opinion, around the early twentieth century, Deissmann (1965:239) wrote as follows: "At any rate its [sc. Romans'] letter-like character is not so obvious as that of 2 Corinthians. Yet it is not an epistle addressed to all the world or even to Christendom, containing, let us say, a compendium of St. Paul's dogmatic and ethical teaching. Its mere length must not be held an argument against its letter-like character . . . 'Romans' is a long letter." On the real aim of Romans, Deissmann defines it as a preparation for Paul's visit to the Roman Christians (1965: 239). Cf. Fitzmyer

is that Romans neither reflects any particular situation in the church of Rome, nor deals with her pending questions. In their opinion, Romans is instead a compilation of Paul's theological thoughts. From this perspective, Romans is not only an *un*-situational and *un*-occasional work, but is also unconcerned with any ecclesiastical matters that the church in Rome was facing. This implies that Romans can scarcely have any pastoral function, though in reality this is not so.[164]

Recently, however, other scholars have suggested that Romans was based on a situation real to both Paul and his recipients (Jervis 1991:11-12; Moo 1996:17-20; cf. Wedderburn 1988; Longenecker 2011:43). On this matter there are several different points of view. On the basis of Rom 15:24-29, some scholars paid attention to Paul's situation, i.e. his desire to go on a mission to Spain. In other words, Paul was asking for support for his mission with this letter (e.g. Aune 1987:219; Jewett 2004:91; cf. Jewett 1982:5-20; 2007:44-46, 88-91; Moo 1996:20; Achtemeier, Green and Thompson 2001:300; Reicke 2001:63-64, 67).[165] But other scholars thought that the aim

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1993:79: "Paul's letter [sc. Romans] is not an abstract, dogmatic treatise or a dialogue with Jews who do not accept his gospel; it is rather a didactic and hortatory letter, intended for discussion by the Jewish and Gentile Christians of Rome, for their understanding and for their conduct."

[164] Of course, this does not mean that Romans cannot be pastoral in nature, because there were dogmatic and didactic works that were composed in antiquity for psychagogy towards the students or/and the audience. Besides this fact, authors such as Epicurus and Seneca wrote their teachings in such a style. Using this "philosophical doctrinal letter" type, these authors aimed "to correct distorted presentations of their teaching by ill-willed opponents," and with it they attempted to guide their students, as well as to recruit new converts (Klauck 2006:150, 152, 172). Thus we can say that Romans is pastoral in nature, though its pastoral character is *non*-immediate, i.e. indirect. With relation to this matter, Carson, Moo and Morris (1992:251) appropriately pointed out: "We must insist that even a theological treatise without specific reference to problems in Rome could still be directed to the needs of the church there – what church is without need of clear theological guidance?" Besides this, Klauck (2006:304) adds the following words: "Yet over and against their works [sc. Epicurus' letters and Seneca's *Moral Epistles*] Romans still remains much more anchored to a particular situation, which comes to expression especially in the epistolary framing sections, but also elsewhere."

[165] According to Aune (1987:219), the epistolary position of Paul is "to present the gospel he proclaimed (Rom 1:15) as a means of introducing himself and his mission to the Roman Christians because he intended to pay them a visit (1:10-15; 15:22-29) and use Rome as a staging area for a mission to Spain (15:24)." Besides this, Aune suggests that in order to compose Romans Paul used sources of "preaching and teaching" that he shared with other Christians during his past ministries. Romans seemed to partly function to introduce Paul's previous teachings to the recipients of the church at

of Romans was to "heal" a schism that existed within Roman church on the basis of Rom 14:1-15:13, which seems to imply that Paul was dealing with some pending questions from the Roman church (e.g. Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:250-251; Tobin 2010:410).[166] In fact, we cannot deny that Romans contains such various purposes. In this sense we may accept a suggestion that Paul was likely to have had several aims in composing Romans (Dunn 1988:liv-lviii; Wedderburn 1988:142; Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:251-252; Fitzmyer 1993:80; Moo 1996:20; Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:123; Longenecker 2011:157-160).

Nevertheless, various passages of Rom 1:1-17 and 15:14-33 (viz. the opening words and the closing words of the letter), 14:1-15:13 (the epistolary paraenesis), chapter 16 and others (e.g. 13:1-7) witness that Romans was composed from the pastoral perspective of the apostle to the Gentiles (Guerra 1995:22-42, 160-164; 166-169). For example, in Rom 1:11, Paul said that he was "longing to see" the recipients, because he wanted to "share with" them "some spiritual gift to strengthen" them (ἐπιποθῶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἵνα τι μεταδῶ χάρισμα ὑμῖν πνευματικὸν εἰς τὸ στηριχθῆναι ὑμᾶς). Here Paul makes clear the motivation for his composition, i.e. why he wanted to make contact with them. Paul, apostle of Gentile and pastor, wanted his recipients to be established (εἰς τὸ στηριχθῆναι ὑμᾶς) by sharing what he possessed (ἵνα τι μεταδῶ χάρισμα). And on the basis of Rom 1:13c (ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν σχῶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν), through this pastoral activity, Paul expected that the recipients of Romans would become mature in various ways or in diverse degrees,[167] just as the recipients of his other letters had done through his pastoral

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Rome, who did not know Paul before that time. Jewett (2004:91) also suggests a similar situation: "Romans is an 'ambassadorial' message in the demonstrative genre that seeks to encourage a particular ethos in the audience so they will support a project that Paul has in mind . . . [T]he primary purpose of the original letter was to elicit support for Paul's mission to Spain, mentioned in 15:24, 28."

[166] On the contrary, scholars who deny any direct situation in Romans, have considered chapters 14-15 to be "a generalized form of a problem which Paul had already treated in 1 Corinthians 8-10 (the problem of whether or not the meat of animals sacrificed to pagan idols should be eaten or not)" (Aune 1987:220).

[167] It is necessary for us to focus on the indefinite pronoun τις in the nominal phrase (τινὰ καρπόν). In my opinion, this indefinite pronoun implies that Paul must have expected some results through his pastoral activity (or through Romans

care.[168] Besides this, some scholars have suggested that the section of epistolary paraenesis (14:1-15:13) reflects the real situation of Roman Christians, who were split between Gentile believers and Jewish believers, either because of differences in ritual form (Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:120-121; cf. Guerra 1995; S. Kim 2011:132, n. 38), or degree of maturity (cf. Stowers 1994).

As regards Rom 15:14-33 (especially 15:17-19, 20-22, 25-28a and 30-31), we can conclude that these verses function as proof of Paul as leader acting with integrity in any situation, which is crucial to establish his authority. Thus while Rom 15:17-19 shows that Paul completed God's commission for him, Rom 15:25-28a and 30-31 show that Paul wanted to complete God's

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itself, which is also an example of such pastoral activity for Roman Christians). Of this aspect Jewett (2007:130) pointed out that the use of this indefinite pronoun "signals that ordinary evangelistic fruit is not in view." Jewett's interpretation is acceptable. But I do not agree that some fruits are "to gain logistical and tactical support from Rome for his mission to Spain" (Jewett 2007:130), because fruits that were harvested in Gentile churches in the East do not necessarily mean any financial supports for Paul's missionary journey.

[168] The noun, ἔθνεσιν, in the prepositional phrase, καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν, indicates other Gentile Christians who had been evangelised and, furthermore, cared for by Paul in Asia and Greece (cf. Rom 15:19). This understanding is supported by the context. In the syntactic structure where καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν and καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν are balanced with the adverb, καθώς, as well as in its components (viz. a combination of conjunction, preposition and nominal in the plural dative case), if the latter indicates unspecific Gentiles, "you" should also indicate unspecific ones in Rome. However, "you" in this phrase cannot refer to unspecific Gentiles in Rome because in the same verse (Rom 1:13b) Paul mentions that he had wanted to visit them several times, so he surely could not be referring to other non-Christian Roman inhabitants, but to Roman Christians with whom he had had contact directly or indirectly. These facts are also conformed by Rom 1:7 (πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις) and Rom 1:12 (τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν συμπαρακληθῆναι ἐν ὑμῖν διὰ τῆς ἐν ἀλλήλοις πίστεως ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἐμοῦ). If this is correct, we may reinterpret the word, εὐαγγελίσασθαι ("to proclaim the gospel") in Rom 1:15, because we know that the recipients (καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ) were already evangelised. It means more, i.e. getting mature in faith (in the context of Romans, union or reconciliation). In order to accomplish this aim, Paul proclaimed the very theme that "God's power is [to become] the salvation to every believer, i.e. Jews [sc. Jewish Christians] first and Greeks [sc. Gentile Christians]" in the body opening 1:16b (δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἐστιν εἰς σωτηρίαν παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι, Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνι [my translation]) (cf. 14:1-15:13). In this sense, between the two suggestions by Collins (2008:187) about Rom 1:13, i.e. "whether Paul simply meant to imply that he thought that his presence would strengthen the faith of the Romans, or whether he thought that God might possibly raise up neophyte Christians through his work in Rome," the former is more plausible.

commission even under uncertain and dangerous conditions (ἵνα ῥυσθῶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπειθούντων ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ ἡ διακονία μου ἡ εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ εὐπρόσδεκτος τοῖς ἁγίοις γένηται ["that I may be rescued from the unbelievers in Judea, and that my ministry to Jerusalem may be acceptable to the saints"]) (15:31). In addition, 15:20-22 gives evidence that in all things, especially missionary works, Paul showed such an integrity by having kept to the primary principle of his ministry (15:20) (cf. Murray 1982:215).[169] If we agree that Rom 15:14-33 is neither simply the announcement of a visit, nor a statement of self-recommendation to get support for his mission, but functions to warrant Paul's qualification as faithful pastor for the recipients whom he will visit in the near future, this section can also be treated as a specific part related to his pastoral teachings in previous sections, i.e. Rom 1:18-15:13 (or at least 14:1-15:13). In this light, we can fully understand Paul's words in Rom 15:14-16, as well as in 16:17-20. In other words, Romans was composed to proclaim the correct way of Christian life through praise and the method of remembrance (Stowers 1981:182; Fitzmyer 1993:79; Guerra 1995:41, 178; cf. Cranfield 1981:765; Murray 1982:215; Campbell 1992:21-22; Burkett 2002:321). Thus we may agree with the following words of Jervis, describing the main purpose of Romans well (1991:164):

> The function of Romans is to preach the gospel by letter to the Christian converts at Rome. The letter necessarily serves also as a self-introduction. Yet the function of the letter goes far beyond Paul's self-presentation, whether for the purposes of furthering his missionary activity, or of preparing for a visit by setting forth a particular understanding of the faith and/or of Christian behaviour . . . [T]he primary concern of Romans is for this apostle to the Gentiles [sc. Paul] to make available to Christians at this particular locale [sc. Rome] the good news in all of its power . . . The function of Romans is to encourage the Roman believers to enter Paul's apostolic orbit so that they may be included within this "offering" through having heard his preaching . . .

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[169] On the theme of the consistency of Paul's mission policy, see Cranfield 1981:764-765.

> Romans is written to fulfill *Paul's mandate to establish and nurture his Roman readers* in a life
>
> of faith marked by obedience and holiness – to preach the gospel to them (my emphasis).

Of course, this does not mean that the pastoral characteristics of Romans are the same as those which were described in 1 Thessalonians. Doubtless the relationship between the author and the recipients was not only different in the two letters, but the epistolary situations of the two letters were also different. Paul's pastoral attitude in Romans is more objective and theoretical than personal and experiential in 1 Thessalonians. Nevertheless, we may say that Paul's pastoral thinking in composing Romans was not totally different from that when composing 1 Thessalonians. The primary aim of Paul's pastoral care was in both letters to "establish and nurture" his recipients "in a life of faith" as Jervis (1991:164) pointed out.

For the above-mentioned pastoral care Paul used various tools of persuasion. Firstly, Paul addressed his recipients with "relationship-oriented" expressions such as ἀδελφοί ("brothers and sisters" [1:13; 7:1, 4; 8:12; 10:1; 11:25; 12:1; 19, 15:14; 15:30; 16:17]).[170] These designations not only must have called the recipients' attention to what the author said, but also deepened their mutual relationship (Dunn 1988:31). The word of remembrance found immediately after the letter body (e.g. 15:14-15; cf. 16:17) must have helped the recipients to accept what Paul urged in the body.[171] For his arguments and exhortations, Paul quoted and alluded to authoritative sources, such as the Scriptures (1:17; 2:24; 3:4, 9-18; 4:3, 7-8, 9, 17-22; 8:36; 9:7-17, 25-26, 27-28, 29, 33; 10:5-8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18-21; 11:2-4, 8, 9, 26-27; 12:19, 20; 13:8-9; 14:11; 15:3, 9-12, 21), Jesus' sayings

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[170] Collins (2008:186) distinguishes between two categories of the use of this designation, i.e. the "stereotypical" use in the disclosure formula (e.g. 1:13; 11:25), or in the hortatory formula (e.g. 12:1; 15:30; 16:17) and "the vocative *adelphoi* of direct address" (e.g. 7:4; 8:12; 10:1; 15:14). However, this distinction is not necessary, because we cannot assert that the "stereotypical" use lost its proper function of calling the attention of the recipients to what the author says.

[171] On this a function of the word of remembrance, see Pliny, *Ep.* 8.24.1: *Amor in te meus cogit, non ut praecipiam (neque enim praeceptore eges), admoneam tamen, ut, quae sicis, teneas et observes aut scias melius* ("The love I bear you obliges me to give you, not indeed a precept [for you are far from needing a preceptor], but a reminder that you should resolutely act up to the knowledge that you already have, or else improve it") (Melmoth and Hutchinson, LCL).

(8:15; 12:14-21; 13:8-10; 14:14a, 17, 20), creeds or confessions (1:3-4; 3:30; 4:24, 25; 5:6, 8; 7:4; 8:32, 34; 10:9-10, 14; 14:8-8) and hymns (3:25-26; 8:31-39; 11:11-12, 33-36; cf. 6:1-11),[172] the illustration (4:1-23; 7:7-25[173]; 15:2-3) and the "one God" *topos* (3:29-31; 14:11; 15:9-12, 21; cf. Guerra 1995:74-101). Paul provided a model to be imitated (15:3, 7), and also used both the list of vices (1:24-32; 2:1-11, 12-16, 29-31; cf. Engberg-Pedersen 2003:624-627) and the list of hardships (2:9, 15; 5:1-11; 7:24; 8:17, 18-39; 9:1-3; 12:12, 15, 21; 15:1-3. 30; cf. Fredrickson 2003:185-190) for persuasion. Besides these, we can also find that Paul used various literary tools, i.e. the diatribe (e.g. chaps. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 13 and 9:30-10:4),[174] metaphor (e.g. 12:4-5), syllogism (e.g. 7:1-6; 10:14-21; 14:7-9), enthymeme (e.g. 4:14, 15; 5:15; 6:5-7, 8-10; 11:6, 12-15; 28-32; cf. 11:16-21), the *a minore ad maius* argument (e.g. 5:9, 10. 15, 17; 11:12, 15, 24), chiasm (e.g. 2:6-11; 3:19; 11:12-15, 30:31), parallelism (e.g. 1:21; 4:15, 17, 25; 5:20-21; 7:7, 13; 8:10; 9:2; 10:1, 9-10; 11:30; 13:1-5; 15:8-9, 16, 31; 16:2), anaphora (e.g. 1:31, 3:5, 7, 10-18; 8:33, 34, 35, 39), climax (e.g. 5:3-5; 8:16-17), and other euphonic devices such as homoioteleuton (e.g. 1:29; 5:16; 12:15) and parechesis (e.g. 1:29, 31; 14:17) (Jewett 2007:25-29, 30-31; cf. Longenecker 2011:201-204). Finally,

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[172] On the use of the OT, see Seifrid 2007:607-694 (607-608); on the use of Jesus' sayings, see S. Kim 2002b:264-270, 272; on the use of creeds, see Jewett 2007:24 (cf. Bailey and Broek 1992:83-85; Pelikan and Hotchkiss 2003:32, 33); on use of hymns, see Jewett 2007:24-25 (cf. Bailey and Broek 1992:79-80; Fitzmyer 1993:92).

[173] Dodd 1999:234: "The Romans 7 'I' is used as part of a stylized theological portrayal in which Paul draws together diatribal and biblical element (i.e. Adamic imagery), and probably combines them with personal experience or reflection . . . The identity of the 'I' is not easily discerned because of this creative combination of elements – Paul is not excluded from 'I', but neither is he writing straightforwardly about himself." However, the function of this "I" in Romans is different from that of 1 Thessalonians and other letters because the "I" in Romans serves not as a model of Christian life to readers, but "as a vivid example for his readers to picture the main point of his argument," i.e. this "I" "models the main contention of his [sc. Paul] argument."

[174] Jewett 2007:26-27: "These diatribes [sc. those in Romans] provide a lively, conventional quality to Paul's arguments. They evoke audience reactions with sharp involvement pro and con. The argumentative function is quite profound in the case of the early diatribes that lead the audience to make judgments against bigotry and pride that later are shown to lie at the root of the hostile competition between house and tenement churches" (cf. Bailey and Broek 1992:38-42; Fitzmyer 1993:91; Dodd 1999:221-234; Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:27). On the diatribe (especially in Romans), see Stowers 1981:7-78; Thorsteinsson 2003:123-150; Tobin 2010:403-405.

in this letter we can identify some hortatory terms (e.g. 1:11; 12:1, 3, 7, 8, 16; 13:5; 14:18, 19; 15:4, 14, 15, 30; 16:17, 19) and specific verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative (12:2, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21; 13:1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 14; 14:1, 3, 5, 6, 14, 15, 16, 20, 22; 15:2, 7; 16:3-16) and the hortatory subjunctive (13:12, 13; 14:13, 19).

In terms of features found in Christian pastoral letters, we can firstly see the concept of God's initiative (e.g. 1:1, 5; 12:3; 13:1; 14:1-3; 15:5, 15b-16; cf. 8:31-33). This concept in Romans covers the range from Paul's self-recognition as an apostle appointed by God, to the problem of the salvation of a human being (cf. Malherbe 1987:58; 1989b:57-58). In all the works of God Jesus played a special role (e.g. 1:1-6, 9; 3:21-26; 5:15-21; 8:1-4, 6-11; 9:32-10:13; 12:4; 14:8-9; 15:1-9, 16; cf. 8:31-37) (cf. Dunn 1988:lxi). Besides this, when Paul mentions that the final aim of his pastoral care is a *modus vivendi* worthy of God, not the happiness or pleasure of life (e.g. 12:1-2; 14:18; cf. 14:7-8), he also emphasises Jesus' central role in the life recommended for the recipients. Thus Jesus was named the foundation and model to be imitated for a *modus vivendi* worthy of God (e.g. 12:3-5; 14:15; 15:2-3, 5, 7, 30; cf. 14:22). The Lord's *parousia* also functions as a basis of such life (e.g. 13:13-14) (S. Kim 2011:117). All these things indicate that the Christocentric concept is also the core of Paul's theological thoughts and the practical instructions of Romans, along with the concept of God's initiative. Furthermore, we can find not only internal exhortations (e.g. 12:10, 16, 18; 13:8-10; 15:2, 7; cf. 1:12), but also mutual encouragement between Paul himself and his recipients (e.g. 1:11-12; 14:19; 15:2, 7; cf. 15:5-6, 14, 32). In addition to these, Paul's request for a prayer for his safe journey to Jerusalem provides one example of mutual encouragement (15:30-31). As we saw in 1 Thessalonians, such internal and mutual exhortations show Paul's pastoral means to further the unity or solidity of the church(es) in Rome. Besides these, we find Paul's blessings and prayers for the recipients, which is one of the duties of a spiritual leader or teacher (e.g. 15:5-6, 13; 16:20; cf. 15:33[; 16:24]). Finally, with regard to the pastoral features of Romans, we should pay attention to the fact that pastoral care in Romans is based on a theoretical or theological foundation. In other words, chapters 1-11 function as the basis for the subsequent exhortations of chapter 12 and later (Stowers 1994:320-323 [322]). Sound teachings become the foundation of a *modus vivendi* worthy of God. In this sense, we can say that these theoretical chapters (viz. chaps 1-11) are a part

of Paul's *dogmatic* and/or *correctional* pastoral care (cf. 16:17-18) (Dunn 1988:lxii; cf. Glad 1995:190).

(2) The Corinthian Correspondence

Although both 1 and 2 Corinthians equal Romans in length, these two letters are different from Romans on the point that nobody doubts that these letters were "addressed to specific people and occasioned by concrete issues" (Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:259). Thus we can more easily find pastoral features in both these letters than in Romans. However, the problem of looking at the pastoral features of these letters is caused by other aspects. These letters suffer from theories of diverse composition, especially in modern scholarship. Many scholars have dealt with these letters part by part, not as a whole,[175] especially as regards 2 Corinthians.[176] As a result, these letters were considered to reflect the situation and intention of the editor indirectly in their composition.[177]

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[175] For the discussion of both 1 and 2 Corinthians, see Guthrie (1970:439-440); for 1 Corinthians, see Aune (1987:208; 2003:115-116); for 2 Corinthians, see Klauck (2006:310).

[176] Burkett 2002:339: "If we gave a prize to Paul's most incomprehensible letter, 2 Corinthians would probably win it. Even seasoned readers of Paul's letters come away from this one with little enlightenment." A typical argument is also found in Murphy-O'Connor's words (2004:83-84): "The unity of 1 Corinthians has never been convincingly questioned. There is wide agreement, however, that 2 Corinthians 1-9 and 2 Corinthians 10-13 cannot have belonged to the same letter. It is psychologically impossible that Paul should suddenly switch from warm, generous celebration of reconciliation with the Corinthians (chs. 1-9) to savage reproach and sarcastic self-vindication (chs. 10-13). The two parts must have been joined when the letters were passed to other communities."

[177] On the problem of what can happen when we assume any type of composite theory, Aune (2003:116) stated clearly: "The composite letter can no longer be directed to the original problems, situations, opponents, or audience to which the original parts were directed. The composite letter may not have been intended for Corinth at all. Secondary audiences must reapply and readapt the composite letter to their own circumstances." But I disagree with the last sentence of Aune's statement. To my mind, this task of *re*-application is the author's or editor's right as well as duty. However, the composite nature of the letters is in fact not such a problem for researching the pastoral characteristics of these two letters, because these letters were also dispatched to all Christian recipients, not simply preserved in abridged or compiled form as many ancient works were. For example, DeSilva (2004:584), after arguing the relationship between 2 Cor chaps. 1-9 and 10-13, finds as follows: "We may conclude that 2 Corinthians 1-9 and 10-13 address very closely related situations and quite possibly the same situation. The points at issue in both parts of the letter are substantially the

Nevertheless, we should notice the following facts: 1 and 2 Corinthians neither give clear hints of such editorial work, nor were read as composite or fragmentary letters in antiquity. Furthermore, there are no manuscripts that support such composite theories (Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:268). Besides this, in the history of research on 1 and 2 Corinthians, there have been many attempts both to explain and defend the unity of each letter, especially 2 Corinthians, against composite theories, and such attempts have often been successful, though in the case of 2 Corinthians defending its unity still remains a minority view (Guthrie 1970:440-441; Barnett 1997:24-25; Reicke 2001:61-62; Keener 2005:8, 146-151).[178] Thus I will approach and analyse them below, considering each of them as a complete letter written by Paul, and not edited by other hands (cf. Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:267-272; DeSilva 2004:577).

(a) 1 Corinthians

(i) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form 1 Corinthians follows the common structure of Pauline letters, i.e. the fivefold structure in point of function: the opening (1:1-3), the thanksgiving or the proem (1:4-9), the body (1:10-4:21),[179] the epistolary paraenesis (5:1-16:4) and the travelogue (16:5-10), and the

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same, indicated in the use of the same significant terms and topics in both." Thus we can start our analysis from the final form of 2 Corinthians (Cousar 2006:41).

[178] Aune 1987:308 (cf. 2003:115): "The more complicated such partition theories become . . ., the more speculative and less credible they appear. For this reason many scholars argue for the unity of the letter or for simpler division into two originally separate letters represented by 2 Cor 1-9 and 10-13." Recently the unity of 2 Corinthians is supported by those who use rhetorical criticism (Witherington 1995:333).

[179] Dodd (1999:65, 67) rejects the traditional understanding that treats 1 Cor 1:10-4:21 as a unity, with 1 Cor 4:14-21 as the conclusion of this unit (for example, White [1972b] classified 1 Cor 4:14-21 as the body closing). Instead, he suggests that the section of 1 Cor 4:14-21 introduces what follows, "specifically related to the exercise of discipline in ch. 5." However, though such an alternative view is important for the exegesis of 1 Corinthians, it hardly influences the fivefold structure in terms of the function.

closing (16:11-24) (cf. McDonald and Porter 2000:440-441; Achtemeier and Green and Thompson 2001:339). Each part of the structure, especially the opening, the thanksgiving and the closing, is modified and expanded with various Christian adaptations. And, as in other Pauline letters, the opening (1:1-3) and the thanksgiving (1:4-9) were designed to give the keywords of the whole letter (Dodd 1999:48).

(ii) Analysis

Most scholars commonly agree that 1 Corinthians is full of pastoral elements, both as instructions and answers to inquiries (Klauck 2006:307). This judgment is in fact related to the motivation or aim of 1 Corinthians. Why then did Paul compose this long letter? According to some texts of 1 Corinthians, Paul composed this letter to resolve pending questions through a pastoral approach. In particular we can find Paul's report in 1 Cor 1:11: "For it has been reported to me by Chloe's people that there are quarrels among you, my brothers and sisters." Thus in 1 Cor 1:10 Paul has already suggested how he would deal with the following section:

> Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες καὶ μὴ ᾖ ἐν ὑμῖν σχίσματα, ἦτε δὲ κατηρτισμένοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νοΐ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ.
>
> Now I appeal to you, brothers and sisters, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you be in agreement and that there be no divisions among you, but that you be united in the same mind and the same purpose.

In the section of 1 Cor 1:12-4:21, Paul handled this problem of a "scandal of preacher-factions" (Fitzmyer 2008:136-140 [137-138]). After having dealt with this main issue, Paul tried to address the other pending questions in the subsequent sections by answers or exhortations. Firstly, in the section of 1 Cor 5:1-6:20, Paul condemned with exhortation the manifestation of sexual immorality within the church (5:1-13), which expanded into the problem of bring a case into secular court between church members. This issue may imply spiritual adultery (6:1-8) from the point of view

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that the church as the body of Christ should maintain spiritual purity (6:9-20). Next, in the long section of 1 Cor 7:1-16:4 (Thiselton 2000:483), Paul gave answers with detailed explanations to some inferred inquiries, starting with the "περί + genitive" construction (7:1, 25; 8:1, 4; 12:1; 16:1) (Aune 2003:113).[180] In the light of these passages, we can say that Paul, as apostle and founder of the Corinthian church (e.g. 1:1; 3:9, 10; 4:1-2; cf. 9:1-2), composed this pastoral letter for the Corinthian Christians (e.g. 1:1-2; cf. 5:9, 11), through which he taught and exhorted them (e.g. 1:10; 4:4, 14; cf. 14:19). In this sense, Glen's words (1964:9) are applicable:

> The First Letter to the Corinthians is one of the best sources of knowledge of early Christian pastoral care. Although not ordinarily considered a pastoral letter, it probably has a greater claim to this distinction than any other letter. Addressed to a church situated in one of the most profligate cities of the Roman Empire, it portrays the deep, uncompromising struggle of a pastor for the salvation of his people.

However, a more fundamental motivation existed in Paul's mind. For example, Paul tried to take care of his spiritual children as a spiritual father, not simply a pedagogue. Thus in 4:14-15, Paul says:

> Οὐκ ἐντρέπων ὑμᾶς γράφω ταῦτα ἀλλ' ὡς τέκνα μου ἀγαπητὰ νουθετῶ[ν]. Ἐὰν γὰρ μυρίους παιδαγωγοὺς ἔχητε ἐν Χριστῷ ἀλλ' οὐ πολλοὺς πατέρας· ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐγέννησα.
>
> I am not writing this to make you ashamed, but to admonish you as my beloved children. For

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[180] Reicke (2001:50) suggested two reasons for Paul's motivation for the composition of 1 Corinthians: the news of a schism in the Corinthian church (e.g. 1:10-13a), and giving answers to several practical and fundamental questions, such as marriage (e.g. 5:1), knowledge (e.g. 8:1), the eucharist (e.g. 11:17), spiritual gifts (e.g. 12:1) and the resurrection (e.g. 15:4).

> though you might have ten thousand guardians in Christ, you do not have many fathers. Indeed,
>
> in Christ Jesus I became your father through the gospel.

Although this passage is directly related to the immediate section, i.e. 1 Cor 4:6-13 (or indirectly, 1:10-3:23) (Fitzmyer 2008:221), Paul's words here show clearly what his attitude towards his recipients was (Collins 1999:192). The deliberative question of 1 Cor 4:21 (viz. τί θέλετε; ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἢ ἐν ἀγάπῃ πνεύματί τε πραΰτητος; ["What would you prefer? Am I to come to you with a stick, or with love in a spirit of gentleness?"]), implying a father's role in disciplining his children, also reflects such an attitude (Thiselton 2000:3787-379; Keener 2005:46-47; cf. Glad 1995:188-189; Fitzmyer 2008:226). Besides this, from the report that Paul attempted to exercise his pastoral care by calling to mind what he taught (ὃς [sc. Timothy] ὑμᾶς ἀναμνήσει τὰς ὁδούς μου τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ ['Ιησοῦ], καθὼς πανταχοῦ ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ διδάσκω ["to remind you of my ways in Christ Jesus as I teach them everywhere in every church"]) through his pupil Timothy (μου τέκνον ἀγαπητὸν καὶ πιστὸν ἐν κυρίῳ ["who is my beloved and faithful child in the Lord"]), who surely must have carried Paul's letter (Fitzmyer 2008:223; cf. Head 2009:298), we can recognise that Paul wanted to take care of them (4:17).

In his pastoral letter Paul employed various tools of persuasion to effectively correct and nurture believers in the Corinthian church. Firstly, though Paul must have been displeased at the situation in the church at Corinth (e.g. 1:11, 13-15; cf. Fee 1987:59), throughout the letter Paul addressed his recipients with "relationship-oriented" expressions, such as ἀδελφοί ("brothers and sisters" or "my brothers and sisters" [1:10, 11, 26; 2:1; 3:1; 4:6; 7:24, 29; 10:1; 11:33; 12:1; 14:6, 20, 26, 39; 15:1, 31, 50; 16:15]) and ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί ("my beloved [brothers and sisters]" [15:58]), and τέκνα μου ἀγαπητά ("my beloved children" [4:14]).[181] According to Glad (1995:189),

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[181] Paul's use of these two images shows the relationship between Paul and his recipients. On this, Glad (1995:188-189) says, "When . . . Paul uses both paternal and fraternal roles and speaks of the Corinthians as 'children' and 'brothers,' he is using roles which constitute two different metaphorical fields, one primarily exemplifying a superior-inferior

the simultaneous emergence of both a paternal image and a fraternal one "reflects Paul's use of different modes of guidance appropriate for different types of students." Such flexibility for the purpose of persuasion, i.e. self-adaptation, one of the most important features of the hortatory tradition, appears here and there in 1 Corinthians (e.g. 8:1-13 [13]; 9:19-23 [22]; 10:23-11:1 [10:33]; cf. 3:1-2) (cf. Glad 1995:236-332; 2003:17-41). And, in order to effectively guide the recipients in the situation of physical separation from them, Paul also sent his "child in the Lord," Timothy (e.g. 4:17; cf. 16:16b). In addition, for effective persuasion Paul depended on other rhetorical devices. Paul used authoritative sources such as Scripture (1:19, 31; 2:9, 16; 3:19, 20; 5:13; 6:16; 9:9; 10:7, 26; 14:21; 15:27, 32, 45, 54-55), Jesus' sayings (7:10-11; 9:14; 11:23-25), creeds (8:6; 15:3-6), hymns (e.g. 1:15-20; cf. chap. 13),[182] illustration (1:26; 4:6-14; 9:5, 7, 13; 10:1-11; 11:23-26, 18; 15:36-37) and exemplification to intensify his argument (e.g. 4:6-16; 8:13-9:27; 13:1-3, 11; 15:32).[183] The use of a *topos* of unity for his argument should be mentioned (e.g. 8:4, 6; 10:17; cf. 1:13; 6:15-17; 9:24; 12:13). And he also provided the model to be imitated (e.g. 4:6, 16-17; 11:1; cf. 7:7-8) (cf. Fiore 2003:241-243). In relation to this model to be imitated (e.g. 4:16-17), Paul also mentions a list of hardships (e.g. 4:9-12, 21; 5:2; 7:35; 12:25-26; 13:3; 15:30-33) (Fredrickson 2003:190; cf. Fitzgerald 1988:117, 204). And, as we have already looked at above,

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relationship and another reciprocal relationship. The roles of a 'father' and a 'brother' generate different and sometimes conflicting messages with regard to Paul's relationship with his converts. The two somewhat dissimilar paternal and fraternal roles can, however, be explicated in light of Paul's psychagogic leadership. The role accentuated depends on the condition of those guided. Recalcitrant members need the forceful guidance of a stern father; obedient ones that of a considerate friend or brother. Both aspects of Paul's leadership style surface in his guidance of the Corinthians."

[182] On the use of the OT, see Ciampa and Rosner 2007:695-752 (695-696); on the use of Jesus' sayings, see S. Kim 2002b:259-261, 265-266, 272; on the use of creeds, see Bailey and Broek 1992:83-85 (cf. Pelikan and Hotchkiss 2003:32, 34); on the use of hymns, see Bailey and Broek 1992:79-80.

[183] Dodd especially summarises the function of the self-exemplification of 1 Corinthians under two subcategories, as follows: In 1 Cor 1:10-4:13, "Paul has depreciated himself to make a christological emphasis." But in 1 Cor 4:14-15:58, "he no longer compares himself with Christ, but reminds them of his privileged, authoritative position as their father in Christ who begot them through the gospel. His tone changes to assert authority in the discipline of the incestuous man, providing a sharp transition from chs. 1-4 to what follows" (Dodd 1999:65; cf. 1999:32-132; 235-236).

we can find the "reply to inquiry" phrase (viz. the "περί + genitive" construction) (7:1, 25; 8:1, 4; 12:1; 16:1; cf. 16:12), which shows that Paul, as pastor, tried to handle the pending questions of the recipients (cf. White 1986:11). Besides these, Paul employed the diatribal style (e.g. 4:6-15; 6:12-13; 7:16, 18-22; 9:1-18; 15:29-34, 39-49; cf. Dodd 1999:59; Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:27), deliberative questions (1:13; 9:1, 4-8, 9-12; 10:16, 18, 19, 22; 11:22; 12:29; 14:6-8, 23, 36:15:29, 30, 32, 35), metaphor (e.g. 3:6-9, 10-13, 16-17; 4:15, 21; 5:6-8; 6:13-17, 19; 9:24-27; 12:12-27; 13:1, 12; 14:7-8, 11, 20; 15:17-20; 16:13), antithesis (e.g. 1:18, 22, 23, 25; 2:5, 12; 4:10, 19, 20, 21; 5:3, 8; 7:13; 9:25; 11:17; 13:11, 12; 14:2, 4, 20; 15:21, 22, 42, 44, 49, 51), chiasmus (e.g. 1:24-25; 4:10, 13; 6:13; 7:22; 13:2, 4; 14:22) and some rhetorical ornamentation[184] (Fitzmyer 2008:66-69). Finally, 1 Corinthians contains not only hortatory terms (e.g. 1:10, 26; 2:16; 4:14, 16; 11:17, 19, 28, 33; 12:2; 13:4-7; 14:3, 26, 34; 15:15-16; 16:12, 13, 15, 20), but also a specific verbal form of exhortation, i.e. the imperative (1:26; 3:10; 4:1; 6:18, 20; 7:2, 3, 5, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24; 7:27, 36; 8:9; 9:24; 10:7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 18, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32; 11:1, 2, 6, 13; 12:31; 14:1, 20, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40; 15:33, 34, 58; 16:2, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15).

In this pastoral letter we find some Christian characteristics. Above all, we can clearly see the concept of God's initiative. For example, Paul confesses that he not only was called as an apostle by God's will, but the recipients were also chosen by God (e.g. 1:1-2, 17; 3:10; 15:10). Thus, in exercising pastoral care for them, Paul always depended on God and Jesus (e.g. 1:10; 3:6-10; 3:21-23; 6:19; 7:17; 8:4-6; 12:27, 28; 15:57; cf. 7:25; 8:11). Furthermore, he did not hesitate to state that God himself takes care of the Corinthians (1:8-9). And the fundamental aim of Paul's psychagogy was to let his recipients lead a life worthy of God's will, not someone's own pleasure or happiness (e.g. 7:17, 19b; cf. 1:8b; 7:24). Besides this, the Christocentric concept appears in 1 Corinthians. It is found most of all as regards the main themes of this letter, i.e. a schism in the

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[184] I.e. anaphora (e.g. 1:26; 9:20; 12:4, 5, 6; 13:7; 14:15, 31; 15:10, 13-14), asyndeton (e.g. 4:12-13; 12:28; 13:4-5, 13; 15:23, 52), homoioteleuton (e.g. 3:15; 12:15-16), paronomasia (e.g. 12:23, 26; 15:42-43, 53, 54), polysyndeton (e.g. 2:3; 4:11-12; 6:9; 15:29-30) and enthymeme (e.g. 6:1, 2, 3).

Corinthian church and other ecclesiastical matters. Paul often used Christology as the basis for the resolution of problems (e.g. chaps. 1-3; 6:12-17). And in providing models to be imitated, the Christocentric tendency of Paul also appears (11:1) (cf. Fee 1987:18). Finally, Paul exhorted his recipients to mutual buildup and communal harmony (14:3-6, 12, 19, 26; cf. 8:11-13).

(b) 2 Corinthians

(i) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form, 2 Corinthians follows the typical fivefold structure of Pauline letters, i.e. the opening (1:1-2), the thanksgiving or proem (1:3-7), the body (1:8-9:15), the epistolary paraenesis (10:1-13:10) and closing (13:11-14) (cf. McDonald and Porter 2000:449). Each of the five parts, especially the opening and the thanksgiving, was Christianised in expression and content according to the epistolary situation.

(ii) Analysis

Cousar (2006:41-42) said that 2 Corinthians has an element of "self-defense," because it was written in a situation where Paul's "authority and style of apostleship" were "being challenged." We can actually find Paul putting emphasis on, and defending his authority and leadership (cf. Cousar 2006:42-43). Nevertheless, in 2 Corinthians Paul expressed its purpose from a slightly different perspective: In other words, Paul wanted to give spiritual guidance to his recipients. At that time especially, the Corinthian church must have been on the wrong track, though Paul had guided them in various ways, i.e. by letters and two visits (2 Cor 13:1-2). Thus Paul wrote in 2 Cor 13:10 as follows:

> Διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα ἀπὼν γράφω, ἵνα παρὼν μὴ ἀποτόμως χρήσωμαι κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἣν ὁ κύριος ἔδωκέν μοι εἰς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ οὐκ εἰς καθαίρεσιν.
>
> So I write these things while I am away from you, so that when I come, I may not have to be severe in using the authority that the Lord has given me for building up and not for tearing

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down.

Of course, on the surface this verse seems to say nothing about the purpose of 2 Corinthians itself. However, we can infer two facts from this verse: Paul had not only exercised his pastoral care while staying with the Corinthian Christians, but had also tried to conduct his pastoral care, even when absent, by writing a letter. Regarding Paul's intention of exercising his pastoral care by means of a letter, 2 Corinthians in itself is in fact proof of this. The "so that" clause (viz. ἵνα clause) of 2 Cor 13:10 as a resultant clause particularly explains the reason why Paul wrote "these things" even in his absence, and with what purpose he did so. If, after having written "something" to the Corinthian Christians Paul mentioned a problem concerning his authority for psychagogy, this surely indicates that the "something" is related to Paul's psychagogy, i.e. the already-written exhortations for Paul's psychagogy in 2 Corinthians. Besides these facts, from this verse we can know what Paul felt was his role between God and the recipients, which was to build up God's children by his authority from God. Furthermore, in the sense that a final exhortation section in a letter is sometimes considered to be the author's summary or recapitulation of what he said in his letter, Paul's final words (2 Cor 13:5-10)[185] start with the following command: Ἑαυτοὺς πειράζετε εἰ ἐστὲ ἐν τῇ πίστει, ἑαυτοὺς δοκιμάζετε ("Examine yourselves to see whether you are living in the faith. Test yourselves") (13:5). With the words of "building up" of 2 Cor 13:10, this exhortation clearly shows Paul's intention with the composition of the letter. Of course, this understanding does not gainsay that in this letter Paul

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[185] Witherington (1995:471-473), who supports the rhetorical approach of interpreting Pauline letters, considers this section (viz. 13:5-10) to be the *peroratio*. Witherington's suggestion is worthy of note, because in antiquity the *peroratio* functions "to refresh the memory" and "to influence the emotion" of those who listen (Lausberg 1998:204, 206 [§ 431, 434, 436]). Witherington also recognises this fact, and explains this section as follows (1995:471): "Paul chooses to make a brief emotional appeal here, though he does mention the main aims of this whole discourse: to restore his former relationship with his converts and to make sure that they will endure in the faith and be finally judged as approved by God, though in Paul's view, their genuineness will only be shown if they recognize his. He has had to defend himself at every turn in this argument, but he makes clear that *his major aim is not his own vindication and authentication, but theirs*" (my emphasis).

tried to defend himself and his authority. Nevertheless, we may remember the words of Paul himself, i.e. that he tried to defend himself "for the sake of building you up [sc. the Corinthian Christians]," not for his own sake (12:19):[186]

> Πάλαι δοκεῖτε ὅτι ὑμῖν ἀπολογούμεθα. κατέναντι θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ λαλοῦμεν· τὰ δὲ πάντα, ἀγαπητοί, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν οἰκοδομῆς.
>
> Have you been thinking all along that we have been defending ourselves before you? We are speaking in Christ before God. Everything we do, beloved, is for the sake of building you up.

Thus, from these verses, we can say that 2 Corinthians was primarily composed for the soul-guidance of Corinthian Christians.[187]

In order to effectively build up God's children, Paul used the hortatory tradition with modifications and employed rhetorical devices. Firstly, Paul addressed his recipients with "relationship-oriented" expressions, such as ἀδελφοί ("brothers and sisters" [1:8; 8:1; 13:11]) and ἀγαπητοί ("beloved" [7:1; 12:19]), and the name, Κορίνθιοι ("Corinthians" [6:11]). These designations must have deepened the intimacy between Paul and his recipients, and intensified the recipients' attention to Paul's exhortations (cf. 3:1-3; 7:4). And in directing his persuasion, Paul quoted from and alluded to authoritative sources, such as Scripture (4:6, 13; 6:2, 16-18; 8:15; 9:9;

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[186] Reicke (2001:61) describes this feature of 2 Corinthians as "a combination of apologetic explanations and polemic admonitions."

[187] On the harmony of Paul's pastoral intention with the entire content of 2 Corinthians, Barnett (1997:592) explained well: "[H]ow have Paul's words, apart from defending himself and his ministry, been *for* the edification of the Corinthians? In every issue Paul has raised with them throughout this letter, he has given them an undergirding of theological teaching, whether (1) explaining his actions and movements (1:1-2:13; 7:5-16), (2) describing the new covenant ministry (2:14-7:4), (3) appealing for the completion of the collection (chaps 8-9), or (4) admonishing the Corinthians for, on the one hand, welcoming the false apostle (10:12-12:13) and, on the other, continuing in immortality (12:20-13:4). At every point in the letter Paul has provided some theological and pastoral teaching for 'upbuilding' the spiritual and moral lives of the believers" (emphasis original).

10:17; 13:1; cf. 12:9), proverbs (9:6; 12:14) and creeds (13:13),[188] and used illustrations from Scripture (3:7-16; 11:3). In 2 Corinthians especially, Paul several times quoted the list of hardships (1:8-9; 4:7-10; 6:4-5, 8b-10; 7:5; 11:23-27, 32-33; cf. 11:9). This list of hardships not only functioned to show Paul's qualifications to be an apostle, but also became the basis for his arguments and exhortations. This is also true about the list of virtues and vices (6:6-7, 14; 12:20-21). In this letter Paul used the "περί + genitive" construction once (9:1). Although it is not clear whether this prepositional phrase was given as answer to an inquiry, nevertheless, with this phrase Paul dealt with an issue related to the church at Corinth. Furthermore, Paul employed metaphor (e.g. 3:1-3; 4:7; 5:1; 6:13, 14-15; 10:4; 11:2, 19-20; 12:7). Finally, we can also find both some hortatory terms, though not many (e.g. 10:1, 8; 12:18, 19; cf. 9:5), and specific verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative (6:13, 14; 7:2; 8:7, 11; 10:7; 11:1, 16; 12:14; 13:5, 11), the hortatory subjunctive (7:1) and the participle of command (8:24).

As a pastoral letter, 2 Corinthians contains Christian features found in other Christian pastoral letters. For example, we can find that Paul emphasised the concept of God's initiative (e.g. 1:3-4, 12, 21; 2:14; 3:5-6; 4:1, 14; 5:18-21; 7:10-11; 9:7-8; 10:4; 13:4; cf. 1:9; 6:1; 7:1; 8:1, 16; 11:2, 31; 13:7). Along with this, 2 Corinthians reveals the Christocentric concept (e.g. 1:5; 4:5, 10-11; 5:10, 14-19, 21; 8:9; 10:4-5; 13:4, 5; cf. 11:3-4). Paul especially used mention of Jesus for persuasion and ministry. For example, Jesus was not only proclaimed by Paul as the core of his mission, but was also described as the motivation for Paul's self-humiliation (4:5). And Jesus' *parousia* functions as the foundation of his exhortations (5:10). Besides this, Paul tried to lead the Corinthian Christians to a *modus vivendi* worthy of God (e.g. 7:1, 12; cf. 5:9, 20), not for their own pleasure or happiness (13:5a). According to Paul, such a *modus vivendi* would manifest itself in maintaining the sound teachings that they had received from the apostle (cf. 11:3-4). We can also find that Paul commanded mutual exhortation for the unity of the recipients (cf. 13:12), and

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[188] On the use of the OT, see Balla 2007:753-783 (753); on the use of a proverb in 2 Cor 12:14, see Barnett 1997:585; on the use of a creed, see Pelikan and Hotchkiss 2003:32, 34.

requested prayers for himself and his ministry (cf. 1:11). Finally, after having adopted the conventional prescript and subscript, Paul blessed his recipients (1:2; 13:13).

3) Galatians

(a) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form Galatians is a little different from most letters of Paul, because it lacks the thanksgiving.[189] Thus Galatians consists of the fourfold structure: the opening (1:1-5), the body (1:6-5:12), the epistolary paraenesis (5:13-6:10) and the closing (6:11-18) (McDonald and Porter 2000:415; cf. Klauck 2006:313-314). The opening and the closing were Christianised to fit its epistolary situation.

(b) Analysis

Traditionally Galatians has been considered an apology for Paul's apostleship, or that it at least contained apologetic elements (cf. Betz 1979).[190] Nevertheless, Galatians itself conveys that its purpose is not simply to be an apologetic for Paul's apostleship, but rather to be pastoral for his recipients through Paul's "teaching ministry" (Aune 1987:208). In fact, in this letter we can

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[189] Regarding the absence of the thanksgiving section that was customary in Pauline letters, it was sometimes considered that when Paul's representative read this letter before the congregation, shouting the phrase, "I am astonished that . . ." (θαυμάζω ὅτι . . .), instead of words of thanksgiving, this was to shock them and made them realise the seriousness of their behaviour and situation. However, it is not certain that the absence of the thanksgiving in Galatians was experienced as a serious situation, because it could not be recognised as such by the recipients (cf. the debate between Arzt[-Grabner] 1994:29-46 and Reed 1996:87-99). Thus if we want to say that reading Galatians caused such a shock, I think it would have been from the astonished phrase, not from the absence of the thanksgiving (cf. White 1971a:91-97).

[190] On such characteristics, Guthrie (1970:468) writes as follows: The opening of Galatians "is more self-consciously apologetic than Paul's usual style. He asserts even in the first words his divinely received apostleship."

recognise Paul's pastoral concerns for the recipients. Gal 4:19-20 provides a good example (cf. 4:18):

> Τέκνα μου, οὓς πάλιν ὠδίνω μέχρις οὗ μορφωθῇ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν· ἤθελον δὲ παρεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄρτι καὶ ἀλλάξαι τὴν φωνήν μου, ὅτι ἀποροῦμαι ἐν ὑμῖν.
>
> My little children, for whom I am again in the pain of childbirth until Christ is formed in you, I wish I were present with you now and could change my tone, for I am perplexed about you.

From this passage, we know that Paul as pastor was doing his best to take care of his recipients through his teachings (cf. Hendriksen 1969:175; Morris 1996:141-142). Thus he said that he was "again in the pain of childbirth" in order to form his recipients in Jesus Christ. This maternal metaphor reveals Paul's attitude as pastor to his recipients, i.e. "his *affection* and *concern*" (Tolmie 2005:162, 163 [emphasis original]). Nevertheless, in the subsequent verse, we also find that Paul still wanted to adopt a slightly stricter attitude to them. In other words, he wanted to change his "tone" to his recipients. However, in the immediate pastoral context there was no choice but to keep to such a strict tone, because in the view of the pastor, what he was "perplexed about" could nullify not only whatever he did for his recipients (4:11), but also what they had possessed through their faith in Jesus Christ (3:3; cf. 4:7). Besides this, he could not visit them then and could do nothing, though he was in perplexity (Hendriksen 1969:176).[191] Thus in Gal 5:7, Paul again posed the question: Ἐτρέχετε καλῶς· τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψεν [τῇ] ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι; ("You were running well; who prevented you from obeying the truth?"). Paul thought that his recipients would be "cut" off "from Christ" and "fallen away from grace" (5:2-3) by those who "prevented" the recipients "from obeying the truth" by having proclaimed another gospel that was different from what Paul had proclaimed (1:6-7) (Cousar 2006:48).

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[191] Cf. Tolmie (2005:164): "[H]e [sc. Paul] uses it [sc. an expression of perplexity] to convey his mixed feelings to the Galatians: he wants to help them, but is at his wit's end and does not know what to do."

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In this situation, Paul not only disclosed the identity of those who tried to mislead his recipients, but also tried to set his recipients firmly on the path of truth through explanation, encouragement and warning. First, if we summarise Paul's evaluation of the false teachers (cf. 1:6-7; 2:4-5; 3:1; 4:17; 5:7-12; 6:12-13),[192] they were simply those who tried to benefit by observing the law, especially about circumcision, instead of recognising the truth (6:12-13; cf. 1:10).[193] And Paul asserted not only that their teachings (ἡ πεισμονή) did not originate from God (5:8), but also that those who confused his believers (here the recipients), would "pay the penalty" and "castrate themselves" (5:10b, 12; cf. 1:8-9). Against these dangerous teachings, Paul next tried to set his recipients on the path to truth again. Thus he warned his recipients (1:6-9; 5:2-4, 10, 15), provided illustrations and explanations to persuade them (2:11-21; 3:6-14, 15-29; 4:1-7, 21-31; 5:6), rebuked them (3:1-5; 4:8-9) and exhorted and encouraged them to right judgment and behaviour (4:12; 5:1, 11-12, 5:13-6:10) (cf. Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:50-51). Besides this, we can also discover Paul's pastoral mindset at the closing of this letter. Thus in Gal 6:17a, Paul said, Τοῦ λοιποῦ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω ("From now on, let no one make trouble for me"). Paul as pastor must have wanted what happened in the church of Galatia not to be repeated, both for the sake of the recipients and for himself (cf. 6:15-16). From all these factors we can conclude that Galatians is a pastoral letter, dealing with the principle of a Christian faith that consists of a starting point in a Christian *modus vivendi*, in an "apologetic" style.

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[192] According to Morris (1996:23-24), these false teachers were those who "aimed at bringing" the believers "into bondage" (2:4), "preached 'a different gospel' which Paul rejected as no gospel at all" (cf. 1:6-9), "were intent on detaching the believers from their allegiance to Paul so that they might become zealous for these new teachers" (4:17), tried to bewitch the believers (3:1), were "wishing to make a good impression and circumcising believers" only in order to avoid persecution due to Jesus' cross (6:12-13) and "were trying to introduce Jewish teachings" (6:12-13; cf. 5:2-3).

[193] In Paul's words in Gal 5:11 we get a hint of what benefit was gained by observing circumcision after having been a Christian: Ἐγὼ δέ, ἀδελφοί, εἰ περιτομὴν ἔτι κηρύσσω, τί ἔτι διώκομαι; ἄρα κατήργηται τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ ("But my friends, why am I still being persecuted if I am still preaching circumcision? In that case the offense of the cross has been removed").

As pastoral letter Galatians thus also has elements in common with the contemporary hortatory tradition, though modified by Paul himself. Above all, Paul as soul-guide emphasised his authority over the recipients, because Paul focused more on the psychagogy for his pupils in Christ.[194] Among all the letters of Paul, this authority was emphasised most strongly in Galatians. Thus Paul mentioned that his apostolate was of divine origin (1:1, 12b) and that he was chosen before his birth (1:15-16a), moved by God's revelation (2:2a) and approved by the leadership of Jerusalem (2:7, 9). And on the point that he was "welcomed . . . as an angel of God" by the recipients (4:14b), his superiority to them was unquestionable. Now, however, as "a servant of Christ" Paul filled Galatians with the words of exhortation or instruction that a teacher often extended to his/her students (4:8-10; 5:13f; cf. 3:1). Furthermore, even in this serious situation (1:6-7; 3:1-4; 4:8-11; 5:7), Paul did not present himself as a harsh teacher, because his aim was to exhort his recipients (6:16), not to fight with them, nor to weed out his opponents. Instead, as pastor Paul humbled himself for the sake of his psychagogy (4:12). And, by having used "relationship-oriented" expressions, such as ἀδελφοί ("brothers and sisters" [1:11; 4:12, 28, 31; 5:11, 13; 6:1]) and τέκνα μου ("my little children" [4:19]), and once even addressing them with a negative modifier, i.e. ὦ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται ("you foolish Galatians!" [3:1]), Paul tried to draw more attention to what he said. In addition, for persuasion Paul used authoritative sources such as Scripture (3:6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16; 4:27, 30; 5:14), Jesus' sayings (4:6; 5:14), a creed (3:20) and proverbs or maxims (5:9; 6:7),[195] and illustrations for persuasion (3:7-14; 4:20-30). He quoted a list of virtues and vices (5:19-21, 22-23), a list of hardships (2:2-3) and examples (1:10; 5:19-22), and once used the word of remembrance (5:21b) to exhort his recipients. Besides these, Paul employed the rhetorical ornamentation of figures and tropes, such as alliteration (e.g. 4:14; 5:13), antithesis (e.g. 1:1, 11-12,

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[194] In this sense, I think that the section about Paul's personal history (1:11-2:21) is for the approval of Paul's quality as a preacher (viz. *ethos*), not in defence of his authority or apostleship (cf. Aune 1987:207).

[195] On the use of the OT, see Silva 2007:785-812 (785-786); on the use of Jesus' sayings, see S. Kim 2002b:266-268, 269; on the use of a creed, Bailey and Broek 1992:86.

15-17; 4:14; 5:6, [13]; 6:15; cf. Tolmie 2005:249),[196] chiasm (e.g. 2:16; 3:3; 4:4-5, 17; 5:16-17, 25; 6:8), consonance (e.g. 5:3, 16; 6:1, 2, 7), diatribe (e.g. 3:1-4:31; cf. Aune 1987:207-208), hyperbaton (e.g. 3:13, 28; 5:1, 5, 6, 10-11; 6:2, 14, 17), hyperbole (e.g. 1:13-14; 4:1, 14, 15; 5:15), irony (e.g. 4:9, 21), metaphor (e.g. 2:2, 4, 14, 19-20; 3:22-25; 4:3, 5, 6, 7, 8-9, 19; 4:21-5:1; 5:7, 13, 15, 22, 24; 6:14, 17), oxymoron (e.g. 5:13), parenthesis (e.g. 2:2, 6, 8), paronomasia (e.g. 1:11-12; 4:17-18, 21; 5:1, 2-3, 7-10; 6:1, 2 and 5, 3 and 4, 6 and 9 and 10), personification (e.g. 3:8, 22, 24-25), polysyndeton (e.g. 4:10), repetition (e.g. 2:6-17a) and sarcasm (e.g. 5:12, 15) (Tolmie 2005:249-255; cf. Longenecker 1990:cxiv-cxix). Finally, we find a few specific verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative (1:8, 9; 3:7; 4:21; 5:1, 13, 16; 6:2, 4, 6, 7, 17), the hortatory subjunctive (5:25, 26; 6:9, 10) and the future indicative for a command (6:5).

In terms of the Christian characteristics found in Christian pastoral letters, firstly we can find the concept of God's initiative in Galatians (e.g. 1:1, 6, 15; 2:8; 4:3-7; 5:8; cf. 1:13; 3:8, 17-18, 26). For example, Paul not only ascribed the basis of his apostolate to God (1:1; 2:8; cf. 5:8), but also proclaimed that God himself dominated everything, especially in the case of Christians (1:6, 15; 4:3-7; cf. 3:8, 17-18). And we also find the Christocentric concept throughout the letter (e.g. 1:4, 6-7, 12; 2:4, 16, 20; 3:13-14, 22, 23-29; 4:4-5, 19; 5:1, 24; 6:14, 17, 18; cf. 1:22; 2:21; 3:1; 5:6). In this pastoral letter especially we see how carefully Paul dealt with this dogmatic matter, which was one of many important themes of pastoral letters, i.e. the matter of a Christian's observation of the laws (e.g. 1:6-9; 4:8-11; 6:15-16). However, in Galatians the treatment of the dogmatic matter is not simply limited to a theoretical debate. Instead, it is connected to the *modus vivendi* of Christians on earth. Thus, immediately after a short argument about Christian liberation from the laws through

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[196] Tolmie (2005:33-34) explains the function of antithesis, i.e. the "antithetic presentation" of Paul in Galatians (1:1) as follows: "It should also be noted that the way in which Paul conveys this notion [sc. the notion that Paul's apostleship is dependent on God in Gal 1:1-5] to the audience enhances its effect. Instead of merely mentioning the positive side of the argument, he begins with two denials before expressing the notion he wishes to convey. The rhetorical technique he uses in this instance may be called *antithetic presentation*. This antithetic οὐκ . . . οὐδέ . . . ἀλλά structure is more persuasive than a mere positive statement. It thus serves an accentuating purpose" (emphasis original).

faith in Jesus (5:2-15), Paul commanded, "Live by the Spirit, I say, and do not gratify the desires of the flesh" (5:16; cf. 6:22-26; 6:7-10). This indicates both that a corrective based on sound or traditional teachings, which were often Christocentric in Galatians, was decisive to a Christian's identity and *modus vivendi* on earth (cf. 5:22-25), and that such a corrective had been an important part of Christian pastoral care from the time of early Christianity. In terms of the *modus vivendi* that Paul commanded, it is important that it was related to God's approval (5:21b) and with mutual exhortation (5:13b-14; 6:1-2).

4) Ephesians

(a) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form, Ephesians follows the typical fivefold structure of Pauline letters: the opening (1:1-2), the thanksgiving or the proem (1:3-23), the body (2:1-3:21), the epistolary paraenesis (4:1-6:20) and the closing (6:21-24) (McDonald and Porter 2000:488; cf. Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:167; Klauck 2006:316-317). Some Christianised expressions are found in the opening, the thanksgiving and the closing.

(b) Analysis

Knox (1960:66) suggested that Ephesians "would have served admirably to introduce the collection" of Pauline letters. According to him, Ephesians is not only addressed "to the church in its corporate, universal aspect," but also in its contents "based upon the particular nine epistles of Paul which we have [sc. Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians and Philemon], and upon nothing else except the author-editor's very considerable ability to rework and reorder the Pauline materials." However, this cannot mean

that Ephesians should simply be treated as a theological compilation.[197] Instead, though it has such an appearance, we can agree that Ephesians was sent to real recipients, i.e. either to "the believers who are in Ephesus and are faithful in Christ Jesus" (1:1b), or to the unknown recipients with whom the author was concerned (Guthrie 1970:515).[198] Of course, the uncertainty of its destination compels us to approach Ephesians with the consideration that it can be "rather general" in content, compared to other Pauline letters (Klauck 2006:317).[199] Nevertheless, we can find some traces that they, i.e. Paul and the recipients, represented by the believers of Ephesians, were acquainted with one another (e.g. 1:15-16; 3:13; 6:21-22). Thus Ephesians was surely composed for pastoral benefit and was sent as a pastoral letter to the first century Christians, who were represented by the Ephesians, and had been guided by Paul (Cousar 2006:89).

In any case, nothing special was mentioned that might reflect particular pending questions, or specific polemic situations that the recipients were facing (Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:312). Nevertheless, Ephesians provided important teachings, especially about God, Christ Jesus and the church, which were both immediate and common to all churches in the first century C.E. In this

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[197] Cf. in terms of the epistolary situation, scholars often consider that Ephesians does not reflect any immediate situation that the recipients were facing. In this sense, Longenecker (1983:101-114) thinks that Ephesians is a "tractate letter," such as Romans (cf. Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:164; Klauck 2006:317). However, this does not mean that Ephesians cannot be a genuine letter, or was not dispatched.

[198] This uncertainty is related to the problem of manuscripts. According to the apparatus of NA^{27}, in Eph 1:1 P^{46}, 01 ($\square$), 03 (B) and other manuscripts do not contain the prepositional phrase "in Ephesus," while 01^2 ($\square^2$), 02, 03^2 (B^2), 0278, 33, 1881, and some old versions keep the phrase (cf. Guthrie 1970:508; Trobisch 1994:23; Comfort 1992:151-152; 2008:577-579). Thus P^{46} contains this verse: παυλος αποστολος χρυ ιηυ δια θελημματος θυ τοις αγιοις ουσιν και πιστοις εν χρω ιηυ (Comfort and Barrett 1999:293). Actually, on the point that these three manuscripts (viz. P^{46}, 01 and 03) are the primary evidence for reconstructing the Greek text of Ephesians, their silence concerning this phrase cannot be ignored (NA^{27} 1997:17*). Cf. Klauck 2006:316: "The local address 'to the saints who are in Ephesus' (1:1b) need not tell against the letter's origin *in Ephesus* if a fictitious authorship is assumed. But this designation is lacking in some of the oldest manuscripts, and it may have replaced an older address, perhaps to Hierapolis and Laodicea."

[199] Deissmann (1965:238) offers the following opinion: "Paul is writing to churches that were not yet known to him personally, and what seems epistle-like in the two letters [sc. Ephesians and Colossians] ought really to be described as their reserved, impersonal tone."

regard, the following words of Guthrie (1970:515), who accepted Paul's authorship of this letter, deserve to be mentioned:

> Since Paul was in prison he has clearly had time to reflect and this would well account for the more contemplative mood of the epistle, together with the absence of any tension connected with a specific situation with which he was dealing. His mind dwells on the theme of Christ and the Church, resulting in an exalted Christology and a high appraisal of the privileges of believers in Christ.

Besides this, we find certain pastoral characteristics in this letter. Above all, Paul makes his pastoral interest in his recipients clear in Eph 1:17-19, which is also the theme of Ephesians. Here Paul revealed why he prayed to God and Jesus Christ for them, i.e. Paul, as their soul-guide, wished God and Jesus Christ to give them "a spirit of wisdom and revelation" (1:17). And in Eph 1:18-19, he expressed the aim of his prayer for them in the following words:

> Πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας [ὑμῶν] *εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς* τίς ἐστιν ἡ ἐλπὶς τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ, τίς ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις, καὶ τί τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ.
>
> *So that*, with the eyes of your heart enlightened, *you may know* what is the hope to which he called you, what are the riches of his glorious inheritance among the saints, and what is the immeasurable greatness of his power for us who believe, according to the working of his great power (my emphasis).

Paul wanted to either teach what recipients should know or remind what they already knew. Such a pastoral interest is also found in Eph 3:14-19. As pastor (cf. 3:1, 13; 6:20), Paul wanted his recipients to "lead a life worthy of the calling to which" they "have been called" (4:1). This intent was also carried out by sending his embassy to the recipients. And now, by dispatching Tychicus, a

dear brother and a faithful minister in the Lord, Paul intended to "encourage" their "hearts" with the purpose of exchanging some information (6:21-22). Although it is not sure whether or not this letter was carried by Tychicus to the recipients at that time, we can say that this letter is also evidence of Paul's pastoral care.

In his pastoral letter, it is not too difficult to find some literary features of the hortatory letter tradition, though there are no "relationship-oriented" expressions that are a feature of that tradition.[200] Thus for his argument Paul quoted authoritative sources, such as Scripture (4:8, 25, 26; 5:18, 31, 32; 6:2, 3, 14-17), a creed and confession (1:20-23; 4:4-6; cf. 5:2, 25), hymns (1:3-14; 2:14-16; 5:14; cf. 2:19-22), and Christian catechetical material (4:22-24) (Lincoln 1990:xlvii).[201] Furthermore, Paul also employed other hortatory means for his exhortations and arguments, i.e. the list of virtues and vices (4:31-32; 5:3-4, 9; 6:14-17), the household code (5:21-6:9) and the list of hardships (3:1-13). And once Paul provided the model to be imitated in his exhortation (5:1-2). Besides this, Paul used some rhetorical ornamentation for the elaboration of Ephesians, such as chiasm (e.g. 5:8-11), parallelism (e.g. 1:3-4, 15-23;2:1-7; 3:7; 4:11-16; 6:14-20), paronomasia (e.g. 1:23), repetition (e.g. 1:3-11, 17-18, 19-20; 2:4-8) and synonym (e.g. 1:8; 2:1) (Lincoln 1990:xliv-xlvi). Finally, we find a number of imperatives in this pastoral letter (4:26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32; 5:1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 15, 17, 18, 25; 6:1, 4, 5, 9, 10-17, 18).

In terms of Christian characteristics, we see that Paul not only repeatedly emphasised the concept of God's initiative in his exposition (e.g. 1:11; 2:8-10; 3:20; 4:11-13; 6:10-13a, 14-17; cf. 4:7), as well as in the introduction of his apostleship (e.g. 1:1; 3:2, 7), but he also used "Jesus Christ" as a key point in many arguments (e.g. 1:1-2, 5, 20-22; 2:5-10, 11-22; 3:6, 9, 11-12; 4:11-16, 20-21, 32b; 5:2, 23, 25, 29; 6:5-6, 23, 24). The latter point especially testifies to Paul's

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[200] However, we find some titles that applied to various groups of the recipients, i.e. τὰ τέκνα ("children" [6:1]), οἱ πατέρες ("fathers" [6:4]), οἱ δοῦλοι ("slaves" [6:5]) and οἱ κύριοι ("masters" [6:9]). However, because these titles appear in the so-called household code, it is not certain whether these titles functioned in the proper way.

[201] On the use of the OT, see Thielman 2007:813-833 (813-814); on hymns, Bailey and Broek 1992:79.

Christocentric concept. Besides this, here Paul based the purpose of life on God's approval, not on the happiness or the pleasure of the individual (e.g. 1:12; 4:15-16; 5:10, 15-17, 21; 6:13b). Moreover, there are warnings against unsound teachings and false teachers (e.g. 5:6-7; cf. 6:10-11) and mutual exhortations for unity (e.g. 5:21; cf. 1:15; 4:3), which were extended to the relationship between Paul and the recipients (6:19-20).

5) Philippians

(a) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form Philippians also follows the common outline of a fivefold structure found in 1 Thessalonians: opening (1:1-2), thanksgiving or the proem (1:3-11), body (1:12-2:30), epistolary paraenesis (3:1-4:19) and closing (4:20-23) (McDonald and Porter 2000:470).[202] The opening, the proem and the closing were modified and Christianised in form.

(b) Analysis

In Philippians we easily recognise that Paul and his recipients had a good and friendly relationship (Cousar 2006:57; Hansen 2009:1). One good example of this relationship is Paul's unquestionable

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[202] White (1972b:46) considers Phil 4:10-20 as an independent letter, while Weima (1994a:191) considers the passage as one section of the closing of Philippians. This disagreement comes from a difference in the understanding of an epistolary convention, i.e. the expression of joy. In his earliest article (1971), White discussed the expression of joy in the context of the introductory formula in the body of Pauline letters (1971:95-96). There White (1971:95; cf. 1972b:75) said, "Since expressions of joy usually introduce the body of the letter, the presence of such a formula in Phil 4:10 supports Robert Funk's proposal that 'this may . . . be an independent letter, now truncated'." However, White changed his opinion about the expression of joy after 1978. He then accepted that this convention could be used anywhere in a letter (1978:296). However, considering this question, Weima (1994a:192) thought that Phil 4:10-20 was part of the closing of Philippians, which starts from the peace benediction in verse 9. Prior to this conclusion, in the same book Weima (1994a:154) suggested an almost fixed order for the closing of Pauline letters, i.e. the peace benediction – the hortatory section – the greetings – the grace benediction.

superiority to his recipients throughout this letter (1:1; 2:12; 3:14, 17; 4:19; cf. 1:12-26; 4:10-14). This atmosphere was created both by the steadfastness in faith of the believers of the church at Philippi, which Paul commended (1:3-5; cf. 2:12), and by their helpful attitude towards Paul that was expressed by financial support for Paul's ministry, which Paul himself also clearly appreciated (4:4-19; cf. 1:7; 2:25). Nevertheless, Philippians is not filled with praise and applause. Instead, Paul as pastor tries to conduct his pastoral care with exhortations and commands.[203] Such intent was, for example, well voiced in Paul's prayer of Phil 1:9-11 (cf. 2:14-15):

Καὶ τοῦτο προσεύχομαι, ἵνα ἡ ἀγάπη ὑμῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον περισσεύῃ ἐν ἐπιγνώσει καὶ πάσῃ αἰσθήσει εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τὰ διαφέροντα, ἵνα ἦτε εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἀπρόσκοποι εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ, πεπληρωμένοι καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης τὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς δόξαν καὶ ἔπαινον θεοῦ.

And this is my prayer, that your love may overflow more and more with knowledge and full insight to help you to determine what is best, so that in the day of Christ you may be pure and blameless, having produced the harvest of righteousness that comes through Jesus Christ for the glory and praise of God.

This prayer may probably have come because of some pending or looming suffering and temptation feared by the recipients, as well as a schism (1:29-30; 3:2, 18-19; 4:2) (Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:133; Aune 2003:356; Cousar 2006:57; Hansen 2009:1). In such a situation, what the pastor wanted for his recipients was to "be pure and blameless" "in the day of Christ" (1:10b; cf. 1:27-28; 2:12-15; 4:1, 8-9). Thus Paul explained (1:29-30; 2:5-11; 3:2-16, 18-21), commanded (2:12-14; 4:2) and exhorted (1:27-8; 2:1-4; 3:17; 4:1, 4-9). Furthermore, we can see that Paul did his best in his

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[203] Due to these characteristics, scholars call Philippians "a letter of gratitude and paraenesis" (Aune 1987:210), or "a hortatory letter of friendship" (Cousar 2006:58, 191; cf. Aune 2003:357) on the basis of the classification of ancient epistolary theory.

ministry in order to accomplish this and to help them become mature in faith (1:12, 22-26; 2:16-17; 3:17-18). The facts mentioned above clearly show the pastoral motivation of this letter.

For effective persuasion, Paul employed rhetorical devices. Firstly, Paul addressed them with "relationship-oriented" expressions, such as ἀδελφοί or ἀδελφοί μου ("[my] brothers and sisters" [1:12; 3:1, 17]),[204] ἀγαπητοί μου ("my beloved" [2:12]) or simply ἀγαπητοί ("[[my]] beloved" [4:1]), ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ἐπιπόθητοι ("my brothers and sisters, whom I love and long for" [4:1]) and χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός μου ("my joy and crown" [4:1]), and with the name, i.e. Φιλιππήσιοι ("Philippians" [4:15]).[205] Paul also used a hymn (2:6-11),[206] his experience (3:4-16; cf. 1:12-26) and the *topos* for unity (1:27; 2:2). Paul provided Jesus and himself as models to be imitated (2:5-12; 3:17; 4:9). Besides this, Paul employed a few literary and rhetorical devices, such as apposition (e.g. 1:1, 2; 2:11, 25; 3:8, 20; 4:20, 23), antithesis (e.g. 1:15, 16-17, 18, 20, 21, 23-24, 27-28, 29; 2:2-4, 6-7, 12; 3:2-3, 9, 10-11, 13, 15, 19-21; 4:4-7, 11-13), chiasm and *inclusio* (e.g. 1:3-11 and 4:10-20; 1:12-26; 2:5-11), compactness (e.g. 3:2, 5-6, 19; 4:4-9, 11-13, 21-22),[207] metaphor (e.g. 1:7, 13, 14, 17, 21; 2:17, 27-30; cf. 1:22, 24, 27, 3:3, 4, 20), pleonasm (e.g. 1:7-11, 25-27; 2:1-17; 2:25-3:14; 3:19; 4:1, 7-9, 18), parallelism (e.g. 1:21-25; 4:10-13; cf. 1:27-2:18 and chap. 3), tautology (e.g. 2:15; 3:10), vagueness (e.g. 1:2, 27; 2:1; 4:23), homoioteleuton (e.g. 1:19; 2:2 and 4; 4:1) and paronomasia (e.g. 1:3, 18, 24-25, 27-28; 1:27 and 2:2, 12, 19, 20, 30; 2:4, 12, 17, 18; 3:2-3; 3:6-8, 18 and 20, 20-21; 4:3-4; 4:22) (cf. Davis 1999:71-83, 85-92). A few specific verbal forms of exhortation are used, such as the imperative (1:27; 2:2, 5, 12, 14, 18, 29; 3:1, 2, 17; 4:1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 21) and the hortatory subjunctive (3:15).

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[204] In Phil 1:12, NRSV translated the word, ἀδελφοί, as "beloved," though in note (f) it says "Gk *brothers*." However, this translation has no basis. Furthermore, there is no variant reading according to NA[27].

[205] Additionally, we find τέκνα θεοῦ ("children of God" [e.g. 2:15]).

[206] On this creed or hymn, see Bailey and Broek 1992:79-80.

[207] Davis (1999:79) defines compactness as "packing into the fewest possible words the maximum amount of meaning," following Nida et al. (1983:44). We often find it in confessional statements.

Philippians is a Christian psychagogical letter. Therefore, we find a few features that are often also found in other pastoral letters. Firstly, Paul focused the purpose of his pastoral care for his recipients on a *modus vivendi* worthy of God (1:10b, 27-28a; 4:1, 9), and harmonised this with sound teachings (cf. 3:2) (Cousar 2006:63). In fact, according to Paul, such a life style is possible only by the grace of God, not by a person's own efforts, though this does not absolve one from all responsibility (1:6; 2:13; 4:6-7). In fact, this concept of God's initiative is one of the characteristics of Christian pastoral care. We also find that in exhorting his recipients, Paul offered both Jesus himself and the expectation of his *parousia* as a ground and motivation for a *modus vivendi* worthy of God (e.g. 1:6b, 8, 10, 11; 3:20; 4:5b) (S. Kim 2011:110, 111, 115). In this sense, for Paul "[k]nowing Christ is not a matter of more information about his life nor is it a matter of developing a proper attitude toward him. Knowing Christ is a matter of *participation* in Christ" (Cousar 2006:64 [emphasis original]). This is an example of Paul's Christocentric concept (cf. 1:1, 8, 10-11, 21, 27, 29; 2:5-11; 3:714; 4:1, 4, 7, 19, 23). This "Christocentric focus" plays a central role to establish "the foundation for the friendship between Paul and the Philippians," as well as a new lifestyle (Cousar 2006:58). Finally, we meet some mutual exhortations too (2:1-4; 4:5).

(6) Colossians

(a) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form, Colossians shows the common outline of the fivefold structure found in 1 Thessalonians: the opening (1:1-2), the thanksgiving or the proem (1:3-12), the body (1:13-2:15), the epistolary paraenesis (2:16-4:9) and the closing (4:10-18) (McDonald and Porter 2000:479). The opening, the thanksgiving or the proem and the closing were modified and Christianised. One specific feature of the closing of Colossians is that the final blessing is very short, without naming the origin of the "grace" (cf. Gal 6:18; Phil 4:23).

(b) Analysis

Deissmann (1965:238) maintained that Colossians, as well as Ephesians, was sent to churches that Paul did not found himself (cf. 2:1). According Colossians, Epaphras, not Paul, was the founder of this church (1:7-8; 4:12-13; cf. Guthrie 1970:545; Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:335; Cousar 2006:89; Klauck 2006:321). This fact allows one to expect that the content of Colossians would be more theoretical (viz. theological) and formal. On the one hand, Colossians does in fact contain theoretical parts (1:15-23; 2:9-15, 20-23; 3:1-4). However, such theoretical parts appear not because of general features of Colossians (cf. 2:1; 4:16; cf. 4:12-13), but because of its specific epistolary situation (e.g. 1:9-10; 2:6-7; 3:17; 4:8). Actually, these theoretical parts function as proof of Paul's arguments, directed to solving the pending questions of both the believers of the church in Colossae, and Epaphras, their leader. On the other hand, in terms of the formality, such an assumption is also not necessary, because Paul was used to hearing of them and their situation from his co-workers, such as Epaphras (1:7-8; 4:12), Tychicus (4:7-8) and Onesimus (4:9) (Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:152). Of course, if Paul was not known to the recipients directly, it is possible that Paul would have been concerned with the general reader in his composition (cf. 2:1; 4:16). Many theoretical parts seem to support this assumption, as in Romans and Ephesians. Nevertheless, we should agree that there are a number of personal features in this letter, especially in the thanksgiving (1:3-12), and in the section about the request for prayer and its other contents (4:2-4).[208] These factors indicate that in his pastoral considerations for them Paul was directly concerned with the recipients' pending problems.

According to Colossians, through Epaphras Paul might have heard not only about the steadfast "love in the Spirit" of the recipients (1:8; cf. 1:3-7), but also the threats to or temptations against their sound faith (2:4, 8, 16-19, 20b-22). Especially the latter matter seemed to threaten the recipients' life in the faith as well as their sound faith (Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:154; cf.

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[208] Barth and Blanke (1994:46) add as personal items stressing the apostle's authority, defaming the opponents as puffed-up people, calling their religion a deception and ridiculing it on all levels (1:24-2:8; 2:16-23).

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Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:336-337; Thompson 2005:6-9). In this situation, Paul, as pastor and mentor of both Epaphras and the believers of the church in Colossae (cf. 1:1, 23a, 24- 25; 2:1), tried to exercise his pastoral care through his exhortations and warnings (cf. 1:9-10; 2:6-7; 3:5) (Guthrie 1970:550-551; Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:152; cf. Guthrie 1970:545-546). In his ministry Paul was likely to aim at making people know Jesus through warning and teaching, and finally letting them be "mature in Christ" (ἵνα παραστήσωμεν πάντα ἄνθρωπον τέλειον ἐν Χριστῷ [1:28]). This aim applied to the known and the unknown believers in Colossae (2:1-2). Thus in this pastoral letter, Paul pointed out that they should lead lives "worthy of the Lord, fully pleasing *Him,* being fruitful in every good work and growing in the knowledge of God; strengthened with all might, according to His glorious power, for all patience and longsuffering [with joy]" (1:10-11 [NKJV]; cf. 3:1-11, 12-17; 1:18-4:1). They should also "continue to live" in Christ, "rooted and built up in him and established in the faith," just as they were taught (2:6-7), not shaken both by "philosophy and empty deceit, according to human tradition, according to the elemental spirits of the universe, and not according to Christ" (2:8), and by "human commands and teachings" (2:22).

For his effective pastoral care, Paul also employed various rhetorical devices in this letter though there are no "relationship-oriented" expressions[209] and no quotations of authoritative sources except a hymn (1:15-20). For example, Paul appealed to his hardships for Jesus and the believers (viz. the list of hardships [1:28-29; 2:1]) in order to engage the recipients' attention, and in his exhortation he used Jesus as the model to be imitated (3:13), a list of virtues and vices (3:5, 12) and the household code (3:18-4:1). For his words to have impact, he employed a number of literary devices, such as antithesis (e.g. 3:2, 5-10; cf. 1:21-22) and chiasm (e.g. 1:14-22), repetition (e.g. 1:4-6 and 9-11, 28), synonym (e.g. 1:4-5, 6, 9, 10, 14, 18, 22, 23, 26), cognation (e.g. 1:11, 29; 2:11),

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[209] However, we find some expressions that applied to various groups of the recipients, i.e. αἱ γυναῖκες ("wives" [3:18]), οἱ ἄνδρες ("husbands" [3:19]), τὰ τέκνα ("children" [3:20]), οἱ πατέρες ("fathers" [3:21]), οἱ δοῦλοι ("slaves" [3:22]) and οἱ κύριοι ("masters" [4:1]). However, because these expressions appear in the so-called household code, it is not certain whether they functioned in the normal way.

apposition (e.g. 1:4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 22, 25; 2:2), accumulation (of preposition) (e.g. 1:3-8, 12-13, 15-17, 19-20) and acclamation (e.g. 7, 15, 17) (Barth and Blanke 1994:61-62). Finally, specific verbal forms of exhortation are found , such as the imperative (2:6, 8, 16, 18; 3:1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 12,, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24; 4:1, 2, 5, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18) and the participle for command (3:13; 4:6).

In terms of Christian characteristics found in other Christian pastoral letters, firstly we can find that the concept of God's initiative not only plays a decisive role in Colossians (e.g. 1:21-23a), but also often provides the foundation for the subsequent encouragement and/or exhortation (e.g. 1:13-14; 2:20; 3:1, 12-13). Actually, this role can be applied to Jesus (e.g. 2:6; 3:11). Especially in Colossians, we find not only that Jesus played a key role in God's salvation scheme (e.g. 1:9-20, 26-27; 2:115), but also that knowing Jesus and imitating him were considered the ultimate aim of Christian discipline and life (e.g. 1:26-29; 2:1-3, 6-7; 2:20-3:4; 3:13-17, 18, 20, 22-24). Besides this, we see that the *parousia* of Jesus was related to the earthly *modus vivendi* of the believers (3:4) (cf. Thompson 2005:72; Wilson 2005:240). These things reveal the Christocentric feature of Colossians. Paul emphasises also mutual exhortations (3:13, 16). The appeal to prayer for him reveals the pastoral features of Colossians (4:2-4).

(7) 2 Thessalonians

(a) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form 2 Thessalonians shows a fivefold structure as in most Pauline letters: the opening (1:1-2), the thanksgiving or the proem (1:3-12), the body (2:1-12), the epistolary paraenesis (2:13-3:15) and the closing (3:16-18) (Malherbe 2000:359-359; McDonald and Porter 2000:429). Of course, as in other Pauline letters, the opening, the proem and the closing were modified and Christianised.

(b) Analysis

2 Thessalonians is also full of pastoral interest as is 1 Thessalonians (Malherbe 2000:361; cf. Green 2002:74). However, differing from 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians is not so complex in dealing with pastoral problems, because its pending questions were relatively simpler than those of 1 Thessalonians. In 2 Thessalonians Paul handled two major themes, i.e. both to weed out the false teachings about Jesus' *parousia*, especially that fabricated in Paul's name (2:1-3a), and to recommend to the unfaithful Christians the Christian *modus vivendi* worthy of God (3:6, 10-13) (Marshal, Travis and Paul 2002:66-67).[210] The necessity for such pastoral care might firstly be concerned with the suffering that the recipients were experiencing (cf. 1:3-9). In other words, because of their suffering the recipients were focusing on the imminence of Jesus' *parousia* (1:4-5, 10) and so some of them seemed to be wildly elated by the fact that they were living in the last days (2:1-2). And, though it was not so in every case, this situation perhaps encouraged those who were already idle to ignore their earthly life (3:11) (cf. Fee 2009:241).[211] Besides this, others were likely to slide back little by little in following Christian teaching (cf. 3:13). In this situation, Paul as pastor must have decided to solve these problems by either sharing the correct teachings with his recipients (2:3-14; 3:1-2), or giving them instructions (2:15; 3:12, 14-15; cf. 3:6-10), as well as encouraging them with blessings and prayers (1:3-12; 2:16-17; 3:3-5, 16; cf. 1:2; 3:18) (cf. Cousar 2006:94).

In exercising his psychagogy, Paul employed various effective tools. Firstly, though in this letter Paul appears as an authoritative person (cf. 2:5, 15; 3:10, 14), he did not insist on his

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[210] Supporting Holland, Aune (2003:463) presents the aims of this letter as (1) "to refute the false teaching of the disorderly members of the congregation," (2) "to reinterpret Paul's eschatology" and (3) "to bring peace to the congregations by enforcing obedience to Pauline tradition." However, if we accept the authorship of Paul, we should doubt if the words, "reinterpret" and "Pauline tradition" is appropriate in the context of 2 Thessalonians.

[211] On those who are "living in idleness" in 2 Thess 3:11, Marshall, Travis and Paul (2002:69) identify them as "poorer people seeking the 'patronage' of wealthier people," citing B. W. Winter (cf. Malherbe 2000:454-455; Green 2002:341-342).

authority to his recipients. Instead, Paul did not hesitate to address his recipients with "relationship-oriented" expressions such as ἀδελφοί ("brothers and sisters" [1:3; 2:1, 15; 3:1, 6, 13]) or ἀδελφοὶ ἠγαπημένοι ὑπὸ κυρίου ("brothers and sisters beloved by the Lord" [2:13]). Surely, such designations must have created the best atmosphere to share his exhortations or instructions with his recipients. For greater impact, Paul employed the word of remembrance (2:5; 3:10) and the model to be imitated (3:7, 9), as well as the list of hardships (3:7-9). Besides this, in this pastoral letter we not only find some hortatory terminology (e.g. 2:1; 3:6, 10, 12, 15b), but also specific verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative (2:3, 15; 3:1, 13, 14, 15) and the hortatory subjunctive (2:15; 2:3; 3:1, 13, 14).

In terms of Christian characteristics, we can identify some elements found in other Christian pastoral letters. For example, in this letter Paul never forgot that all things are in the hands of God (e.g. 1:11-12; 2:13-14, 16-17; 3:3, 5, 16; cf. 2:11-12) and should be done in the name of Jesus Christ (3:6, 12). Jesus' *parousia* forms the basis of Christians' lives on earth (1:6-10). God's initiative and the Christocentric concept are of the most particular features of Christian pastoral care, and function in this letter. We also find the request for mutual exhortation (1:3b; 3:15) and prayers for Paul himself (3:1-2a). Finally, this pastor blessed and prayed for the recipients (1:11-12; 2:16-17; 3:16; cf. 1:2; 3:18).

(8) Hebrews

The problem of the authorship of Hebrews has been central to the study of this letter since the early church, especially in relation to Paul, and recently most scholars reject Paul's authorship, though they accept that this letter is "Pauline" (Attridge 1989:1-6; cf. Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:391, 394-397; Cousar 2006:161; Rothschild 2009:45-62). Nevertheless, judging from the evidence of both important early uncial manuscripts (e.g. P[46], Codex Sinaiticus [01, ℵ], Codex Alexandrinus [02,

A] and Codex Vaticanus [03, B]) and lists of the canon of the NT left by the early church fathers[212] (cf. Trobisch 1994:26; McDonald 2002:592-594, 597; Rothschild 2009:19-20), in early Christianity Hebrews was considered to belong to the collection of Pauline letters, especially in the Eastern Church.[213] This means that Hebrews was regarded nothing other than as a letter of Paul by most Christians in early Christianity (Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:391). Thus in terms of the authorship, it is proper for this letter to be dealt with as part of the collection of Paul, at least in this dissertation that focuses on the general perspective and recognition of early Christianity.

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[212] E.g. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.3.4 (τοῦ δὲ Παύλου . . . αἱ δεκατέσσαρες); Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 4.36 (τὰς Παύλου δεκατέσσαρας ἐπιστολάς); Athanasius, *Ep. fest.* 39.5 (Παύλου ἀποστόλου εἰσὶν ἐπιστολαὶ δεκατέσσαρες); Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carm.* 12 (δέκα δὲ Παύλου τέσσαρές τ' ἐπιστολαί); Jerome, *Ep.* 53.8 (*Paulus Apostolus ad septem Ecclesias scribit, octava enim ad Hebraeos a plerisque extra numerum ponitur . . .*); Augustine, *Doctr. chr.* 2.8 (*quatuordecim Epistolis Pauli Apostoli . . .*); Rufinus, *Symb.* 37 (*Pauli apostoli epistolae quatuordecim*). Thus the following words of Rothschild (2009:217) are appropriate: "Hebrews maintained Pauline attribution from the time of its composition until Augustine and Jerome."

[213] In the West there must have been some doubt about Paul's authorship of Hebrews (cf. du Toit 1989:221). E.g. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.3.4: τοῦ δὲ Παύλου πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς αἱ δεκατέσσαρες· ὅτι γε μὴν τινες ἠθετήκασι τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους, πρὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ὡς μὴ Παύλου οὖσαν αὐτὴν ἀντιλέγεσθαι φήσαντες . . . ("And the fourteen letters of Paul are obvious and plain, yet it is not right to ignore that some dispute the Epistle to the Hebrews, saying that it was rejected by the church of Rome, as not being by Paul . . ."); 6.20.3: Ἦλθεν δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ Γαΐου, λογιωτάτου ἀνδρός, διάλογος, ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατὰ Ζεφυρῖνον πρὸς Πρόκλον τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας αἱρέσεως ὑπερμαχοῦντα κεκινημένος· ἐν ᾧ τῶν δι' ἐναντίας τὴν περὶ τὸ συντάττειν καινὰς γραφὰς προπέτειάν τε καὶ τόλμαν ἐπιστολμίζων, τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀποστόλου δεκατριῶν μόνων ἐπιστολῶν μνημονεύει, τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους μὴ συναριθμήσας ταῖς λοιπαῖς, ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τισὶν οὐ νομίζεται τοῦ ἀποστόλου τυγχάνειν ("And there has reached us also a Dialogue of Gaius, a very learned person [which was set a-going at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus], with Proclus the champion of the heresy of the Phrygians. In which, when curbing the recklessness and audacity of his opponents in composing new Scriptures, he mentions only thirteen epistles of the holy Apostle, not numbering the Epistle to the Hebrews with the rest; seeing that even to this day among the Romans there are some who do not consider it to be the Apostle's") (Lake, LCL). Nevertheless, this does not mean that a traditional schema of "[a]n 'East *versus* West'" is totally acceptable, because Hebrews was never rejected totally in the West (e.g. *1 Clement*, Justin Martyr [100-165 C.E.], Ephraem Syrus [306-373 C.E.] and Epiphanius [315-403 C.E.]), nor accepted unanimously in the East (e.g. Theophilus of Antioch [169-183 C.E.] and Origen [ca. 185-254 C.E.]) (Rothschild 2009:43-44; cf. 19-20, 29-33, 36-39).

(a) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form, Hebrews' condition is different from other letters in the NT. Hebrews lacks the prescript that is considered to be one of the most important formal features of the letter genre (White 1982:92). Along with the heavy content of Hebrews, this lack of the prescript made some scholars think Hebrews to be anything else than a letter, for example, a homily (Gelardini 2005:107-127 [107 and 124]), a speech (DeSilva 2004:789), a midrash (Tönges 2005:89-105 [89]) or something else (cf. Ellingworth 1992:60-61 [60, n. 27]). However, it keeps the closing (13:20-25). Along with the prescript, the final greeting is also one of the most important features of the letter genre. Furthermore, the closing of Hebrews is even similar to that of Pauline letters, which is highly elaborated (Weima 1994a:152-155 [154]). As most letters of Paul, Hebrews contains the peace of benediction, the hortatory section, the greeting and the grace benediction in the closing. Thus, the closing of Hebrews (13:20-25) starts with the peace of benediction (v. 20) and closes with the grace benediction (v. 25), including the doxology (v. 21), the hortatory section (v. 22) and the greeting (v. 24) (Weima 1994a:9, 80, 104, 106-107, 136-137). In addition, we can find a *quasi*-visiting talk in verse 23, which consists of an element of the closing of Greco-Roman letters (cf. White 1971b: 16-20). This fact implies that the closing of Hebrew is simply not an epistolary frame that is often found in non-epistolary works, but functions as a genuine closing of letter. As regards the absence of the prescript we may assume that it was detached for some unknown reason (cf. Ellingworth 1992:61). Beside this, Hebrews shows the immediacy of its content (cf. Ellingworth 1992:60). These factors indicate that Hebrews was a genuine letter dispatched to the believers named the "Hebrews" (Ellingworth 1992:62; cf. Cousar 2006:161). Nevertheless, we may confess that it is not easy to draw an outline of Hebrews in terms of epistolary structure, especially following that of most letters of Paul.[214] So we simply divide this letter into three parts, i.e. the proem (1:1-4), the body (1:5-13:17) and the epistolary closing (13:18-25) (Klauck 2006:335-336).

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[214] Thus even McDonald and Porter (2000:526, 528), who preferred epistolary analysis of the letters in the NT, divided Hebrews into five sections: A. 1:1-4 (God speaks through his Son), B. 1:5-7:28 (The Son superior to other beings), C.

(b) Analysis

On the point of the closing of his pastoral letter, the author of Hebrews commanded his recipients to keep his "word of exhortation" (13:22a): Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ἀνέχεσθε τοῦ λόγου τῆς παρακλήσεως ("I appeal to you, brothers and sisters, bear with my word of exhortation"). Since this "word of exhortation" is commonly regarded as a reference to the entire letter (Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:391), from this short verse we find why the author exhorts (παρακαλῶ) in his letter. Actually, when the author was on the point of writing this letter, the recipients seemed to be facing a crisis in their faith, and such a crisis must have been caused by various harsh circumstances that oppressed them. The origin of the harsh situation is not certain. But from the text we can assume that it was caused by either their conversion to a new faith and the *modus vivendi* of that faith, or tempting but dangerous teachings. One sure thing is that in the past there were some persecutions because of their faith (10:32-34). But now they were threatened and oppressed by false teachings and the sins caused by them (cf. 12:4). However, the bigger problem in the view of the author was not the situation of struggling, but the situation of the recipients' faith. In the previous persecution they were victors in faith. At that time they were steadfast and brave in facing the suffering (10:32-34). But this time the author could not be confident of his recipients. Against the strange teachings, their faith was still immature (5:11-12; 6:1-2, 9-12). In his view these two factors, i.e. the spreading of tempting but dangerous teachings among his recipients, and his recipients' immaturity in faith (here correct knowledge concerning their faith) together could produce the worst result among his recipients, i.e. a lapse in faith (cf. 2:1; 3:12-14; 4:1; 6:4-8; 10:26-27; cf. 12:25) (Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:232; cf. Cousar 2006:161). Thus in this situation, the author, as pastor, had no choice but to try and set his recipients back firmly on a steady foundation (viz. Jesus Christ), and to let

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8:1-10:18 (The Son the new high priest of the new covenant), D. 10:19-13:19 (Entrance into the new covenant) and E. 13:20-25 (Closing).

them grow in Jesus (12:1-2, 7-10, 12-13). Thus in the passage of Heb 6:11-12, the author expressed this wish for his recipients:

Ἐπιθυμοῦμεν δὲ ἕκαστον ὑμῶν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνδείκνυσθαι σπουδὴν πρὸς τὴν πληροφορίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἄχρι τέλους, ἵνα μὴ νωθροὶ γένησθε, μιμηταὶ δὲ τῶν διὰ πίστεως καὶ μακροθυμίας κληρονομούντων τὰς ἐπαγγελίας.

And we want each one of you to show the same diligence so as to realize the full assurance of hope to the very end, so that you may not become sluggish, but imitators of those who through faith and patience inherit the promises.

He wanted his recipients to do their best to reach the abundance of their hope and other inheritance of the promise of God. For this reason the author sent his pastoral letter that is full of various forms of persuasion in theological explanation or argument (e.g. 1:5-2:18; 3:1-5:10; 5:11-10:39; 11:1-12:3; 12:14-13:19) and of exhortation, encouragement and rebuke (e.g. 2:1-4; 3:7-4:11; 4:14-16; 5:11-6:12; 10:19-39 [32-39]; 12:1-13:17 [12:3-11]) (Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:391-392). The author of this letter poured "his heart and all his theological and rhetorical skill into creating his 'word of exhortation' to the community he cares for" (Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:233).

In his pastoral letter, the author employed some persuasive tools. Firstly, he addressed his recipients with "relationship-oriented" designations, such as ἀδελφοί ("brothers and sisters" [3:12; 10:19; 13:22]) and ἀδελφοὶ ἅγιοι, κλήσεως ἐπουρανίου μέτοχοι ("brothers and sisters, holy partners in a heavenly calling" [3:1]). These designations must have increased the effect of the author's psychagogy. And in his explanation he quoted and alluded to authoritative sources such as Scripture (1:4-13; 2:6-8, 12-13; 3:7-11, 15; 4:3, 4-5, 7; 5:5-6; 6:13-14; 7:1-2, 17, 21; 8:5, 8-12; 9:20; 10:5-7, 8-9, 16-17, 30, 37-38; 11:5, 18, 21; 12:5-6, 20-21, 26; 13:5-6) and a creed (6:1-2),[215] and illustration

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[215] On the use of the OT, see Guthrie 2007:919-995 (919-923). Cf. Guthrie 2004:430-433.

(11:1-38). Furthermore, for the impact of his words the author employed the model to be imitated (6:12; 12:2-3; 13:7; 13:12-13), the word of remembrance (3:1; 10:32; 12:3; cf. 12:5), *exampla* (chap. 11; cf. Guthrie 2004:420), the list of hardships (10:32-34) and the list of virtues (7:26). Besides this, we can find some rhetorical devices (viz. tropes and figures), such as alliteration (e.g. 1:1; 2:2; 7:25; 11:28; 12:11; 13:19; cf. Aune 2003:212), anaphora (e.g. chap. 11), antithesis (e.g. 7:18-20, 23-24, 28; 10:11-12), assonance (e.g. 1:1-3; 6:20; 10:26; 12:9), asyndeton (e.g. 7:3, 26; 11:32-34, 37; 12:25), brachylogy (e.g. 1:4; 12:24), chiasm (e.g. 2:8-9, 18; 4:16; 7:3, 23-24; 10:38-39; 12:19, 22; 13:14), ellipse (e.g. 7:19; 12:25), hendiadys (e.g. 2:2; 5:2; 6:10; 8:5; 11:36; 12:18), hyperbaton (e.g. 2:9, 14; 4:8; 9:15; 12:3, 24), isocolon (e.g. 1:3; 7:3, 26), litotes (e.g. 4:15; 6:10; 7:20; 9:7, 18), metaphor (e.g. 2:2-4;4:12-13; 5:12-14; 6:1, 7-8, 16, 19; 7:12, 22; 9:16-17; 11:10; 12:1-3, 7-11, 11-13; cf. 2:1) and paronomasia (e.g. 2:10; 3:11; 5:8; 7:9, 23-24; 9:16-17; 10:38-39; 12:2) (Attridge 1989:20-21; Guthrie 2004:419-422). Finally, this letter contains a number of specific verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative (3:12, 13; 10:32, 35; 12:3, 7, 12, 14, 25; 13:1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 16, 17, 18, 24) and the hortatory subjunctive (4:1, 11, 14, 16; 6:1; 10:22, 23, 24; 12:1, 28; 13:13, 15).

In terms of Christian characteristics, the most distinctive thing in this letter is its Christocentric nature. In fact, all the exhortations and argumentations focus on "the supremacy of Christ" and are based on it (Moo, Carson and Morris 1992:391; cf. Guthrie 2004:433-437). Thus Cousar (2006:164) is right when he writes as follows:

> It is critical to note that though the writer uses exhortations as the means by which to call this struggling community back to faith in Christ and to service in the world, he does so by laying a strong christological base.

And God's initiative is also found. Thus "we" should "go on toward perfection, leaving behind the basic teaching about Christ, and not laying again the foundation . . .," but it is never easy. However, "we" will accomplish this "if God permits" (6:1-3). Again, in order that "we may share his [sc. God's] holiness," we should be disciplined by God (12:10b). Actually, becoming "complete in everything good" is possible only by God's total grace (13:20-21). We see that the eschatological

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expectation of Jesus' *parousia* functions as the basis of the subsequent exhortations (13:14, 15-16) (Guerra 1995:158). The pastor also did not forget to urge his recipients to encourage one another, i.e. the mutual exhortations (3:13; 12:14; 13:1, 18-19). Here we can include the appeal to pray for the author himself (13:18). Finally, there are the blessings and the prayers for the recipients (13:20-21, 25).

b) Letters dispatched to Individuals

(1) Letters to Timothy and Titus: The So-Called "Pastorals"

Since the early nineteenth century when German scholars such as C. Schmidt (1804), F. Schleiermacher (1807), J. G. Eichorn (1812) and F. Chr. Baur (1835) expressed doubt about the authorship of both letters to Timothy and the one to Titus, the authenticity of Paul's authorship of these letters has been questioned (Spicq 1969:158; Harding 2001:10; Johnson 2001: 42-54; Towner 2006:10).[216] These doubts were based both on critical studies of their content, thought and style, as well as the weakness of early Christian witness about them.[217] Thus scholars concluded that these

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[216] In his commentary on the two letters to Timothy, Johnson (2001:42) evaluated this tendency clearly as follows: "The beginning of the nineteenth century makes a decisive turn in the history of the interpretation of 1 and 2 Timothy. Over the previous centuries, the letters had been construed as Pauline and, even more important, as Scripture. To be sure, historical questions were put to the letters. But the point of such questioning was the better understanding of their language and of the situations they addressed. In the cases where 1 or 2 Timothy appeared to say something at odds with another letter of Paul's, the tension between them was resolved in a variety of ways, but never by appeal to different authors writing at different periods of time. In the nineteenth century, however, history comes to play another role, that of determining the genuineness of literary attribution. The question of the letters' authenticity – whether they were written by Paul during his life – dominates all discussion of 1 and 2 Timothy over the next two hundred years."

[217] Hultgren (2004:142-143) summarised the basis of such doubts in the following five factors: (1) "[t]he lack of universal knowledge of the Pastorals among the letters of Paul in antiquity," (2) "terms and expressions," limited to the so-called Pastorals, "that are not found in the undisputed letters of Paul," (3) missing or differently used "[t]heological terms and concepts known from the undisputed letters of Paul," (4) "[t]he form of church order found in the Pastorals – with bishops, presbyters, and deacons as norm," which does not appear in the undisputed letters of Paul and (5) "great difficulty fitting the Pastorals into the career of the apostle Paul" known from Acts and the undisputed letters of Paul.

letters were not composed by Paul himself, but ascribed to Paul. Recent positive re-evaluation of pseudonymous works, not as forgeries, but as supplements or expansions of original authors to which relevant works were ascribed, made it easier for scholars and students to accept the suggestion that they were pseudonymous. Despite these suggested doubts, these letters were often accepted by Christians from the very early period of Christianity as letters genuinely written by Paul, or transmitted in collections of Pauline letters (Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:374, 379, 382; cf. Spicq 1969:157-214; Trobisch 1994:6-7, 9). Factors that were used in questioning the authenticity, have also effectively been refuted or explained. Furthermore, contrary to the previous assumption, recent scholars found a negative attitude towards pseudonymous works, especially epistolary works, in early Christianity. In other words, otherwise than the attitude to the gospel genre and the apocalyptic genre, early Christians tended to solemnly reject spurious letters.[218] These facts strongly suggest that, at least in the Christian context of the first five centuries C.E., 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus existed as Pauline letters. So I will deal with them from this perspective.

Before dealing with the individual letters, I wish to add that in terms of the hortatory characteristics of these letters a number of scholars, for example, Fiore (1986), Harding (1998) and Malherbe (1989d; 1989e; 2004; 2010; 2011), have demonstrated that these letters are consistent with the hortatory letter tradition, i.e. pastoral letters. Nevertheless, these letters may have some special features distinguishable from those dispatched to the communities, because they were sent to individuals, i.e. Timothy and Titus. Another thing to be remembered is that these individuals (viz. Timothy and Titus) were surely Paul's disciples, who needed guidance or instruction from their teacher, but simultaneously also leaders of other churches or communities. This fact must have influenced the character of these letters, and consequently many scholars agree that in many points these letters are similar to a manual for a young pastor (White 1988:101).

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[218] As a result, the *Epistle to the Laodiceans* and the *Third Corinthians* found in *Acts of Paul* were not accepted from the first period of their emergence (Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:367-371).

(a) 1 Timothy

(i) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form, while 1 Timothy follows the common structure of 1 Thessalonians, it lacks the proem (viz. thanksgiving) as Galatians and Titus do. This means that 1 Timothy has a fourfold structure: the opening (1:1-2), the body (1:3-4:16), the epistolary paraenesis (?) (5:1-6:19) and the closing (6:20-21) (McDonald and Porter 2000:497).[219] This letter was also modified and Christianised, especially in the opening and the closing.

(ii) Analysis

The purpose of this letter was explicitly expressed in 1 Tim 3:14-15 (cf. Knight 1992:178). There Paul explained why he sent this letter to Timothy with the following words:

> Ταῦτά σοι γράφω ἐλπίζων ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σὲ ἐν τάχει· ἐὰν δὲ βραδύνω, ἵνα εἰδῇς πῶς δεῖ ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ ἀναστρέφεσθαι, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία θεοῦ ζῶντος, στῦλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας.
>
> I hope to come to you soon, but I am writing these instructions to you so that, if I am delayed, you may know how one ought to behave in the household of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and bulwark of the truth.

There is a debate whether the demonstrative pronoun ταῦτα ("these instructions") indicates either the immediate previous context (3:1-13), or the broader context (1:18-3:13), or the entire letter.[220] In

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[219] Klauck (2006:325-326) suggests that 1 Tim 1:3-20 is the proem, and, according to him, the body runs from 2:1 to 6:19 without any epistolary paraenesis.

[220] I agree with Towner (2006:270-271 [271]), who insists that the demonstrative pronoun, ταῦτα ("these instructions"), includes the entire letter.

any case, this passage teaches us that Paul (e.g. 1:1, 12-14; 2:7) wanted to give his "royal child in the faith" (1:2, 18; cf. 6:20) and fellow worker (cf. 6:11) Timothy some exhortations and instructions related to the problems of the *modus vivendi* in Christian communities. To Paul, Timothy was a reliable co-worker (1:2, 3; 6:11; cf. 5:22). Nevertheless, in the eyes of the senior pastor, Timothy was still a pupil who needed the advice or guidance of a teacher. Thus we can find that a number of exhortations and instructions in this letter can also be applied to Timothy himself (1:18b-19; 4:6-10, 13-16; 5:1-3, 22b; 6:11-16, 20-21a) and are related to his duties as a minister (3:1-13; 4:11-12; 5:4-16, 17-22a; 6:1-2a, 2b-10, 17-19). In this respect, all these things can be said to come from a senior pastor's pastoral concern for his former pupil, but presently young fellow pastor.

For his effective pastoral care, Paul employed various literary tools. Above all, Paul used some "relationship-oriented" expressions, such as Τιμοθέῳ γνησίῳ τέκνῳ ("to Timothy, [[my]] loyal child" [1:2]), τέκνον Τιμόθεε ("Timothy, [[my]] child" [1:18]), ὦ Τιμόθεε ("Timothy" [6:20]) and ὦ ἄνθρωπε θεοῦ ("man of God" [6:11]). Along with the word of remembrance (1:3-4) these designations contributed to deepen the relationship between Paul and his recipient. For effective persuasion he used authoritative sources such as Scripture (5:18-19), creeds (2:5-6[; 3:16]; 6:12-16; cf. 1:15), a hymn (3:16),[221] and illustrations for argument and exhortation (cf. 1:3-20 [16]) (cf. Fiore 1986:18). The use of the list of virtues and vices (1:9-10; 2:9, 15; 3:2-7; 6:4-5, 11-12) was for the same purpose. We find that Paul used the household code in a Christianised form which was known to his recipient (2:8-15; 5:1-2; 6:1-2). Besides this, for impact Paul used various stylistic devices (viz. tropes and figures) in his composition, for example, antithesis (e.g. 1:7, 9; 2:9-10, 11-12, 14; 4:8; 5:1, 5, 24; 6:4, 6, 9-11, 11), hyperbole (e.g. 1:7, 14; 6:4-5), personification (e.g. 1:9), simile (e.g. 5:1-2), metaphor (e.g. 1:5, 10, 18, 19, 20; 2:9; 3:6, 7, 9, 15; 4:2, 8, 10; 6:3, 4, 12, 15, 16, 19, 20), deliberative question (e.g. 3:5), anaphora (e.g. 1:17), antistasis (e.g. 1:15-16. 20), epiphora (e.g. 1:9-

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[221] On the use of the OT, see Towner 2007:892-902.

10; 2:1; 3:3), paromoiosis (e.g. 5:10), parallelism (e.g. 3:16; 4:8), repetition (e.g. 1:13 and 16; 2:2, 4 and 5; 2:5; 3:6-7; 5:5 and 6; 5:13, 16; 6:12-13), the same idea in a different grammatical construction (e.g. 5:8), the same root with different prefixes (e.g. 1:4; 6:7), the same prefix with different roots (e.g. 5:13) and like-soundings words (e.g. 6:16) (Fiore 1986:12-13, 18). Finally, in this pastoral letter we see not only a number of hortatory expressions (e.g. 1:1, 3, 15, 18; 2:1; 4:6, 11, 13; 5:1, 7, 20; 6:2, 13, 17), but also a few specific verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative (4:11-16; 5:1, 7, 11, 19, 20, 22, 23; 6:2, 11-12, 17, 20) and the subjunctive for a negative imperative (5:1).

In terms of Christian characteristics, it is important that Paul exercised his care "before God" (ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ) (5:21; 6:13). Although Paul really wanted Timothy to become a true pastor also for his congregation (4:6a, 12; cf. 6:12), the ultimate aim of Paul's exhortations was to make Timothy "right" (καλόν) and "acceptable" (ἀπόδεκτον) in the eyes of God (2:3; cf. 6:1), "a good servant of Christ Jesus (καλός . . . διάκνος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ), nourished on the words of faith and sound teaching that you have followed" (4:6b; cf. 1:3-7), and a person worthy of the designation "man of God" (ὦ ἄνθρωπε θεοῦ) (6:11). Paul stressed that these things should continue "until the manifestation of our Lord Jesus Christ" (μέχρι τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) because God "will bring" it "about at the right time" (6:14-15).

(b) 2 Timothy

(i) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form, 2 Timothy lacks the epistolary paraenesis, probably because the entire letter is "a friendly letter of personal encouragement" (Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:183; cf. Aune 2003:474). Thus 2 Timothy consists of the fourfold structure: the opening (1:1-2), the thanksgiving or the proem (1:3-5), the body (1:6-4:18) and the closing (4:19-22) (McDonald and Porter 2000:498). As in other Pauline letters, 2 Timothy was modified and Christianised, especially in the opening and the closing.

(ii) Analysis

In 2 Timothy we find some implications that this letter was a final message from Paul to Timothy. Paul, who had already experienced the first trial and had been deserted (4:16; cf. 1:15; 4:9b-10), seemed to know instinctively of his imminent death (4:6-8), and so must have longed for his fellow minister Timothy (1:4; 4:9a). In this situation the senior pastor sent his last letter to his "beloved child," i.e. Timothy (Τιμόθεος ἀγαπητὸν τέκνον [1:2]). Here Paul wrote about himself and gave what might be his final exhortations and instructions. In this sense 2 Timothy can be named a testamentary letter (Klauck 2006:326-327; cf. Harding 2001:78-80 [79]; Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:183). In other words, at the end of his life as well as his ministry, Paul once more felt it necessary to fix his fellow pastor Timothy's mind on his calling as minister (Guthrie 1970:623), because the way of Jesus' servant was a *via dolorosa*, as Paul himself had already experienced and summarised with the following words in 2 Tim 3:10-12 (cf. 1:11-12; 2:9-10):

Σὺ δὲ παρηκολούθησάς μου τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, τῇ ἀγωγῇ, τῇ προθέσει, τῇ πίστει, τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ, τῇ ἀγάπῃ, τῇ ὑπομονῇ, τοῖς διωγμοῖς, τοῖς παθήμασιν, οἷά μοι ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ἐν Ἰκονίῳ, ἐν Λύστροις, οἵους διωγμοὺς ὑπήνεγκα καὶ ἐκ πάντων με ἐρρύσατο ὁ κύριος. καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ θέλοντες εὐσεβῶς ζῆν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διωχθήσονται.

Now you have observed my teaching, my conduct, my aim in life, my faith, my patience, my love, my steadfastness, my persecutions and sufferings the things that happened to me in Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra. What persecutions I endured! Yet the Lord rescued me from all of them. Indeed, all who want to live a godly life in Christ Jesus will be persecuted.

Here Paul confessed that in all persecutions the Lord "rescued" him. Thus Timothy need not be depressed on his road as minister, because the Lord would rescue him too, as the Lord had "rescued" Paul (Knight 1992:441). Nevertheless, it was still a *via dolorosa*. It was especially true that the greater the effort he would make to live according to the will of God, the more the intensity of his sufferings would increase (καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ θέλοντες εὐσεβῶς ζῆν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διωχθήσονται). Certainly, having accompanied Paul as his assistant, Timothy must have realised this

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fact (σὺ δὲ παρηκολούθησας . . .). Now the spiritual father wanted to encourage his spiritual son and junior pastor Timothy not only to be faithful to his calling, but also to conduct his duties as a minister faithfully (3:14-17; cf. 2:1-7, 15, 22-26) (Johnson 2001:320). Thus Paul wrote as follows in the passages of 2 Tim 4:1-2 and 5:

> Διαμαρτύρομαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ . . . κήρυξον τὸν λόγον, ἐπίστηθι εὐκαίρως ἀκαίρως, ἔλεγξον, ἐπιτίμησον, παρακάλεσον, ἐν πάσῃ μακροθυμίᾳ καὶ διδαχῇ . . . Σὺ δὲ νῆφε ἐν πᾶσιν, κακοπάθησον, ἔργον ποίησον εὐαγγελιστοῦ, τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησον.
>
> In the presence of God and of Christ Jesus . . ., I solemnly urge you: proclaim the message; be persistent whether the time is favorable or unfavorable; convince, rebuke, and encourage, with the utmost patience in teaching . . . As for you, always be sober, endure suffering, do the work of an evangelist, carry out your ministry fully.

From this we can infer that Paul was very serious, because he used the expressions "in the presence of God and of Christ Jesus," "I solemnly urge," "persistent whether the time is favorable or unfavorable," "with the utmost patience," "sober," "endure suffering" and "fully." These expressions show how intent and serious Paul was in giving his exhortations and instructions (Johnson 2001:433; cf. Towner 2006:595-596).

In sharing his exhortations and instructions, Paul did not simply give free reign to his thoughts. Instead, he carefully arranged his thoughts and used effective literary devices. For example, Paul addressed his junior fellow minister with "relationship-oriented" expressions, such as Τιμοθέῳ ἀγαπητῷ τέκνῳ ("to Timothy, my beloved child" [1:2]) and σύ . . . τέκνον μου ("you . . . my child" [2:1]), and sometimes used the second person singular pronoun (σύ) at the beginning of a sentence (2:1; 3:10, 14; 4:5). These expressions show not only Paul's love for Timothy, but also

how his words should be taken to heart by Timothy. And to aid Timothy's understanding, Paul used authoritative sources such as Scripture (2:19; 4:14, 17), a creed (4:1-2; cf. 1:9-10) a hymn (2:9-13),[222] and an illustration for argument (3:8) (cf. Fiore 1986:18). Furthermore, for effective exhortation, he used the word of remembrance (1:5, 6; 2:2, 8; 3:14-15 cf. 2:14), the model to be imitated (3:1-17 [10]; cf. 1:8-14), the list of virtues and vices (2:22; 3:2-5) and the list of hardships (2:9-13; 3:10b-12). Besides this, there are stylistic devices (viz. tropes and schemes) for greater impact, for example, antithesis (e.g. 1:7, 8, 9, 10; 2:20, 24; 3:5, 7; 3:10, 14 and 4:5; 4:8, 16), hyperbole (e.g. 1:15; 3:8, 12; 4:16), personification (e.g. 1:5; 2:9), simile (e.g. 2:3-7, 17), metaphor (e.g. 1:6, 10, 12-14; 2:15, 17, 20-21, 26; 3:6; 4:3, 6, 7, 8), anaphora (e.g. 2:11-12; 3:10-11, 11, 16-17), antistasis (e.g. 1:17, 18; 2:9), epiphora (e.g. 3:2-4), paromoiosis (e.g. 4:7), parallelism (e.g. 2:11-13), repetition (e.g. 4:17, 18), the same idea in different grammatical construction (e.g. 3:13), the same root with different prefixes (e.g. 4:2) and like-soundings words (e.g. 1:12) (Fiore 1986:12-13, 18). Finally, this last letter of Paul to his junior pastor is full of hortatory terms (e.g. 2:2; 3:16; 4:2) and specific verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative (1:8, 13, 14; 2:1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 14, 15, 16, 22, 23; 3:1, 14; 4:2, 5, 9, 19) and the subjunctive for a negative command (1:8).

In terms of Christian characteristics, we find the concept of God's initiative (e.g. 1:7b, 9, 14; 2:7b; 3:15; 4:1 cf. 1:1; 3:11), and Jesus Christ always stands at the centre of his arguments and exhortations (viz. the Christocentric concept [e.g. 1:13; 2:1, 8; cf. 1:9-10; 3:12]). These two concepts were summarised by Paul in a phrase, "in the presence of God and of Christ Jesus" (ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ) (4:1; cf. 2:14). Besides this, 2 Timothy contains not only mutual exhortation (2:1-4; cf. 2:22), but also Paul's blessing and prayer for the recipient (1:2, 3[, 18]; 4:22).

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[222] On the use of the OT, see Towner 2007:902-913.

(c) Titus

(i) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form, Titus lacks the proem (viz. the thanksgiving). Thus it has a fourfold structure: the opening (1:1-4), the body (1:5-16), the epistolary paraenesis (2:1-3:14) and the closing (3:15) (McDonald and Porter 2000:498).[223] The opening and the closing were modified and Christianised in form.

(ii) Analysis

The Letter to Titus tells directly why it was composed. In Titus 1:5-9 we read the story that, having left Titus in Crete, Paul "directed" him to complete "what remained to be done" and to perform the task to appoint church leaders, i.e. a bishop and elders (cf. Knight 1992:9). These words of the senior pastor to the junior one were continued in Titus 1:10-2:15, where Paul taught Titus how he should guide his believers who were not only in diverse spiritual conditions, but also in different social classes. These words were related to Titus' qualification as a leader. Thus in Titus 2:15, Paul exhorted Titus not to be looked down upon by others, by guiding his believers appropriately according to his advice. In this sense, this letter seems to be a pastoral manual. In fact, Titus 3:1-11 is also is full of instructions that pastor Titus should give to his believers.

Nevertheless, in this letter we find a few themes that Paul was especially interested in. Firstly, it is about sound teachings. Thus in Titus 2:1, Paul commanded Titus: Σὺ δὲ λάλει ἃ πρέπει τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ ("But as for you, teach what is consistent with sound doctrine"). In its broader context, such a command was concerned with the threat of false teachers (1:10-11, 16). Perhaps such teachers found followers among the believers in Crete, and because of them there was strife in the church (3:9-10). Paul issued quite strict instructions against them, and ordered Titus to

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[223] Klauck (2006:327) thinks a threefold division to be enough: the opening (1:1-4), the body (1:5-3:11) and the closing (3:12-15) (cf. Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:179).

carry them out (αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νουθεσίαν παραιτοῦ ["after a first and second admonition, have nothing more to do with anyone who causes divisions"]; 3:10) (Knight 1992:11). Secondly, Paul mentioned the problem of the quality of the leader. Thus in Titus 2:7-8a, Paul writes as follows (cf. 3:9):

> Περὶ πάντα, σεαυτὸν παρεχόμενος τύπον καλῶν ἔργων, ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀφθορίαν, σεμνότητα, λόγον ὑγιῆ ἀκατάγνωστον.
>
> Show yourself in all respects a model of good works, and in your teaching show integrity, gravity, and sound speech that cannot be censured.

Actually, this request was not new to Titus, because this quality was not only required of his contemporary soul-guides, but also his spiritual father Paul proved himself to be such a model to Titus. Anyway, here Paul emphasised the qualities of God's servant rather than other qualifications (Knight 1992:311-312; Towner 2006:731-733). In this sense, this letter can be said to be a pastoral letter that has "the character of a "mandate" to a "delegate" (Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:179; cf. Towner 2006:33-35).

In order to deliver his instructions to Titus effectively, Paul employed various rhetorical devices. Firstly, he addressed Titus with a "relationship-oriented" expression, i.e. Τίτῳ γνησίῳ τέκνῳ κατὰ κοινὴν πίστιν ("to Titus, my loyal child in the faith we share" [1:4]) (cf. Malherbe 2004:298-299). And for argument, he used Scripture or an apostolic witness (2:14; f. Towner 2006:758, 913-917), a proverb (1:12) and a hymn (3:4-7) (cf. Fiore 1986:18; Towner 2006:32). For exhortations and instructions Paul used both the list of virtues and vices (1:7-10; 2:2, 5, 12) and the household code (2:1-10; 3:1-7) (Malherbe 2004:304-306). One special feature is that, while in other letters Paul sometimes provided himself as the model to be imitated to his recipients, here he commanded that Titus should be the model to be imitated by his believers (2:7; cf. 2:14). Besides this, Paul employed some stylistic devices (viz. tropes and figures), such as antithesis (e.g. 1:7-9, 13-14, 16; 2:1, 3; 3:5; cf. Malherbe 2004:303-304), hyperbole (e.g. 1:13; 3:8), personification (e.g. 2:11), simile (e.g. 1:7), metaphor (e.g. 1:9, 11, 13; 2:1, 2, 8; 3:5), anaphora (e.g. 2:2), antistasis (e.g.

1:1), epiphora (e.g. 2:2) and like-soundings words (e.g. 2:15) (Fiore 1986:12-13, 18). Finally, there are some hortatory terms (e.g. 1:3, 5, 9, 13; 2:6, 15; 3:1, 10, 14) and the imperative for instruction (1:13; 2:1, 6, 15; 3:1, 9, 10, 14).

In terms of the Christian characteristics often found in other pastoral letters, Paul expressed the concept of God's initiative (Malherbe 2004:316). It was emphasised especially that all things, which were done for his pastoral care, depended on God, not on the efforts of the believers, including Paul and Titus (e.g. 3:3-6; cf. 2:11-13). Paul's basic idea of psychagogy was rooted in Jesus Christ (e.g. 3:6-7; cf. 1:4; 2:13; cf. Malherbe 2004:317; Towner 2006:786). Besides this, in Titus 2:3-5, we can find an example of mutual exhortation.

(2) Philemon

(a) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form, Philemon is also divided according to the common structure of Pauline letters, though it lacks the epistolary paraenesis. Thus it has a fourfold structure: the opening (1-3), the thanksgiving or the proem (4-7), the body (8-22) and the closing (23-25) (McDonald and Porter 2000:482). The opening and closing were Christianised as in other Pauline letters (Wilson 2005:331, 367).

(b) Analysis

Most scholars agree that Paul sent the letter to Philemon in order to arbitrate between Philemon and his former slave Onesimus (10-16) (Achtemeier, Green and Thompson 2001:421; Wilson 2005:317-318; cf. Fitzmyer 2000:23). In this sense, Philemon can be said to be a "letter of request" "with the feature of a recommendation letter for Onesimus based on a relationship with Philemon mixed in" (Klauck 2006:329), or a petitionary letter (Fitzmyer 2000:24). But on this point, we should consider another problem, namely that Paul did not send this letter only to Philemon. According to verses 1b-2, there are other recipients, such as Apphia, Archippus and the church in Philemon's house, along with Philemon. In this sense, this letter is not simply a letter sent to an individual (Theissen

2003:69; Klauck 2006:329). [224] With relation to this fact, some scholars insist that multiple recipients must have influenced the choice of Philemon as a catalyst. That is, it makes him do what Paul wanted, because in that case this letter would be read aloud before the whole congregation. There could probably have been such a strategy of persuasion by Paul (Fitzmyer 2000:81; cf. Theissen 2003:69; DeSilva 2004:674).

However, an important question arises, i.e. whether Paul needed to employ such a strategy, because Paul's position in relationship to Philemon was authoritative enough to directly ask or command what he wanted (8, 14, 17, 20, 21, 22). Besides this, if Philemon did not want to listen to Paul to start with, what would be the use of the multiple recipients! Therefore, we must look at this problem from a different point of view, namely that Paul deals with the *Onesimus issue* in a broader context, i.e. a problem of God's household, not just on the level of a relationship between the slave owner Philemon and his slave Onesimus. [225] In other words, Paul, as pastor, seemed to present a sample of how to treat an important pending question of Paul's time, i.e. the problem of the reception of a Christian slave (Fitzmyer 2000:34). And, on the point that this issue often was that of a household, it was deeply related to the Christian community in the form of a household (Thompson 2005:199-200). Thus in this sense we can say that Philemon was composed and dispatched as a pastoral concern, and call it a pastoral letter, though this letter contains few items found in other pastoral letters due to this feature of its contents.

Such pastoral concern is reflected in some expressions in this letter. Above all, Paul makes an effort not to give any hurt to either Philemon or Onesimus. Because the ultimate aim of

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[224] On the debate of whether the kind of letter to Philemon is either private or official, see Barth and Blanke 2000:112-114. After having surveyed each position, Barth and Blanke (2000:114-115) conclude as follows: Philemon "resists an interpretation that calls it either only private or only official. When one member of the church is given apostolic guidance, the whole congregation is included in the admonition."

[225] The epistolary situation of this letter, i.e. the so-called *Onesimus issue*, has always been connected with the problem of Onesimus' identity. On summaries of scholars' opinions about Onesimus' identity, see Fitzmyer 2000:17-23; Kreitzer 2008:38-69; Tolmie 2009:279-294.

Paul's pastoral care is either to build up someone, or to solve a pending problem, neither to discourage nor to destroy anyone, Paul tries to find the best way out for this case. Thus, on the one hand, Paul approached Philemon in a very gentle manner. Paul called him not only "our dear friend and co-worker" (τῷ ἀγαπητῷ καὶ συνεργῷ ἡμῶν [1; cf. 17]), but also a "brother" (ἀδελφέ [7, 20]). Along with these "relationship-oriented" expressions, Paul's self-humility (8-9, 13-14, 17a) and the commendation for Philemon's good deeds (4-7) also reflect his pastoral intent. Besides this, Paul's confidence in Philemon's obedience shows the mind of the pastor. On the other hand, to solve the *Onesimus issue*, Paul also did not hesitate to employ various rhetorical devices. Paul gladly called Onesimus "my child" (περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ τέκνου [10]). This designation is very impressive, because this expression was also applied to Timothy, who appeared as a co-sender of Philemon (1; cf. 1 Tim 1:2; 2 Tim 1:2). In a requesting letter, this kind of designation of the one who is recommended, must have created a positive impression of him (cf. Thompson 2005:217). Paul also did not hide his true feelings toward Onesimus. Paul said, "[N]ow he [sc. Onesimus] is indeed useful both to you [sc. Philemon] and me" (11); "I wanted to keep him with me" (13a); and ". . . you [sc. Philemon] might have him [sc. Onesimus] back forever, no longer as a slave but more than a slave, a beloved brother – especially to me but how much more to you, both in the flesh and in the Lord" (15b-16).

However, the deepest concern about Onesimus (and Philemon) is found in verses 18-19. In the real situation that nothing could proceed without the repayment of the financial loss caused by Onesimus, Paul as pastor did not hesitate to express his willingness to repay this on behalf of his pupil, who could do nothing at that time, even using an autographical convention (19a) (Kreitzer 2008:28). Paul's concern as pastor for both of them is the first evidence that this letter was composed from the pastoral perspective and is a pastoral letter (cf. Fitzmyer 2000:117; DeSilva 2004:671).

For his persuasion, Paul employed a few rhetorical devices. As already mentioned above, Paul addressed his recipient with a few "relationship-oriented" expressions (7, 20; cf. 1, 17). And for impact, Paul used some stylistic devices (viz. tropes and figures), such as anaphora (e.g. 19-20), antithesis (e.g.11, 14b, 16), metaphor (e.g. 2, 10, 12), parallelism (e.g. 11, 16), parenthesis (e.g. 9),

synecdoche (e.g. 7, 20) and wordplay (e.g. 11) (cf. O'Brien 1982:291). In this brief letter, some hortatory terms (e.g. 7, 8, 9, 10) and the imperative (17, 18, 20) are also found.

In terms of the Christian characteristics of pastoral letters, we do not have anything to mention. In other words, there is no obvious mention of God's initiative, the Christocentric concept, Jesus' *parousia* as the basis of both Christian life and exhortations, and mutual exhortations. This is probably because the pending problem of this letter is extremely practical, not theoretical (viz. theological). Nevertheless, throughout this letter we can find Paul's effort to effect the reconciliation of the relationship between his recipient, Philemon, and his spiritual child, Onesimus.

2. General Letters

a) Group 1 (James, 1 Peter, 1 John)

(1) James

There has been a debate on the literary genre of James, because scholars have clearly recognised that a literary genre is deeply related to its contents. Thus scholars have tired to define the literary genre of James, and suggested its genre to be a diatribal work,[226] a paraenesis,[227] a sermon[228] or a

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[226] Cf. Popes 1916:10: "All the more striking is the abundant illustration which the Epistle of James receives from both the manner and the substance of Hellenistic popular moral address, or Diatribes."

[227] E.g. Dibelius and Greeven 1976:3: "Having examined the various parts of the document with respect to its literary character *we may designate the 'Letter' of James as paraenesis*. By paraenesis we mean a text which strings together admonitions of general ethical content" (emphasis original). In a similar vein but more generally, Vielhauer (1975:573) described this letter as followed: "Als Dokument der Paränese kann man den Jak als 'paränetische Didache', als 'eine Art Handbüchlein' oder 'Katechismus christlicher Ethik' oder als 'ein kleines Enchiridion für die Fragen des christlichen Alltags' bezeichnen." Cf. Perdue 1981:241-256; Bailey and Broek 1992:195; Bauckham 1999:13-14.

[228] E.g. Moo 1990:38-39: "James is best understood, then, as a brief, perhaps condensed, sermon or homily, or extraction drawn from a series of sermons, sent to James' dispersed parishioners in the form of a letter . . . [W]e should view James as a homily in which the author takes up one subject after another, sometimes relating it to the previous one, sometimes picking up an idea or theme mentioned earlier in the letter, sometimes abruptly introducing a wholly new

protreptic work[229] (cf. Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:248-249; Aune 2003:239-240). However, since antiquity James has been judged to be a letter, whether literary or non-literary (viz. real).[230] Thus, with relation to the genre, the only important item is the nature of its content, i.e. whether James was composed for the actual situation of the recipients, or for providing more general or universal exhortations in consideration of some fictional but nevertheless possible situation (cf. McDonald and Porter 2000:531). Nevertheless, whatever the occasion, James must have been dispatched to its recipients, if not because of pending questions, at least to be read by all of the primary readers (e.g. Reicke 1964:7; Johnson 1995:119; cf. 1995:118-121 [on the early date]) and the secondary ones (e.g. Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:248, 253).

(a) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form, James lacks the closing. This fact was sometimes used as proof to deny that the character of James was that of a letter (cf. Klauck 2006:339). Besides this, scholars have sometimes even questioned whether James has a cohesive structure or not (cf. Vielhauer 1975; Dibelius and Greeven 1976). Nevertheless, McDonald and Porter (2000:534) suggested a fourfold

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topic. Several key motifs continually crop up, like musical motifs in a symphony or opera, but these are not dominant enough to serve as organizing heads."

[229] E.g. Johnson 1995:24: James "can be appropriately considered a protreptic discourse in the form of a letter." Popes (1916:18) suggested also "[t]he Protrepticus, or parenetic tract," i.e. "a form of hortatory writing of which the earliest examples are the two exhortations of Isocrates, *Ad Nicoclem* and *Nicocles*," as "a possible source for the literary character of James."

[230] E.g. Davids 1992:24-25: James "is clear that it is a literary epistle, i.e. a tract intended for publication, not an actual letter, e.g. the epistles of Paul to specific churches. This means: (1) the epistle will reflect the Sitz im Leben of its place of publication, not that of its 'recipients' (i.e. those for whom it is published), and the form of epistle will differ from that of the actual letter, especially in its lack of personal detail, but also in other ways." Francis (1970:126) also defined James as a (literary) letter: "James and I John may be understood as epistles from start to finish – secondary epistles in form and in literary treatment of their subject matter." Cf. Reicke 1964:7 ("a circular [letter], the contents of which are equivalent to a sermon"); Francis 1970: 111, 126 ("secondary epistles" that "for one reason or another lack situational immediacy"); Adamson 1983:20 ("a quasi-prophetic letter of pastoral encouragement and, no less, of pastoral rebuke").

structure for James: the opening (1:1), the thanksgiving or the proem (1:2-27), the body (2:1-5:6) and the closing (5:7-20).[231] However, in the strictest sense the thanksgiving delineated by McDonald and Porter is not same as those of Pauline letters. Instead, it functions as a prologue that introduces the theme(s) of the letter (cf. Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:249-250).[232] Another feature is that in its opening this letter presents a typical Hellenistic form, not a Christianised one, except for some modifiers of both sender and recipients. Along with 2 John and 3 John (cf. Acts 15:23-29), the opening of James implies that structural factors cannot be decisive in determining the characteristics of the pastoral letter type.

(b) Analysis

In order to understand James properly, we need to know the author's motivation for composition, no matter whether it is primary or secondary. However, the literary feature of James, that it has a public aspect and consists of several segments, has made it difficult to define its motivation, or even its main theme(s) (e.g. Vielhauer 1975:567; Dibelius and Greeven 1976:5-6, 11). However, on this point, Baker's words (1995:15) are worth mentioning:

> The fact that an overall cohesion is not easily observable does not mean that the author had no plan or purpose for putting the ideas together. Neither should it imply that he [sc. James] intends no cohesion between units of thought.

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[231] Klauck (2006:338-339) also provided a similar structure, especially in terms of a fourfold structure: 1:1 (the prescript), 1:2-18 (the proem), 1:19-5:6 (*amplificatio* on the proem consisting of "seven or eight thematic units"), and 5:7-20 ("a concluding epilogue"). Saying that "[t]he letter of James, a series of loosely related homilies, resists clear structural demarcation," Carson, Moo and Morris (1992:409-410) divided James into the following "five general sections": 1:1-18 ("the trials and Christian maturity"), 1:19-2:26 ("true Christianity seen in its works"), 3:1-4:12 ("dissensions within the communities"), 4:13-5:11 ("implications of a Christian worldview") and 5:12-20 ("concluding exhortations").

[232] Calling Jas 1:2-18 the proem, in the same vein Klauck (2006:339) defines its function as follows: "The proem presents the individual themes that will be developed in the body by a rhetorical *amplificatio*."

Furthermore, recently scholars on James have tended to look at this letter from the perspective that it may be a well-composed work (Francis 1970:118-121; Martin 1988:xcviii-civ [cii-civ]; Davids 1992:24-28; Johnson 1995:11-16 [13-15]), or at least may be divided according to the main themes (Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:249-250). Scholars who support any kind of cohesion, seem to agree with small differences of opinion that chapter 1 of James presents its outline or main theme, just as the proem often does in a letter (Francis 1970:118; Johnson 1995:14-15; McDonald and Porter 2000:534; Klauck 2006:338-339 [Jas 1:2-18]; cf. Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:249-250). In terms of this first part of James (1:2-18), Carson, Moo and Morris (1992:409) say that the problem of "Christian sufferings" is "the most prominent," and James, as pastor, tries to "encourage his readers to find meaning and purpose in their suffering (1:2-4), to pray in faith for wisdom (1:5-8), and to apply a Christian worldview to poverty and wealth (1:9-11)." Because of the general aspect in content of James, we cannot assert what the author meant by "trials of any kind." One thing is certain, because the recipients knew that these "trials" would cause them to "be mature and complete, lacking in nothing," they should have considered those sufferings as "nothing but joy" (1:2-4). The author wanted his recipients to stand blameless before God (1:27; 4:10; cf. 4:7-8) and to do so until the coming of the Lord (5:7). Therefore, in the last part of his letter, James exhorts them to "pray" to God during their sufferings (5:13). Judging from these factors, James composed his letter and dispatched it for psychagogy, i.e. his pastoral care for his pupils in Christ, who were facing various kinds of difficulty due to their faith (Guthrie 1970:764; Moo 1990:36; Burkett 2002:389).[233]

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[233] On the origin and character of pastoral care (viz. psychagogy) of James, see Kloppenborg (2010:37-71). There, by explaining the process that James elaborated "the Jesus tradition" in Jas 1:2-15 in the light of the Hellenistic psychagogical tradition, Kloppenborg (2010:70-71) tried not only to reveal a relationship between James and contemporary moral philosophy, but also to define the identification of the recipients and the author.

Of course, such instructions and exhortations would not be accepted if the author had neither authority over, nor superiority to his recipients, and if no good relationship in any form existed between them (cf. Perdue 1981:246; 1990:14-15; Aune 1987:191). In fact, James presented himself not only as "a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ" (1:1), but also as a teacher (3:1). This higher status of the author and his consciousness of it must have influenced the entire mood of the letter as being "pressing and imperatival" (Edgar 2001:50, 56-57). Nevertheless, due to his affection towards them and/or for persuasion, James addressed his recipients with "relationship-oriented" designations, such as ἀδελφοί μου ("my brothers and sisters" [1:2; 2:1, 14; 3:1, 10, 12; 5:12, 19]), or ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί ("my beloved" [1:16, 19; 2:5]), or simply ἀδελφοί ("brothers and sisters" [4:11; 5:7, 9, 10]). These warm appellations must have made recipients more favourably inclined and open-minded towards James' exhortations (cf. Moo 1990:36). And we find one expression, i.e. οἱ πολούσιοι ("[[you]] rich people" [5:1]) that makes this specific group of recipients pay more attention.

For his effective psychagogy, James also employed other rhetorical devices. For example, he quoted and alluded to authoritative sources such as Scripture (2:8, 23; 4:6; 5:20; cf. 1:10-11; 2:7; 3:8; 5:4), Jesus' sayings (1:2-4, 5, 6, 22-23, 25-26; 2:5, 6-7; 3:13-18; 4:12; 5:12, 17), Jewish wisdom (1:19) (Aune 2003:241),[234] and illustrations for exhortation (e.g. 2:21-23, 25; 5:11, 17-18) (Perdue 1981:245-246; cf. Vielhauer 1975:568-569). And in order to deeply appeal to his recipients, he used a model to be imitated (5:10) and the list of virtues and vices (3:14-16, 17; cf. 1:15), as well as *topoi,* such as "hearing-forgetting" and "knowing-doing" (1:19-27; 4:13-17) (Perdue 1981:244-245). Besides this, James employed some stylistic devices (viz. tropes and figures), such as antithesis (e.g. 1:4, 5-8, 9-11, 13-15, 26-27, *passim*), chiasmus (e.g. 1:19-21, 22-25; 3:13-18; 5:7-8), deliberative questions (e.g. 2:2-4, 5, 6, 7, 14, 15-16, 20, 21, 25; 3:11, 12, 13; 4:1, 4, 5-6, 12),

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[234] On the use of the OT and illustration, see Johnson 1995:29-34; Bauckham 1999:56-57; Carson 2007a:997-1013 (997); on the use of Jesus' sayings, see Johnson 1995:55-58; Bauckham 1999:83-93; Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:254.

diatribe (e.g. 2:14-26; 4:1-10),[235] metaphor or image (e.g. 1:6, 11, 23-24; 2:21, 25; 3:3, 4, 5b, 7, 11-12; 4:14; 5:7),[236] parallelism (e.g. 3:6-7; 5:2-3, 5), alliteration (e.g. 1:2; 3:5, 8), rhyme (e.g. 1:6, 14; 2:12; 4:8), parechesis (e.g. 1:24, 25; 3:6, 7, 17), word play and paronomasia (e.g. 1:1, 2; 2:4, 13, 20; 3:17, 18; 4:14), rhythm (e.g. 1:2, 13, 20; 2:8, 9, 15, 18; 3:3, 5, 8, 14; 4:4; 5:10-11), hexameter (e.g. 1:17), anaphora (e.g. 4:11; 5:7-8), epiphora (e.g. 3:7-8; 4:11, 14), anadiplosis (e.g. 1:3-4, 19-20, 26-27), *gradatio* (e.g. 1:3-4, 15), *inclusio* (e.g. 1:2-4 and 12; 1:17 and 27; 2:14 and 26), asyndeton (e.g. 1:19, 27; 2:13; 3:15, 17; 4:2; 5:6), pleonasm (e.g. 3:7), *synonymia* (e.g. 1:5, 25; 3:15; 4:19), *digressio* (e.g. 2:14-26), *comparatio* (e.g. 1:6, 10-11, 23-24; 3:3-4), personification (e.g. 1:15; 2:13; 4:11; 5:14), irony (e.g. 1:9-10; 2:19; 5:5), metonymy (e.g. 1:1), exclamation (e.g. 3:10b), apostrophe (e.g. 4:1, 4, 13; 5:1), and invectives (e.g. 2:20; 4:4) (Johnson 1995:8-11; Bauckham 1999:57-60; Wachob 2000:12; cf. Vielhauer 1975:569). Finally, in this paraenetic letter we easily find a number of hortatory terms (e.g. 1:4, 5, 21; 3:1) and specific verbal forms of command, such as the imperative (1:2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 13, 16, 19, 21, 22; 2:1, 5, 12, 24; 3:1, 14; 4:7-10, 11; 5:1b, 7a, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 20; cf. 2:3; 3:5; 4:13; 5:1a, 7b, 11).

In terms of Christian characteristics, we see that James, as pastor, clearly expressed God's initiative (e.g. 1:18; 4:10).[237] In his exhortations this concept functions as basis. However, in terms of the Christocentric concept, we find that direct mention of Jesus is rare (1:1; 2:1; cf. 5:7-9, 13-16), and not considered to play a central role in giving instructions and exhortations (Cousar 2006:165). Furthermore, even in a passage that many scholars regard as an implication of Jesus' *parousia* (5:7, 8), there is a debate about "whether the Lord who is coming, is Jesus, or whether we have here a more typically Jewish understanding of the coming day of Yahweh" (Bartlett 1979:183). Due to this

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[235] Cf. Popes 1916:10-16; Francis 1970:119; Vielhauer 1975:568; Perdue 1981:253-254; Aune 2003:240.

[236] Cf. Moo 1990:36; Powell 2009:446.

[237] Powell (2009:454) enlists seventeen "propositions about God's nature and character," including the above-mentioned verses, as "a generic theological foundation," which "the principles that it [sc. James] espouses do assume" (e.g. 1:5, 12, 13, 17, 18; 2:5, 19; 3:9; 4:2-3 [and 5:16-18], 5, 6 and 10, 8, 12, 13-15; 5:4, 11, 15).

factor James has sometimes been considered to be not only a less important book in the NT,[238] but even a non-Christian letter.[239] However, the *parousia* is "more probably christological" (Davids 1992:40; cf. Ropes 1916:293; Adamson 1983:190-191; Dibelius and Greeven 1976:242-245; Martin 1988:190; Moo 1990:168; Johnson 1995:314). Finally, we can find mutual exhortations (4:11; 5:16; cf. 2:1-13).

(2) 1 Peter

(a) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form, 1 Peter is similar to Pauline letters on the point that it contains a long thanksgiving section. Thus 1 Peter is divided as follows: the opening (1:1-2), the thanksgiving or the proem (1:3-9), the body (1:10-5:11) and the closing (5:12-14) (McDonald and Porter 2000:482; cf. Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:262). Because of this similarity in structure, scholars have often

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[238] For example, Luther is one of these scholars. Cf. Cousar 2006:165: "Luther labeled this letter 'a right strawy epistle,' primarily because he read nothing of the gospel in it. He remarked on one occasion that he would give his doctor's beret to anyone who could reconcile Paul and James."

[239] Kloppenborg 2007:242: "It has long been recognized that despite its attribution to 'James a slave of the Lord Jesus Christ', the letter of James contains very little that is distinctive of the beliefs and practices of the Jesus movement. So spare in fact are the overtly Christian aspects of the letter that in 1914 the distinguished orientalist Joseph Halévy could opine that James 1-2 was the work of a rabbi that had somehow found its way into the NT though a process of superficial Christianization, and that the remainder of the letter (Jas 3-5), which, he noted, lacked entirely 'la conception du théandrisme Chrétien,' was Essene in provenance" (cf. Vielhauer 1975:569: "Der Jak macht auch religiös einen widersprüchlichen Eindruck: jüdisch und christlich, aber weder das eine noch das andere in Reinkultur"). Against Halévy's theory, Kloppenborg (2007:267) suggested a theory of "two readerships or an audience within an audience," and Allison (2001:570) proposed the theory of "a two-fold audience – those who share the author's Christian convictions and those who do not." This means, according to Allison (2001:570), that James has "a two-fold purpose – edification for the former and clarification for the latter." In this sense, James assumes the nature of an "apology."

assumed that 1 Peter followed the structure and form of Pauline letters (Davids 1990:49-50).[240] And throughout 1 Peter Christianised elements appear.

(b) Analysis

Recent scholars have considered 1 Peter to be a pseudonymous letter (e.g. Cousar 2006:169).[241] In antiquity, however, 1 Peter was considered to be a genuine letter from St. Peter, and due to its value, taken into the canon list of the NT in very early Christian times (Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:425-426; McDonald and Porter 2000:534; cf. McDonald 2002:591). Besides this fact, as we can read in Acts and the Gospels, Peter was not only the leader of the earliest Christian communities, but also had a distinct position among the first apostles. These facts allow us to accept 1 Peter as one of the early Christian letters that was composed by a church leader for the believers "in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia" (1:1).

Why then did Peter compose his letter to the believers scattered throughout western Asia Minor? According to some passages of 1 Peter (1:6-9; 3:13-14, 17; 4:12-16; 5:8-9), the Christians in that province were being persecuted. Of course, we cannot be certain whether the persecutions mentioned were real or not. In any case, this suffering was certainly caused because of both their faith in Christ, and the new lifestyle based on it (Krodel 1995b:42; Marshall, Travis and Paul

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[240] Especially the similarity of the function of its thanksgiving (1:3-12), and the prescript (1:1-2), that is to state what is following in the rest of the letter, is clearly to be distinguished (Dryden 2006:[68], 88-89).

[241] This conclusion is based on the following four reasons: (1) the quality of the Greek in 1 Peter, (2) the excessive dependence on the theology of Paul, (3) the lack of knowledge of Jesus' earthly life and (4) the description of the persecutions (1:6; 3:13-17; 4:12-19; 5:9), implying ones occurring under Domitian or Trajan (Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:422-423; McDonald and Porter 2000:534, 536-537). However, Carson, Moo and Morris (1992:423-424) object to this conclusion with the following words: "Despite the confidence with which some scholars deny that Peter wrote the letter, it seems that we should accept it as coming from that apostle. The definite claim made in the opening words and the Petrine language throughout the letter, together with the inconclusive nature of the objections, mean that the verdict should go in favor of Peter as the author. We should not overlook the fact that no convincing reason seems ever to have been brought forward as to why the name Peter was attached to the writing if Peter was not the author."

2002:265; Klauck 2006:341 [a late date between 80 and 90 C.E]; cf. Tite 1997:73). In this situation, Peter, the leader of the Christian communities, (1:1) must have felt it necessary to encourage and exhort his believers, as we can see in the passage of 1 Pet 5:12:

> Διὰ Σιλουανοῦ ὑμῖν τοῦ πιστοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὡς λογίζομαι, δι᾽ ὀλίγων ἔγραψα παρακαλῶν καὶ
> ἐπιμαρτυρῶν ταύτην εἶναι ἀληθῆ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἣν στῆτε.
>
> Through Silvanus, whom I consider a faithful brother, I have written this short letter to
> encourage you and to testify that this is the true grace of God. Stand fast in it.

Thus in his pastoral letter, Peter exhorted his recipients to overcome or endure the persecutions, for example by trying to be holy in expectation of the *parousia* (1:13-15), by abstaining "from the desires of the flesh that wage war against the soul" (2:11-12 [11]), by obeying "[f]or the Lord's sake" (2:13-3:7; cf. 5:5-6), by doing "what is good" (3:13-17), by following Jesus' *via dolorosa*, not their previous wrongdoing (4:1-6), by loving one another (4:7-11), by facing gladly the persecutions that Christians should endure in expectation of God's judgment (4:12-19), by casting all "anxiety" on the Lord (5:7-8) and finally by being "steadfast" in their faith (5:8-9). After all these exhortations, Peter resigned them to God's guidance (5:10):

> Ὁ δὲ θεὸς πάσης χάριτος, ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν Χριστῷ
> [Ἰησοῦ], ὀλίγον παθόντας αὐτὸς καταρτίσει, στηρίξει, σθενώσει, θεμελιώσει.
>
> And after you have suffered for a little while, the God of all grace, who has called you to his
> eternal glory in Christ, will himself restore, support, strengthen, and establish you.

In this sense, we may agree with the following general evaluation of 1 Peter by Marshall, Travis and Paul (2002:261):

> 1 Peter provides a wealth of teaching about the life of the Christian in God and in society, and
>
> about facing opposition in God's strength. It points vividly to the significance of the sufferings

of Christ and to the hope generated through faith in him.

For his effective psychagogy, Peter employed various rhetorical devices. Firstly, Peter addressed his recipients with "relationship-oriented" expressions, such as ἀγαπητοί ("beloved" [2:11; 4:12]) and ἐκλεκτοί ("who have been chosen" [1:1]), and used a description, i.e. νεώτεροι ("who are younger" [5:5]). For those who were being persecuted, such affectionate designations from a spiritual guide must have not only strengthened their relationship, but also been a deep comfort. And for his arguments and persuasion, he used authoritative sources, such as Scripture (1:16, 24-25; 2:6, 7, 8, 9, 22; 3:10-12; 4:18; 5:5), a creed (3:18-22),[242] and illustration (3:6, 20). Besides these, he provided not only the model to be imitated (2:21-24; 4:1; 5:3), but also used the household code (2:17-3:7; cf. Krodel 1995b:75-80) and the list of virtues and vices (2:1, 2; 3:8-9; 4:3). His employment of both metaphor (e.g. 1:14, 19; 2:2. 4-5; 5:4, 8, 13) and antithesis (e.g. 1:14-15; 2:10, 16, 25; 3:9; 4:2, 6, 12-13; 5:2, 3) must have increased the recipients' understanding. And in his pastoral letter Peter used not only some hortatory terms (e.g. 2:11; 5:1, 12), but also specific verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative (1:13, 15, 17, 22; 2:2, 5, 13, 17; 3:15; 4:1, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19; 5:2, 5, 6, 8, 14), the subjunctive of a negative command (3:14) and the participle of command (3:8; 4:9).

In terms of Christian characteristics, Peter mentioned some found in Christian pastoral letters. For example, the concept of God's initiative appears throughout his letter (e.g. 1:2, 3, 21, 22-23; 2:25; 5:6-7, 10; cf. 2:8), and it is same with the Christocentric concept (e.g. 1:1-3, 6-9, 19, 20-21; 2:13, 21-25: 3:18, 21; 4:13; 5:14). The vivid employment of these two concepts was because the recipients who were being persecuted, needed to be reminded of the providence and protection of both God and their saviour. Besides this, Jesus' *parousia* (and God's judgment [4:17-19]) was used as the basis of his exhortations (1:13; 4:7-10; 5:4; cf. 1:7; [2:12b]) (Seland 2009:573). In addition, Peter commanded mutual exhortation for internal solidity (1:22; 2:17; 3:18-12; 4:7-11), and even

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[242] On the use of the OT, see Carson 2007b:1015-1045 (1015).

the exhortation to maintain a good relationship with outsiders for protection (2:12). We can also find Peter's blessing and greetings for his recipients (1:2; 5:10, 14).

(3) 1 John

Along with James and Hebrews, the genre of 1 John has recently again been debated (cf. Edwards 1996:34-35; McDonald and Porter 2000:547-548). The crux of this discussion is that, though it has been classified as a letter since antiquity, it lacks both the opening and the closing, which are fundamental formal features of the letter (cf. White 1982:92). Of course, on this point 1 John is also different from James and Hebrews, which contain at least either the opening (James) or the closing (Hebrews). Nevertheless, as regards my study, the fact is important that 1 John was considered to be a letter and classified as a letter in early Christianity,[243] because this means that at that time 1 John was seen to be just another type of Christian psychagogical letter, such as Romans or Hebrews or James (Edwards 1996:34). In fact, many personal and familiar expressions are found in 1 John that are often found in private letters (Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:445), and these factors confirm that 1 John was composed by an author who has a particular situation (McDonald and Porter 2000:548; cf. Edwards 1996:45). Thus it is natural to handle 1 John as a letter.

(a) Structural and Formal Features

About the structure and form of 1 John there is nothing to say. Except for some personal expressions, 1 John has neither the structural nor the formal features of the letter genre (Aune 2003:242).[244] Therefore, the reason 1 John was called a letter, was purely dependent on the above-

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[243] E.g. Irenaeus (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.8.7 [τῆς Ἰωάννου πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς]) and Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3.25.2 [τὴν φερομένην Ἰωάννου προτέραν . . . ἐπιστολήν]). Cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 4.36; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carm.* 12.31; Augustine, *Doct. chr.* 2.8-9.

[244] Cf. Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:295: "Although the document [sc. 1 John] does not have the usual beginning and ending of a letter, it is not simply a transcript of an oral address, since the author frequently says, 'I am writing . . .' He knows his readers intimately, writes with affection and assumes their confidence in him. Perhaps he writes in order to

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mentioned witness of the early church fathers. Nevertheless, on the epistolary features of 1 John, Klauck's words are worthy of being mentioned (2006:343):

> [T]he motif of joy in 1:4 (cf. the expression of joy as a standard component of an epistolary proem), the frequent reflection on the act of writing by γράφω (2:1, 7, etc.) and ἔγραψα (2:14, etc.), and the repeated direct address of the audience can all be considered indications of an epistolary act of communication.

Klauck (2006:343) simply divides 1 John into a threefold structure, i.e. the prologue (1:1-4), the body (1:5-5:12) and the epilogue or appendix (5:13-21) (cf. Edwards 1996:36)

(b) Analysis

In 1 John 5:13, the author of 1 John revealed his purpose with the composition in the following words:

> Ταῦτα ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι ζωὴν ἔχετε αἰώνιον, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ.
>
> I write these things to you who believe in the name of the Son of God, so that you may know that you have eternal life.

From this verse, we can recognise that the author composed his letter in order to let its recipients "know" that they have "eternal life." In other words, the purpose of 1 John "is reassurance of the faithful" (Robinson 1962b:126; cf. Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:452; Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:294; Painter 2002:86). If the purpose of 1 John is to encourage its recipients in their faith, we

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get his message round to the different groups as quickly as possible. Perhaps there is no greeting because he sends short personal notes to individual house-church leaders."

can ask whether or not there were some difficulties that could distress and confuse the recipients, and whether or not the author of 1 John tried to set his recipients firmly on the true path and to guide them to a right way in Christ. On the basis of , we can know that one of the difficulties that the recipients were facing was the problem of a schism within the community of 1 John due to some false teachers, who had both denied that "Jesus is the Christ" and "the Father and the Son" (2:22-23), and had not confessed "that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, is from God" (4:1-3) (cf. Brown 1983:51-54). Thus in 1 John 2:18-19 John says about the false teachers:

> Παιδία, ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν, καὶ καθὼς ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἀντίχριστος ἔρχεται, καὶ νῦν ἀντίχριστοι πολλοὶ γεγόνασιν, ὅθεν γινώσκομεν ὅτι ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν. ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξῆλθαν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦσαν ἐξ ἡμῶν· εἰ γὰρ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἦσαν, μεμενήκεισαν ἂν μεθ' ἡμῶν· ἀλλ' ἵνα φανερωθῶσιν ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν πάντες ἐξ ἡμῶν.
>
> Children, it is the last hour. As you have heard that antichrist is coming, so now many antichrists have come. From this we know that it is the last hour. They went out from us, but they did not belong to us; for if they had belonged to us, they would have remained with us. But by going out they made it plain that none of them belongs to us.

If this passage indicates a historical event within the community, it must have caused both some crisis in faith, and some depression in the life of the members of the community, especially those who were left behind (Brown 1997:373-376 [376]; cf. Brown 1979:103-109; Painter 2002:84). In serious terms, they were facing the "grave danger of being shaken from their belief in what they had accepted" (Robinson 1962b:126-127). Besides this dogmatic error, false teachers might have revealed their ethical misconceptions based on their wrong Christology (e.g. 1:6, 8, 10; 2:4, 6, 9, 10; 4:20), and these thing could have influenced the recipients (Brown 1983:55). In this situation, John, as pastor, certainly felt "the needs of readers who share" his "basic religious presuppositions and commitment" and likely wanted to "keep them on the right course in their journey of faith" (Edwards 1996:45; cf. Kruse 2000:27).

In this situation, for his pastoral care John employed various rhetorical devices. For example, he addressed his recipients with "relationship-oriented" expressions, such as τεκνία μου ("my little children" [2:1]), or simply τεκνία ("little children" [2:12, 28; 3:7, 18; 4:4]), ἀγαπητοί ("beloved" [2:7; 3:2, 21; 4:1, 7, 11; 5:21]), παιδία ("children" [2:14, 18]) and ἀδελφοί ("brothers and sisters" [3:13]), and used descriptions, πατέρες ("fathers" [2:13, 14]) and νεανίσκοι ("young people" [2:13, 14]). In this crisis such designations must have strengthened the relationship between the author and the recipients. And the author employed authoritative sources, such as "affirmations or confessions" (1:3, 7; 2:23; 3:8, 23; 4:2, 9, 10, 15; 5:1, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11-12, 13, 20), which were employed to criticise the adversaries who denied Jesus' incarnation (4:2-3) and his being the Christ (2:22) and the Son (2:23) (Brown 1983:51; cf. Edwards 1996:39-40), and illustrations for argument (e.g. 3:11-12). Furthermore, the motive of remembrance functioned to bind the recipients to what they had learned from the author against the false new teachings (e.g. 3:11). Besides this, he provided the model to be imitated (3:3, 16; 4:11, 17), and used some stylistic devices (tropes and figures) to enhance the impact of his exhortations, such as argumentation (e.g. 1:10; 2:2; 3:2), comparison (e.g. 3:2; 5:9), accumulation (e.g. 1:1-3; 2:14, 16; 5:6-9), *expolitio* (e.g. 1:2, 6b and 8b, 7b and 9b, 8, 9; 2:28; 3:9, 22; 5:2-3, 18-19 and passim), *reflexio* (e.g. 2:7-8, 19; 3:4), *regressio* (e.g. 1:2; 2:18; 5:6), *conduplicatio* (e.g. 1:1-3; 2:13-14, 15-17, 18, 19, 20-21, 22, 23, 24, 27-28; 3:1-2; 4:4-5; 5:14-15, 16-17), *distributio* (e.g. 2:12-14; 3:6; 5:7-8), synonymy (e.g. 1:1, 5-6, 9 2:4-5, 12, 14, 29; 3:4, 16-17, 19-22; 5:16), *epanaphora* (e.g. 1:1, 3, 6-10; 2:2, 4-9, 12-14, 16, 21; 3:3-4; 5:18-20), *commoratio* (e.g. 1:5-2:2 ["the topic of sin"]), *enargeia* (e.g. 1:1-3; 2:11), polysyndeton and asyndeton (e.g. 1:2; 2:16; 5:8), antithesis (e.g. 1:6-7; 2:7, 9, 10-11, 17, 23; 3:7-8; 4:2-3, 4-5, 7b-8, 10; 5:10, 12, 19), personification (e.g. 1:7; 2:11, 27; 5:7-8), hyperbole (e.g. 3:15) and emphasis (e.g. 2:11) (Watson 1993:102-118; cf. Kruse 2000:31). In this pastoral letter we also find a number of specific verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative (2:15, 24, 28; 3:1, 7, 13; 4:1; 5:21) and the hortatory subjunctive (3:18; 4:7, 19).

In terms of Christian characteristics, 1 John also has something in common with other Christian pastoral letters. For example, we find not only the concept of God's initiative (e.g. 2:27; 3:1, 9; 4:10-11, 14, 19), but also the Christocentric concept (e.g. 1:1-4; 2:23; 4:2-3, 15; 5:1, 5, 10,

12, 13, 10) (cf. Painter 2002:94-99). Especially on the point that the false teachers of this letters had their Christology wrong, the latter concept is intensified more. Jesus' *parousia* (or God's coming) functions as the basis of ethical life (3:2-3), as furthermore his incarnation also does (e.g. 3:16-17). In a schismatical situation mutual exhortation for unity is natural (3:11, 15-16, 23; 4:7, 11, 12, 21) (Edwards 1996:112; cf. Painter 2002:100-102). Besides this, another important characteristic of 1 John is its polemical mood against the above-mentioned heretical teachings (2:22-23; 4:1-3) (Kruse 2000:27). In fact, the warning of wrong knowledge is one of the most important factors of Christian pastoral letters (cf. Edwards 1996:113).

b) Group 2 (2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude)

The canonicity of these four letters was a matter of controversy in early Christianity (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.25.3). However, as we can establish in Athanasius' thirty-ninth paschal letter (369 C.E.),[245] these four letters were finally recognised as canonical books, while some influential works from early Christianity, such as *1 Clement*, *Didache*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the *Epistle to Laodiceans* and *Third Corinthians* were rejected.[246] In relation to this

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[245] The value of this paschal letter (*Ep. fest.* 39) is the fact that Athanasius composed it as a reply to the request of his church(es) in the East, to make clear the status in the church of the so-called General Letters (viz. James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1-3 John and Jude), the Apostolic Fathers and the Revelation of John (du Toit 1989:231). The fact that Athanasius affirmed all the General Letters and the Revelation of John as canonical books, but at the same time the Apostolic Fathers as non-canonical ones, indicates that Athanasius' decision of the canon list was not dependent on his private opinion, but was based on the universal consensus of the Eastern Church. Besides this, because Athanasius was highly respected in both the Eastern and the Western churches, both Churches accepted his list. As a result his canon "promoted and expedited the movement towards uniformity" (du Toit 1989:232; cf. Bruce 1988:208-209).

[246] From the early fourth century C.E. we have a good example of this phenomenon that some were accepted, but others were rejected in terms of works attributed to Peter. See Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.3.1-2: Πέτρου μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ μία, ἡ λεγομένη αὐτοῦ προτέρα, ἀνωμολόγηται, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ οἱ πάλαι πρεσβύτεροι ὡς ἀναμφιλέκτῳ ἐν τοῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν κατακέχρηνται συγγράμμασιν· τὴν δὲ φερομένην δευτέραν οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν, ὅμως δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν. τό γε μὴν τῶν ἐπικεκλημένων αὐτοῦ Πράξεων καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ὠνομασμένον εὐαγγέλιον τό τε λεγόμενον αὐτοῦ Κήρυγμα καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ἀποκάλυψιν οὐδ' ὅλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα, ὅτι μήτε ἀρχαίων μήτε μὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεὺς ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν

dissertation, this fact simply means that, compared to other letters in the NT, these four letters (viz. 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude) seemed to be relatively less influential in forming a Christian letter tradition in the subsequent centuries, not because of their authenticity, but because of their popularity. Due only to this reason, I classified them into the second group in the so-called General Letters, though such a classification does not imply that they are in any way inferior in value within Christianity.

(1) 2 Peter

(a) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form, 2 Peter is similar to those of the other letters in the NT. Thus 2 Peter consists of the following structure: the opening (1:1-2), the body (1:3-3:10), the epistolary paraenesis (3:11-16), and the closing (3:17-18) (cf. Bauckham 1983:135; McDonald and Porter 2000:545).[247] Especially the prescript is very typical of Pauline letters in both its syntactical features and expressions. In the closing, on the other hand, 2 Peter substitutes a doxology for a normal subscript.

συνεχρήσατο μαρτυρίαις ("Of Peter, on epistle, that which is called his first, is admitted, and the ancient presbyters used this in their own writings as unquestioned, but the so-called second Epistle we have not received as canonical, but nevertheless it has appeared useful to many, and has been studied with other Scriptures. On the other hand, of the Acts bearing his name, and the Gospel named according to him and the Preaching called his and the so-called Revelation, we have no knowledge at all in Catholic tradition, for no orthodox writer of the ancient time or of our own has used their testimonies").

[247] However, considering 2 Pet 1:1-11 as an introduction or the letter opening, both Neyrey (1993:111) and Klauck (2006:409) suggest that this passage contains the thanksgiving (+ exhortation) or the proem respectively. This means that 2 Peter can be analysed as the fivefold structure, depending on the perspective.

(b) Analysis

In the middle of his letter (2 Pet 3:1-2) Peter revealed why he sent his letter to the recipients with the following words:

> Ταύτην ἤδη, ἀγαπητοί, δευτέραν ὑμῖν γράφω ἐπιστολήν, ἐν αἷς διεγείρω ὑμῶν ἐν ὑπομνήσει τὴν εἰλικρινῆ διάνοιαν μνησθῆναι τῶν προειρημένων ῥημάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῶν ἐντολῆς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος.
>
> This is now, beloved, the second letter I am writing to you; in them I am trying to arouse our sincere intention by reminding you that you should remember the words spoken in the past by the holy prophets, and the commandment of the Lord and Savior spoken through your apostles.

Here Peter said that he intended to get his recipients to "remember" both the prophets' words and the Lord's words. This necessity to remind them of what they already knew, arose from the false teachers, who had confused and shaken his recipients by "skepticism about divine activity in the world and eschatology" (2:2, 10, 12-14, 18; 3:4) (Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:284; cf. McDonald and Porter 2000:545).[248] To combat this situation, the author, who seemed to be expecting to die soon (1:14; cf. White 1988:101 [a literary testament]), felt it necessary to set his recipients firmly back to the sound teachings that they already possessed. Thus at both the beginning and the end of his letter (1:10 and 3:17-18a), Peter instructed his recipients with following words:

> Διὸ μᾶλλον, ἀδελφοί, σπουδάσατε βεβαίαν ὑμῶν τὴν κλῆσιν καὶ ἐκλογὴν ποιεῖσθαι· ταῦτα γὰρ ποιοῦντες οὐ μὴ πταίσητέ ποτε.
>
> Therefore, brothers and sisters, be all the more eager to confirm your call and election, for if

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[248] Recently their teachings have been considered to be similar to the views of the Epicureans (Bauckham 1983:154-156 [156]). Thus, Davids (2006:136) says, "Such 'Epicurean' thinking is espoused by 2 Peter's opponents."

you do this, you will never stumble.

And

Ὑμεῖς οὖν, ἀγαπητοί, προγινώσκοντες φυλάσσεσθε, ἵνα μὴ τῇ τῶν ἀθέσμων πλάνῃ συναπαχθέντες ἐκπέσητε τοῦ ἰδίου στηριγμοῦ, αὐξάνετε δὲ ἐν χάριτι καὶ γνώσει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

You, therefore, beloved, since you are forewarned, beware that you are not carried away with the error of the lawless and lose your won stability. But grow in the grace and knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

For these instructions, with an appeal to remember what they had learned (cf. 1:12-13, 15; 3:1-2), Peter provided his own witness (1:16-21), and with his interpretation (3:10-13) an acceptable reason for the delay of God's judgment (3:8-9) (cf. Green 1987:249). Besides this, Peter also wanted to weed out false teachers from the community of his recipients. Thus Peter applied God's judgment in the OT to false teachers (2:1-22) and refuted the false teachers' instructions (3:3-7) (Neyrey 1993:122).

For his effective guidance Peter employed various literary devices. Firstly, Peter addressed his recipients with "relationship-oriented" expressions, such as ἀδελφοί ("brothers and sisters" [1:10]) and ἀγαπητοί ("beloved" [3:1, 8, 14, 17]). In a polemic situation such intimate designations must have strengthened the solidarity between the author and his recipients against the false teachers. And in refuting the false teachers and re-establishing his recipients on the truth, he used authoritative sources, such as Scripture (2:22; cf. 1:17-18, 19; 2:2, 5, 6, 15-16; 3:5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 12-14, 13), the contemporary apostles' teachings (3:15; cf. 3:2), a witness (1:17),[249] and illustrations

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[249] On the use of the OT, especially see Carson 2007c:1047-1061 (1047).

for argument (2:4, 5, 6, 7, 15-16) (Bauckham 1983:138, 147-148). In doing so, especially by using the word of remembrance, Peter more strongly fixed the recipients' attention (1:12-13, 15; 3:1-2; cf. 1:15). This function was also performed in 2 Peter by the list of virtues and vices (1:5-7 cf. 2:14) (Charles 1997:138-148, 153-156-157; cf. Bauckham 1983:174-176; Neyrey 1993:154-155). Peter also used a few stylistic devices, such as antithesis (e.g. 1:16; 2:4, 5; 3:9), "pairs of synonyms or near-synonyms, sometimes as hendiadys" (e.g. 1:3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17; 2:10, 11, 13; 3:7, 11, 14, 16) and "deliberate echo or word-play" (e.g. 1:5 and 10; 2:13, 15) (Bauckham 1983:137; Watson 1988:195-197). Finally, there is the imperative as a specific verbal form of hortation (1:5, 10; 3:8, 14, 15, 17, 18).

In terms of Christian characteristics, firstly, the concept that all things are based on God's initiative, is also found (e.g. 1:3; cf. 1:20-21; 3:8-9). And we find that in 2 Peter the Christocentric tendency more strongly appears. Thus the author Peter not only identified himself as "a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ" (1:1), but also in his exhortations he put Jesus at the primary position, i.e. the source (e.g. 1:1, 14, 16; 3:2; cf. 3:12-14) and aim (e.g. 1:11; 3:18a). He accused the false teachers of being false, because they denied Jesus with "destructive opinions" (2:1; cf. 2:20-21). Besides this, we can see that Peter put the purpose of his pastoral care neither on self-sufficiency, nor on happiness, but on a life approved by God (e.g. 1:10-11; 3:11-12, 14, 18a). As motivation for such a lifestyle he provided the eschatological motive, i.e. "the coming of the day of God" (3:8-16 [12]). There is dissent here about whose coming this verse indicates. Although some scholars say that this coming is of God (cf. Carson, Moo and Morris 1992:443; Neyrey 1993:122-128; Davids 2006:150), we may agree with Green's opinion that "the day of God" surely indicates "[t]he return of Jesus Christ" (Green 1987:154). Finally, we may agree that this pastoral letter has polemic and apologetic characteristics, because this letter was sent to cope with the urgent situation that was caused by the false teachers, as we have already seen above.

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(2) 2 John

(a) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form, 2 John is a little bit different from other letters in the NT on the point that it not only lacks the epistolary paraenesis, but also contains an expression of joy as a proem, not a Pauline thanksgiving (cf. Klauck 2006:32). Thus, 2 John can be divided as follows: the opening (1-3), the proem in an expression of joy (4), the body (5-12) and the closing (13) (McDonald and Porter 2000:551). The opening seems to show that feature of Pauline letters in both syntactical form and expression (Lieu 1986:47). However, on the point that 2 John ends neither with a subscript in the form of a benediction, nor with a farewell, but with the secondary greeting, it is different from that of the other letters in the NT. In fact, among the letters in the NT, together with 3 John 2 John is most similar to the documentary letters in the Greco-Roman world (Edwards 1996:22; cf. Klauck 2006:27-41).

(b) Analysis

The recipients with whom "the elder" was concerned, were threatened by false teachers ("deceivers") that denied the physical incarnation of Jesus Christ (7) (Kruse 2000:203; Painter 2002:331). Although this pastor, "the elder", who was separated from his believers, had much to tell them (12), he must have considered it urgent to deal with this pressing problem, so he sent this letter to exercise his pastoral care for his believers. Thus "the elder," above all, warned his recipients to keep themselves apart from such false teachers and their teachings by holding on to what they had learned from their true soul-guide (8):

Βλέπετε ἑαυτούς, ἵνα μὴ ἀπολέσητε ἃ εἰργασάμεθα ἀλλὰ μισθὸν πλήρη ἀπολάβητε.

Be on your guard, so that you do not lose what we have worked for, but may receive a full reward.

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In the view of the author, this warning was necessary, because he knew that only those who stay in the "teaching of Christ" (ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ and ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ), and do not go beyond it, can possess both God and his son (9). On the one hand, in this situation the author exhorted those in the community to love one another (5-6), and on the other hand, instructed them to sever relations with such "deceivers" (10-11) (Kruse 2000:203; Painter 2002:332).

For effective pastoral care, "the elder" employed various rhetorical devices.[250] Firstly, he addressed his recipients with some "relationship-oriented" expressions, such as κυρία ("dear lady" [5]) and ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς ("to the elect lady and her children" [1; cf. 4, 13]). In a critical situation, such expressions must have strengthened the relationship between the author and the recipients. And in defining the identity of the "deceivers," the author used an affirmation or confession, i.e. Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί (7a) (Brown 1983:51). We also find the word of remembrance (4, 5, 6; cf. 8). Besides this, for impact the author employed some stylistic devices , such as antonomasia (e.g. 3), paronomasia (e.g. 6, 7), *paromoiosis* (e.g. 9), *traductio* (e.g. 1-4), *conduplicatio* (e.g. 1-3, 9, 10-11), chiasm (e.g. 6), *definitio* (e.g. 6, 7), *expolitio* (e.g. 6), metonymy (e.g. 7), hyperbaton (e.g. 7), antithesis (e.g. 5, 8, 9; cf. 12), synonym (e.g. 9), *regressio* (e.g. 9), *significatio* (e.g. 10-11) and ellipsis (e.g. 12) (Watson 1989b:115, 119, 121-128). Finally, in his pastoral letter, the author used both a hortatory term (5) and a specific verbal form of hortation, i.e. the imperative (8, 10).

In terms of Christian characteristics, 2 John strongly appeals to the Christocentric concept (3, 9; cf. 7). This is doubtless because the teachings of the "deceivers" were related to Jesus (viz. Christology). There is also a mutual exhortation not to be overcome by the false teachings (5-6).

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[250] Although not all scholars agree with Watson's rhetorical analysis on 2 John, and his judgment of 2 John as deliberative rhetoric, his final words on the literary characteristics of 2 John are worth mentioning (Watson 1989b:130): "2 John is the product of the careful interweaving of Greco-Roman rhetoric, especially as pertains to the deliberative species, and epistolary conventions of the paraenetic-advisory letter, creating a reasonable attempt to persuade the audience to adhere to the commandment of love as the advantageous course of action to take in the face of the exigence posed by the secessionists."

(3) 3 John

(a) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form, 3 John not only lacks the epistolary paraenesis, but also has a real health wish of the documentary letter, not a Pauline thanksgiving (Lieu 1986:46). In this sense, 3 John is closest to a documentary letter found in Egypt (Edwards 1996:22, 106; cf. Klauck 2006:9-41). Only the subscript seems to reflect a Christianised influence (Lieu 1986:48-49). Its structure can be divided as follows: the opening (1), the health wish or the proem (2-4), the body (5-12) and the closing (13-15) (McDonald and Porter 2000:551).[251]

(b) Analysis

In his letter sent to Gaius (viz. 3 John) "the elder" deals with the *Diotrephes issue* (Painter 2002:335; cf. Watson 1989a:481; Edwards 1996:24-25; Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:300-301). Diotrephes seems to have been an influential leader within the community with which the author was concerned. According to 3 John, Diotrephes caused some trouble: he not only showed an attitude of hostility or rivalry towards the leader of the community, i.e. "the elder," but also objected to a hospitable policy towards visitors to the community. Thus in 3 John 9-10, "the elder" wrote down as follows:

> Ἔγραψά τι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἀλλ᾽ ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτῶν Διοτρέφης οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται ἡμᾶς. διὰ τοῦτο, ἐὰν ἔλθω, ὑπομνήσω αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ποιεῖ λόγοις πονηροῖς φλυαρῶν ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ ἀρκούμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐπιδέχεται τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους κωλύει καὶ

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[251] However, as in the closing of 2 John, the report of an anticipatory visit can be considered a part of the body (viz. the body-closing). Besides this, in other letters in the NT, the peace benediction is considered as an initial mark or part of the closing (Weima 1994a:154; Aune 2003:268; cf. White 1988:97; 1993:151, n. 15).

ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει.

I have written something to the church; but Diotrephes, who likes to put himself first, does not acknowledge our authority. So if I come, I will call attention to what he is doing in spreading false charges against us. And not content with those charges, he refuses to welcome the friends, and even prevents those who want to do so and expels them from the church.

Due to this man, this faithful community was experiencing a crisis of disunity. In this situation "the elder" as pastor must have wanted to solve this current problem, so he sent this letter to his fellow worker Gaius and the community. In giving his instruction, "the elder" exhorted Gaius and his fellow believers to "imitate what is good," not "what is evil," which surely refers to Diotrephes' attitude and behaviour (11) (cf. Kruse 2000:219).

For his effective persuasion, "the elder" employed various rhetorical tools. For example, he addressed his recipients with "relationship-oriented" expressions, such as Γαΐῳ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ, ὃν ἐγὼ ἀγαπῶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ("to the beloved Gaius, whom I loved in truth" [1]), ἀγαπητέ ("beloved" [2, 5, 11]) and τὰ ἐμὰ τέκνα ("my children" [4]). He mentioned the model to be considered (12), and for impact, used some stylistic devices , such as *expolitio* (e.g. 2-3), *traductio* (e.g. 1-2, 2, 3-4), *conduplicatio* (e.g. 3-4), paronomasia (e.g. 3, 4, 7-8, 11), personification (e.g. 8, 12), argumentation (e.g. 9-10), accumulation (e.g. 12), chiasm (e.g. 11), parison (e.g. 11), hyperbole (e.g. 12), antithesis and contrast (e.g. 5-8, 9-10, 11), parallel structure (e.g. 3-4, 11), homoioteleuton (e.g. 11), polyptoton (e.g. 15) and *antanaclasis* (e.g. 15) (Watson 1989a:489-490, 494-501). We find one imperative in this letter (11).

In terms of Christian characteristics, this letter shows few features common to other Christian pastoral letters. The reason is that the pending question concerned neither the false teachers, nor their teachings, but a practical issue in the Christian community, i.e. Christian hospitality (Edwards 1996:25). The correction against wrong behaviour must have been enough to serve as an instruction and comment: "Beloved, do not imitate what is evil but imitate what is good. Whoever does good is from God; whoever does evil has not seen God" (11). This, nevertheless, implies God's initiative and the concept of *coram Deo*.

(4) Jude

(a) Structural and Formal Features

In its structure and form, Jude follows the general outline of letters in the NT except for lacking the thanksgiving or the proem: i.e. the opening (1-2), the body (3-19), the epistolary paraenesis (20-23) and the closing (24-25) (Bauckham 1983:3; McDonald and Porter 2000:547; cf. Davids 2006:23). In both the opening and the closing, Jude was Christianised. Especially in the closing, Jude shows its uniqueness, because it closes with the doxology to God (24-25).

(b) Analysis

In the beginning of his letter, Jude reveals the reason why he wrote this letter to the recipients. Thus Jude 3 reads as follows:

> Ἀγαπητοί, πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος γράφειν ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας ἀνάγκην ἔσχον γράψαι ὑμῖν παρακαλῶν ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι τῇ ἅπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστει.
>
> Beloved, while eagerly preparing to write to you about the salvation we share, I find it necessary to write and appeal to you to contend for the faith that was once for all entrusted to the saints.

Here Jude expressed that he had written his letter in order to "appeal to" his recipients "to contend for the faith that was once for all entrusted to the saints" (Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:277; cf. Bauckham 1983:4; Aune 2003:256; Davids 2006:41-42). This became necessary because of certain false teachers (Bauckham 1983:3; cf. Charles 1991:123). According to Jude (4), these false teachers were those who belied the truth by perverting "the grace of our God into licentiousness" (τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν χάριτα μετατιθέντες εἰς ἀσέλγειαν) and denying "our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ" (τὸν μόνον δεσπότην καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀρνούμενοι) (cf. Green 1987:55). These "intruders" already were among Jude's recipients. Eating with the recipients, they indulged

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"their own lusts" and flattered the recipients "to their own advantage" (16). In this pressing situation Jude must have been compelled to send his pastoral letter. Thus, firstly having exposed the identity and fate of these false teachers in a midrash (5b-9), and then reminding the recipients of what they had learned from the apostles of Jesus and himself (5a, 17), Jude encouraged his recipients to keep their "most holy faith" (ἡ ἁγιωτάτη πίστις) (20a; cf. 3) through various ways, such as praying (20b), loving God (21a), expecting Jesus' mercy that leads to eternal life (21b) and encouraging one another (22-23) (Bauckham 1983:3, 4; Marshall, Travis and Paul 2002:278-279).

Facing this polemic situation, Jude employed various persuasive tools for his psychagogy. Firstly, Jude addressed his recipients with the "relationship-oriented" expressions, such as ἀγαπητοί ("beloved" [3]), or ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀγαπητοί ("but you, beloved" [17, 20]) and τοῖς ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἠγαπημένοις καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τετηρημένοις κλητοῖς ("to those who are called, who are beloved in God the Father and kept safe for Jesus Christ" [1]). In contrast Jude referred to false teachers "scornfully" with the demonstrative pronoun, οὗτοι ("these" [8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19]). This contrast in designations must have functioned to concentrate the recipients' attention on Jude's words. As grounds for his argument against the false teachers, Jude used authoritative sources, such as Scripture (5-7, 9, 11), or apostles' teachings (17-18; cf. 11) and quoted from extrabiblical works (6, 9, 14-15) (Bauckham 1983:7-8; cf. Charles 1993:91-127, 145-162; McDonald and Porter 2000:544). All these things serve to reveal the identity of the false teachers and to prove their vanity (cf. 16). Besides this, by using the word of remembrance (5, 17), Jude found agreement to his refutation of false teachers, and to his exhortation. And for the effect of his words, Jude employed some stylistic devices, such as antithesis (e.g. 9; cf. 10, 22-23), metaphor (e.g. 3, 11, 12-13, 20, 24), simile (e.g. 10), parallelism (e.g. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 23), chiasmus (e.g. 1a), asyndeton (e.g. 12, 16, 19) and paronomasia, including "alliteration, assonance, homoioteleuton, rhyme, word- and name-play" (e.g. 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12-13, 15, 16, 19, 22-23) (Charles 1991:112-115; 1993:38-42; cf. Watson 1988:194; Botes 2008:11, 13). Finally, we can find a few hortatory terms (e.g. 3, 5) and the imperative as a specific verbal form of exhortation (17, 21).

In terms of Christian characteristics, in this letter we can find both God's initiative (e.g. 24; cf. 21) and the Christocentric tendency (e.g. 4, 21b, 25). These concepts were stressed because

of the teachings of false teachers. Against these false teachings, Jude emphasised mutual exhortation for "building up" (20-23) (cf. Bauckham 1983:112-13).

C. Concluding Summary

In order to both demonstrate the existence of Christian pastoral letters in earliest Christianity (viz. the times of the NT), and to provide a few criteria that define Christian pastoral letters, here I analysed the letters in the NT. For methodological convenience, I analysed them in two subsections (viz. section A and section B). On the one hand, in section A I analysed 1 Thessalonians in detail. By analysing 1 Thessalonians (viz. the earliest Christian pastoral letter), I provided a good example of a Christian pastoral letter (cf. section A. 4), and through the analysis I could extract some features of Christian pastoral letters that would be tentative criteria to identify other letters in the NT as Christian pastoral letters. On the other hand, in section B I analysed the rest of the letters in the NT, considering the results of the analysis of 1 Thessalonians. Through their analysis I could find some shared features among the letters in the NT, including 1 Thessalonians, which made it possible to categorise the letters in the NT as a Christian psychagogical letter type, i.e. the pastoral letter type. Although each of them was, in fact, uniquely composed letter by letter, according to the epistolary situation of each letter, these shared features of structure and form, content, style and function appear in all. In fact, this phenomenon could be foreseen, because all the letters were based on faith in Jesus Christ (and God), and dispatched by their spiritual leaders to Christians who were facing problems. Besides this, it is to be noted that, for their pastoral care, the authors often referred, in Christianised form, to the contemporary philosophical hortatory traditions, including Hellenistic and Jewish traditions, to which both the authors themselves and the recipients were accustomed, and used rhetorical devices that were employed for the effectiveness of the words. As a result of these factors, these letters in the NT had their contents and functions in common, and employed rhetorical devices which distinguished the letters in the NT from the contemporary Christian non-epistolary works and pagan letters or other works. The shared features of the letters in the NT which were studied above, can be summarised as below.

1. Structure, Form and Additional Epistolary Features

In their structure and form, most letters in the NT have an expanded structure (viz. the fivefold structure), which is most obvious in Pauline letters, and also in 1 and 2 Peter and Jude (cf. Schnider and Stenger 1987). Of course, a few letters of the NT (viz. 2 and 3 John) either follow a common Greek letter structure, or a different style. But we need to remember that these letters occupied a less important position in the history of the canon of the NT (cf. Strecker 1997:52-53). This means that these two letters might have had less influence on the later Christian letter writers. As regards the fivefold, or sometimes reduced to fourfold, shared structure among the letters in the NT, no matter whether they were Paul's or the other apostles' letters (except 2 and 3 John), this phenomenon may be explained by an imitation theory (viz. the non-Pauline letters follow the structure of Pauline letters with modification for each peculiar purpose according to each epistolary situation), though this is not the case for all letters.

In each part of each letter some common features are also found. Firstly, in the opening the prescripts of most letters in the NT commonly have Christianised descriptions of both the addressor(s) and the recipient(s), and the syntactical structure of the prescript (viz. the phenomenon of the separation of the part of the greeting from the parts of author and recipient[s]) is very similar.[252] Besides this, co-sender(s) often appear in the prescript. The emergence of co-sender(s) seems to be related to the pastoral situation of the author and the recipient(s) (cf. Richards 1991:153-158; Murphy-O'Connor 1995:16-19). Secondly, the thanksgiving, which is normally called the proem, shows elaboration in structure, length and content that focused on both God and

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[252] Cf. The only two exceptions to this structure are James (1:1c [χαίρειν]) and 3 John (1; "nom.[sender]-dat.[recipient] [without a verb]" construction), which follow common Hellenistic conventions (on James, see Penner [1996:142]: "a standard epistolary greeting"). In plain words, Watson (1997:650) summarises the feature of the greeting of the letters in the NT as follows: "The Greek letter greeting uses a verb of greeting (*chairō*) and a wish for the recipient's health (*hygianō*), but in Christian letters these become 'grace' (*charis*) and 'peace' (*eirēnē*) respectively, often presented in the form of a benediction ('may grace and peace be yours')" (cf. Neyrey 1993:46).

the situation of the recipient(s) (cf. Schubert 1939b; O'Brien 1977; Schnider and Stenger 1987: 42-49; Lambrecht 1994b). Furthermore, the authors of the letters in the NT often used this section "as a sign-post to the original readers to introduce the major themes of the letter" (Cook 1992). In the closing the letters in the NT display some fixed components, such as the autographical reference,[253] the benediction, the closing exhortation or hortatory section, the doxology,[254] the greeting(s), the recommendation (e.g. Rom 16:1-2), the postscript (1 Cor 16:24) and the joy expression (the autograph) (cf. Weima 1994a; 2000b). Finally, in the body most letters in the NT show not only some fixed order that consist of the body-opening, the body-middle and the body-closing (cf. White 1972b), but also a rhetorically well-organised arrangement and various other devices (cf. Murphy-O'Connor 1995:64-86; Witherington 2009). This body (proper) is sometimes followed by the epistolary paraenesis (Rom 12:1-15:13; 1 Cor 5:1-16:4; 2 Cor 10:1-13:10; Gal 5:13-6:10; Eph 4:1-6:20; Phil 3:1-4:19; Col 2:16-4:9; 1 Thess 4:1-5:22; 2 Thess 2:13-3:15; 1 Tim 5:1-6:19[?]; Titus 2:1-3:14; 2 Pet 3:11-16; Jude 20-23; cf. Aune 1987:191; McDonald and Porter 2000). In content most letters in the NT were composed to solve pending questions that recipients, and sometimes the authors themselves, were facing. Thus these letters are not only full of responses to the pending questions that Christians could be facing in daily or ecclesiastical life, but also of dogmatic

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[253] Some scholars consider Paul's reference to his autograph as a letter-closing convention in 1 Cor 16:21, Gal 6:11 and Phlm 19 (cf. 1 Pet 5:12). Nevertheless, there is still a debate whether the "autographical reference" should be considered a convention or not. For example, White (1993:151, n. 15) considered the "autographical reference" to be a part of the body closing: "We suggest below, however, that Paul's assertion of personal authority belongs more naturally to the close of the body than to the letter-closing."

[254] Watson 1997:651: "The letter closing or postscript maintains contact between sender and recipient and enhances their relationship. This is accomplished by using greetings (*aspazomai*), a health wish and/or words of farewell. In Christian letters a doxology or benediction can replace the last two." On the other hand, White (1993:151, n. 15) excludes the doxology from the closing convention, because only Phil 4:20 and Rom 16:25-27 in Pauline letters have it, and the text of Romans has some textual problem. Other examples are Heb 13:21b, 2 Pet 3:18b and Jude 24-25. Especially Jude closes his letter only with the doxology. The doxology appears at other places than the end of a letter in some letters in the NT (e.g. Rom 11:36; Gal 1:5; Eph 3:20-21; 1 Tim 1:17; 6:16; 2 Tim 4:18; 1 Pet 4:11; 5:11).

corrections or theological argumentations, and also of practical solutions as well as encouragements and exhortations (cf. DeSilva 2004).

Concerning external epistolary customs, the letters in the NT contain a few additional features from Greco-Roman letters (see chap. 3, section A.3). However, we should say that these features are the least Christianised items. Therefore, the emergence of these features within the letters in the NT has limited meaning. For example, just as Greco-Roman letter-writers employed an amanuensis or secretary, the authors of the letters in the NT also did (cf. Richards 1991; 2004:59-93 [92-93]). Secondly, within the letters in the NT, we find some letter-carriers named (cf. Richards 2004:188-209). These named letter-carriers must have played an important role in communication through letters (e.g. Timothy in 1 Thess 3) (cf. Allen, Neil and Mayer 2009b; Head 2009). However, though the authors of the letters in the NT often sent their envoys or messengers as letter-carriers to relevant churches in the situation of their physical absence (e.g. 1 Thess 3:1-7; Eph 6:21-22; Phil 2:19-23; Col 4:7-9), letters were likely to play a pivotal role in their pastoral care (e.g. 1 Thess 5:27; Col 4:15-16) (cf. Funk 1967a; 1982b; 1982c). However, as opposed to many Greco-Roman non-literary letters, the letters in the NT have not preserved the date and the outer address.

2. Psychagogical Features

The shared psychagogical features of the letters in the NT are decisive in defining them as pastoral letters. They are as follows: Firstly, the most obvious psychagogical feature of the letters in the NT is that they were composed (i) by church leaders (or pastors), (ii) who had pastoral aims (1 Thess 1:10-12; 2:8, 11-12; Rom 1:11-12; 1 Cor 4:11-13; 2 Thess 3:7b-9; 1 Tim 3:14-15a; 2 Tim 2:10; Titus 1:13b-14; 1 Pet 5:12; 2 Pet 3:1-2, 14-16a; 1 John 2:1a; Jude 3b), no matter whether the nature of the leadership was hierarchical or not. In other words, these spiritual guides had authority and were in a superior position to their recipients in composing their letters. This authority and position were either from divine origin or from the church itself, or both. This fact might be reflected even in

the prescript, because their name always occupied the initial position, though there is a debate about the meaning of this initial position (cf. Stirewalt 2003).[255] On the other hand, the recipients appear as the target of pastoral care (including "doctrinal" corrections) (iii) in terms of both a *modus vivendi* and a *modus cogitandi*. Especially in relation to Pauline letters, Glad (1995:190) summarised this point well: "[N]urture and correction are two interrelated aspect of Pauline psychagogy." In this position, the authors of the letters in the NT tried to resolve various pending questions of their recipients, and sometimes of the authors themselves. Although each epistolary situation was different, we can see that these pending questions mainly consisted of (iv) diverse practical and ecclesiastical problems (e.g. marriage, death, slaves, schism and church orders) and (v) some theological issues (e.g. false teachers and their teachings). To give answers or resolutions, the authors of the letters in the NT used (vi) a number of methods, such as expositions or arguments or the "reply to inquire" phrase (viz. the "περί + genitive" construction). One thing to pay attention to, is that, because these matters were often related to a congregation, not an individual, the authors of the letters in the NT tended to focus on communal exhortations and corrections for a church.

Secondly, in order to conduct their pastoral care effectively and so to persuade their recipients, the authors of the letters in the NT often used contemporary persuasive methods from both the Greco-Roman and Jewish tradition, to which the recipients as well as themselves might be accustomed. For example, (i) the authors addressed their recipients with "relationship-oriented" expressions and (ii) used Scripture, including Jesus' sayings, illustrations or examples, and other sources, such as a creed or confession, a hymn, a maxim and even pagan authors, for argument and persuasion. To make clear what they wanted from their recipients, they sometimes presented (iii) the model to be imitated to their recipients. Besides this, there are also (iv) the list of virtues and vices, (v) the list of hardships, (vi) the household code, (vii) the word of remembrance and (viii)

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[255] One reason why this problem is not easy to decide is because we have no return letters from the recipients of the letter writers of the NT. Nevertheless, in the psychagogical letter tradition the name of the guide or the teacher was quite often put in the initial position.

some stylistic devices (viz. tropes and figures), including antithesis, diatribe, metaphor and others. All these things functioned as catalysts to increase the recipients' attention. And we find (ix) a large number of hortatory expressions or terms and specific verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative, the hortatory subjunctive, the indicative future form and the participle form of command. All these things were in each case modified according to the epistolary situation of both the author and the recipients, and so they were Christianised in form and content.

Thirdly, the letters in the NT show their distinctive character in some respects. For example, they show (i) the concept of the initiative of God and/or other Persons of the Trinity (viz. Jesus the Son and the Holy Spirit), (ii) the Christocentric concept, (iii) the emphasis on a *modus vivendi* worthy of God and/or other Persons of the Trinity, (iv) the appeal to mutual exhortations and (v) the request or encouragement of mutual prayer. Besides this, the authors of the letters in the NT tended to emphasise (vi) sound teachings, i.e. what were transmitted through themselves to the recipients, and so (vii) there are polemic factors against heretical teachers and teachings. This tendency finally reveals (viii) the *ecclesio*-centric tendency of these letters (viz. the emphasis on the importance of the community, especially on the aspect of unity). And we find (ix) that the eschatological theme, especially Jesus' *parousia*, functions as a basis for exhortation and teaching. Finally, here and there in the letters in the NT are (x) the blessing and the prayer of the spiritual leader for his believers and (xi) the doxology to both God and Jesus.

3. Conclusion

Concerning the psychagogical practices in Christianity (viz. pastoral care), Frend (1990:190) states as follows: "Pastoral care . . . has characterized Christianity since its origins." Of course, we cannot easily summarise the pastoral care of early Christianity in a word, because the form of pastoral care in early Christianity, especially as known through the letters in the NT, was quite diverse.[256]

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[256] In relation to this, it is valuable to remember Malherbe's words (1987:108): "*We should be careful, however, not to generalize about Paul's pastoral method on the basis of this one letter* [sc. 1 Thessalonians]*; it offers only one slice of*

However, pastoral practice was one of various essential activities of early Christianity (DeSilva 2004:29; cf. McNeill 1965; Purves 2001; Mills 2005:837; Witherington 2006:29). The letters in the NT are important evidence of the pastoral practices of early Christianity, just as McNeill (1965:82) said, "The guidance of Christians in day-to-day living is a prominent feature of the Pauline and other New Testament Epistles" (cf. Stowers 1986:96; Frend 1990:190; Malherbe 2005:792). So the letters in the NT are pastoral and consist of the first Christian pastoral letters.

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his work. The conditions in Paul's churches could change rapidly and drastically, either because of internal or local factors or because traveling Christians from elsewhere might unsettle the churches Paul had left behind. *Paul's other letters are addressed to such circumstances, and they reveal Paul's pastoral ability to match his style to the situations at hand*" (my emphasis). Clebsch and Jaekle (1975:5) also point out this fact: "Two characteristics mark Christian pastoral care in the earliest epoch [sc. until ca.180 C.E.]: *extreme diversity of functions and modes and means*, and a general pervasion of this diversity by a concern to set all helping acts within the context of the supposedly brief period of time until history met its end. That concern naturally led pastoral care to emphasize the function of sustaining" (my emphasis).

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CHAPTER V: ANALYSIS OF SELECTED PASTORAL LETTERS UP TO THE EARLY FIFTH
CENTURY C.E.

In the previous two chapters (viz. chaps. 3 and 4) we looked at the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition
and the letter genre. We found that in the tradition of Greco-Roman epistolography there was a
psychagogical letter type used for a specific purpose, i.e. soul-guidance (chap. 3). And we also
verified that the letters in the NT formed part of such a letter tradition (chap. 4). Nevertheless, we
discovered that the letters in the NT contained their own characteristics, which made it possible to
categorise them into a separate subgroup of the Greco-Roman psychagogical letter type, i.e. a
Christian psychagogical letter type (viz. the pastoral letter type). Therefore, in relation to this
dissertation, we now ask how the earliest Christian pastoral letters of the NT influenced the pastoral
letter tradition, i.e. Christian psychagogical letter tradition, in early Christianity.[257] An answer to this
question can be given through the analysis of some Christian letters up to the fifth century C.E. by
considering two features of the targeted letters, i.e. the external condition of letter-writing (e.g.
epistolary situation), and internal characteristics (e.g. content, function, relationship to the Greco-
Roman and Jewish hortatory tradition). Furthermore, it is necessary to evaluate the results of the
analysis of non-canonical early Christian letters in the light of the basic characteristics of the
earliest pastoral letters in the NT. If evidence of the influence of the letters in the NT upon non-
canonical early Christian letters is discovered, we will be able to suggest the emergence and
development of an early Christian letter type, i.e. the pastoral letter type.

However, before analysing the letters, I will survey the Christian letters up to the early fifth
century C.E. (viz. Augustine of Hippo). This survey will provide the general background of this
chapter. Then I will conduct the following two tasks in relation to the main topic of this dissertation:
(1) the analysis of selected pastoral letters (some letters of the early church leaders selected on the

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[257] For the basic characteristics of the Greco-Roman psychagogical letters and the earliest Christian pastoral letters (i.e.
the letters in the NT), see chap. 3, sections B. 2 and C, and chap. 4, section C.

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basis of a few criteria), and the examination of their connection with the Greco-Roman psychagogical letter tradition, including the letters in the NT and (2) the comparison with other non-pastoral Christian letter types, through which the characteristics of a letter type may be identified (viz. the Christian psychagogical letter type).

A. A General Survey of Early Christian Letters

Just as the authors of the letters in the NT composed their letters according to their objectives, so also did the early Christian leaders. We now have about nine thousand literarily transmitted letters in Greek and Latin from early Christianity (Kytzler 1965:500; Trapp 2003:18), which in many cases "contain much spiritual wisdom and many excellent rules for the guidance of moral conduct" (Roberts 1843:699). Of course, if we consider the papyrus letters from Egypt[258] and lost letters, the number will increase. However, on the basis of the number of letters extant from early Christianity we should not imagine that there were a thousand Christian leaders who authored these letters. Whereas there were a few persons who left a number of letters, or whose letters were preserved in small numbers (e.g. the author of *1 Clement*, Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp of Smyrna, the author of *the Epistle of Barnabas*, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen etc.), most of the nine thousand letters were written by some Christian leaders (e.g. Cyprian of Carthage, Athansius, Basil the Great, Jerome, Isidore of Pelusium, Augustine etc.).[259] Thus in reality the number of authors whom we will look at

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[258] There are a number of Christian papyrus letters from Egypt (C. Kim 2011; cf. Winter 1933; C.-H. Kim 1972; White 1986), but I do not treat them independently because most Christian papyrus letters from Egypt do not deal with pastoral issues, just as most pagan papyrus letters from Egypt also do not.

[259] Of course, I do not mean that all the letters in the collection attributed to an author are authentic or his own. In fact, letter collections often include received letters, spurious letters and other authors' letters worthy of preservation. For example, Jerome's letter collection, consisting of 154 letters (including around 120 authentic letters of Jerome), contains letters of Damasus the pope to Jerome (*Epp.* 19, 35), Augustine's letters of the "Jerome-Augustine Exchange," which have been included in Augustine's letter collection (*Epp.* 56, 67, 101, 104, 110, 116, 131, 132), letters of Innocent I the pope (*Epp.* 135, 136, 137), Latin translations of the festal letters of Theophilus of Alexandria (*Epp.* 87, 89, 90, 92, 93,

below, is reduced. Anyway, this large number of extant Christian letters reveals the fact that "the letter was a highly significant form for Christians" (Trapp 2003:17; cf. Doty 1973:19).

The history of Christian letters up to the early fifth century C.E. can be expressed as the history of both continuous development of the letter genre in Christianity and interaction with the circumstances.[260] Scholars dealing with the history have often divide it into two periods, i.e. the period up to the early fourth century, and the period of the fourth and fifth century C.E. Scholars provide social, cultural and literary conditions as motivation of such a division.[261] According to them, each period had its own features. To put it briefly, while the former period (viz. that of the second to early fourth century C.E.) is characterised as "negative" in terms of both the literary level of authors and the rate of preservation of the letters from that period, the latter (viz. the fourth and fifth century C.E.) is said to be "affirmative" in terms of the literary level of both authors and works,[262] and the preservation of letters.[263] Especially the high literary level of Christian authors of

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96, 98, 100, 113) and Latin translations of the letters of Epiphanius of Salmis (*Epp.* 51, 91) (Mierow and Lawler 1963:12-17; cf. Drobner 2007:348-351). It is also true in the case of John Chrysostom's letter collection (Coleman-Norton 1929:279) and that of Augustine (Eno 1999:306). Especially John Chrysostom's *Epistola ad Caesarium monachum* is considered a forgery (Coleman-Norton 1929:279). Considering these facts we may say that the number of letter authors increase.

[260] For the rationale of the early fifth century as the limit of the period for my research, see footnote 2.

[261] As an additional rationale for the above-mentioned division there are two further political and ecclesiastical events: (1) "the so-called Constantine shift" in 313 C.E. and (2) the first ecumenical council held at Nicaea in 325 C.E. (Drobner 2007:187; cf. Logan 2002:11). Especially with relation with the council at Nicaea, it should be kept in mind that scholars often divide the late (Christian) antiquity into two periods, i.e. the ante-Nicene period and the Nicene or post-Nicene one after this council at Nicaea. As an example that follows this rationale we can mention the series *ANF* and *NPNF*[2].

[262] Jordan 1911:160 and 166: ". . . das 4. Jahrh[undert] [zeigt] in der christlichen Briefstellerei einen sich immer steigerden Einfluß der antiken Rhetorik . . . Die Hunderte und Tausende von *Briefen*, die großen noch längst in ihrer Bedeutung nicht ausgeschöpften *Briefesammlungen*, die wir von BASILIUS DEM GROSSEN († 379), GREGOR V. NAZIANZ († ca. 390), GREGOR V. NYSSA († nach 394), JOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS († 404), THEODORET V. CYPRUS († ca. 457), ISIDOR V. PELUSIUM († ca. 440), PROKOP V. GAZA († ca. 528) u. a. haben, zeigen alle mehr oder weniger diese rhetorische Tendenz" (160) and "[e]s ist ganz deutlich, daß sich die lateinisch-christilichen Briefe des 3. Jahrh[underts] literarisch in ihrer Gesamtheit nicht ohne den Einfluß erklären lassen, den der Zusammenhang von

the latter era established the Golden Age of Christian literature in this time (Doty 1973:75; Drobner 2007:187). Although this division cannot be rigorously applied to the entire number of Christian authors of the first five centuries of this era, it is helpful to look at an outline of the history of Christian letters.

I will separate extant letters from non-extant or fragmentary letters below. The reason is that we cannot refer to the latter for present and future research. Nevertheless, on the point that they provide evidence that many more Christian authors composed pastoral letters throughout the first five centuries of this era, they are still worth mentioning in this section.

1. A Brief Survey of Early Christian Letter Authors and Letters

During the period of the late first century to the early fifth century C.E. a number of Christian leaders composed their letters with various aims. Just from extant letters and indirect reports or lists of letters that were preserved by later authors, we can recognise that the letter was not only the most

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griechischem Osten und lateinischem Westen in der Literatur darbot. Die Linie der entwicklung einer spezifisch christlichen Literatur läßt sich nun freilich noch weiter herunterverfolgen; aber sehen wir diese bei Laktanz einbiegen in die Entwicklung der allgemeinen lateinischen Literatur, so wird das seit dem 4. Jahrh[undert] mehr und mehr der Fall, so daß es mehr und mehr an Berechtigung verliert, die christliche Literatur von der allgemeinen lateinischen gesondert zu behandeln" (166); Schneider 1954:580-581: "Die griech[isch]-christl[ichen] Briefliteratur kam im 4. Jh. immer stärker unter den Einfluß der Rhetorik . . . Mit dem 4. Jh. die [lat.-]christl[ilchen] Literatur immer stärker der Entwicklung zu folgen, welche die allgemeine lat. Literatur nimmt. Diese Tendenz ist zuerst deutlich bei Lactantius zu beobachten, der als Lehrer der Rhetorik in Nikomedien lebte u. seinen Stil vor allem an Cicero . . . gebildet hat."

[263] Zelzer 1997:340 and 337: "Von der kirchlichen Korrespondenz aus der frühen Zeit des Christentums ist nur wenig erhalten; hatten Schreiben an Aktualität verloren, etwa nach Lösung einer dogmatischen Frage oder nach Überwindung einer Irrlehre, gingen sie meistens verloren. Einige Dokumente hat Eusebius in seine *Kirchengeshchichte* aufgenommen; etwa ein Schreiben der Gemeinden von Lyon und Vienne an die Gemeinden in Kleinasien über die Christenverfolgungen in Lyon in den Jahren 177/8, und das Mahnschreiben des Polycarpschülers Irenaeus, der ab dieser Zeit als Bishop in Lyon wirkte, an Papst Victor wegen dessen intoleranten Vorgehens . . ." (340) and "Abgesehen von Cyprian aus der Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts sind es erst die Autoren des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts, von denen meist umfangreiche Briefsammlungen erhalten sind: wir besitzen etwa über 1500 Briefe des Libanios und über 300 des Basilius, über 900 des Symmachus und über 300 des Augustinus, aber auch von diesen Authoren sind noch viele Briefe verloren" (337).

favoured genre, but also a very useful tool used by Christian leaders for their ministry and communication. Below I will briefly survey some important letter authors and their letters from the so-called apostolic fathers up to Augustine of Hippo. Of course, I confess that there are other authors and letters that are not included in this survey. However, in spite of having selected only some authors and letters to survey, I think that the authors and letters mentioned below are adequate to describe how letters flourished in early Christianity, and what functions they served within Christian communities. For convenience I will categorise the extant letters into two sections chronologically, i.e. the letters of the late first to early fourth centuries C.E. and the letters of the fourth and the early fifth centuries C.E., and put the letters that have not been transmitted at the end of this section.

a) Extant Letters

(1) Letters of the Late First and Early Fourth Century C.E.

The first five selections of works and authors, i.e. *1 Clement* (mid 90s C.E.), Ignatius of Antioch (ca. 50-107 C.E.), Polycarp of Smyrna (ca. 69-155 C.E.), *The Epistle to Barnabas* (ca. 70-135 C.E.) and *the Epistle to Diognetus* (after 150 C.E.), belong to the so-called apostolic fathers. On the collection of the so-called apostolic fathers scholars agree that the authors of these works would have been associated with the apostles or early orthodox traditions (R. A. Norris 2004:11). Furthermore, scholars accept their early date of composition as close to the date of the works in the NT, especially *1 Clement* and the letters of Ignatius. Nevertheless, the apostolic fathers form an arbitrary collection of modern scholarship that appeared around the seventeenth century of this era (F. W. Norris 1998:93; R. A. Norris 2004:11; Jefford 2005:8; cf. Thierry 1964:5). This means that this collection was not recognised in the early Christian period, though each letter of the so-called apostolic fathers was accepted and used by early Christians.

1 Clement is "among the most important documents of sub-apostolic times, the earliest piece of Christian literature outside the New Testament of which the name, position and date of the author are historically attested" (Quasten 1950:43; cf. McGrath 2001:14). Although the superscript of this

letter starts with the words Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην, and there is no mention of the author in *1 Clement* itself, it has traditionally been ascribed to Clement, who was considered to be the third or fourth bishop of Rome (died in 101 C.E.) (Irenaeus, *haer.* 3.3.3; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.23.11 [testimony of Dionysius of Corinth]). Of course, other Clements were sometimes suggested (Quasten 1950:42-43; Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:101; Gregory 2006:223, 224-225; Holmes 2007:34-35).[264] Nevertheless, according to Holmes (2007:34), "[t]he unity of style suggests that the letter is the work of a single author." No matter who the author was, though I will follow the traditional designation, it is sure that *1 Clement* is a genuine letter sent to the church at Corinth from the church at Rome because of sedition and schism in the church at Corinth (*1 Clem.* 1.1; 3.2; 46.5, 9; 63.1-2) (Lona 1998:20; McGrath 2001:13; Ehrman 2003a:20 [LCL]).

Ignatius was a bishop of Antioch (died in the early second century C.E.). Although we do not know exactly how many letters he wrote, at least seven letters, i.e. *To the Ephesians* (*Eph.*), *To the Magnesians* (*Magn.*), *To the Trallians* (*Trall.*), *To the Romans* (*Rom.*), *To the Philadelphians* (*Phld.*), *To the Smyrneans* (*Smyrn.*) and *To Polycarp* (*Pol.*), are ascribed to him. Most scholars agree that these seven letters are genuine (Holmes 2007:171; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.36).[265] The first six letters were sent to congregations and the last one to an individual, i.e. Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, though this letter was also aimed at the congregation (Lightfoot 1889a:351; cf. Ign. *Pol.*

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[264] Ehrman (2003a:23 [LCL]): "[I]t is difficult to draw conclusions about the authorship of the letter. Its later attribution to the sole bishop of the city, Clement, may represent a 'best guess' by later Christians, or may even have been an orthodox claim used to bolster their own position vis-à-vis other groups contending for power in the church."

[265] On the discussion of the authenticity of letters transmitted in the name of Ignatius, see Schoedel 1985:3-7; 1993:286-292; Prostmeier 2000b:296-297; Ehrman 2003a:209-213 [LCL]; Brent 2007:95-143; Holmes 2007:171-173; Zuiddam 2010:181-193. The "long recension" of the letter collection of Ignatius contains six letters additional to the "middle recension": *To the Tarsians*, *To the Philippians*, *To the Antiohenes*, *To Hero*, *Mary to Ignatius* and *Ignatius to Mary* (Schoedel 1985:4; Brent 2007:3-4). While most scholars consider only the seven letters of the "middle recension" to be genuine, recently Zuiddam (2010:181; cf. 191) claimed that the "long recension" could be "of Ignatian origin" by refuting the theory of the Dutch humanist scholar Vossius, who first supported the theory of the so-called "middle recension" (cf. 2010:184-189). On letters that belong to this "long recension," see Lightfoot 1889b:125-273.

6.1-2; 7.1-3; 8.3). All the letters are full of the author's pastoral concerns for the recipients (Prostmeier 2000b:297).

Polycarp was the bishop of Smyrna (Ign. *Magn.* 15.1; *Pol. prescript*; cf. *Eph.* 21.1). According to Irenaeus (*haer.* 3.3.4), Polycarp sent a number of letters, which are now lost, "to neighboring Christian communities and to some of his fellow-bishops" (Quasten 1950:79).[266] We now have only one of his letters, i.e. *the Epistle to the Philippians*. From this letter we learn that Polycarp was both an advisor and pastor of churches (Jordan 1911:137).

The Epistle of Barnabas is thought to have been composed between 70-135 C.E. (Holmes 2007:373; cf. Paget 1996:364 [the mid 90s C.E.]). Early church tradition ascribed the authorship of this letter to Barnabas, Paul's companion (Paget 2006:442; cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.6.31; 2.7.35; 2.20.116; 5.10.63). However, this tradition has often been rejected by modern scholars (Jordan 1911:139; Köster 1980:715; Paget 1994:3). Furthermore, many scholars deny even the possibility of a connection between Paulinism and *the Epistle of Barnabas* (Jordan 1911:139; Paget 1996:381). In terms of its genre, many scholars regard it as a treatise in letter form, because it seems to lack mention of the immediate occasion and personal features that are often found in a letter (e.g. Quasten 1950:85; Schneider 1954:577; Doty 1973:74; Köster 1980:715; Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:14; Prostmeier 2000a:90; Reventlow 2009:120). Indeed, *the Epistle of Barnabas* displays some features that differ greatly from that of the letter genre. For example, we cannot find any personal names, not even the author's name. And the middle section of this letter is said to consist of "an ancient essay on the Old Testament scriptures" (chaps. 2-17), and a "Two Ways pattern of instruction or code of conduct" (chaps. 18-20) in its form and content. For some this means that the letter format is "not original," probably because in their view such sources can be

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[266] Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.20.8: "[Κ]αὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐπέστειλεν ἤτοι ταῖς γειτνιώσαις ἐκκλησίαις, ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτάς, ἢ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τισί, νουθετῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ προτρεπόμενος, δύναται φανερωθῆναι." ταῦτα ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ("'And from his [sc. Polycarp] letters which he sent either to the neighbouring churches, strengthening them, or to some of the brethren, exhorting and warning them, this can be made plain.' So says Irenaeus") (Lake, LCL).

regarded as unsuitable to the letter genre (Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:14). However, all the statements mentioned above are untrue. *The Epistle of Barnabas* was certainly written for a specific situation (3.6; 4.6b; 9.6; 12.10),[267] with appropriate aim(s) (1.5; 21.1, 5-8; cf. 4.5-6; 16.3-4), and in a friendly manner (e.g. "relationship-oriented" designations [e.g. 1.1; 2.10; 3.6; 4.14; 5.1; 6.10; 7.1; 8.7; 15.4; 21.9]), though its content is serious, because its theme is related to the interpretation of the OT and the Christian lifestyle. Furthermore, this work was composed in the common epistolary structure. Considering these facts, we can classify it as a letter.

The Epistle to Diognetus also belongs to the collection of the so-called apostolic fathers. Although it was known under the name of epistle, it is commonly considered to be an apology put in letter form (Lake 1913:348 [LCL]; Jordan 1911:157; Schneider 1954:579; Doty 1973:74; Wengst 2000:176; Holmes 2007:686; cf. Foster 2007:163 ["a literary letter, rather than a personal note"]). While the author of this letter is unknown, the name of its recipient is clear, as we can see in the title, i.e. Diognetus. He is sometimes considered to be a certain famous Diognetus, perhaps the teacher of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 C.E.), who showed a lively interest in Christianity, though he was a former pagan (Jordan 1911:157). However, we can regard him to be "only a fictional character, created to ask the questions that the anonymous author wished to address" (Holmes 2007:688). In any case, it is sure that the author attempted to introduce "Diognetus" to Christianity. In this sense it belongs to the protreptic genre (Aune 1992:105; Wengst 2000:176).

Before turning to *The Epistle to Flora* of Ptolemy the Gnostic, it is worth mentioning the letter literature of the Gnostics. Although I do not deal with it here, a few Gnostic letters have been transmitted to us. For example, in the Nag Hammadi Library we can find the following four letters or epistolary works: *Eugnostos the Blessed* (*Eugnostos*) (V, 1 1,1-17,18; cf. III, 3 70,1-90,13), *The Epistle to Rheginus, On the Resurrection* (*Treat. Res.*) (I, 4 43,25-50,18), the *Letter of Peter to Philip* (*Ep. Pet. Phil.*) (VIII, 2 132,10-140,27) and the *Apocryphon of James* (*Ap. Jas.*) (I, 2 1,1-

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[267] Another possible epistolary situation is "a renewed hope in the rebuilding of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem," that is mentioned in *Diogn.* 16.3-4 (Paget 1996:69; cf. Reventlow 2009:120).

16,30) (Meyer and Wisse 1996:341; Ferguson 2003:302-303, 306; cf. Bruns 2000b:210 [*Eugnostos*]; Lapham 2003:77-82 [*Ep. Pet. Phil.*]). Besides these, according to Meyer and Wisse (1996:341) there are the letters of Valentinus (flourished ca. the second century C.E.; cf. *frag.* 1-3) and the letters of Monoimus, the Arabian (flourished ca. 200 C.E.; cf. Hippolytus, *haer.* 8.15.1). Among these letters I will discuss only a letter of Ptolemy (flourished ca. 140 C.E.). There are two reasons for this. Firstly, most Gnostic letters were composed or have been transmitted in Coptic. Secondly, the only fully preserved and available letter is *the Epistle to Flora* (*Ep. ad Floram*).

Ptolemy the Gnostic sent a letter to Flora, i.e. *the Epistle to Flora*, which was preserved by Epiphanius of Salamis (*haer.* 33.3.1-33.7.10). "Ptolemy was "a Chr[istian] teacher and exegete who lived in Rome around the middle of the 2nd c[entury C.E.]" and was "[l]ike Heracleon" a "student of Valentinus," though his relationship with Valentinus is unclear (Layton 1987:307; cf. Löhr 1997:699; 2000:509; Markschies 2003:1819; Ferguson 2003:309; Moore and Turner 2010:190-193). In this letter Ptolemy tried to explain the meaning and function of Moses' laws in the OT to his pupil, Flora, who seemed to be confused by different interpretations of Moses' laws (3.7; 7.10; cf. Jordan 1911:145; Schneider 1954:578; Pearson 1997:111-112; Löhr 2000:509).

Around the third century Christian Latin authors appeared in North Africa. Among these authors Tertullian (ca. 160-220 C.E.) and Cyprian of Carthage (ca. 200-258 C.E.) were influential. Especially during the period of persecution by the government, they not only tried to defend Christianity, but also composed many pastoral works for Christians (Hamman 1993:45).

Tertullian, born at Carthage in North Africa, "is the creator of Christian Latin literature," and he "put his stamp on its language once and for all" (Von Albrecht 1997:1549). Although he composed many letters, we have now only one letter that he sent to Scapula, who persecuted the Christians (Schneider 1954:580). In this letter Tertullian not only defended Christianity, but also persuaded Scapula to show favour to Christians (Jordan 1911:161; Schneider 1954:580; Zelzer 1997:340).

Cyprian of Carthage was not only "a devoted teacher" to the Christians, but also a bishop who "is concerned with ecclesiastical discipline and practical life: penitence, baptism, eucharist, charity" (Von Albrecht 1997:1575; cf. Donna 1964:ix). During his episcopate (249-258 C.E.) he

composed a number of letters to various recipients, especially during his exile under the persecution of the emperor Decius (249-251 C.E.) (Von Albrecht 1997:1568; Zelzer 1997:341; cf. Quasten 1953:343). In these letters Cyprian dealt with "Fragen, Tagesfragen der kirchlichen Disziplin, die Frage der Abgefallenen, den Ketzertaufstreit usw" (Jordan 1911:162). In other words, he gave "all of his attention" "to teach the Church" in this way (Von Albrecht 1997:1574). As opposed to the letters from other authors of this period, most of his letters have been transmitted to the present. Surely it is because the value of his letters was recognised by ancient as well as later Christians (Quasten 1953:364-366; Von Albrecht 1997:1570; Zelzer 1997:340-341). So we now have sixty-five of his letters, which Donna (1964:x) divided into four groups, based on the period, i.e. *Epp.* 1-4 (for answering questions concerning discipline), *Epp.* 5-68 (for matters related to the Decian persecution, the reconciliation of apostates, and the struggle with schismatics), *Epp.* 69-75 (for the problem of the baptism of heretics) and *Epp.* 76-81 (for matters related to the Valerian persecution) (cf. Jordan 1911:162; Quasten 1953:365; Altaner 1958:157; Schmale et al. 1983:650).

Alexandria in Egypt was an important city in the history of Christianity. From the earlier period this city produced many and influential Christian scholars and pastors. For example, we know that from the late second century onwards there was a famous Catechetical School found by Pantaenus (died ca. 190 C.E.), who was succeeded by Clement of Alexandria (ca. 190-202 C.E.), Origen (ca. 185-254 C.E.) and others (Cross and Livingstone 1974:248). The following three authors, i.e. Origen, Firmilian of Caesarea (died in ca. 268 C.E.) and Alexander of Alexandria (died in ca. 326 C.E.), either belonged to this scholarly group (Origen and his disciple, Firmilian of Caesarea), or worked as a bishop of the area (Alexander of Alexandria).

Origen, the successor to the Catechetical School of Alexandria, as well as a disciple of Clement of Alexandria, sent many letters (Bass 2009:42; cf. Vogt 2000:444).[268] However, most of

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[268] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.36.3-4: Φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν βασιλέα Φίλιππον ἐπιστολὴ καὶ ἄλλη πρὸς τὴν τούτου γαμετὴν Σευήραν διάφοροί τε ἄλλαι πρὸς διαφόρους· ὧν ὁπόσας σποράδην παρὰ διαφόροις σωθείσας συναγαγεῖν δεδυνήμεθα, ἐν ἰδίαις τόμων περιγραφαῖς, ὡς ἂν μηκέτι διαρρίπτοιντο, κατελέξαμεν, τὸν ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸν

them were lost, and only two letters have been wholly preserved in *Philocalia*[269] 13 (Jordan 1911:146-147; Quasten 1953:37, 73; Schneider 1954:578; Vogt 2000:447; Trigg 2002:3; cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 33). They are *To His Former Pupil Gregory Thaumaturgus* and *The Letter to Julius Africanus* (Fairweather 1901:133).[270] Two major reasons for this loss are the Origenist controversy (ca. 393-402 C.E.) (Trigg 1999:603) and the condemnation of Origen as a heretic by the later church (e.g. the Second Council of Constantinople held in 553 C.E.) (cf. Zelzer 1997:340).

Firmilian of Caesarea, a contemporary of Dionysius of Alexandria and Cyprian of Carthage, was a bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, as well as a disciple of Origen (Donna 1964:xxii; Windau 2000:237; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.14.1; 7.28.1). He sent a few letters to Origen and Cyprian. One of his letters that were sent to Cyprian in a Latin translation has been preserved in the letter collection of Cyprian (*Ep.* 75) (Windau 2000:237; cf. Jordan 1911:150).

Alexander of Alexandria was the bishop of Alexandria from 313 to 326 C.E. This Alexander composed some letters against Arianism, and others as an opponent of Arius (Schneider 1954:579; cf. Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.6; Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.* 1.15; Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 1.1; 1.2). These letters are an important source "for the oldest history of the Arian controversy" (Zelzer 1997:341). However, only three letters have been wholly preserved, i.e. letters to Alexander of Constantinople (Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 1.3), to all catholic bishops (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.6) and to the presbyters and deacons of Alexandria and Mareotis (Jordan 1911:154-155; Schneider 1954:579).

ὑπερβαινούσας. γράφει δὲ καὶ Φαβιανῷ τῷ κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐπισκόπῳ ἑτέροις τε πλείστοις ἄρχουσιν ἐκκλησιῶν περὶ τῆς κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ὀρθοδοξίας ("And there is extant also a letter of his to the Emperor Philip himself, and another to his wife Severa, and various other letters to various persons. As many of these as we have been able to bring together, preserved as they were here and there by various persons, we arranged in separate roll-cases, so that they might no longer be dispersed. These letters number more than a hundred. And he wrote also to Fabian the bishop of Rome, and to very many other rulers of churches, with reference to his orthodoxy") (Oulton and Lawlor, LCL).

[269] The *Philocalia* (*Philoc.*) is an anthology of Origen's works which Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus compiled around 358 C.E. (Pauli 2000:486).

[270] From Eusebius' work we can gain two fragments of Origen's letters, i.e. a letter on martyrdom sent to his father (*Hist. eccl.* 6.2.6) and a letter to defend him (*Hist. eccl.* 6.19.11-14).

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Since the early period of the emergence of Christianity there were some attempts to supplement Christian teachings and defend Christianity in the name of famous early Christians, but these were not accepted into the canon, i.e. the twenty-seven writings in the NT. These works are called New Testament apocrypha (Patterson 1992:294; cf. Röwekamp 2000b). They belong to various kinds of literary genres, such as the gospel and related forms, the treatise, the apocalypse, the acts, the letter and liturgical material (Patterson 1992:295-296). However, compared to other literary genres, apocryphal letters are relatively few in number.

The *Epistola Apostolorum* was composed in the province of Asia around the mid-second century C.E. (Bruce 1992:342; cf. Bruns 2000a:202; Lapham 2003:171), but no ancient authors mention it (James 1955:485). However, we have translations in various languages (e.g. Coptic, Ethiopic and Latin) from the Greek in the fourth century C.E. and after (James 1955:485; Bruns 2000a:202; Lapham 2003:168). On the point that this letter emphasises both the physical incarnation of Christ and his immediate resurrection, this letter reflects orthodox faith in Jesus in contrast with Gnosticism (Lapham 2003:167, 169, 172; cf. Bruns 2000a:202). In its literary form this letter follows the form of a dialogue.

Other correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians was preserved in the *Acts of Paul* (*Acts Paul*) that seems to have been composed around 160 C.E. Thus this correspondence already existed in the mid-second century C.E. There we can find a letter that was sent to Paul by the Corinthians, i.e. *The Letter of the Corinthians to Paul* (*Acts Paul* 1.1-16) and another letter that was sent to the Corinthians by Paul, i.e. the so-called *Third Letter of Paul to Corinthians* (*3 Cor.*) (*Acts Paul*, 3.1-40). This correspondence (*3 Cor.*) was sometimes circulated separately from the collection of canonical letters of Paul (in Syriac, Latin and Armenian), and sometimes within it (in the Syriac collection and in the Armenian Bible) (James 1955:288).

The Correspondence between Paul and Seneca (*Ep. Paul Sen.*) is a collection of fourteen apocryphal letters that Paul and Seneca sent and received (cf. Fürst 2006). This letter collection was already reported by Jerome (*Vir. ill.* 12) in the fourth century C.E. (James 1955:480; cf. Sevenster 1961:14; Fürst 2006: 68-69) A few scholars suggested an earlier date, i.e. around 300 C.E. (Kurfess 1952:42; 1965:133; cf. Fürst 2006:6-10). These letters were considered to be authentic until the fifth

century C.E. (Röwekamp 2000c:462). On the value of this collection, Lightfoot (1892:318) pronounced as follows: "Nor does any other motive seem consistent with the letters themselves; for they have no doctrinal bearing at all, and no historical interest of sufficient importance to account for the forgery." We cannot exclude the possibility that this collection was composed for exercise in a classroom of rhetoric (Röwekamp 2000c:462).

The Correspondence between Jesus Christ and Abgar of Edessa is a collection of apocryphal letters that contain Abgar of Edessa's letter to Jesus and his reply. This collection was preserved in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 1.13, and there Eusebius said that he extracted it from the archives of Edessa relating to Abgar, and he himself translated it word for word from Syriac into Greek (James 1955:476). These letters belong to an integral part of Thaddaeus' mission story and conversion of Edessa. The fact that Eusebius preserved them indicates that these letters had existed before the fourth century C.E.

Except the above-mentioned authors and some Christian letters composed by church leaders, there are papal letters that belong to this period. They have commonly been transmitted under the name of *decreta*. According to Jordan (1911:149), the bishops of Rome, Soter (died in 175 C.E.), Eleutherus (died in 189 C.E.) and Victor I (died in 199 C.E.), composed some letters in the second century C.E. And we have five letters from Cornelius (died in 253 C.E.) in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.43.3-20, viz. three letters to Fabius the bishop of Antioch, and two letters to Cyprian (Cyprian, *Epp.* 49 and 50) (Jordan 1911:164; Quasten 1953:236-237; Altaner 1958:150; Hammerich 2000:144).

(2) Letters of the Fourth and the Early Fifth Century C.E.

As opposed to the previous period, Christianity now grew without persecution, and even under the protection of the Empire, except in a few cases, such as under the reign of the emperor Julian (361-363 C.E.). In this situation Christianity not only flourished both in size and external qualities, such as the level of education, social position and even wealth, but Christian literature also enjoyed a Golden Age. Christians no longer had to struggle for their faith, because the existence of Christianity was not a problem. They started struggling with internal ecclesiastical problems, such

as theological issues, the election of new bishops and even Christian culture and art. The epistolary and pastoral situation changed. Many more letters were composed, they dealt with a greater variety of themes and were well preserved. Thus the letters of this period need to be discussed apart from the letters of the previous period.

The following six authors, Athanasius (ca. 296-373 C.E.), Gregory of Nazianzus (329/30-390 C.E.), Basil the Great (ca. 330-379 C.E.), Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 335/340-394/395 C.E.), Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 315-367 C.E.) and Amphilochius of Iconium (ca. 340-395 C.E.), were famous for defending the Nicene faith against Arianism. Athanasius not only attended the Council of Nicaea (325 C.E.), but also spent his whole life defending the faith (Cross and Livingstone 1974:101). González (2010:183) called him "the champion of Nicene orthodoxy." The next three authors, i.e. Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa are called the Cappadocian theologians, because all of them were from Cappadocia in Asia Minor. As bishops they not only managed their own churches, but also played an important role in defending the orthodox faith (viz. the so-called Nicene faith) against Arianism. The fifth, Hilary of Poitiers, was the translator of the creed of Nicaea from Greek into Latin, and not only introduced the Nicene faith to Latin Eastern Christianity, but also defended the faith. A lesser known author, Amphilochius of Iconium, was also a defendant of the Nicene faith.

Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria, was called "the pillar of the Church" (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 21.26; cf. Quasten 1960:20). He was exiled five times because of his Nicene faith that was opposed Arianism (Altaner 1958:241; Zelzer 1997:341; cf. Anatolios 2004:12-33). During that time Athanasius composed many letters and "used the letter genre for the defense of his faith and for the treatment of questions about asceticism" (Zelzer 1997:341-342). According to Quasten (1960:62-66), Athanasius' letters are classified into six groups, i.e. festal letters, synodic letters, encyclical letters, dogmatic-polemical letters, ascetical letters and dubious letters. Among these, seven synodic letters, two encyclical letters, fourteen dogmatic-polemic letters, two ascetical letters, five dubious letters and some fragmentary Greek festal letters, including thirteen Syriac translations and seventeen Coptic translations of festal letters, have been handed down (Quasten 1960:53; cf. Jordan 1911:156, n. 1).

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Gregory of Nazianzus has been underestimated as a leader. Although he was one of the greatest orators of Christian antiquity, he was often considered to be a Christian humanist on the point that he liked "quiet contemplation and the union of ascetic piety and literary culture" more than "the splendor of an active life and ecclesiastical position" (Quasten 1960:236). Nevertheless, we know that he was not only one of the three Cappadocian theologians, along with Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa, but was also the bishop of Nazianzus, and presided over the council of Constantinople in 381 C.E. (González 2010:209-217). This Gregory composed 249 letters (Zelzer 1997:343; Trapp 2003:20; Daley 2006:1-2; McGuckin 2010:482-483, 487-488), and became "the first Greek author to publish a collection of his letters" (Quasten 1960:247). Most of them were written during his retirement at Arianzum during the years 383-389 C.E. "Their value is predominantly autobiographical, and in general, they do not go beyond the circle of his friends and relatives." Only a few letters are concerned with theology or advice (e.g. *Epp.* 101, 102 and 202) (Quasten 1960:247; Zelzer 1997:342-343).

Basil the Great, one of the three Cappadocian theologians, along with Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa, was "an ecclesiastical statesman and organizer," "a great exponent of Christian doctrine and a second Athanasius in the defense of orthodoxy" and "the Father of oriental monasticism and reformer of the liturgy" (Quasten 1960:204). During his episcopate of Caesarea he composed many letters, and about 350 letters have been preserved (Way 1951:xiii; Altaner 1958:262; Drobner 2007:273; Trapp 2003:19; cf. Ayres and Radde-Gallwitz 2010:460). [271] According to Quasten (1960:220-221), Basil's letters "reveal his fine education and literary taste even more than his homilies," and so "[t]hey were very soon regarded as models." Besides this, his letters are "a copious and invaluable store of information for the history of the Eastern Church in

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[271] According to Drobner (2007:273-274), Basil's collection of 368 letters contains fifteen or seventeen letters addressed to Basil of Caesarea by Libanios (*Epp.* 336, 338, 340, 341, 345, 346, 349, 352, 354, 355, 357 and 358), by Apollinarius (*Epp.* 363 and 364), by Gregory of Nazianzus (*Ep.* 367), and by Julian, the emperor (*Epp.* 39 and 40), of which the identity of the sender is uncertain. It is still being debated whether it was Julian, the emperor, or Basil of Caesarea.

the fourth century, particularly in Cappadocia," and "represent the best source for his life and for his personality and his character."[272] Benedictiones of St. Maur divided Basil's letters into three categories, based on the periods of Basil's life: (1) letters written before his episcopate (nos. 1-46); (2) letters written during his episcopate, i.e. 370-378 C.E. (nos. 47-291); and (3) letters which cannot be dated (nos. 292-365) (Deferrari 1926:xxxv-xxxvi; Trapp 2003:19). On the other hand, Quasten (1960:221) tried to sort them into groups in terms of their content, though "[t]heir great variety makes it impossible to classify them according to their content." They are the letters of friendship (e.g. *Epp.* 1, [3], 4, 7, 12-14, 17, 19-21, 27, 56-58, 63, 64, 95, 118, 123, 124, 132-135, 145-149, 152-158, 162-165, 168, 172-176, 181, 184-186, 192-196, 198, 200, 201, 208-210, 232, 241, 252, 254, 255, 259, 267, 268, 271, 278, 282, 285, 320, 332-334), the letters of recommendation (e.g. *Epp.* [3], 15, 31-37, 72-78, 83-88, 96, 104, 108-112, 137, 142-144, 177-180, 271, 273-276, 279-281, 303-319), the letters of consolation (e.g. *Epp.* 5, 6, 28, 29, 62, 101, 107, 139, 140, 206, 227, 238, 247, 256, 269, 300-302), the canonical letters (e.g. *Epp.* 53, 54, 118, 199, 217), the moral-ascetical letters (e.g. *Epp.* 2, 10-11, 14, 18, 22-26, 49, 65, 83, 97, 106, 112, 115, 116, 161, 173, 182, 183, 197, 219, 220-222, 240, 246, 249, 251, 277, 283, 291-299, 366), the dogmatic letters (e.g. *Epp.* 9, 52, 105, 113, 114, 125, 129, 159, 175, 210, 214, 226, 251, 258, 261, 262), the liturgical letters (e.g. *Epp.* 93, 207) and the historical letters (Quasten 1960:222-226).

Gregory of Nyssa, the third of the three Cappadocian theologians, was a speculative theologian, and he became the bishop of Nyssa against his will (Quasten 1960:254). But he faithfully executed his duties as bishop, and during his episcopate sent letters to various recipients, though only thirty letters have been preserved (Quasten 1960:280; Zelzer 1997:343; Dünzl 2000:266). These letters reveal "an idea of Gregory's diverse interests and contacts," such as social

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[272] Trapp 2003:19: "The majority of them [sc. letters] show Basil in his public capacity, sorting out administrative details and good doctrine and morals for his flock, and for those who had otherwise called on his assistance as patron or political ally; some are more personal (e.g. 1, to the [pagan] philosopher Eustathius), but improving aims are never far away" (cf. Zelzer 1997:343).

communication (e.g. *Epp.* 9, 11, 12, 28), introducing or interceding (e.g. *Epp.* 7, 8), some theological questions (e.g. *Epp.* 5, 24) and others[273] (Quasten 1960:280).

Hilary of Poitiers was an important person in the history of Christianity. He not only played a bridging role between the thinking of Eastern and Western Christianity, but also was the first systematic theologian who wrote in Latin. Hilary of Poitiers, who was under the influence of both the theology of Alexandria and the theology of the great Cappadocians (viz. Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa) with regard to the doctrine of the Trinity, later influenced Ambrose and Augustine (Morrel 1962:313). This Latin theologian became "the presumably first bishop of Poitiers" abound 350 C.E. and was exiled immediately after his consecration (Durst 2000:284). During his exile he exchanged letters with his follow bishops in Gallia (Zelzer 1997:344).

Amphilochius of Iconium was the bishop of Iconium (Röwekamp 2000a:22). He composed many letters, but only a synodic letter of the assembly of 376 C.E. is preserved (Röwekamp 2000a:22-23). He was an opponent of the Macedonian heresy (Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 4.10) and Arianism (Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.* 7.6; Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 5.16).

A few monks, or persons who pursued such a lifestyle, also composed a number of letters. Below I will mention five persons, i.e. Pachomius (ca. 290-346 C.E.), Evagrius Ponticus (ca. 345-399/400 C.E.), Isidore of Pelusium (ca. 360/370-435 C.E.), John Chrysostom (ca. 347-407 C.E.) and Paulinus of Nola (353-431 C.E.). The first three belonged to the group of so-called desert fathers, but the last two were bishops who tended towards such a lifestyle (cf. Cross and Livingstone 1974:285, 484, 717, 1021, 1054).

Pachomius is known as the "acknowledged founder of coenobitic, or communal, monasticism" (Griggs 1988:148; cf. Cross and Livingstone 1974:1021; Skeb 2000a:454). During his life of monastisism he composed letters to exhort and edify his fellow monks. His eleven or

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[273] E.g. *Epp.* 2 (against indiscriminate pilgrimages to the Holy Land), 3 (to three pious women in the Holy Land), 4 (on the feast of Christmas in the winter) and 25 (on the history of Christian architecture and art).

thirteen letters have been transmitted in Greek and Coptic, and one Latin translation of Jerome has been preserved (Skeb 2000a:454).

Evagrius Ponticus, a contemporary of Augustine, Jerome, Basil the Great and John Chrysostom, was a desert ascetic (Casiday 2006:3; Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 4.23; Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.* 6.30; cf. Fitschen 2000:225-226; Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 4.18). Throughout his life he wrote various works including letters.[274] Among them more than sixty letters have been preserved in Syriac translation. One Greek letter was preserved *in toto* and there are a few Greek fragments. Most of the letters are occasional, but *Ep.* 63 (*On the Faith)* and *Ep.* 64 (the *Great letter*) are theological in content. In any case, all these letters not only "are particularly interesting for the light that they shed on Evagrius' daily life, his role as a spiritual father and other such concerns," but also reveal "his pastoral activities" (Casiday 2006:43-44). Some of them especially (e.g. *Epp.* 7, 8, 19, 20) "also shed some light on Evagrius as a spiritual counsellor" (Casiday 2006:60).

John Chrysostom, the bishop of Constantinople, was one of the four great Fathers of the East, along with Athanasius, Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus,[275] and one of the three holy hierarchs of the Greek Church, along with Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus, and led an exemplary Christian lifestyle by pursuing simplicity, giving his income for the erection of hospitals and the support of the poor, and emphasising the importance of a moral life for priests and people (Quasten 1960:424, 426). As part of his official duties he composed numerous letters, of which around 240 have been preserved (Coleman-Norton 1929:279; Altaner 1958:293; Zelzer 1997:343; cf. Mayer and Allen 2000:7-11; Bass 2009:67-68). Most of the extant letters were composed in order to communicate with his friends, churches and acquaintances during his two exiles (Altaner

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[274] According to Socrates (*Hist. eccl.* 4.23), Evagrius composed *The Monk* (or *On Active Virtue*), *The Gnostic* (or *To him who is deemed worthy of Knowledge*), *Antirrheticus*, *Six Hundred Prognostic Problems*, *To the Monks living in Communities* and *To the Virgin*. Then Socrates added the following words: "Whoever shall read these productions will be convinced of their excellence" (*NPNF*[2] 2).

[275] The eight doctors from the ancient church are as follows: Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory the Great (in the West), Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, Athanasius and John Chrysostom (in the East) (Hall 1998:55).

1958:293; *NPNF*[1] 9:15; Zelzer 1997:343). Quasten (1960:469) evaluated Chrysostom's letters as follows: "Though most of them are quite brief, they testify to the lively interest which Chrysostom took in the well-being of this friends in Syria and Constantinople despite the remoteness of his own abode . . . they [sc. letters] answer correspondents anxious to know something about his condition, give touching evidence of his pastoral zeal, provide consolation for his friends and followers worried about the hopeless state of the Church at Constantinople and Chrysostom's own situation" (cf. Zelzer 1997:343). Among his extant letters, especially the seventeen letters to Olympia and two letters to Innocent I, the bishop of Rome, are most important (cf. Coleman-Norton 1929).

Isidore of Pelusium, a disciple of John Chrysostom, was a celebrated ascetic of the desert as well as an active ecclesiastical politician (Fuhrer 2000:309; Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.* 6.28; cf. Cross and Livingstone 1974:717). During his lifetime of forty years in the desert he composed about 3,000 letters, and about 2,000 letters have now been transmitted (Fuhrer 2000:309; cf. Turner 1905:70, 71; Smith 1954:205). Through these letters we can know that "[a]n den Vorgängen in Kirche und Welt nahm er [sc. Isidore] regen Anteil und gab zu unzähligen wissenschaftlichen, hauptsächlich exegetischen und dogmatischen Fragen sein Urteil ab, vielfach nach älteren Quellen" (Zelzer 1997:343).

Paulinus of Nola, the bishop of Nola and a monk, wrote some poetic letters and about fifty prose letters (Zelzer 1997:344; cf. Schneider 1954:581; Walsh 1966:2). These letters that were composed in "gelehrt-gesuchter und gekünstelter Sprache," were sent to Augustine, Martin of Tours and others (Zelzer 1997:344; cf. Walsh 1966:3-10; Cross and Livingstone 1974:1054).

The next three Latin authors, Ambrose (ca. 333/334 or 339-397 C.E.), Jerome or Hieronymus (ca. 345-420 C.E.) and Augustine (354-430 C.E.), belong to the four great teachers of the Western Church, along with Gregory the Great. All of them were not only energetic church leaders, but also prolific in writing.

Ambrose, the former governor of Milan and bishop of the city, composed ninety-one letters during his episcopate (Jordan 1911:166; Schneider 1954:581; Altaner 1958:344; Beyenka 1967:v; Schmale et al. 1983:650; Von Albrecht 1997:1633; cf. Zelzer 1997:344-345). These letters concern

various themes ranging from private to dogmatic, moral and ecclesiastical (Jordan 1911:116; Schneider 1954:581; Ramsay 1997:64).

Jerome or Hieronymus has been "acknowledged as one of the four great teachers of the Western Church," along with Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great (Von Albrecht 1997:1658; cf. Hall 1998:55; Drobner 2007:343; Trapp 2003:20). Although he composed numerous letters during his lifetime, only about 120 letters have been preserved.[276] He sent his letters to various recipients in order to deal with diverse themes, such as dogmatic, exegetical, moral, ascetical, and educational affairs (Jordan 1911:167; Schneider 1954:581; Zelzer 1997:345; Trapp 2003:20).[277] On the other hand, Mierow and Lawler (1963:10-12) tried to classify Jerome's letters into categories mostly based on the content, except for the first category: (1) "essays in letter form" or *libelli* ("little books" or "pamphlets") (e.g. *Epp.* 14, 22, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 107, 117, 122, 123, 128, 130, 145, 147), (2) letters dealing "with matters of scriptural interpretation" (e.g. *Epp.* 18A-18B, 20, 21, 25, 26, 29, 30, 36, 55, 65, 140), (3) "letters dealing with doctrinal matters and refutations of heterodoxy" (e.g. *Epp.* 15, 16, 41, 42, 48, 61, 84, 85, 109, 126, 133), (4) "epitaphic and consolatory letters" (e.g. *Epp.* 23, 39, 60, 66, 75, 77, 79, 108, 118, 127) and (5) "personal notes" (e.g. *Epp.* 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 31, 34, 45, 71).

Augustine, the bishop of Hippo in North Africa, wrote a number of letters, and 249 letters have been transmitted up to the present (Eno 1999:299-305, 306; cf. Jordan 1911:168; Altaner 1958:396; Schmale et al. 1983:650; Von Albrecht 1997:1672). These letters show "Augustine in contact and discussion with other leading Christian intellectuals and administrators, or sorting out

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[276] The number of letters differs a little bit between scholars. Thus Mierow and Lawler (1963:5) suggested about 120 letters; Altaner (1958:362) about 117; Schmale et al. (1983:650) 126; Zelzer (1997:345) 125; Von Albrecht (1997:1648) 124; Trapp (2003:20) 113.

[277] Cf. Von Albrecht 1997:1298, 1648-1649: "His letters were meant to edify but they also contained memorial addresses and theological instruction so that they often border on didactic treatises." Besides this, "[t]here are exegetic and antiheretical epistles; there are missives encouraging ascetic discipline, personal communications, letters of recommendation and consolation, obituaries and biographies."

the pastoral and other problems of his and his colleagues' North African sees" (Trapp 2003:21; cf. Eno 1999:298). Besides this, they reveal that Augustine employed different letter types for his various purposes, such as familiar or friendly letters, letters of recommendation, official letters, exegetical, dogmatic and philosophical letters (Jordan 1911:168; Von Albrecht 1997:1672; cf. Zelzer 1997:347).[278] In content these letters are considered to be valuable for studies both on the history of Christianity and that of culture and religion (Schneider 1954:582).

During the fourth and fifth century C.E. some apocryphal letters were composed. The following three letters provide good examples.

The *Epistula Petri* seems to have been composed in the first half of the fourth century C.E., when the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* (*Hom. Clem.*) were compiled (Hofmann 2000:134; Lapham 2003:46). This letter is the introductory writing of the so-called Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* along with the *Epistula Clementis* (Lapham 2003:12, 43). "This short letter, from Peter to James in Jerusalem, purports to introduce the books of the Apostle's teachings or preachings (the so-called *Kerygmata Petrou* . . .), which he herewith sends to James, emphasizing the need for extreme caution and discretion in the matter of who might be allowed to see them" (Lapham 2003:44). As a reply to this letter, *The Contestatio of James* is also included as another introductory writing of the so-called Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* (Lapham 2003:43).

The *Epistle of Titus* (*[Apocri.] Ep. Tit.*) has been preserved in Coptic, but it is not sure whether there was a Greek original or not. Scholars think that this letter originated in the Priscillianist circle in Spain around the fifth century C.E. (Röwekamp 2000e:579).

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[278] On the basis of the period of Augustine's episcopate, *PL* (33.2:13-50) tried to classify his letters in the following four groups: (1) *Epistolae quas scripsit nondum episcopus* (386-395 C.E.), (2) *Epistolae quas episcopus ante collationem Carthaginensem cum Donatistis habitam et ante detectam in Africa Pelagii haeresim scripsit* (396-410 C.E.), (3) *Epistolae quas scripsit reliquo vitae tempore* (411-430 C.E.) and (4) *Epistolae ipso etiam episcopo scriptae, quarum tempus minus compertum est.*

The *Sunday Letter* was composed around the mid-fifth century C.E. This letter deals with the issue of the sanctification of Sunday under the name of Christ and has been translated into various languages, among which the Arabic version seems to be oldest (Röwekamp 2000d:547).

Except the above-mentioned authors and some Christian letters, there are also a number of papal letters from this period. For example, there are two official letters in Greek of Julinus I (died in 352 C.E.), i.e. to the people at Antioch and to the people at Alexandria, which are preserved in Athanasius' *Apol. sec.* 21-35 and 52-53 (Ulrich 2000:355), about thirteen letters of Liberius (died in 366 C.E.) (Quasten 1953:237; Altaner 1958:150; Dümler 2000a:383; cf. Jordan 1911:169), at least ten letters of Damasus I (died at 394 C.E.) (Altaner 1958:318; cf. Jordan 1911:169; Heinrich 1966:163-164; Weikmann 2000:161-162), seven letters of Siricius (died in 399 C.E.) (Altaner 1958:319; Heinrich 1966:458; cf. Skeb 2000b:539), three letters of Athanasius I (died in 402 C.E.) (Altaner 1958:319), thirty-three or thirty-six letters of Innocent I (died in 417 C.E.) (Altaner 1958:319; Heinrich 1966:296),[279] sixteen letters of Zosimus (died in 418 C.E.) (Altaner 1958:319; Heinrich 1966:509; Dümler 2000b:606), nine letters of Boniface I (died in 422 C.E.) (Altaner 1958:320; Heinrich 1966:120),[280] sixteen letters of Celestine (died in 432 C.E.) (Heinrich 1966:144; cf. Altaner 1958:320),[281] and five to eight letters of Sixtus III (died in 440 C.E.) (Altaner 1958:320; Heinrich 1966:459; Kampert 2000b:540).

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[279] Cf. Geerlings 2000:299: "Thirty-six letters of I[nnocent I] have been preserved, which reflect the state of church teaching. He took a position on all questions raised: validity of heretical baptism (*ep.* 2); penance and reconciliation (*ep.* 6; 25); determination of the canon of scripture and the apocrypha (*ep.* 13). *Ep.* 29 is important for knowledge of the primatial consciousness, since in it I[nnocent I] intervenes in the Pelagian controversy (29.1 says of the Roman see: 'from which the episcopate itself and the entire authority associated with it have proceeded'). The letters show a self-aware and politically active bishop."

[280] Cf. Kampert 2000a:106: "In the nine surviving letters (*ep.*), among other things, he claims a Roman primacy of jurisdiction in Illyricum (*ep.* 4f., 13-15), restores the old metropolitan order in Gaul, and asks Emperor Honorius to defend the coming papal election (*ep.* 7)."

[281] Schmidt (2000a:120-121) summarises important issues of Celestine I's letters as follows: "The vast majority of C[elestine I]'s letters (*ep.*), whether addressed to Nestorius himself or to others, deal with Nestorianism and its meaning

b) Fragmentary or Non-Extant Letters

Besides the letters mentioned above, a number of letters have also been preserved in embedded form in the ancient works of church historians, such as Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 264/265-339/340 C.E.), Socrates (born after 381 and died after 439 C.E.), Sozomenus (died in the late 5th century C.E.) and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (ca. 393-466 C.E.). Among these embedded letters, a few that deserve to be mentioned because of the importance of the author or the letter itself, have already been mentioned above (cf. Irenaeus, Dionysius of Corinth, Origen etc.). Of course, these letters must have had some historical and political importance in the eyes of the authors of church history. Among these the following authors are worth mentioning because of their historical value or reputation.

Irenaeus (ca. 130-220 C.E.), the bishop of Lyon, was a disciple of Polycarp of Smyrna (Hamm 2000c:301; cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.3.4). Irenaeus "sought to strengthen the church by helping new Christians experience the love of God through the practice of faith" (Bass 2009:36). According to Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 5.20.4-8; 5.23.3; 5.24.12-17; 5.24.18), Irenaeus sent some letters to Florinus, a Roman presbyter who was influenced by Valentinus' teaching, to Victor I the Roman bishop, to other leaders of the church at Rome and to still others (e.g. a "Letter to the Alexandrians"), which mainly deal with dogmatic problems, especially such as the Easter controversy and the struggle against Gnosticism (Hamm 2000c:302; cf. Schneider 1954:578; Zelzer 1997:340).

Dionysius of Corinth (died in ca. 170 C.E.), a contemporary of Soter the bishop of Rome, was the bishop of Corinth (Hamm 2000b:182). During his episcopate Dionysius of Corinth sent a number of letters to diverse recipients, such as the Lacedemonians, the Athenians, the Nicomedians, the church at Gortyna and the other diocese of Crete, the church of Amastris in Pontus, Pinytus the bishop of Knossus and the Romans and Chrysophora (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.23.1-12). Especially

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for the church. To be noted especially is *ep.* 21 to the bishops of Gaul, warning them against Semipelagianism, praising the intervention of Prosper of Aquitania and Hilary, and attacking the disparagement of Augustine."

Eusebius' mention of the letter to Chrysophora is notable because, according to him (*Hist. eccl.* 4.23.12), Dionysius of Corinth provided "the proper spiritual food" (ἡ προσηκούσα λογικὴ τροφή) for Chrysophora through his letter. However, a few of the letters mentioned above have been preserved in fragments (Jordan 1911:148; Quasten 1950:280; Schneider 1954:578).

Polycrates of Ephesus (flourished ca. 130-196 C.E.) was the bishop of Ephesus. According to Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 5.24.2-8; cf. 3.31.3), Polycrates of Ephesus sent a letter to Victor I the bishop of Rome (189-198/199 C.E.), which is about the custom of the Eastern festival in Asian churches, i.e. Quatrodecimanism or Quartodeciman practice[282] (Hanig 2000a:494-495; cf. Jordan 1911:150).

Themison the Montanist (ca. the second century C.E.) composed a general letter (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.16.17; 18.5). However, it has not been preserved (Jordan 1911:157).

Serapion of Antioch (died in 211/212 C.E.) was the bishop of Antioch in the period 190 to 209 C.E. (Hanig 2000b:528; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.19.1). During his episcopate Serapion of Antioch sent many letters to individuals or congregations, such as Domnus, and Pontius and Caricus, the churchmen, which dealt with dogmatic and ecclesiastical affairs (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.19.1; 6.12.1). However, most of them have not been preserved, except for a few fragments (Jordan 1911:150; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.12.3-6 [περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίου]).

Gregory Thaumaturgus, or the Wonderworker (ca. 201/213-270 C.E.), a disciple of Origen, was the bishop of Neocaesarea during 243 to 270 C.E. (Schneider 2000:269; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.30.1; 7.14.1). He sent a letter to the bishop of Pontus, which is now lost (Jordan 1911:159). In the letter Gregory Thaumaturgus gave the bishop advice on "how to deal with the Christians, who in

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[282] Cf. The Quatrodecimanism or Quartodeciman practice is the early custom of following Jewish practice in keeping Easter on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, regardless of the day of the week. This tradition seems to have originated in Asia Minor. Around 190 C.E. Victor I, the pope of Rome, tried to restrain the custom. Polycrates the bishop of Ephesus refused such a restraint and was finally excommunicated by Victor I (Cross and Livingstone 1974:1150; Hultgren and Haggmark 1996:152).

258, during the invasion of the Goths and Boranes into Pontus and Bithynia, had been forced to act against their Chr[istian] faith, or to take up the cause of the invader" (Schneider 2000:270).

Dionysius of Alexandria (died in 265 C.E.), a disciple of Origen, was not only the bishop of Alexandria during 248 to 265 C.E., but also became the principal of the Catechetical School of Alexandria (Hamm 2000a:177; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.45.1). During the persecutions under the reign of the emperors Decius (249-251 C.E.), Valerian (253-260 C.E.) and afterwards, Dionysius of Alexandria as a great soul-guide dealt with various ecclesiastical affairs and dogmatic problems (Zelzer 1997:340; cf. Schneider 1954:579) and especially during exile, he composed a number of letters (Jordan 1911:153).[283] For example, Dionysius sent some pastoral letters to Novatus "who was then disturbing the Roman brotherhood," the Egyptians, Colon the bishop of the community of the Hermopolitans, Origen, the brothers at Laodicea, the people in Armenia, Cornelius of Rome, the people of Rome and others (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.45.1; 6.46.1-5; 7.22.1, 11; 7.22.12; cf. Klauck 2006440-441; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.26.2; 7.27.2). Besides these, he seemed to compose the festal letter every year of his episcopate (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.20.1; 7.21.1-2; 7.22.11).

Alexander of Jerusalem (died in 251 C.E.) was first the bishop of Cappadocia, and later became the bishop of Jerusalem (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.11.1-2). During his episcopate (ca. 212-251 C.E.) Alexander of Jerusalem sent letters to various recipients, such as the Antinoites, the Antiochenes, Origen and Demetrius of Alexandria (Jordan 1911:150-151; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.11.3; 6.14.8; 6.19.15-18). However, they have been handed down only in fragments.

Stephanus I, the pope of Rome, (died in 257 C.E.) composed letters, but only a fragment is preserved in the collection of Cyprian's letters (*Epp.* 75 and 75) (Kessler 2000:546; cf. Jordan 1911:164-165).

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[283] Hamm 2000a:177: "By far the majority of the writings are *letters*. In the surviving remains D[ionysius of Alexandria] shows himself to be an involved eccles[iastical] politician who takes positions on contemporary theol[ogical] controversies, but also a pastor who devotes himself to practical eccles[iastical] problems."

Dionysius I, the pope of Rome, (died in 268 C.E.) wrote many letters, but they are almost all lost. We have only one fragment of a letter in Athanasius, *decr.* 26 (Jordan 1911:165; Schmidt 2000b:183). Mention of his other letters is also found in Athanasius, *Dion.* 13 and Basil the Great, *Ep.* 70 (Schmidt 2000:183).

The Letter of Paul to Laodiceans (*Ep. Lao.*) and *The Letter of Paul to Alexandrians* (*Ep. Alex.*) are mentioned in the *Muratorian Canon*, whose date is assumed to be ca. the late second or early third century C.E. Their authors are unknown. These letters are condemned as letters forged in the name of Paul (Rist 1972:84; cf. Röwekamp 2000c:462). Thus the *Muratorian Canon*, lines 63b-67a read as follows: [*F*]*ertur etiam ad laudecenses, alia ad alexandrinos pauli nomine fincte ad heresem marcionis et alia plura quae in catholicam ecclesiam recepi non potest* ("There is also one [letter] to the Laodiceans [and] another to the Alexandrians, invented in the name of Paul to [or for] the heresy of Marcion, and many other [letters] that cannot have been accepted in the catholic church" [my translation]). But these letters have not been transmitted.

Phileas of Thmuis (died in 306) was the bishop of Thmuis in Egypt. During the persecution under the emperor Diocletian (284-305 C.E.) Phileas of Thmuis was imprisoned, and sent a letter to his believers of Thmuis about "the martyrdom that took place at Alexandria" (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 8.10.1, 11; cf. Jordan 1911:153). A fragment of this letter has been preserved in Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 8.10.2-10)

Lactantius (ca. 250-325 C.E.) was converted to Christianity sometime before 303 C.E. (cf. Schwarte 2000:366). According to Jerome (*Vir. ill.* 80), Lactantius composed a number of letters that were sent to Probus, to Severus and to his pupil Demetrius (cf. Von Albrecht 1997:1594). However, because his letters mainly dealt with non-theological and non-ecclesiastical subjects, they were not as much appreciated by later Christians as those of Cyprian, and most of them have been only fragmentarily handed down (Jordan 1911:165; Zelzer 1997:341).

2. Types of Christian Letters

In the Greco-Roman epistolography there were a number of letter types. These letter types were not only listed in ancient epistolary handbooks, such as Pseudo-Demetrius' *Epistolary Types* (Τύτοι

Ἐπιστολικοί) and Pseudo-Libanius' *Epistolary Style* (Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες),[284] but recent scholars themselves also identified a few letter types, such as the letter of recommendation (C.-H. Kim 1972), the petition (White 1972a), the royal letter (Welles 1934) and the letter of invitation (C.-H. Kim 1975), on the basis of the literary formal analysis of letters. Most of these letter types existed before the emergence of Christianity and afterward. For example, while Pseudo-Demetrius' *Epistolary Types* belongs to some date between the second century B.C.E. and the third century C.E.,[285] Pseudo-Libanius' *Epistolary Style* belongs to some date between the fourth and sixth century C.E. (Malherbe 1988:31, 67). Nevertheless, thirteen of the letter types in these two handbooks overlap. They are the threatening letter, the thanking letter, the responding letter, the ironic letter, the praising letter, the censorious letter, the inquiring letter, the blaming letter, the letter of reproach, the consoling letter, the congratulatory letter, the commending letter and the friendly letter (Aune 2003:163, 164). Another example is found in C.-H. Kim's study (1972). According to him (1972:6, 169), the representative letter of the letter of recommendation (viz. P.Mich. 33) belongs to 253 B.C.E., but this letter type had existed throughout the Common Era. Thus among eighty-three letters of recommendation that C.-H. Kim provided, the latest letters (e.g. P.S.I. 97, P.Princ. 105 and SB 7438) are dated at the sixth century C.E. (C.-H. Kim 1972:56, 149-153). These

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[284] The handbooks of Pseudo-Demetrius and Pseudo-Libanius contain twenty-one letter types and forty-one letter types respectively. Cf. White and Kensinger (1976) suggest four types of the petition letter, the information letter, command/indicative letter and the friendship/family letter (cf. Berger 1984:1328) and Stowers (1986) suggests six letter types, such as the letter of friendship, the family letter, the letter of praise and blame, the hortatory letter, the letter of recommendation and the accusing, apologetic and accounting letter. However, most scholars prefer the threefold division of the documentary (or private) letter, the diplomatic (or official) letter and the literary letter (Aune 1987:162; Klauck 2006:68; Weima 2000a: 640-642; Stirewalt 2003; cf. Doty 1973:6-7). Although this threefold division is only an attempt to find a simplified "pragmatic solution," i.e. a general classification of various kinds of ancient letters (Klauck 2006:67), it provides a starting point in studying a letter.

[285] Malherbe (1988:4): "Brinkmann claimed that it was written between 200 B.C. and A.D. 50, probably in the earlier part of this period, but further investigation has shown that we must be content with a broader range, between 200 B.C. and A.D. 300, for the text in its present form. *It is likely, however, that the handbook had undergone a number of revisions before it assumed its present form, and it is possible that it originated in pre-Christian times*" (my emphasis).

facts indicate that the common Greco-Roman epistolary tradition and the Christian epistolary tradition overlap in period (cf. C.-H. Kim 1972:99-118). One clear example of the overlap is Philemon in the NT. On the basis of his study, C.-H. Kim (1972:123) classified Philemon as a letter of recommendation (cf. Stirewalt 2003:91). Furthermore, we have some papyrus letters of recommendation that were composed by Christians (C.-H. Kim 1972:119-142; e.g. P.Alex. 29 [the third/fourth century C.E.], P.S.I. 1041 [the third/fourth century C.E.], P.Oxy. 1162 [the fourth century C.E.], P.S.I. 208 [the fourth century C.E.] and SB 7269 [the fourth/fifth century C.E.]), and a number of literarily transmitted letters of recommendation from church fathers (Quasten 1960:221; e.g. Basil the Great, *Epp.* [3], 15, 31-37, 72-78, 83-88, 96, 104, 108-112, 137, 142-144, 177-180, 271, 273-276, 279-281 and 303-319). We also find such an overlap in other letter types, such as familiar/friendly letters, and the letter of consolation.

Nevertheless, as we have already confirmed in the case of the letters in the NT, this does not mean that the Christian epistolary tradition and the pagan tradition are identical, nor that the Christian letter tradition was slavishly following the pagan one. Of course, the Christian letter tradition is inseparable from the pagan one. However, as time went by and as the need arose in Christian circles, the pagan letter tradition was more and more Christianised, and/or some special letter types that are limited to Christianity, were especially designed by church leaders. With reference to this, it may be helpful to recall the lists of letter types that are found here and there in the letters of the church leaders in the previous section A.1. For example, Athanasius employed the following letter types: festal or paschal letters, synodic letters, encyclical letters, dogmatic-polemical letters and ascetical letters (Quasten 1960:62-66). Basil the Great used the letters of friendship, the letters of recommendation, the letters of consolation, the canonical letters, the moral-ascetical letters, the dogmatic letters, the liturgical letters and the historical letters (Quasten 1960:222-226). Jerome composed "essays in letter form" or *libelli* ("little books" or "pamphlets"), letters dealing "with matters of scriptural interpretation," "letters dealing with doctrinal matters and refutations of heterodoxy," "epitaphic and consolatory letters" and "personal notes" (Mierow and Lawler 1963:10-12). Augustine also employed various letter types, i.e. familiar/friendly letters, letters of recommendation, official letters, exegetical, dogmatic and philosophical letters (Jordan

1911:168; Von Albrecht 1997:1672). In the earlier period Dionysius of Alexandria (died in 265 C.E.) was said to compose festal letters (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.20.1; 7.21.1-2; 7.22.11) and "pastoral" letters (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.45.1; 6.46.1-5; 7.22.1, 11; 7.22.12; cf. 7.26.2; 7.27.2). Of course, these lists of letter types do not provide exact information about the Christian letter types that circulated in early Christianity. The reason is that the criteria for classifying letters into letter types are vague because these classifications are mostly based on the content of letters. Nevertheless, we need to recognise the fact that these lists provide a few important and systemised Christian letter types showing an independent Christian letter tradition or style, for example the festal or paschal letter type and the synodic letter type. Besides these, we can add other types, which are not mentioned in the above lists, i.e. the papal letter type or *decreta* (Drobner 2007:179) and the epistolary apologetic work (viz. "essays in letter form" as apology for Christians to secular authorities). These letter types and epistolary works were chosen each with its own purpose in every individual epistolary situation. So we can say that every one of them has not only its proper function, but probably also its content that is to some degree shared by letters that belong to the same letter type or genre.

Here I will limit my research to three of the Christian letter types mentioned above, i.e. the festal or paschal letter type, the synodic letter type and the papal letter type, and also to the epistolary work that aimed mainly at apologising for Christians to secular authorities. This is a practical limit. Since my dissertation tries to trace the pastoral letter type (viz. the Christian psychagogical letter type) in the history of Christian epistolography, I want to focus on letter types or related works that are considered either to be more connected to the pastoral letter type, or to have something in common with it. Thus I will briefly look at each one of them below.

a) The Festal or Paschal Letter Type

The festal or paschal letter began with the bishops of Alexandria. The first documentary *testimonium* of the festal or paschal letter is found in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.20-21, where Dionysius of Alexandria (died in 265 C.E.) is mentioned.[286] It is not sure whether or not this Dionysius was the creator of this letter type, though this is thought to be the case (Hamm 2000a:177). Nevertheless, we can say with certainty that this letter type appeared early in Christian history, i.e. at least by the mid-third century C.E., and was used by church leaders as needed. In fact, the festal or paschal letter was customarily issued by bishops at the diocese of Alexandria in Egypt every year in order to announce the date of Easter. One historical reason for the emergence of the festal or paschal letter type was the diversity of the practice of the paschal feast, and this variation made "the Paschal Feast a subject of controversy from very early times." Finally, at the council of Nicaea, "the Alexandrian see was requested to undertake the task of announcing the correct date to the principal foreign Churches as well as to its own suffragan sees . . . This was probably due to the astronomical learning for which Alexandria was famous" (*NPNF*[2] 4:500). So from the early period, such as the third century, bishops of the Alexandrian diocese annually issued the festal or paschal letter. An example is as follows (Athanasius, *Ep. fest.* 2.8):

> We begin the fast of forty days on the 13th of the month Phamenoth (Mar. 9). After we have
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> given ourselves to fasting in continued succession, let us begin the holy Paschal week on the
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> 18th of the month Pharmuthi (April 13). Then resting on the 23rd of the same month Pharmuthi

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[286] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.20.1 (cf. 7.21.1-2; 7.22.11): Διονύσιος . . . ἔτι καὶ τὰς φερομένας ἑορταστικὰς τὸ τηνικαῦτα συντάττει, πανηγυρικωτέρους ἐν αὐταῖς περὶ τῆς τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτῆς ἀνακινῶν λόγους. τούτων τὴν μὲν Φλαΰῳ προσφωνεῖ, τὴν δὲ Δομετίῳ καὶ Διδύμῳ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ κανόνα ἐκτίθεται ὀκταετηρίδος, ὅτι μὴ ἄλλοτε ἢ μετὰ τὴν ἐαρινὴν ἰσημερίαν προσήκοι τὴν τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτὴν ἐπιτελεῖν, παριστάμενος ("Dionysius . . . composed at the time also the festal letters which are still extant, in which he gives utterance to words specially suited to a solemn occasion with reference to the festival of the Pascha. Of these he addressed one to Flavius, another to Domitius and Didymus in which also he sets forth a canon based on a cycle of eight years, proving that it is not proper to celebrate the festival of the Pascha at any other time than after the vernal equinox") (Oulton and Lawlor, LCL).

(April 18), and keeping the feast afterwards on the first of the week, on the 24th (April 19), let us add to these the seven weeks of the great Pentecost, wholly rejoicing and exulting in Christ Jesus our Lord, through Whom to the Father be glory and dominion in the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever (*NPNF*[2] 4:512).

We now have a few festal or paschal letters in the form of collections. We also have numerous Greek fragments, thirteen Syriac translations of the festal letters of Athanasius (ca. 296-373 C.E.) from between 329 and 348 C.E. (Metzler 2000:57) and twenty-nine festal letters of Cyril of Alexandria (ca. 378-444 C.E.) from between 414 and 442 C.E. (Münch-Labacher 2000:155). And there are a few fragments of the extant earliest festal (or paschal) letters, i.e. those of Dionysius of Alexandria (died in 265 C.E.). However, these letters did not simply announce the date for Easter to begin. In them the bishops of Alexandria often also dealt with important theological and ecclesiastical subjects. For example, Athanasius' thirty-ninth festal or paschal letter (*Ep. fest.* 39) deals with the theme of the canon of the NT (du Toit 1989:230-232). On this point, the festal letter of Athanasius was not simply for the occasion, but is "an important theol[ogical] and hist[orical] witness" (Metzler 2000:57). Besides this, in the matter of its compositional style, this letter type may follow the fixed or prescriptive sequence of "the (Christianised) greeting – the management of some important issues – the proclamation of the date of Easter." This pattern was likely to be clearer after around the fourth century C.E.

b) The Synodic Letter Type

The synod or council often released its synodic letter after having made decisions on questions suggested to the synod. As far as we know, the earliest Christian synod and its synodal letter are found in Acts 15. This synod was assembled at Jerusalem in order to deal with the question of whether Christians should be circumcised (Acts 15:1-21), and on this matter the church leaders came to the following consensus (Acts 15:19-20):

[Δ]ιὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω μὴ παρενοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ

ἐπιστεῖλαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ τῆς πορνείας καὶ τοῦ

πνικτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος.

Therefore I have reached the decision that we should not trouble those Gentiles who are turning

to God, but we should write to them to abstain only from things polluted by idols and from

fornication and from whatever has been strangled and from blood.

Then the synod transmitted this synodic letter to those who could not attend the synod, though they were very interested in this matter (Acts 15:23-29). Afterwards many synods were assembled in order to resolve pending questions of the church and theology. As a result we now have a number of synodic letters from antiquity.[287] For example, after the first council at Nicea (325 C.E.) that is known as "the First Ecumenical – that is, universal Council," in Christian history (González 2010:186), its synodic letter (ἡ τῆς συνόδου ἐπιστολή) was sent by the participants to other church leaders and believers who could not attend the council (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.9.1; cf. Drobner 2007:178, 245). This synodic letter contains the decisive or conclusive particulars of the Nicene council, which were about pending questions of that period, i.e. the issue of the Arian controversy and the condemnation of Arianism (González 2010:187-192). The factors in the letters of other synods or councils were not essentially different. Thus most extant synodic letters, though their contents are different according to the aim of each synod or council, were dispatched with the same or a similar purpose, i.e. to inform those who could not attend it, of the decisions of the synod or council.

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[287] English translations of a few synodic letters are found in *NPNF*[2] 14:53-54 (the synodic letter of the first council of Nicea [325 C.E.]), 91 (the synodic letter of the council of Gangra [325-381 C.E.]) and 107 (the synodic letter of the synod of Antioch in Encahniis [341 C.E.]). Apart from those letters that show clear indication of being synodic letters, there are some synodic letters that have been transmitted under a personal name(s), for example, Athanasius' *Epistula ad Iovinianum* (362 C.E.), two *Epistulae ad Orisisum* (ca. 368 C.E.) and *Epistula ad Afros* (360/370 C.E.) (Metzler 2000:57), and the bishop of Iconium Amphilochius' *Epistula synodicis* (a synodic letter of the assembly of 376 C.E.) (Röwekamp 2000a:22-23).

c) The Papal Letter Type

The papal letter type appeared as a Christian letter type by the time of Siricius, the thirty-sixth pope of the Roman see (died in 399 C.E.), and his letter to Himerius, the bishop of Tarragona (385 C.E.), is known as the first papal letter (Cross and Livingstone 1974:385; Zelzer 1997:334; Skeb 2000b:539). Thereafter this letter type was constantly employed by popes to give answers to inquiries that were sent to them by other church leaders (cf. Cross and Livingstone 1974:385). In particular Leo I (died in 461 C.E.), Gelasius I (died in 496) and Gregory the Great (died in 604 C.E.) left numerous papal letters (Drobner 2007:179). In the early Middle Ages, Dionysius Exiguus (died between 526 and 556 C.E.) made "the earliest influential collection" of the papal letters of the pope Siricius to the pope Anastasius II (died in 498 C.E.) (Zelzer 1997:335; Weigand 2000:181). Of course, the popes of the Roman see dispatched their letters to the believers at an early time as other church leaders did (cf. section A.1 of this chapter). Up to the time of Damasus I (died in 394 C.E.) papal letters had a brotherly and ecclesiastical style. However, Siricius pursued the more official style that was often employed by secular authorities (Zelzer 1997:334; Schmidt and Neumann 2005:439). The letters composed in this style are called *responsa* and *decreta* (Drobner 2007:179; Schmidt and Neumann 2005:439).

d) The "Essay in Letter Form"

The "essay in letter form" was neither of the letter genre nor of any other type. Nevertheless, I deal with the "essay in letter form" for a practical reason, i.e. its value in researching the pastoral letter type in early Christianity. In fact, it is not easy to list the ancient works that belong to this "essay in letter form" or to list their literary characteristics. We just know that these works are contained in an epistolary frame at both the beginning and the end, and were sometimes dispatched as a letter in a genuine epistolary situation (cf. Stirewalt 1977:176, 206). According to Zelzer (1997:335), this practice began to be more actively employed among both Christian authors and pagan authors between the late third and the early fourth century C.E. For example, Iamblichos, a neo-Platonist (ca. 245-325 C.E.), dealt with ethical topics in his letters. This was also true of the Christian

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community. We have a witness that an early Christian author employed it. Eusebius suggested the letters of Dionysius of Alexandria (died in 265 C.E.) as an example of this practice in *Hist. eccl.* 7.26.2 (cf. Hamm 2000a:177):

Καὶ πλείους δὲ παρὰ ταύτας εἰσὶν αὐτοῦ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ *δὴ καὶ πολυεπεῖς λόγοι ἐν ἐπιστολῆς χαρακτῆρι γραφέντες*, ὡς οἱ περὶ φύσεως, Τιμοθέῳ τῷ παιδὶ προσπεφωνημένοι, καὶ ὁ περὶ πειρασμῶν, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν Εὐφράνορι ἀνατέθεικεν.

And we have many letters of his besides these, *and moreover lengthy books written in epistolary form*, such as those on Nature, addressed to Timothy his boy, and that on Temptations, which also he dedicated to Euphranor (Oulton and Lawlor, LCL; my emphasis).

This practice was continued later by Christians. Thus Lactantius, Athanasius, Ambrose, Isidore of Pelusium, Jerome, Augustine and others used it. However, we can find a number of examples of this practice before the late third century C.E. Commonly ancient authors employed this form in order to provide systematic teachings or expositions, to give instructions and to defend the author himself, or a group to which the author belonged. For example, Epicurus (341-270 B.C.E.), Cicero (106-43 B.C.E.), Seneca (ca. 4 B.C.E./1 C.E.-41 C.E.) and others in antiquity used it for this purpose. Thus this practice can be said to be one of the philosophical practices of the intellectual. It is also true of Christians. The Christian authors mentioned above often dealt with themes "concerning dogmatic, exegetical, pastoral and ethical-theological questions" in this way (Zelzer 1997:335).

In the Christian community employment of such a genre started from a very early time. Apart from the Book of Revelations in the NT, we have the following works that were composed in an epistolary frame: stories of martyrdom,[288] such as the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (immediately after

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[288] Now stories of martyrdom are recognised as a literary genre under the term, the "acts of the martyrs (viz. *acta* or *gesta martyrum*)" (cf. Quasten 1950:176). According to Quasten (1950:176) and McGrath (2001:21), this genre has three different types: (1) "documents" that were preserved "in public archives" and "available for consultation" (the so-

155/156 C.E.)[289] and the *Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia*,[290] homiletic works, such as the *Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians* (the mid-second century C.E.),[291] and apologetic works, which were dispatched to some specific recipients no matter whether they were Christian or not, such as *the Epistle to Diognetus* (composed after 150

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called *acta* or *gesta martyrum*), (2) "reports of eyewitnesses and other contemporaries" (the so-called *passiones* or *martyria*) whereto the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* and the *Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia* belong (cf. Quasten 1950:180-181) and (3) "legendary material" that is often "designed to encourage and uplift those who read the material."

[289] *Mart. Pol.* proem: Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις· ἔλεος, εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη ("The church of God that temporarily resides in Smyrna to the church of God that temporarily resides in Philomelium, and to all congregations of temporary residents everywhere, who belong to the holy and universal church. May the mercy, peace, and love of God the Father and of our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied") and 20.2: [Π]ροσαγορεύετε πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους. ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν προσαγορεύουσιν καὶ Εὐάρεστος, ὁ γράψας, πανοικεί ("Greet all the saints. Those who are with us greet you, as does Evaristus, the one who is writing the letter, with his entire household") (Ehrman, LCL). Cf. McGrath 2001:21: "The 'Martyrdom of Polycarp' takes the form of a letter written from the church at Smyrna to the Christian community of Philomelium, in the region of Greater Phrygia."

[290] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.1.3: [Π]αραθήσομαι δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν φωνάς· "οἱ ἐν Βιέννῃ καὶ Λουγδούνῳ τῆς Γαλλίας παροικοῦντες δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως ἡμῖν πίστιν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν ἀδελφοῖς· εἰρήνη καὶ χάρις καὶ δόξα ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν" ("I will quote their words: 'The servants sojourning in Vienne and Lyons in Gaul to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemption as you. Peace, grace, and glory from God the Father and Jesus Christ, our Lord'") (Lake 1953 [LCL]). The whole text has been preserved in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.1.3-2.8. The persecution against the believers happened in 177 or 178 C.E. (Quasten 1950:180).

[291] *2 Clem.* 20.5: Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολὴ β´ (Ehrman, LCL). Cf. *1 Clem.* 65.2: Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολὴ α´ (Ehrman, LCL). Regardless of the subscription that is similar to *1 Clement*, *2 Clement* is not a letter, but a sermon. Thus Ehrman (2003a:154 [LCL]) correctly points to this fact: "Readers have long recognized that the book appears in fact to be an early Christian homily, a written exposition of Scripture with an accompanying set of exhortations, delivered to a congregation gathered for worship." Parvis (2006:266) also has the same idea: "[T]he text [sc. *2 Clement*] is not a letter . . . It is in fact a homily . . . the earliest surviving Christian homily, apart from the polished and literary sermons which Luke includes in Acts."

C.E.),[292] *Ad Scapulam* of Tertullian (composed between 211 and 213 C.E.),[293] *Ad Autolycum* of Theophilus of Antioch (composed after 180 C.E.),[294] and *Legatio pro Christianis* of Athenagoras of Athens (composed in ca. 177).[295] Of course, we need to distinguish the epistolary frame from the mark of dedication. As opposed to the former, the latter often is not to indicate the addressee. Such a case is often found in apologetic works, but less in the story of martyrdom and the homiletic work. However, on the point that the "essay in epistolary form" itself is not a letter type, and the addressee of apologetic works was often related to the background of the composition and the content of the apologetic work, the distinction between a dedication and an epistolary frame is not so meaningful, especially in apologetic works.

Among these various works, my interest is in the apologetic works in relation to the pastoral letter type that is the main theme of this research. As opposed to the other two works, i.e. the story of martyrdom and the homiletic work, the apologetic work has much in common with the pastoral letter. For example, the apologetic work and the pastoral letter were composed by church leaders because of pending questions, and pursued the benefit of Christians and Christianity. In this sense both have pastoral aims.[296] Nevertheless, there are a few differences between them. One is the

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[292] *Diogn.* title: ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΓΝΗΤΟΝ (Ehrman, LCL). Forster (2007:163): "The literary form is that of a letter, addressed to an uncertain Diognetus by unnamed and unknown author. This is a literary letter, rather than a personal note."

[293] *Scap.* title: *LIBER AD SCAPULAM* (*PL* 1:1). Arbesmann 1962:147: This work is a "small apologetic writing which Tertullian addressed in the form of an open letter to Scapula, governor of proconsular Africa between 211 and 213. Scapula had taken action and started a bitter persecution."

[294] *Autol.* title: ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΛΥΚΟΝ (Grant 1970). Quasten 1950:237: "Of his works only the three books *Ad Autolycum* are extant . . . In three books the author defends Christianity against the objections of his pagan friend Autolycus" (cf. Pilhofer 2000b:573).

[295] *Leg.* proem: Αὐτοκράτορσιν Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀντωνίνῳ καὶ Λουκίῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Κομόδῳ Ἀρμενιακοῖς Σαρματικοῖς, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον φιλοσόφοις (Marcovich 1990). For general information, see Quasten 1950:229-231; Marcovich 1990:1-3; and Pilhofer 2000a:59-60.

[296] It is also true in the case of stories of martyrdom and homiletic works. These two literary genres seem also to share common features with the pastoral letter in terms of motivation and a few literary factors. For example, the story of martyrdom seemed to be sent from those who had first experienced severe persecution to those who were experiencing

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difference in epistolary situation. Surely we may say that compared to the pastoral letters, the apologetic works are more related to circumstances of persecution. In other words, both the motivation and subjects of pastoral letters are more diverse than those of the apologetic works. Another important difference between them is the identity of the recipient. Pastoral letters were sent to Christians, but most apologetic "letters" to non-Christians. In this sense we can say that, in relation to the range of recipients (and readers), the apologetic works often are broader in range than pastoral letters. I think that this difference gives us a chance to look at the characteristics of Christian pastoral letters. In other words, through comparison with them, we get to know how church leaders composed their pastoral works according to the identity of the recipient. In this case the comparison will be especially helpful for looking at how church leaders presented the affairs of Christian churches to outsiders, and dealt with them internally. Doubtless this will help us to define the features of the pastoral letters that were sent to insiders for managing the internal affairs of churches.

3. Summary

As I mentioned above, there were a number of Christian letter authors, and they composed numerous letters of various types in their epistolary situations. In relation to the early Christian

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such a persecution or expecting to be put in a similar situation, though we cannot exclude the possibility that the recipients just wanted to be informed of the martyrs who confessed to the same faith as themselves. In relation to the former case (viz. situations of persecution) we can imagine how much these stories encouraged those who were facing or would face persecution due to their faith in Christ. The homiletic work is full of exhortation, encouragement, admonition, explanation and annotation intended to guide and to help the recipient. The pastoral intentions of both literary genres have something in common with pastoral letters. Nevertheless, compared to the pastoral letters, these literary genres are only general in nature, i.e. less directly aimed at the epistolary situation of the recipient. Furthermore, these works were often composed in the form of a "story" or a "speech" rather than in the form of pastoral counseling. These are decisive differences between the story of martyrdom and homiletic work, and the pastoral letter. Because of these clear differences, comparison of them with the pastoral letter in terms of a literary type is not so meaningful in this research.

letter tradition, five Christian letter types, i.e. the festal or paschal letter type, the synodic letter type, the papal letter type, the "essay in letter form" and the pastoral letter type, are worth mentioning.[297] In section A. 2 of this chapter, I briefly dealt with the first four letter types (viz. the festal letter type, the synodic letter type, the papal letter type, and the "essay in letter form"), and demonstrated that each of them must have been formed at a point of time when Christianity faced various situations. The only reason why I did not mention the pastoral letter type is because the aim of this research is to define the pastoral letter type in early Christianity.

B. Selection of Letters

1. Selection of Pastoral Letters

a) Selection Criteria

In section A of this chapter, I provided a brief survey of Christian letters up to the early fifth century C.E. However, the question is, how do we select letters for analysis from these numerous letters? For effective research results we need reasonable criteria to select appropriate letters for analysis. Since we are dealing with a Christian pastoral letter tradition, I suggest the following criteria to select letters for analysis.

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[297] Of course, as I have said above, church leaders and early Christians used other letter types, such as familiar/friendly letters, petitions and invitations just as their non-Christian neighbours did. Needless to say, it is because Christians in the early centuries of this era would have lived as a member of society, no matter whether they were considered to be welcome or unwelcome in the Greco-Roman world. Nevertheless, we may accept as a fact that the four letter types discussed above, along with the pastoral letter type that will be mentioned hereafter are more important in the history of early Christian letters than other types.

(1) Pastoral Intention

The most obvious generic characteristic of Greco-Roman psychagogical letters, including the letters in the NT, must be the psychagogical intention of the composition. Thus, to select letters, I will consider this factor in the light of the various epistolary situations of the recipient. Of course, this psychagogical intention was not always expressed verbally in all the letters. Nevertheless, even in that case, I think that it can be inferred from the analysis of the selected letters and their contexts.

(2) The Relationship between the Author and the Recipient

In terms of the psychagogical intention attention should be paid to the relationship between the author and the recipient. In the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition the relationship of the provider of psychagogy and its recipient very often appeared as that of teacher and student. Of course, psychagogy was never limited to the relationship between teacher and student. For example, the king could instruct his people or his subjects, and his subjects could give advice to their lord, the king, concerning the affairs of the kingdom. However, in most cases psychagogy was conducted in the relationship between teacher and student, no matter whether it was socially or spiritually. This was also true for Christians, though the relationship between teacher and pupil in the common psychagogy was often converted to the form of a relationship between the Christian leader and the believer. In relation to the author, we need to remember that the pastoral letters composed for their spiritual students or fellow Christians by many Christian leaders during the first five centuries of this era concerned their faith. At a relatively later period Christian leaders often held official positions in church, and sometimes composed their psychagogical letters under the eyes of officials. However, such an official position for the author was not a necessary qualification for these leaders to exercise their psychagogy for their students in faith. On the contrary, because psychagogy was based on a real relationship between author and recipient, the most important qualification was still the author's superiority to the recipient in terms of faith and morality, the wisdom to solve various ecclesiastical problems or the pending questions of the believers, knowledge of Scripture and theological subjects, experience such as suffering under persecution, martyrdom, and asceticism and self-humiliation. We cannot assert that all authors in official positions were equipped with such

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qualities. Besides these facts, it should be remembered that ancient Christianity up to the fifth century C.E. existed in diverse forms (cf. Bauer 1971; Hultgren 1989; McGrath 2009). This means that, in dealing with the theme, i.e. who the early Christian leaders were, we may possibly also be concerned with non-orthodox Christian leaders. In terms of the recipient, we must consider the identity of the recipient. We know that Christian letter authors sent their letters to various recipients, no matter whether they were Christians or non-Christians. But where pastoral letters are concerned, it is appropriate to focus on letters that were sent to Christian individuals or communities for psychagogy.

(3) Distribution and Influence on Posterity

To order to gain more significant results from the analysis, we need to take into account a few additional factors for selecting letters, which will help increase the validity of the selection. This is the distribution of (i) periods that will reveal the historical duration of the pastoral letter type, (ii) the cultural areas of the Latin-speaking West and the Greek-speaking East, (iii) the consideration of the diversity of early Christianity (viz. both orthodox and heretical denominations) and (iv) the diverse facets of psychagogy according to the identity of the recipient as well as the author. Finally (v), we will consider the influence of either the authors or their letters on posterity. The influence of these letters can provide more information to reconstruct epistolary situations.

How can we discover the psychagogical intention of letters and the relationship between the provider of psychagogy and its recipient and such balanced distributions? I think that the only way is to deduce these both from the letters themselves and from historical sources that provide information about the author, the recipient and the ecclesiastical and historical position of the letters. If we examine closely the criteria mentioned above in selecting letters, we can make a more useful selection of letters for analysis.

b) Selected Pastoral Letters and the Rationale behind the Selection

On the basis of the criteria mentioned above (section B. 1. a), I selected the following sixteen pastoral letters from fifteen early Christian authors:

	Authors	English Title (Abbreviation)
(1)	Clement	*The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians* (*1 Clem.*)
(2)	Ignatius	*To the Philadelphians* (*Phld.*) and *To Polycarp* (*Pol.*)
(3)	Polycarp	*To the Philippians* (*Phil.*)
(4)	Barnabas	*The Epistle of Barnabas* (*Barn.*)
(5)	Ptolemy the Gnostic	*Ptolemy's Epistle to Flora* (*Ep. ad Floram*)
(6)	Origen	*A Letter from Origen to Gregory* (*Ep. Greg.*)
(7)	Cyprian	*Cyprian to all the People, Greeting* (*Ep.* 43)
(8)	Athanasius	*Second Letter to Monks* (*Ep. mon.* 2)
(9)	Gregory of Nazianzus	*To Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople* (*Ep.* 202)
(10)	Basil the Great	*To the Alexandrians* (*Ep.* 139)
(11)	Gregory of Nyssa	*To the Church at Nicomedia* (*Ep.* 17)
(12)	Ambrose	*Ambrose to his Clergy* (*Ep.* 81)
(13)	John Chrysostom	*To Olympias* (*Ep. Olymp.* 16)
(14)	Jerome	*To Laeta: A Girl's Education* (*Ep.* 107)
(15)	Augustine	*To my Noble and Justly Distinguished Lord and Dearest Son, Marcellinus, Bishop Augustine Sends Greeting in the Lord* (*Ep.* 133)

This selection of letters was based on the criteria mentioned above and other helpful factors. Its validity will become clear from the following explanation.

(1) Pastoral Intention

All of the fifteen authors exercised their pastoral care in faith for their spiritual students or follow Christians through their letters. The pastoral intentions of the selected letters can be grouped as follows: Firstly, some letters were sent under threat from both heretical teachers and their teachings, or/and under the risk of schism within the members of a particular church. For example, Cyprian (*Ep.* 43.2.1-2; 3.1, 2) sent his pastoral letter to his believers in order to warn them of both wrong teachers and teachings, and a schism. Clement (*1 Clem.* 46.5-7, 9) sent his letter because of a similar situation in the church at Corinth, i.e. the risk of schism. This was also true for Ignatius (*Phld.* 7.1-2), Athanasius (*Ep. mon.* 2, *lines* 9-13) and Gregory of Nyssa (*Ep.* 202.7). Secondly, other authors composed their letters for consolation to the believers' sufferings due to their faith (e.g. Basil the Great, *Ep.* 139.1, *lines* 1-3; John Chrysostom, *Ep. Olymp.* 16, *lines* 14-15). Thirdly, while

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one letter was sent to exhort the recipients as well as to applaud them (Ign. *Poly.* 1.1; 7.3; cf. 1.1-5.2; 6.1-2), another was sent to encourage the depressed (Ambrose, *Ep.* 81.1, *lines* 1-5; cf. 12, *lines* 5-8). Fourthly, some letters were sent to resolve pending questions. For example, Barnabas (*Barn.* 3.6; 4.6; 9.6; 12.10) composed his letter for those who were in confusion about their identity in the Christian faith. Gregory of Nyssa (*Ep.* 17.3, *lines* 3-14; cf. 4, *line* 17) dealt with the problem of the selection of a new bishop, and Augustine (*Ep.* 133.1, *lines* 18-19; cf. 3, *lines* 17-20) taught Marcellinus, a Christian judge, to make a fair juridical decision in the judgment of the Donatist. On the other hand, Polycarp (*Phil.* 3.1) shared his wisdom with and gave instructions to the believers of the church at Philadelphia. There he tried to reply to the request for an exposition about righteousness. Ptolemy the Gnostic (*Ep. ad Floram.* 3.7) composed a letter for his student Flora's correct understanding of the Laws of Moses. In his letter to Gregory the Thaumaturgus, Origen (*Ep. Greg.* 3, *lines* 5-10; 4, *lines* 1-7, 8-12, 15-16) advised his former student to concentrate on Scripture rather than on secular knowledge. Jerome (*Ep.* 3, *lines* 3-8) sent his letter to Laeta, his daughter in faith, to give her his advice about the education of her daughter, Paula.

(2) The Relationship between the Author and the Recipient

Except the authors of *1 Clement* and *the Epistle of Barnabas*, all authors of the selected letters had some kind of superior positions to the recipient. Most of them possessed an official position in the church and worked as bishops (viz. Ignatius, Polycarp, Cyprian, Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, John Chrysostom and Augustine), while a few were not ordained (viz. Origen, Ptolemy the Gnostic [?] and Jerome). Concerning the authors of *1 Clement* and the *Epistle of Barnabas*, we can infer from the letters themselves that the authors of these two letters were in an authoritative position. As far as the recipients were concerned, most were directly related to the author. In some cases they were the believers of the church or community that the authors had guided (e.g. *Barn.*; Ptolemy the Gnostic, *Ep. ad Floram*; Cyprian, *Ep.* 43; Ambrose, *Ep.* 81; John Chrysostom, *Ep. Olymp.* 16; Augustine, *Ep.* 133) or a disciple (e.g. Origen, *Ep. Greg*; Jerome, *Ep.* 107). However, in other cases, the recipient was under their indirect influence (e.g. Ignatius, *Phil.*; Polycarp, *Phil.*; Athanasius, *Ep. mon.* 2; Basil the Great, *Ep.* 139;

Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep.* 17). All these things show that the superiority of the author was accepted by the recipient. In this sense the author was the spiritual teacher and the recipient was the spiritual student, though there were a few letters that seemed to assume a brotherly relationship between the author and the recipient, instead of the teacher-student relationship (cf. *1 Clem.*, Ignatius, *Pol.* and Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ep.* 202).

(3) Distribution and Influence on Posterity

The selection of sixteen letters and fifteen authors is relevant in term of distribution and their influence on posterity. (i) Range of Period: Although the selected letters are limited in number, their dates cover the first five centuries of this era. Among the above-mentioned sixteen letters, six are from the second century C.E. (viz. Ignatius, Clement, Polycarp, Barnabas and Ptolemy the Gnostic), two from the third century C.E. (viz. Origen and Cyprian), five from the fourth century C.E. (viz. Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa and Ambrose) and three from the early fifth century C.E. (viz. John Chrysostom, Jerome and Augustine). (ii) Regional Coverage: These letters cover both the Latin-speaking Western Christianity and the Greek-speaking Eastern Christianity. Among the fifteen authors, four authors belonged to the Latin-speaking Western Christianity (viz. Clement, Cyprian, Ambrose and Augustine) though Clement composed in Greek and eleven to the Greek-speaking Eastern Christianity (viz. Ignatius, Polycarp, Barnabas, Ptolemy the Gnostic, Origen, Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom and Jerome). (iii) Diversity of Church Traditions: These letters were composed by Christian leaders who belonged to diverse traditions of early Christianity. At least fourteen of the authors were in the orthodox church (viz. Ignatius, Clement, Polycarp, Barnabas, Origen,[298] Cyprian,

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[298] Although Origen was at the centre of theological debate in early Christianity, especially between the end fourth century and the early fifth century (on the so-called "Origenist Controversy" see Clark 1999:605-607), the condemnation against him was only finalised at the Second Council of Constantinople in 553 C.E. Thus, Origen should be categorised as orthodox in this dissertation.

Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, John Chrysostom, Jerome and Augustine), while at most one author was considered to be heretical (viz. Ptolemy the Gnostic). (iv) Various Aspects of Psychagogy: The diverse identities of the authors and the recipients reflect the various epistolary situations of these selected letters. Firstly, in terms of the identity of the author, among the fifteen authors, five authors were non-official Christian leaders (viz. Clement, Barnabas, Ptolemy the Gnostic, Origen and Jerome) and ten authors conducted official duties in a church (viz. Ignatius, Polycarp, Cyprian, Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, John Chrysostom and Augustine). In terms of the identity of the recipients, seven letters were dispatched to a church or congregation (viz. Ign. *Phld.*; *1 Clem.*; Pol. *Phil.*; *Barn.*; Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep.* 17; Cyprian, *Ep.* 43 and Basil the Great, *Ep.* 139), two letters to a group of those who were in an official or similar position (viz. Athanasius, *Ep. mon.* 2 and Ambrose, *Ep.* 81), another two letters to the minister individually (viz. Ign. *Pol.* and Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ep.* 202) and five letters to a lay Christian individual (viz. Ptolemy the Gnostic, *Ep. ad Floram*; Origen, *Ep. Greg.*; John Chrysostom, *Ep. Olymp.* 16; Jerome, *Ep.* 107 and Augustine, *Ep.* 133). (v) Influence on Posterity: Among the fifteen authors Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great, Ambrose, John Chrysostom, Jerome and Augustine were not only honoured and followed by later Christian authors, but were also later named "the eight doctors of the church" along with Gregory the Great (540-604 C.E.) (Hall 1998:55). Cyprian was the most important person in North Africa around the third century C.E. and one of the most important Western theologians thereafter (Quasten 1953:373). Origen was also one of the most important and influential persons in early Christianity. A group of letters that were called the so-called apostolic fathers (viz. Ignatius, Clement, Polycarp and Barnabas) was a little bit arbitrary in its position within early Christianity. As now also, they did not receive any "official ecclesiastical sanction or authority" from early Christians (Jefford 2005:9). But each of their works had found favour with early Christians and, furthermore, a few were read or preserved along with the NT (*1 Clement* and *the Epistles of Barnabas*; cf. *the Shepherd of Hermas*; *2 Clement*) (Jefford 2005:7-8). In relation to this, we have evidence that these works, especially *1 Clement* and Ignatius' letters, were read and

quoted by later churches and authors throughout the first few centuries of this era (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.23.11; cf. F. W. Norris 1998:93; R. A. Norris 2004:11; Holmes 2007:38).

2. Selection of Non-Pastoral Letters

a) Selection Criteria

In section A. 2 I suggested the festal or paschal letter type, the synodic letter type, the papal letter type and the "essay in letter form" as important non-pastoral Christian letter types in the history of Christian letters. The selection of representative letters from these letters types is relatively simpler than in the case of pastoral letters. The reason is that these letter types have already been recognised to be independent letter types or literary genre in terms of purpose of composition and style from relatively early Christianity. Furthermore, the number of letters is smaller than that of letters that can be classified as the pastoral letter type. For these reasons, I will not provide any special criteria for selecting the letters for analysis. If there is a criterion, it is either ease of approach, or situation of preservation, or historical value.

b) Selected Non-Pastoral Letters and the Rationale behind the Selection

On the basis of the practical grounds mentioned above, I selected four letters, i.e. one of each type, as follows:

	Letter Types	English Title (Abbreviation)
(1)	Festal Letter	Cyril of Alexandria: *The First Festal* (or *Paschal*) *Letter* (*Ep.* 1)
(2)	Synodic Letter	*The Synodic Letter of the First Council at Nicea*
(3)	Papal Letter	Siricius: *To Bishop Himerius of Tarragona* (*Ep.* 1)
(4)	Essay in Letter Form	*The Epistle to Diognetus* (*Diogn.*)

These letters are suitable for the aims of selection, because each of them can be said to represent a letter type in terms of its historical value and its literary features. Thus *the Synodic Letter of the First Council at Nicea*, Siricius' *To Bishop Himerius of Tarragona* (*Ep.* 1) and *the Epistle to*

Diognetus (*Diogn.*) are each considered to be a representative work of each type or genre. And *the First Festal* (or *Paschal*) *Letter* of Cyril of Alexandria (*Ep.* 1) is a typical example of the festal or paschal letter type.

C. Analysis

1. Analysis of Selected Pastoral Letters

a) Clement: *The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians* (*1 Clem.*)[299]

(1) General Information

1 Clement has been transmitted under the name of Clement, but the letter itself gives no further indication of the author. So we still do not know who this Clement was. While early Christians considered it "a best guess" that Clement, the third pope of Rome, was the author of *1 Clement* (Ehrman 2003a:23 [LCL]; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.3.3; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.23.1), recent scholars suggest an unknown Clement (Gregory 2006:223, 224-225; Holmes 2007:34-35). Though the true identity of the author of *1 Clement* is unknown, it was certainly composed by one person, whether he was the author or a secretary (Holmes 2007:34). For convenience sake I will simply follow the tradition. This Clement sent his letter to the Christians of the Corinthian church (*prescript*). They were the members of the church that Paul the apostle founded, and to whom he sent at least two letters (47.1-4). But, similar to the situation in which Paul wrote his letter, the church was again facing a schism, and in order to reconcile the factions in the church, Clement sent this letter (1.1; 46.5-7, 9; 63:4; 65.1). For this reason *1 Clement* was sent from Rome to Corinth.

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[299] Both the Greek text and the English translation used here are from Ehrman, LCL, unless otherwise indicated.

On the date of the composition of *1 Clement*, there are three suggestions, i.e. during the reign of Nero (54-68 C.E.), between the end of the reign of Domitian (81-96 C.E.) and the beginning of the reign of Nerva (96-98 C.E.), and during the reign of Hadrianus (117-138 C.E.). Among these suggestions most scholars follow the middle date (viz. the mid 90s C.E.). Their grounds seem to be valid. *1 Clement* states that those who were appointed by Jesus' apostles were now representatives of the churches in place of the apostles (44.3). And the letter-bearers from the Roman church are said to have lived there blamelessly "from youth to old age" (63.2). Furthermore, the deaths of Peter and Paul (around the late 60s C.E.) are mentioned as past events and provided as examples to be imitated along with OT figures (5.1-7; cf. 4.1-13). These facts indicate that the author and the recipients of *1 Clement* belonged to the second or third generation of Christians, which points away from both the earlier date and the later one. *1 Clem.* 1.1 reveals why the answer to the letter from the Corinthian church was delayed. According to this passage, there were "the sudden and repeated misfortunes and setbacks," i.e. persecution. In the early period there were two persecutions against Christians, i.e. the persecution of Nero and the one of Domitian. Because the early date cannot be sustained, and there was no persecution during the reign of Hadrianus, this persecution must indicate the one of Domitian. Since Polycarp of Smyrna seemed to cite or to allude to *1 Clement* as an authoritative source along with OT and NT texts in his letter *To the Philippians*, composed between 110 and 135 C.E. (Pol. *Phil.* 4.2-3), a date during the reign of Hadrianus is hardly acceptable. On the basis of these facts, I also choose the mid 90s C.E. option (Lightfoot 1890:347-354; Tugwell 1989:90; Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:104; Lona 1998:75-78; Ehrman 2003a:23-25 [LCL]).

(2) Structural and Formal Features

In composing this letter Clement followed the threefold structure of the common type of Hellenistic letter: the opening (*prescript*), the body (1.1-61.3) and the closing (62.1-65.2).[300] In the case of the body, the following three divisions are possible: 1-2.8 (*captatio benevolentiae*), 3.1-59.2 (various arguments on jealousy, repentance, love and restoration) and 59.3-63.1 (a prayer for help from God). With reference to the form, both the prescript and the subscript (65.2) are Christianised. And we can find a mention of letter-carriers, i.e. Claudius Ephebus, Valerius Vito and Fortunatus (65.1; cf. 63.3).

(3) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

The very reason of its composition was to help the Corinthian church which was again experiencing sedition and schism (cf. *1 Clem.* 47). This was caused by "a few reckless and headstrong persons" and, as a result, the good name of the church was "slandered" (1:1; cf. 3.2; 46.5; 47.6). Furthermore, a few good presbyters who had served the community well, were expelled from the church (44:3-4, 6; 47.6), which resulted in a new schism in the church, and renewed the pain of the believers (46.5-7, 9). In this situation, the church at Rome, a fellow Christian community of the Corinthian church, tried to encourage and exhort the believers of the church at Corinth with their advice (58.2), expecting to taste the joy of the restoration of peace in the Corinthian church (63.2-3).

Facing the problem of this schism, Clement used different approaches to the two factions. On the one hand, writing to the faithful fellow Christians in the Corinthian church, Clement focused on encouraging them not to be shaken by such an unjustifiable sedition any more, but to continue in their faithfulness to their "innocent and upright" (ἀθῷοι καὶ δίκαιοι) leaders that were considered to be "God's chosen" (ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ) (46.4). On the other hand, to those who caused this sedition because of jealousy towards the leadership, Clement recommended obedience and repentance from those who caused the sedition in the church (57.1-2; 63:1-2) (Ehrman 2003a:20

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[300] The closing consists of the following four sections: 62.1-63.4 (summary of the letter, i.e. the recapitulation), 64.1 (blessing), 65.1 (final request) and 65.2 (subscript).

[LCL]; cf. Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:106; Reventlow 2009:127). However, Clement did not address these two factions separately in his letter. On the contrary, in choosing his words, Clement wanted both sides to listen to his advice together. Therefore, to both sides Clement commended repentance as God's will (7.1-8.5), obedience to God's will with humility (9.1-20.12) and love (48.1-56.16) for the reconciliation of the schism in the church because of jealousy (cf. 62.1-2). And to both sides he used words such as "receive" (δέξασθε) and "obedient" (ὑπήκοοι) (58.2 and 63.2 respectively) in the context of these recommendations (τὴν συμβουλὴν ἡμῶν [58.2] and τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν γεγραμμένοις διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος [63.2]). This fact shows that *1 Clement* exercised pastoral care for the members of a community, i.e. the Corinthian church. In this sense this letter is to be seen as "a classic example of a pastoral letter, designed to bring peace and encourage mutual care" (McGrath 2001:14).

Here I should point out that the Roman church was not in a superior position to the Corinthian church in any way, nor might the former have know the latter well personally (cf. Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:104-105). In this situation intervention in a schism was a very difficult task, though the Corinthian church, or at least some members of the church, had first requested it (cf. 1.1). As a result Clement seemed to assume equal partnership (Lightfoot 1890:352) and to depend on external authority.[301] Thus we can find in this letter not only a number of quotations from authoritative sources, such as Scripture, early Christian traditions and well-known stories, but also many "relationship-oriented" designations, and frequent employment of hortatory subjunctive forms for exhortation instead of the imperative. With these devices Clement must have improved the sense of solidarity between them, and promoted the effectiveness of the recommendations given.

Firstly, Clement tried to exhort the recipients on the basis of equal partnership. In a more official and less personal relationship, the emphasis of such an equal partnership can be decisive in

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[301] Among Aristotle's two kinds of means of persuasion or argument, i.e. the artistic proofs (αἱ ἔντεχνοι πίστες) and the non-artistic proofs (αἱ ἄτεχνοι πίστες) (*Rh*. 1.2.2), the above-mentioned external authority belongs to one of the non-artistic proofs (cf. Lausberg 1998 [§ 350-352, 355]).

suggesting or accepting the other side's exhortation and advice to resolve problems. Thus, for establishing such a partnership, Clement tactically used devices to enable the partnership to be improved, such as "relationship-oriented" expressions, the hortatory subjunctive along with the imperative in exhortation, and the use of a reminder. Above all, we find that throughout the letter Clement tended to call his recipients with "relationship-oriented" designations, such as ἀγαπητοί ("loved ones" [1.1; 7.1; 12.8; 21.1; 24.1, 2; 35.1, 5; 36.1; 43.6; 47.6; 50.1, 5; 53.1; 56.2, 16]), ἀδελφοί ("brothers" [4.7; 13.1; 33.1; 38.3; 41.1, 2, 4; 45.1, 5; 46.1; 52.1]), ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί ("brothers" [14.1; 37.1; 62.1]) and ἄνδρες ἀγαπητοί ("beloved men" [16.17]). Although these designations were often used to call attention (Fiore 1986:17), the high ratio of employment in this letter and diversity of expressions can be explained in terms of Clement's intention to solidify their relationship. Surely these expressions created a friendly atmosphere for giving advice and correction. And though in giving advice Clement sometimes directly commanded his recipients with a form of the imperative (4.7; 12.8; 16.17; 21.1, 5, 6, 7, 8; 25.4; 30.6, 7; 34.5; 38.1, 2; 41.1, 4; 46.7; 47.1; 48.5; 49.1; 50.1; 54.2; 56.16; 57.1, 2; 58.2), in most cases he encouraged his recipients to do this or not to do that using the first person plural of the subjunctive, i.e. the hortatory subjunctive (5.1, 3; 7.2, 3, 4, 5; 9.1, 2, 3; 13.1, 3; 14.3; 15.1; 17.1; 19.2, 3; 21.3, 6; 23.2; 24.1, 2, 4; 25.1; 27.1, 3; 28.1; 29.1; 30.1, 3; 31.1; 33.1, 7, 8; 34.5, 7; 35.4; 37.1, 2, 5; 38.3; 46.4; 48.1; 50.2; 51.1, 2; 56.1, 2; 58.1; cf. 14.1; 21.4; 63.1). Of course, one could say that, because the hortatory subjunctive is a substitute for the imperative, since the imperative in Greek lacks a verbal (or morphological) form for the first person plural (Robertson 1934:925, 931; Smyth and Messing 1984:404 [§ 1799]; cf. Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961:183-184 [364]), any attempt to distinguish between the imperative and the hortatory subjunctive would be inappropriate. However, we may remember that, while the fundamental function of the imperative is to assert the speaker's will or opinion over another, or to compel his will with authority, the hortatory subjunctive often invited or encouraged acceding to the speaker's wishes (Kühner and Gerth 1898:219 [§ 394(4)], 236 [§ 391(1)]; Smyth and Messing 1984:403 [§ 1797], 409 [§ 1835]; Young 1994:140; Wallace 1996:464, 485; cf. Robertson 1934:946). Thus from the frequent employment of the hortatory subjunctive instead of the imperative, it can be deduced that the author tried to increase the sense of solidarity between

him and the recipients. Furthermore, if we consider that Clement was a mature teacher and the recipients were students who needed discipline, Clement's invitation or proposal, not command, with the hortatory subjunctive must have encouraged the recipients to show a positive reaction to his instructions. That Clement in reality intended just such an effect, is supported by the fact that Clement twice referred to a situation in the Roman church similar to that in the Corinthian church (1.1; 7.1). By mentioning this, Clement emphasised that the problem of sedition and schism was not only a problem of the Corinthian church, but of all the churches, including the Roman church. Thus the frequent use of the hortatory subjunctive reflects how greatly Clement was concerned with the issue of the solidarity or partnership between him and the recipients. Finally, his use of the way of reminding, or the reference to what the author taught or what the recipients already knew, partly functioned to solidify their relationship. Fiore (1986:18) pointed out that such a reminder or reference often reaffirmed "the contact between the teacher and addressees and between both of them and the common tradition they share." The fact that, in providing advice and correction, Clement used this device (13.1; 53.1; 62.3), means that he was basing his intervention not on one-sided instruction, but on mutual respect. By showing such mutual respect in reference to knowledge and information, Clement could overcome an impersonal hortatory situation.

However, in the view of Clement, this partnership seemed not to be limited to a relationship between the Roman church and the Corinthian church. It was relevant to both sides of the schismatised Corinthian church, i.e. the faithful and the seditious. Thus, in giving his advice, Clement did not distinguish the faithful from the seditious or otherwise. He advised both of them in the same letter. Besides this, he emphasised the importance of mutual love and reciprocal exhortation between church members (14.3; 37.3-5; 38.2). Clement commended his recipients, i.e. both sides, to accomplish the reconciliation "in the harmony of love" (ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ἀγάπης) (48.1-50.6 [50.5]; cf. 63.1-2). This was also expressed with another expression, i.e. unity. Thus Clement used the motif of "one" to support his advice of unity, i.e. the restoration of peace (37.5; 46.6-7). The restoration of peace, i.e. unity, was necessary in the eyes of Clement, because the schism itself was both blasphemy against God, and a danger to the church of God (47:6-7). However, through the restoration of the partnership between both sides by mutual love and reciprocal exhortation, it was

possible to produce the restoration of the relationship both between God and the church at Corinth, and between the faithful and the seditious (56:2-3; cf. 48:1).

Secondly, in antiquity the appeal to accepted external authority in persuasion was preferred by moral philosophers and leaders (Gordley 2007:250). This was because such authority very often produced "verification" of their words (Fiore 1986:18). In the same vein, Clement appealed to such authority, i.e. authoritative sources (viz. Scripture, early Christian traditions and well-known stories) and even authoritative beings (viz. God and Jesus). Especially in a situation where the sender could neither call on his superiority to the recipients, nor any common experience in faith, the appeal to such external authorities must have been effective. In other words, all these features named below, show us how Clement tried to make his advice for his recipients effective in promoting equal partnership. Thus we can see that Clement not only employed numerous authoritative sources such as Scripture (3.1; 4.1-6; 6.3; 8.2, 3, 4; 10.3, 4-5, 6; 13.1, 2, 4; 14.4, 5; 15.2, 3, 4, 5-6; 16.3-14, 15-16; 17.2, 3, 4, 5, 6; 18.1, 2-17; 20.7; 21.2; 22.1-8; 23.3-4, 5; 26.2, 3; 27.5, 7; 28.3; 29.2, 3; 30.2, 4-5; 32.2; 33.5, 6; 34.3, 6, 8; 35.7-12; 36.3, 4, 5; 39.3-9; 42.5; 43.3; 46.3, 8; 48.2-3; 49.5-6; 50.4, 6; 52.2, 3-4; 53.2, 3, 4; 56.3-4, 5, 6-15; 57.3-7cf. 46.2) and a well-known story (25.1-5),[302] but also extracted the examples from the sources (4.8-13; 5.4-7; 6.2; 7.6-7; 9.3-4; 10.1-2; 11.1, 2; 12.1-6; 16.1; 17.1-5; 18.1; 20.1-11; 24.3-5; 31.2, 3, 4; 43.1-5; 45.6, 7; 51.3-5; 53.2-4; 55.4-6). Surely Clement tried to base his arguments and advice on them, not on his private opinion.[303] This fact applies even to Clement's analysis of the cause and result of the schism in the Corinthian church. Thus, after Clement had diagnosed the cause of the sedition that had appeared in the Corinthian church as jealousy (3.1-2; cf. 39.1-47.7), he emphasised how tragic the situation was to the church (3.4) by pointing out examples of those who suffered from jealousy in Scripture and other sources (4.1-6.4). Furthermore, to resolve this jealousy and its effects (viz. sedition and schism) Clement advised his recipients to repent according to God's will (7.1-8.5; cf. 57.1-59.2) and love one another

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[302] On the issue of the use of the NT in *1 Clement*, see Lona 1998:48-58; Gregory 2005:129-157.

[303] All the quotations and examples employed amount to a fourth of the entire letter (Reventlow 2009:127).

(48.1-56.16). In giving this advice based on these authoritative sources and appealing to the teachings of such sources as were quoted in the body of the letter, Clement explained why such things should be done in the Corinthian church. In other words, Clement opened and closed his commendation by appealing to Scripture, early Christian traditions and useful sources. In this sense we can say that the use of authoritative sources, especially Scripture, in *1 Clement* formed "coherent, extensive arguments in support of the author's message" (Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:112-113; cf. Reventlow 2009:127). Besides these sources, Clement several times used the list of virtues and vices (13.1; 30.1, 8; 35.5; 64.1; cf. 4.7; 39.1; 62.2), which was often employed for characterisation, description, exemplification, instruction, exhortation, apology and polemic in hortatory tradition (Fitzgerald 1992:857). However, for Clement such appeal to external authority was not limited to written or oral sources. Clement also appealed to authoritative beings such as God, Jesus and even early Christian leaders. Above all, Clement was based his argument on God's sovereignty over all things and on his initiative for Christians (8.5; 32.1-4; cf. 23.1; 36.2; 38.3-4). In hortatory tradition such a phenomenon to appeal to divine beings was not new (Malherbe 1986:36; cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 32.12; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 3.22.38-49). But Clement more clearly realised and emphasised this fact. For example, near the end of his letter, where Clement asked his recipients to become obedient (ὑπήκοοι γενόμενοι), on which ground could he ask the recipients to be obedient to his advice? It was because his advice was from God (τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν γεγραμμένοις διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος) (63.2). Besides this, Clement not only repeated his advice to follow God's will, i.e. to repent and restore the church, but also expressed his confidence that God would rebuild the Corinthian church if the recipients were obedient. Clement believed that God would do what he wanted to his people. At this point, it is not strange that we find that Clement prayed to God for his recipients (59.3-61.3) and blessed them in his name (64.1; 65.2). Such appeal was also made to Jesus. Thus we can find that Clement's advice to his recipients was based on the Christocentric concept throughout the entire letter (7.4; 13.1; 20.11; 21.6; 22.1; 36.1-6; 38.1; 48.4; 58.2; 59.2; cf. 16.1, 17; 21.8) (Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:107-108). For example, Clement reminded his recipients of the meaning and role of Jesus' blood for the Christian (7.4; 21.6; cf. 38.1; 58.2; 59.2). Furthermore, beyond such a redemptive meaning, Jesus was a teacher (21.8), a model to be imitated

(13.1; 16.1, 17), a mediator between the recipients and God (20.11) and even a protector (36.1-6) in the Christian's life. Thus, in the eyes of Clement, Jesus was not only a warrant of everything to the Christian (22.1), but also a unique gate through which the faithful Christian should have passed (48.4). Thus it was natural that the recipients should both listen to and follow his will.

Thirdly, throughout his letter Clement asked what *modus vivendi* was worthy of God (7.3; 36.6; 41.1; 56.1; cf. 21.1; 29.1; 35.5). Actually, this matter was closely related to the resolution of the problem of sedition and schism in the Corinthian church. To accomplish his ultimate aim, Clement also offered a number of praiseworthy models to be followed. Commonly such examples (*paradeigmata*) were employed to help the student or the audience prepare himself or herself to become fit for the society or group in which he or she belonged, by referring to the life and actions of the exampled person (Perdue 1990:16; cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.20.2). Besides this, examples were considered to be more persuasive, especially in hortatory writings (Malherbe 1986:135; 1992:284-286; 2000:83-84; 2004:301; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 94.40). In the similar vein, Clement provided various examples and used them as either models for "the ideal of Christian life" or "illustrations and proofs" of his arguments in hortatory context (e.g. 10.1-13.1; 16.1-17; 17.1-19.1; 53.1-54.4; 55.1-6) (Gregory 2006:226-227).[304] For example, in advising humility against the arrogance that became the motivation for the sedition and schism at the Corinthian church, Clement presented Jesus as the example of humility. Thus he wrote, "The scepter of God's majesty, the Lord Jesus Christ, did not come with an ostentatious show of arrogance or haughtiness – even though he could have done so – but with a humble mind" (τὸ σκῆπτρον τῆς μεγαλωσύνης τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐν κόμπῳ ἀλαζονείας οὐδὲ ὑπερηφανίας, καίπερ δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ ταπεινοφρονῶν) (16.2). Surely the humility of Jesus was the best example (ὁ ὑπογραμμός) to be imitated by the Corinthian Christians who caused sedition and schism due to jealousy and arrogance. For all Christians the

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[304] In *1 Clement* we find two words that indicate the example, i.e. ὁ ὑπογραμμός (16.17) and ὑποδείγματα (55.1). Lake (LCL) and Ehrman (LCL) translated both of them as "example(s)." On the other hand, Holmes (2007) translated the former into "the kind of pattern," and the latter into "some examples."

example of Jesus could not be underestimated. Thus Clement shouted, "For if the Lord was humble-minded in this way, what shall we ourselves do, who through him have assumed the yoke of his gracious favor?" (εἰ γὰρ ὁ κύριος οὕτως ἐταπεινοφρόνησεν, τί ποιήσωμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντες;) (16.17). As examples of humility, Clement added others, such as Elijah, Elisa, Ezekiel, Abraham, Job, Moses and David (17.1-18.17). The following persons were also provided as examples: Abraham (10.1-11.2), Rahab the harlot (12.1-8), Moses (53.2-54.4), many kings and rulers (55.1), Judith (55.4-5) and Esther (55.6).

Finally, Clement employed various rhetorical tools except those mentioned above. In an oral world subtle and well-chosen words and sentences influenced listeners. Thus we find antithesis (e.g. 2.1.; 3.3; 16.1; 34.1; 38.2; 59.3; cf. 32.3-6; 37.3), anaphora (e.g. 3.2-4), parallelism (e.g. 49.4) and chiasm (e.g. 24.3) (cf. Lona 1998:38-40). And Clement helped the recipients' understanding with the metaphor of a Roman army in order to teach the importance of unity and partnership (37.1-3).

b) Ignatius[305]

(1) General Information

Ignatius (died in the early second century C.E.) was a bishop of Antioch, and wrote several letters to churches and a bishop that welcomed him on the journey to martyrdom in Rome (Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:56-57). We have thirteen letters that have been transmitted in the letter collection of Ignatius,[306] but nowadays scholars accept only the genuineness of the first seven letters, *To the Ephesians*, *To the Magnesians*, *To the Trallians*, *To the Romans*, *To the Philadelphians*, *To the Smyrneans* and *To Polycarp*. Among these seven letters, the first four letters (viz. *Eph.*, *Magn.*, *Trall.* and *Rom.*) were composed in Smyrna, and the other three (viz. *Phld.*, *Smyrn.* and *Pol.*) in

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[305] Both Greek text and English translation used here are from Ehrman, LCL, unless otherwise indicated.

[306] I.e. *To the Ephesians*, *To the Magnesians*, *To the Trallians*, *To the Romans*, *To the Philadelphians*, *To the Smyrneans*, *To Polycarp*, *To the Tarsians*, *To the Philippians*, *To the Antiohenes*, *To Hero*, *Mary to Ignatius* and *Ignatius to Mary*.

Troas (Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:59). The letters all have different epistolary situations, and Ignatius composed them with various pastoral concerns (cf. Prostmeier 2000b:297; Holmes 2007:167). Commonly scholars summarise Ignatius' main concerns that appear in his six letters to the churches (viz. *Eph.*, *Magn.*, *Trall.*, *Rom.*, *Phld.* and *Smyrn.*) as the following three: the problem of false teachers and their teachings that mainly deny or misrepresent Jesus' physical incarnation and his works; the problem of the unity of the church; and his martyrdom (Holmes 2007:167; cf. Bettenson 1969:4; Schoedel 1985:17-31).[307] Concerning the date scholars agree that these letters were composed in the reign of Trajan (98-117 C.E.).

(2) *To the Philadelphians* (Ign. *Phld.*)

(a) Information about *To the Philadelphians*

At Troas Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, sent this letter to the church at Philadelphia which he had visited on his journey in chains to Rome (11.2). We partly know from this letter itself what Ignatius did there and how he was treated while he was visiting that church. This is also true as to what problems the church at Philadelphia had at that time. Among other problems, the issue of the unity of the church was most urgent in this letter (Schoedel 1985:197). Probably even while Ignatius was staying there, there was a schism in the church that was brought about by false teachers (Lightfoot 1889a:242; cf. 7.1-2). However, Ignatius was neither in direct charge of that church, nor stayed there for a long time. Ignatius simply stopped there on the way to Rome while in custody. When he was with them and also even after having left the church Ignatius was positively involved in this problem. This was not only because he loved the recipients (5.1; cf. Schoedel 1985:201), but also

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[307] Instead of the third concern of Holmes, Lake (1912:167 [LCL]) suggests the problem of securing "the future of his [sc. Ignatius'] own church in Antioch by persuading other communities to send helpers." On the other hand, Rankin (2006:83) summarises Ignatius' main interests as two subjects, i.e. "matters of Christology" and "of ecclesiology."

because for him the unity of the church was one of the most important matters (8.1; cf. Schoedel 1985:21-22).

(b) Structural and Formal Features

To the Philadelphians was composed in the threefold structure of the common type of Hellenistic letter, i.e. the opening (*prescript*), the body (1.1-10.2)[308] and the closing (11.1-2).[309] Ignatius dictated his words to his companion, Burrhus (11:2) as other authors did (cf. Lightfoot 1889a:243).

In this letter we do not find opening greeting words, such as χαίρειν or εὔχομαι . . . χαίρειν, that were very often employed by Ignatius (Ignatius, *Eph.* prescript; *Magn.* prescript; *Trall.* prescript; *Rom.* prescript; *Smyrn.* prescript; *Pol.* prescript). The reason for this lack is not certain. Probably he accidentally moved them from the prescript to the body (Schoedel 1985:195). Nevertheless, we find the expression "the church that I greet (ἀσπάζομαι) by the blood of Jesus Christ" in the opening. Although the verb ἀσπάζομαι is not a greeting verb for the prescript, Ignatius used the verb in the prescripts of his letters, i.e. *To the Magneisans*, *To the Trallians* and *To the Romans*, with the common greeting word, χαίρειν. Because of this we may say that the prescript of *To the Philadelphians* is a variation of Ignatius' normal greeting formula. The subscript followed the common final greeting word, ἔρρωσθε, but modified with a Christianised item, i.e. ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν (11.2). From the prescript and the subscript we can say that Ignatius felt free to use the common letter tradition, though he Christianised it with a few phrases (Holmes 2007:174; cf. Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:54-55; Aune 2003:226). We also find Ignatius'

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[308] The body consists of the following four sections: 1.1-4.1 (exhortation for unity under the bishop), 5.1-6.3 (on the Jewish interpretation of the Scriptures, which treats unity, and Ignatius' corrections), 7.1-9.2 (on the origin of Ignatius' exhortation for unity and restoration through repentance), and 10.1-2 (on news of the church of Antioch and dispatch of envoys).

[309] The closing consists of the following three sections: 11.1 (thanks for the cordial reception of his fellows Philo and Rheus Agathopous), 11.2, *lines* 8-14a (greeting of brothers in Troas, the secretary Burrhus and a blessing on them), and 11.2, *lines* 14b-15 (subscript).

expression of thanks for the recipients' warm reception of his messengers, i.e. Philo and Rheus Agathopous, which begins with the "περί + genitive" construction (11.1). In the conflicting situation, because the reception of the messenger often means the sender's message is accepted by the recipients (cf. Schoedel 1985:214), this expression of Ignatius can be said to add a friendly characteristic to *To the Philadelphians*.

(c) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

Firstly, the prescription that Ignatius offered against the schism in the church, was the unity of the believers under the guidance of the bishop of their church (1.1-2), who was appointed by both God/Jesus and the church, and who was in harmony with God's words (3.2; 4.1; 8.1; cf. 5.2). Then he exhorted the recipients to avoid both the schism and those who caused such a schism in the church (2.1-2; 3.1, 3; 6.1-2; 8.2). This strict attitude against the schism seemed to come especially from Ignatius' confidence that keeping the unity of the church is acting "according to God" (κατὰ θεὸν πράσσητε) (4.1).[310] In other words, in his view, where is no unity, there is no God (8.1: οὗ δὲ μερισμός ἐστιν καὶ ὀργή, θεὸς οὐ κατοικεῖ). Nevertheless, from other passages we can find another facet of Ignatius' pastoral thoughts in dealing with this problem. That is, he did not want to give up even those who caused the schism. What he really wanted was the restoration of unity in the church. Thus Ignatius opened a path for the schismatics to return, on the basis of God's grace (8.1), though repentance was not only clearly requested from them (3.2), but also an effort to follow the teachings of the church after restoration to the church (8.2). Thus we can say that Ignatius composed this letter for his pastoral care towards the believers of the church at Philadelphia.

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[310] In Ign. *Phld.* 4:1, we can see an emphasis on the concept of "one." Thus Ignatius says, Σπουδάσατε οὖν μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι· μία γὰρ σάρξ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἷς ἐπίσκοπος ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνοις, τοῖς συνδούλοις μου ("And so be eager to celebrate just *one* eucharist. For there is *one* flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and *one* cup that brings the unity of his blood, and *one* altar, as there is *one* bishop together with the presbytery and the deacons, my fellow slaves") (my emphasis). Doubtless here the use of the word, "one," aims at "the unity of the congregation" (Schoedel 1985:199).

In exhorting his recipients to restore the unity of their church, Ignatius used some rhetorical devices for persuasion. Firstly, Ignatius called his recipients with "relationship-oriented" designations in the vocative, such as ἀδελφοί μου ("my brothers" [3.3; 5.1]) and a convictive expression, such as τέκνα φωτὸς ἀληθείας ("children of the light of truth" [2.1]). The vocative for the addressee or audience was often employed to draw attention to what the author and speaker said (Fiore 1986:17). However, in this letter such designations might not only make those who were on Ignatius' side come closer to him, but also might function to entice the recipients to feel the weight of both the seriousness of the matter and his exhortations. The designation, "children of the light of truth," in Ign. *Phld.* 2.1 is especially notable, because it accompanies the exhortations to avoid division and evil teachings (τὸν μετριστὸν καὶ τὰς κακοδιδασκαλίας) that are the very theme of this letter. With this designation Ignatius tried to define the relationship between God's children and the pending question, i.e. the division caused by the false teachings. Thus positing this designation at the beginning of his letter, Ignatius could put pressure on his recipients to choose the way of "the light of truth," i.e. unity.

Secondly, for his arguments he used various external authorities. To them belong an early Christian tradition (4.1 [the Eucharist]), an interpretative tradition of typology (5.2; 9.2),[311] summaries of the grounds for the Christian faith, or confessional expressions (8.2 ["But for me, Jesus Christ is the ancient records; the sacred ancient records are his cross and death, and his resurrection, and the faith that comes through him"]; 9.2 ["the gospel – that is, the coming of the Savior, our Lord Jesus Christ, his suffering, and resurrection"]; cf. *Eph.* 7.2; 18.2; *Magn.* 11.1; *Trall.* 9.1-2; *Phld.* 6.1; *Smyrn.* 1.1-2) and divine beings, i.e. God (1.1; cf. 3.1), Jesus (4.1; 6.1; 8.1, 2; 11.2; cf. 3.2) and the Holy Spirit (7.2), though we cannot find quotations from Scripture at all. For

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[311] Typology is a tradition of interpretation in which early Christians understood events and prophecies of the OT as "part of a pattern of God's action whose culmination is in Jesus Christ, but which continues in the life of the church" (González 2005:177). Its origin in Christianity was the authors of the NT. On examples of the Christological interpretation of the OT in NT authors, see Reventlow 2009:57-60 (57-58), 71-79 (76).

example, in Ign. *Phld.* 4.1 Ignatius appealed to the tradition of the Eucharist in order to emphasise the importance of oneness, i.e. the unity of the church when the church was facing the danger of a schism. Then we need to remember that from the earliest period the Eucharist ceremony used to symbolise the integration or unity within the church (1 Cor 11:17-34; cf. Meeks 1993:96; DeSilva 2004:566-567). Thus, by using the image of the Eucharist, or commanding his recipients to celebrate the Eucharist together, with the words, "one" (five times) and "unity" (once), Ignatius urged reunification between the church members (cf. *Phld.* 4.1: Ἵ[Ι]να, ὃ ἐὰν πράσσητε, κατὰ θεὸν πράσσητε ["Thus, whatever you do, do according to God"]). This provides an example where Ignatius appeals to external authority for his persuasion. There is another example where Ignatius appealed to external authority. In this case it was an appeal to an interpretative tradition. Dealing with the theme of the usefulness of the prophetic writings in the Christian community (cf. 5.2-9.2), which seemed to be one of the causes of the schism, Ignatius suggested the interpretative tradition of typology. On the basis of this tradition Ignatius said that Christians had to love the prophets, because the prophets had also been saved by faith in Jesus through anticipation (5.2; cf. 9.1-2). This typology was not only accepted as an authoritative interpretative tool in early Christianity, but was also sometimes used for the correction of wrong interpretations of the OT. Furthermore, Ignatius also appealed to divine beings. Thus Ignatius emphasised the concept of God's, and Jesus' initiative. This reference to the initiative was a firm ground for his exhortations, because the concept would not have been denied by any Christian. Thus Ignatius found the justification of his appeal to be assembled under their bishop in God's warrant of the position of the bishop. In *Phld.* 1.1 Ignatius said that the bishop of the church at Philadelphia, whom Ignatius strongly recommended to the recipients, was appointed as leader of the church "by the love of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ," not "from himself, nor through humans, nor according to pure vanity" (cf. 3.1). This statement is quite important in this letter, because Ignatius repeatedly called for the recipients to be

assembled under the bishop, while they should turn away from wrong teachings (e.g. 2.1; 4.1; 8.1; cf. 7.2). From this concept, Ignatius appealed to them to do what they should, i.e. to form a unity under their bishop, who represented the divine unity.[312] Besides this, we find that Ignatius also appealed to Jesus, and this was configured in the Christocentric concept. In fact, for Ignatius and the recipients, Jesus was the core of Christian faith, and so Ignatius called Jesus "the gospel of our mutual hope" (5.2), "our mutual hope" (11.2) and "the door of the Father" (9.1-2), and the source of Christian blessings, such as "an eternal and enduring joy" (*prescript*), "the gracious gift," i.e. forgiveness (8.1), and being honoured (11.2). Thus it is not difficult to find the various uses of this Christocentric concept. For example, in *Phld.* 4.1 that appeals for the unity of the church, Ignatius presented Jesus' body and his cup on one altar as the foundation for the unity that the recipients had to pursue (cf. Schoedel 1985:199). In *Phld.* 6.1 Ignatius presented "Jesus Christ" as the canon to distinguish sound teachings from wrong ones. Thus Ignatius said, ʼ[Ε]ὰν δὲ ἀμφότεροι περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴ λαλῶσιν, οὗτοι ἐμοὶ στῆλαί εἰσιν καὶ τάφοι νεκρῶν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς γέγραπται μόνον ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων ("But if neither one speaks about Jesus Christ, they both appear to me as monuments and tombs of the dead, on which are written merely human names").[313] If we consider

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[312] Ign. *Phld.* 8.1: [Π]ᾶσιν οὖν μετανοοῦσιν ἀφίει ὁ κύριος, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἑνότητα θεοῦ καὶ συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ("Thus the Lord forgives all who repent, if they return to the unity of God and the council of the bishop"). Here the conjunction καί must be used to add more specific information to the previous word(s), because "the unity of God" can be explained only through the word of "the council of the bishop" (on this usage of καί, see Smyth and Messing 1984:651 [§ 2869, a]; Wallace 1996:671). Besides this, the phrase, "the unity of God," may mean "unity from God" (viz. the genitive of origin) (Schoedel 1985:21). Cf. Schoedel 1985:206: "It should be noted . . . that the 'unity of God' to which Ignatius desires the schismatics 'to turn in repentance' (μετανοήσωσιν) is not primarily unity with God but the unity of the church presided over by God (cf. *Ph*[*l*]*d.* 5.2). This is especially clear here since the 'the unity of God' and the 'council of the bishop' – the circle of presbyters (cf. *Mag*[*n*]. 6.1; *Tr*[*all*]. 3.1) – evidently complement each other and refer to the solidarity of the community (under the ministry) of which Ignatius makes so much in this context (cf. *Ph*[*l*]*d.* 7)."

[313] The teachings of Jesus Christ may be both "his cross and death, and his resurrection, and the faith that comes through him" (ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ) (8.2) and/or "the coming . . . his suffering, and resurrection" (τὴν παρουσίαν . . . τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν) (9.2).

that most schisms were caused by wrong or false teachers and their teachings, we can imagine how Ignatius' use of Jesus was decisive in his persuasion. Furthermore, Jesus was considered to be a principle of Christian life on earth. Thus appealing to his recipients to unify again, Ignatius exhorted them to act according to what they learnt "in Christ" (κατὰ χριστομαθίαν) (8.2; cf. 3.2; 4.1). All these appeals to external authority might have added to Ignatius' power of exhortation. Of course, such a thing was not new, but common in the hortatory tradition (cf. Fiore 1986:18). Apart from all these things, by having quoted the conversations with his opponents, Ignatius increased confidence in his words (7 and 8). These quotations not only revealed what the point of debate was, and what faults his opponents had, but also prepared the background to present his teaching of the centrality of Jesus in Christianity.

Thirdly, in order to appeal for the restoration of the unity in the church, Ignatius emphasised the importance of oneness throughout the letter. Thus Ignatius used the motif of "one" and the theme of "integrity" (Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:65; cf. Jefford 2005:83-85). In ancient moral philosophical schools, by employing these *topoi* with some modifications and interpretations in various situations, the moral philosophers could often approach their students or the audience more effectively as well as systematically, and the various *topoi* were often repeated throughout both the periods and the authors (Thom 2003:567-568; cf. Malherbe 1986:144; Bailey and Broek 1992:62; Lausberg 1998:171-172 [§ 373]; Aune 2003:476-478). Among them, we find the theme of concord (Malherbe 1986:147; cf. *1 Clem.* 37.5; 46.6-7; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 48.14-16). This theme is also found in *To the Philadelphians*. As we have already mentioned, this church was suffering a schism. So now Ignatius tried to remind his recipients of the importance of unity (4.1; cf. Ign. *Phld.* 5.2; *Eph.* 4.1-2; *Rom.* 2.2), and exhorted them to restore unity under their qualified bishop (2.2; 3.2; 7.2; 8.1; cf. 1.1-2). The reason for the exhortation to unity was very simple but decisive because, "where there is division and anger, God does not dwell" (8.1). And he asserted that the only way to stay with God (εἰς ἑνότητα θεοῦ καὶ συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου) was repentance (8.1), because it was considered to be a remedy in early Christianity (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.43.2; cf. *1 Clem.* 7.1-8.5; 62.2).

Finally, to help his recipients' understanding and thereby to persuade them, Ignatius employed various rhetorical devices. Thus we can find antithesis that is called "at the heart of the paraenetic enterprise" (Dryden 2006:115) (1:1; 3:1; 5.1; 8.2), comparison (6.1; 9.1), metaphor (1.2; 2.1-2; 3.1; 6:1; 9.1), illustration of the virtue of the bishop (1.1-2; cf. 8.1)[314] and a model to be imitated (viz. Jesus) (7.2). Since the last two devices, i.e. the list of virtues and the model to be imitated, often targeted a direct change of the recipients' behaviour (cf. Fitzgerald 1992:857, 859; Malherbe 1986:138-141; 2004:301), their emergence especially reflects the pastoral character of *To the Philadelphians*. This fact is also supported by hortatory terminology (2.1; 8.2) and the imperative for exhortation throughout the letter (2.1; 3.1, 3; 4.1; 6.1, 2).

(3) *To Polycarp* (Ign. *Pol.*)

(a) Information about *To Polycarp*

In his letter *To the Philippians* (Pol. *Phil.* 13.1), Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, mentioned that he had received letters from Ignatius as well as from the believers of the church at Philippi. However, with reference to Ignatius, it is uncertain whether or not the letter that Ignatius sent to Polycarp was actually this particular *To Polycarp* (cf. Bauer and Paulsen 1985:126). Nevertheless, it is a fact that

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[314] Here the virtue that Ignatius praises indicates the gentleness that was expressed here in the silence. Thus Ignatius says in the last part of *Phld.* 1.1 as follows" [O]ὖ καταπέπληγμαι τὴν ἐπιείκειαν, ὃς σιγῶν πλείονα δύναται τῶν μάταια λαλούντων ("I have been amazed at his [sc. the bishop of the church at Philadelphia] gentleness; by being silent he can do more than those who speak idle thoughts"). In his comment on this verse, Schoedel (1985:196) says, "Ignatius again seeks to make a virtue of necessity (as in *Eph.* 6.1; 15.2) by attributing more power to silence than to words and by exalting the value of gentleness." Of course, we cannot assert that gentleness in speech was a classical and Christian virtue. However, Aristotle (*[Virt. vit.]*, 1250a, lines 39-44) indicates that "gentleness" (πραότης) is "the power to bear with moderation" (τὸ δύνασθαι φέρειν μετρίως) in difficult situations. In the situation that the bishop of the church at Philadelphia was facing, his "gentleness" (ἡ ἐπιείκεια) shows a similarity to what (Pseudo-) Aristotle says in *De virtutibus et vitiis* (Barnes 1984:1983 [English translation]). On the semantic similarity of two words, ἡ ἐπιείκεια and πραότης, see Louw-Nida, 88.H.

Ignatius sent at least one letter to Polycarp, and this particular *To Polycarp* of Ignatius has been preserved in his letter collection with six other genuine letters to churches (cf. Grant 1946:137; Ehrman 2003a:324-325 [LCL]).

(b) Structural and Formal Features

To Polycarp follows the threefold structure of the common type of Hellenistic letter, i.e. the opening (*prescript*), the body (1.1-8.1)[315] and the closing (8.2-3) (cf. Paulsen 1985:101).[316] This Hellenistic feature is also found in both the opening and the closing greeting. Thus Ignatius employed the verbs πλεῖστα χαίρειν (*prescript*) and ἔρρωσθε (8.3). However, both the prescript and the subscript were expanded and modified with Christian phrases (Πολυκάρπῳ . . . ἐπισκοπημένῳ ὑπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ [*prescript*]; ἐν κυρίῳ [8.3]). Because these features are typical of Ignatius' letters, nothing more need to be said about them.

(c) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

As the senior pastor, Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch, gave Polycarp, the junior pastor, various instructions for his ministry in this letter (1.1-5.2). Of course, we also find exhortations for the believers of the church at Smyrna (6.1-2), and a request to both pastor and believers (7.1-2).[317]

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[315] The body consists of the following four sections: 1.1-5.2 (exhortations to Polycarp), 6.1-2 (exhortations to the believers), 7.1-2 (request to send a delegate to the church at Antioch) and 7.3-8.1 (final words).

[316] The closing consists of the following four sections: 8.2a (first person greeting), 8.2b-8.3a (blessing and prayer for the recipient), 8.3b (addition to the second person greeting) and 8.3c (subscript).

[317] Nevertheless, Ign. *Pol.* 3.1 seems to indicate that there were heretical stirrings within the church of Smyrna. Thus Ignatius exhorted Polycarp not to be upset by "those who appear trustworthy yet who deliver contrary teachings." Of course, it is uncertain whether or not Ignatius mentioned a real risk that Polycarp and his believers were facing, because we cannot find any situational factors in the immediate context. This exhortation for the conduct of the bishop against heretical teachings is mentioned along with the other duties of the bishop that Ignatius suggested. However, according to another letter of Ignatius to the church at Smyrna (viz. *To the Smyrneans*), that church was threatened by the danger of the heretical teachings of so-called Docetism (Ign. *Smyrn.* 6.2 and 7.2). Against these teachings the leadership and believers of the church were exhorted in that letter to avoid them and those who teach such things; Ignatius encouraged

Based on this fact, this letter seems to have been dispatched to the church, not to an individual (Lightfoot 1889a:351). However, considering that the greater part of the letter consisted of exhortations and requests to Polycarp (1.1-5.2; 7.1-2; 8.1), and also that there were precedents for this type of letter in both the pagan and Christian letter tradition (cf. Fiore 1986), we may say that *To Polycarp* was in the first instance directed to Polycarp as an individual, as 1 Timothy and Titus were (Aune 2003:228). This is clear in the prescript also. On this point, we may consider the fact that 1 Timothy and Titus are characterised by "hortatory instructions addressed to young officials on their conduct and attitudes" and so they contained "epistolary exhortations to a way of life consistent with the traditions of a philosophical school" (Fiore 1986:232; cf. Malherbe 2004:297). A letter of this type is often paraenetic in content, i.e. traditional, lacking in originality, applicable to many situations familiar to the recipient, full of good examples and instructions, and so is "irrefutable," based on "intrinsic, self-evident rightness and the acknowledgement by people generally" containing wisdom (Malherbe 2010:383; cf. Aune 1987:191; 2003; Perdue 1990:11-19; Malherbe 2004:307-308, 314). And this is also true for 1 Timothy and Titus. Thus White's evaluation of them (1988:101) is correct: "1 Timothy and Titus contain advice for young ministers" (cf. Fiore 1986:10-25; Malherbe 2004; 2010; 2011). This is also the case with *To Polycarp* (Aune 1987:216-217; 2003:227). In this sense *To Polycarp* belongs to the paraenetic letter type, i.e. one of "exhortation and advice" (Stowers 1986:43). Based on the facts mentioned above all instructions and exhortations except for a few requests in Ign. *Pol.* 7.1-2, were not only familiar to the recipient, but also being reiterated. Ignatius recognised this himself. Thus we find that Ignatius praised both

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them to "pay attention to" the sound and correct teachings about Jesus Christ instead. If this letter (viz. Ign. *Smyrn.*) was sent to the church of which Polycarp was the bishop, we can venture to say that the instructions and exhortations of *To Polycarp* were probably connected with such a situation. Nevertheless, we still cannot exclude the possibility that the places to which these two letters were sent, were two different churches at Smyrna, not only because the threat of heretical teachers and their teachings, such as Docetism, were in fact very common in Asia Minor at that time, but also because *To the Smyrneans* never mentions the name Polycarp, while Ignatius clearly addressed the bishop of the church at Smyrna with the title τὸν ἀξιόθεον ἐπίσκοπον (12.2).

Polycarp and his believers in his letter. For example, Ignatius applauded Polycarp's "godly way of thinking" and his "blameless face" regarding him (1.1). In terms of the believers of the church at Smyrna, Ignatius was confident of their readiness to do God's will (7.3). Furthermore, he added the following words in the last part of his letter: [E]ἰδὼς ὑμῶν τὸ σύντονον τῆς ἀληθείας, δι᾽ ὀλίγων ὑμᾶς γραμμάτων παρεκάλεσα ("Because I know the zeal you have for the truth, I have urged you through just these few words") (cf. Ign. *Smyrn.* 1.1; 4.1). In this regard we can partly sense the *epideictic* mood of this letter. Nevertheless, Ignatius, as the senior pastor, must have wanted to let Polycarp and the believers of the church at Smyrna keep firmly to what they had learnt from his letter.

For his effective pastoral care Ignatius employed various paraenetic styles that must have been familiar to the recipients. Firstly, we find that Ignatius suggested models to be imitated. The model to be imitated was often employed in hortatory works because this was recognised to be "short and helpful" in exhortation (*quia longum iter est per praecepta, breve et efficax per exempla* [Seneca, *Ep.* 6.5]; cf. Aune 1987:191; Perdue 1990:16-17). Above all, he emphasised that in this case the recipient should either become, or act as God and/or Jesus (1.2, 3; 5.1; 6.2). These models must have added unconditional obedience to his exhortations. In addition we find another device, which very often occurs in paraenetic work, i.e. reminding what the recipient already learnt and knew. Because in paraenetic work the exhortations were mainly "self-evidently commendable," they required "no reason for what is commanded," but "reminder might suffice" (Malherbe 2004:309-311; cf. Fiore 1986:18; Malherbe 1986:125; 1989b:51; Aune 1987:191; Dryden 2006:116). This was true of *To Polycarp.* Thus Ignatius with a word of remembrance encouraged Polycarp to continue with his good works (1.2; cf. 4.1). Besides this, Ignatius used proverbs to enhance his words (1.3; 2.1, 2), because such proverbs were "irrefutable" due to "their intrinsic, self-evident rightness, and the acknowledgment by people generally that they contain wisdom" (Malherbe 2010:383; cf. 2004:307). All these devices were aimed at a *modus vivendi* worthy of God (4.1; 6.2; cf. 1.3; 3.1; 5.2). This is in fact one of the commonest themes of Christian pastoral letters (cf. Malherbe 2004:316-317). And because such a life is often related to judging and knowing and keeping to sound teachings, Ignatius commanded the recipients to be on guard against

the heretical teachings that seemed to be caused by Docetism (Ign. *Pol.* 3.1; cf. *Smyrn.* 4-8) by convincing them of what he taught about Jesus Christ (3.2).[318] Furthermore, Ignatius emphasised the solidarity of the church, and he not only emphasised the importance of the church leader (6.1; cf. 4.1),[319] but also urged mutual exhortation (6.1, 2). Since these themes appear in all the letters of Ignatius, they can be considered to be conventional.

Secondly, in order to help the recipients to focus on the message, Ignatius employed literary devices, such as antithesis (e.g. 4.3), parallelism and alliteration (e.g. 1.3), and word play with prefix (*prescript*; 6.1) (Schoedel 1985:257, 261, 275). Ignatius encouraged his recipients' understanding by using various metaphors such as the athlete (1.3; 2.3), the anvil (3.1) and the soldier (6.2; cf. Eph 6:11-17[; 1 Thess 5:8; 2 Tim 2:4]) (Schoedel 1985:261, 264, 266, 275-276).

Thirdly, in this paraenetic letter, we find hortatory terminology (e.g. 1.2 and 7.3 [παρακαλεῖν]; 1.2 [προστιθέναι]; 6.2 [μακροθυμεῖν]; 3.1 [ὑπομένειν and δεῖ]; 5.1 [προσκαλεῖν and παραγγέλειν]) and special verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative (1.2, 3; 2.1, 2; 3.1, 2; 4.1, 2, 3; 5.1, 2; 6.1, 2) and the future form of the indicative mood for command (8.1).[320]

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[318] In Ign. *Pol.* 3.2 we find a Christocentric factor, though no explicit mention of Christ appears. In this section Ignatius is commanding Polycarp to stand firm against heretical teachings. Awaiting "the one who is beyond the season, the one who is timeless, the one who is invisible, who became visible for us, the one who cannot be handled, the one who is beyond suffering, who suffered for us, enduring in every way on our account," Polycarp endures "everything" by standing "firm as an anvil that is struck" against such heretical teachings. Of course, here "the one" is Jesus Christ, not God the Father, because the expressions, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ὁρατόν, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς παθητόν and τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα, without doubt indicate Jesus Christ instead of God the Father. Furthermore, the verb προσδοκάω implies the eschatological expectation for Jesus' coming, i.e. the *parousia* (on the verb, προσδοκάω, see Louw-Nida, 30.55) (cf. Schoedel 1985:266-267).

[319] The importance of the bishop was emphasised with the result clause, i.e. ἵνα καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν, immediately following the main instructive clause (viz. τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε).

[320] On this usage of the future form of the indicative mood, see Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 183 (§ 362); Smyth and Messing 1984:428-429 (§ 1972); Wallace 1996:452-453. According to Conybeare and Stock (1995:72 [§ 74, a]), this usage is "very common" in the LXX, but "rare" in Attic Greek.

Finally, Ignatius closed his letter with both a blessing and a prayer for the recipients of the letter (8.2, 3).

c) Polycarp: *To the Philippians* (Pol. *Phil.*)[321]

(1) General Information

Polycarp (ca. 69-155 C.E.) was the bishop of Smyrna (Ign. *Magn.* 15.1; *Pol. prescript*; cf. *Eph.* 21.1) and he sent a letter to the church at Philippi, i.e. *To the Philippians*. In his letter, Ign. *Pol.* 8.1, Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, requested Polycarp to send a few letters to the churches in his stead (cf. Pol. *Phil.* 13.1). But we cannot assert that *To the Philippians* was the result of such a request.[322] On the other hand, according to 3.1, Polycarp composed this letter in answer to a request from the recipients to explain the meaning of righteousness. In other words, Polycarp was considered to be a church leader who could be consulted on the themes of faith and church life by the recipients. Ign. *Pol.* 8.1 also shows Polycarp's qualifications as an authorised church leader of that time. In fact, historically Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, not only "exercised influence far beyond Asia as he sought to protect and maintain the proto-orthodox strand of the early Christian movement," but was also considered to be an important personage who is "a significant link in the chain of apostolic

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[321] Both the Greek text and the English translation used here are from Ehrman, LCL, unless otherwise indicated.

[322] Ehrman (2003a:319, n. 34 [LCL]) suggests two possibilities for interpreting the expression, ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐκκλησίαις ("to the churches that lie before me [*Or: 'on the side'*]"), with the following comment: "Probably referring to the churches that lie between Smyrna and Antioch [sc. the churches that lie *'on the side'*], or between Troas and Rome [sc. the churches that lie before me]." According to Schoedel (1985:279-280), this expression implies the churches between Smyrna and Antioch, i.e. a church at Ephesus, a church at Magnesia and a church at Tralles (cf. Bauer and Paulsen 1985:107; Holmes 2007:271 [a note on "on this side"]). Thus Schoedel translated the phrase, ταῖς ἔμπροσεν ἐκκλησίας, as "to the churches on this side." In this case, because Philippi is located in Thessaly, *To the Philippians* is not a result of Polycarp's compliance with Ignatius' instructions. However, we cannot completely ignore the possibility that this expression indicates that the churches between Troas and Rome are being referred to in this letter of Polycarp.

tradition (a concept of increasing importance throughout the second century)" (Holmes 2006:54). The recipients were the believers of the church at Philippi.

The problem of the date of *To the Philippians* is related to the question of the integrity of this letter (cf. Holmes 2007:276, n. 9). In other words, those who support a one-letter theory (viz. the traditional view), think that this letter was composed immediately after the martyrdom of Ignatius, but those who support a two-letter theory (viz. Harrison's view), set the earlier letter among two letters, i.e. chaps. 13-14, at a date shortly after Ignatius' departure from Philippi to Rome, while the later letter, i.e. chaps. 1-12, was composed afterwards, i.e. between 135-137 C.E. This two-letter theory was suggested by P. N. Harrison in 1936, who was struck by the impression that, while *Pol.* 13.2 (viz. the earlier letter) assumed that Ignatius was still alive, *Pol.* 9.1 (viz. the later letter) mentioned the death of Ignatius. Harrison suggested that the content of the later letter (viz. chaps. 1-12) was dealing with Marcionism (Holmes 2007:275; cf. Paulsen 1985:112; Schoedel 1993:279-280; Bauer 1995:18-21; Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:73-75; Ehrman 2003a:328-329 [LCL]). Although many scholars accept Harrison's two-letter theory, I hold the traditional view, the one-letter theory, because the tension between *Pol.* 9.1 and *Pol.* 13.2 can be resolved with the traditional explanation that Polycarp asked for conformation of the death of Ignatius from the recipients, because he did not receive any such information, though Ignatius had left Philippi for Rome long before, and so Polycarp assumed that Ignatius had been martyred. Also, as Holmes pointed out clearly, the contents of *Pol.* 1-12 lack definitive Marcionite characteristics, and the recollections of Ignatius and his companions in *Pol.* 9.1 (and 1.1) are too vivid to assume that a long time had passed after Ignatius' martyrdom (Holmes 2007:275-276; cf. Paulsen 1985:113; Schoedel 1993:282). Besides these matters, the fact that the passage of *Pol.* 13.2 has been transmitted only in a manuscript with poor Latin can also be considered to provide evidence that supports the traditional view (Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:75; cf. Paulsen 1985:112, 126).

(2) Structural and Formal Features

Polycarp follows the threefold structure of the common type of Hellenistic letter, i.e. the opening (*prescript*), the body (1.1-12.3)[323] and the closing (13.1-14.1).[324] However, the prescript and the subscript were modified with Christian phrases.[325] It is especially remarkable that the prescript shows a similarity with those of the NT letters, except James, since the address and the greeting are

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[323] The body consists of the following five sections: 1.1-3 (thanksgiving or *captatio benevolentiae*), 2.1-3 (initial exhortation: focus on Jesus!), 3.1-10.3 (teachings of righteousness), 11.1-12.1 (*Valens issue* and exhortation) and 12.2-3 ([wish-]blessing and exhortation for mutual prayer).

[324] The closing consists of the following three sections: 13.1-2 (additional note on Ignatius' letters), 14.1, *lines* 1-5a (on the secretary Crescens and recommendation of his sister) and 14.1, *lines* 5b-6 (subscript).

[325] On the modification of the subscript, see *Pol.* 14.1: *Incolumes estote in domino Iesu Christo in gratia cum omnibus vestris* ("Farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ in grace, with all who are yours"). Immediately after this final greeting, Polycarp adds *amen*. Among the letters in the NT, Romans (16:27), Galatians (6:18) and Jude (25) finish with *amen*, where there are no variant readings, i.e. "genuine" from the textual-critical perspective (Comfort 2008:528; cf. *1 Clem.* 65.2; *2 Clem.* 20.5; *Mart. Pol.* 22.5; *Diogn.* 12.9 in the works of the apostolic fathers). Among these three, the *amen* of Romans (16:25-27) and Jude (24-25) follow after the doxology, and the one of Galatians after the subscript. The emergence of *amen* after the doxology is very common in the letters of Paul and other authors, and it functions as "the confirmatory response" (Weima 1994a:137, 139-140), while the one after the benediction (viz. the subscript in the form of a benediction) is not common (Weima 1994a:80, 89, 102-103) (see chap. 4, section C). This tendency continued in the works of the apostolic fathers. Thus doxology in most works of the apostolic fathers is followed by *amen* (e.g. *1 Clem.* 20.12; 32.4; 38.4; 43.6; 45.7; 50.8; 58.2; 61.3; 64.1; 65.2; *2 Clem.* 20.5; *Mart. Pol.* 14.3; 21.1; 22.3 [or 22.5]; *Diogn.* 12.9; cf. exceptions: *Mart. Pol.* 20.2; 22.1), especially always at the end of works (e.g. *1 Clem.* 65.2; *2 Clem.* 20.5; *Mart. Pol.* 22.3 [or 22.5]; *Diogn.* 12.9), while benedictions (viz. subscriptions in the form of benediction) are not (e.g. *1 Clem.* 65.2; Ign. *Pol.* 8.2; *Mart. Pol.* 22.2). Thus the case of Galatians and *To the Philippians* are worth paying attention to, because the former ended the benediction with *amen* (viz. the subscript in the form of a benediction) and the latter with *amen* after the common farewell (viz. *incolumes estote in domino Iesu Christo in gratia cum omnibus vestris. Amen*). Concerning the former (Gal 6:18), Weima comments as follows: "[T]he ἀμήν *probably* serves *as a confirmatory response to the whole letter* and *not* simply to the grace benediction" (my emphasis). In relation to the *amen* of *To the Philippians*, we also find the same function. This usage of *amen* increased in the later manuscripts of the letters of the NT (Comfort 2008:528).

divided into two different sentences, and the greeting verb used was the optative form of πληθύνω.[326]

(3) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

In *Phil.* 3.1 Polycarp mentioned the motivation of his letter, namely that he was requested to give his exposition or opinion "about righteousness" (Lightfoot 1889b:313).[327] In answer to this request, Polycarp exhorted the recipients to "obey the word of righteousness and to practice all endurance" (πειθαρχεῖν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀσκεῖν πᾶσαν ὑπομονήν) (9.1).[328] Throughout the letter "righteousness" appears as the response to God's grace on the side of humans, i.e. a *modus vivendi* and *cogitandi* worthy of God (Holmes 2006:59; cf. Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:79). Thus this is impressed not only by the exhortations of Pol. *Phil.* 9.1, but also with the common and Christian hortatory traditions that we will look at below (cf. Ehrman 2003a:326 [LCL]). This theme was expanded into a pending ecclesiastical question of the church at Philippi, i.e. the *Valens issue*. Based on the contents of 11.1 and 4, Valens and his wife, by using his position, must have committed some sin that was related to money. Since throughout the letter Polycarp again emphasised the warning of "love of money," especially in relation to the qualifications of church members (e.g. 2.2; 4.1, 3; 5.1; 6.1; cf. Paulsen 1985:123-124), the *Valens issue* was one of the main themes of this letter (cf. Ehrman 2003a:325 [LCL]). In this context Polycarp once more tried to

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[326] The *prescript*: ["Ε]λεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ θεοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πληθυνθείη ("May mercy and peace be multiplied to you from God Almighty and Jesus Christ our savior"). Cf. 1 Pet 1:2: [Χ]άρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη; 2 Pet 1:2: [Χ]άρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη ἐν ἐπιγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν; Jude 2: ["Ε]λεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη; *1 Clem. prescript*: [Χ]άρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη; *Mart. Pol. prescript*: ["Ε]λεος, εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη. This pattern of the greeting has been found in examples of an ancient Near Eastern royal letter, for example, Dan 3:31 (a royal letter of Nebuchadnezzar) and 6:26 (a loyal letter of Darius) (Bauer 1995:36). Two translators of the Greek versions of Daniel from Hebrew and Aramaic (viz. LXX and the Theodotionic version) translated the greeting verb □□□□□□□ into πληθυνθείη (Dan [LXX] 4:37[3]; Dan [Theod.] 4:1; Dan [Theod.] 6:26).

remind his recipients of the qualifications for Christians (11.2). In this sense the facts that Polycarp mentioned *locus* twice in the *Valens issue* (11.1),[329] and in the previous sections (4.1-6.3) also mentioned the qualifications and duties of each of the various church members, are likely to be closely related. In other words, we may consider that "about righteousness" (3.1) is basically related to the *Valens issue,* and the concept of "righteousness" was expanded and applied to those who are holding some position in the church (4.1-6.3). We also find the theme of unity in the church. Especially as regards the *Valens issue*, Polycarp did not order Valens and his wife to be expelled

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[327] Pol. *Phil.* 3.1: Ταῦτα, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ ἐπιτρέψας γράφω ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς προεπεκαλέσασθέ με ("I am writing these things about righteousness, brothers, not on my own initiative but at your request"). This provides another example to show Polycarp's qualification as a respected church leader of his times. In fact, we are not sure what the relationship between the church at Philippi in Thessaly, and Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna in Asia Minor, was. Polycarp probably might have visited the church at Philippi at some time or made contact with her once more. In Pol. *Phil.* 14 Polycarp writes as follows: *Haec vobis scripsi per Crescentem, quem in praesenti commendavi vobis et nunc commendo* ("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"). In this sentence, the prepositional phrase, *in praesenti*, can imply that Polycarp visited the church at Philippi at some time if it is translated into "when I was present" (Lake, LCL), or "when I was with you" (Ehrman, LCL). However, other authoritative authors translated it as "recently" (Lightfoot 1889b:476; Ehrman, LCL). In contrast to a temporal adverb like *nunc*, this prepositional phrase surely suggests the past (cf. Lightfoot 1889b:349-350). Thus both translations are possible. In any case, Pol. *Phil.* 14 reveals that Polycarp was in contact with the church at Philippi once more.

[328] Bauer's comment on ὁ λόγος (1995:62) is worth mentioning here: "Der λόγος ist dann vor allem das dazu aufrufende Wort oder deutlicher noch die zum rechten Wandel rufende Predigt, die die Hörer annehmen sollen. Genauso ist es hier bei Polykarp gemeint." In this sense Holmes' evaluation of the literary feature of this letter is acceptable (Holmes 2007:273; cf. 2006:55): "The document itself is a complex hortatory letter that (1) combines elements of at least three common types (encouragement, advice, and admonition), and (2) employs in portions of the letter a sermonic or homiletic style of discourse, the 'word of exhortation'." Nevertheless, "[w]as Polykarp schrieb, is kein Werk hoher Theologie, gibt aber einen wichtigen Einblick in die Situation der Kirche in Kleinasien im frühen 2. Jahrhundert" (Bauer 1995:5).

[329] Here the word *locus* indicates an official position or the job that Valens was in charge of within the church (Paulsen 1985:123; Bauer 1995:65).

from the church, but exhorted the recipients to make every effort towards unity in the church by accepting them, because all of them are a part of Christ's body (11.4).[330]

In order to handle these problems Polycarp approached his recipients in various ways that are found in the contemporary hortatory context. Firstly, as the answer to a question about righteousness (3.1), Polycarp emphasised the *modus vivendi* worthy of God. This example is found in 5.1-2. In these exhortations for the deacons, Polycarp said, ὀφείλομεν ἀξίως τῆς ἐντολῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δόξης περιπατεῖν ("we should walk in a manner worthy of his commandment and glory") (5.1). Here these exhortations appeared to be limited to the qualifications of the deacon. However, when we consider the exhortations of 5.1 and the eschatological statements of 5.2, these exhortations can be applied to all Christians. And along with abstaining from whatever is not worthy of God, obedience to church leaders was suggested as an example of the life faithful to God. Thus in the exhortations for "the young men" (5.3), Polycarp ordered the young believers to be obedient to the presbyters and the deacons "as to God and Christ." Furthermore, the emphasis on such a life continues in other parts of the letter. Thus for the righteous life, Polycarp provided not only relevant duties and responsibilities for each status in the church (4.2-6.3), but also lists of virtues and vices (e.g. 2.2; 4.3; 5.2; 6.1). In terms of the household code, we may consider that this code deals with the duties and responsibilities of each member within a society or a community or a family. Often the household code was employed to "outline the duties and responsibilities associated with the proper or ideal management of private affairs" (Balch 1992a:318). The duties and responsibilities proposed ensured the harmony of a society or a community or a family. Regarding the lists of

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[330] In my view this fact seems to be emphasised by two aspects, i.e. the expression of Polycarp's emotion about the vocation of the recipients (*valde ergo, fratres, contristor pro illo et pro coniuge eius* ["And so, my brothers, I am very sad for that man and his wife"]) and the metaphor of the body that will be saved (*et non sicut inimicos tales existimetis, sed sicut passibilia membra et errantia eos revocate, ut omnium vestrum corpus salvetis* ["Rather than judge such people as enemies, call them back as frail and wayward members, so as to heal your entire body"]). According to Polycarp himself, this is the way that the members of the church at Philippi should build themselves up (*hoc enim agentes vos ipsos aedificatis* ["For when you do this, you build yourselves up"]) (cf. Paulsen 1985:123).

virtues and vices, we assume that Polycarp tried to preserve the church at Philippi in harmony and safety. Along with the household code, in antiquity the lists of virtues and vices were often used as devices to preserve the order in a society or a community or a family, because the proposed virtues and vices were either followed or avoided by a member who belonged to a specific group (Fiore 1986:17; cf. Fitzgerald 1992:857; Aune 2003:89-91). In this sense the employment of these two devices is logical, because, as I mentioned above, the church at Philippi was upset due to the *Valens issue*. According to the word of Polycarp (11.1-2), Valens and his wife forgot what his position was for and misused it for his own benefit (11.1). Although this issue was not the only reason for this letter, the failure of a leader (viz. *presbyter*) within a church must not be underestimated. Thus the emphasis on harmony by employing the household code and the lists of virtues and vices was necessary for each member of the church, whatever their position (cf. 11.4-12.1). In this letter these things were also accentuated by a model to be imitated. Polycarp offered such models in order to help his recipients keep to a *modus vivendi* worthy of God (cf. 9.1). The use of a model in exhortation was popular in antiquity, because the model showed directly how the audience or the recipient should act, and so it was easier to follow than verbal exhortations (cf. Seneca, *Epp.* 52.8; 94.40). Besides this, because the model provided was often an ideal representative of the society or the group, the request to imitate the model was often an effort to preserve the order of the society or the group, as the household code and the lists of virtues and vices also did (Perdue 1990:16-17; Malherbe 2004:301). Thus having exhorted them to give up the teachings that were shaking the foundations of faith (7.2),[331] and to hold to the "hope" and "the down payment" of righteousness, after giving a few commands (8.1), Polycarp instructed the recipients to resist the temptation and endure the oppression by becoming "imitators" of Jesus' "endurance" (μιμηταί . . . τῆς ὑπομονῆς

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[331] Those who provided such teachings seemed to deny the entire teaching about Jesus Christ and his work of salvation. Thus they did "not confess" Jesus' incarnation (Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι), "the witness of the cross" (τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ) and distorted "the words of the Lord" (τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου) for their own passions by insisting on no "resurrection nor judgment" (μήτε ἀνάστασιν μήτε κρίσιν) (Ign. *Pol.* 7.1).

αὐτοῦ), who "endured all things on our account, that we might live in him" (8.1-2; cf. 10.1). It was a request that his recipients would become faithful to God and Jesus Christ in their life. This instruction was continued in 9.1, where Polycarp urged (παρακαλεῖν) the recipients "to obey the word of righteousness and to practice all endurance" (πειθαρχεῖν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀσκεῖν πᾶσαν ὑπομονήν). Immediately afterwards Polycarp again provided a list of names of those who are "in the place they deserved, with the Lord" (9.2), i.e. Ignatius, Zosimus, Rufus, Paul and other apostles. They were also suggested by Polycarp as models of endurance (πᾶσαν ὑπομονήν, ἣν καὶ εἴδατε κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμούς) (9.1).[332] And according to Polycarp, such efforts included not only mutual exhortation of one another (10.1, 2; 11.4) and mutual prayers for members within the church (12.3), but also prayer for the outsiders (12.3).[333]

Secondly, Polycarp referred to authoritative sources. The appeal to authoritative sources was a traditional way to establish the authority of a speaker or author (Fiore 1986:18). For the Christian especially Scripture and the early confessions had absolute authority. Thus he not only employed a number of passages from Scripture (2.3; 11.2; 12.1; cf. 1.3; 4.1; 5.2, 3; 8.1) (Holmes 2005; cf. Grant

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[332] Except the above mentioned examples, the model is also found in Pol. *Phil.* 5.2 where the deacons were exhorted to act "in accordance with the truth of the Lord, who became a servant of all" (πορευόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ κυρίου, ὃς ἐγένετο διάκονος πάντων) (Holmes's translation [2007:287]).

[333] The instruction to pray for the outsiders has been fundamental since earliest Christianity. Thus Bauer's words are acceptable (1995:72): "Zwischen der empfohlenen Fürbitte für die Mitchristen (Eph 6,18; vgl. Röm 15,30; Eph 1,15-19; 3,16f.; Jak 5,16; 1 Joh 5,16) und dem Gebet für die Feinde und Verfolger nach dem Wort und Beispiel des Herrn (Mt 5,44; Lk 23,34) und des Stephanus (Apg 7,60) steht die Aufforderung zum Gebet für die weltliche Obrigkeit" (cf. Paulsen 1985:125). A prayer of Prosper of Aquitania (died ca. 450 C.E.), which Bauer (1995:73) provides, gives a good example of the practice of such a prayer (*De vocatione omnium gentium* 1.12.28 [*PL* 51.664C]): *Supplicat ergo ubique Ecclesia Deo non solum pro sanctis et in Christo jam regeneratis, sed etiam pro omnibus infidelibus et inimicis crucis Christi, pro omnibus idolorum cultoribus, pro omnibus qui Christum in membris ipsius persequntur, pro Judaeis, quorum caecitati lumen Evangelii non refulgent, pro haereticis et schismaticis, qui ab unitate fidei et caritatis alieni sunt* ("Therefore, the church beseeches everywhere not only for the believers and those who were already born again in Christ, but also for all those faithless and hostile to Christ's cross, for all cultivators of idols, for all those who persecute Christ with their bodies, for the Jews for whom the light of the Gospel does not shine due to their blindness, for the heretics and schismatics who are estranged from the unity of faith and love") (my translation).

1946:141-145; Ehrman 2003a:326 [LCL]; Holmes 2007:273), but also appealed to early Christian tradition(s) (1.2; 2.1; 3.2; 7.1; cf. 13.2).[334] One remarkable aspect is that Polycarp emphasised the importance of studying the traditional teachings of Christianity. Thus Polycarp encouraged his recipients to read and study Paul's letter(s) (3.2) and Ignatius' letter(s) (13.2). This partly reflects how strongly a Christian community tried to guard herself against heretical teachings. Polycarp also appealed to divine authority, i.e. the Lord Jesus Christ. Thus in 2.1, 7.1 and 8.1 Polycarp offered Jesus Christ not only as a criterion both to correct one's life (2.1.) and to judge one's theological condition (7.1), but also as the crux of faith (8.1).

Thirdly, Polycarp used rhetorical devices for effective pastoral care. Thus he addressed his recipients with the "relationship-oriented" designation, ἀδελφοί/*fratres* ("[my] brothers" [3:1; 11.4]). This designation must have functioned not only to deepen the relationship between the author and the recipients, but also to help the recipients pay attention to the author's words (cf. Fiore 1986:17). And Polycarp several times used the word of remembrance, i.e. the appeal to what the recipients had learnt and already knew (2.3; 10.3; 12.1). The employment of this word shows not only that the church at Philippi was on the right track in faith, but also that there was a good relationship between Polycarp and his recipients at that time, because this word often functioned simply to "reaffirm" what they already knew or did well, and the kind of relationship between the author and the recipients (Fiore 1986:18; cf. Malherbe 2004:309-311; Dryden 2006:116). From this usage we can assume that the church at Philippi was spiritually in a good condition. Besides this, we find that Polycarp used antithesis, which often appeared in hortatory works for effective persuasion (e.g. 9.2) (Fiore 1986:20-21; Dryden 2006:115). And in this letter there are not only a number of hortatory expressions (e.g. 9.1; 10.1; cf. 5.1), but also special verbal forms for exhortation, such as the imperative (2.1; 4.1; 10.1, 2, 3) and hortatory subjunctive (4.1; 6.3; 7.2; 8.1, 2). Employment of the

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[334] Here it is also remarkable that Polycarp repeatedly recalls the memory of Paul to the believers of the church at Philippi (12.3; cf. 3.2; 9.1). Doubtless these reminiscences from Polycarp functioned as the "reminding" device for authoritative grounds of obedience.

hortatory subjunctive is especially likely to be Polycarp's strategy to induce the recipients to obedience to his exhortations. All these things indicate that *To the Philippians* is a hortatory letter for pastoral care.

Finally, we find the blessing of the pastor Polycarp for his recipients who were united in faith, and for the outsiders (12.2), through which he exhorted the recipients to pray for others (12.3).

d) Barnabas: *The Epistle of Barnabas* (*Barn.*)[335]

(1) General Information

The Epistle of Barnabas was traditionally ascribed to Paul's companion Barnabas, but lately this opinion is no longer accepted (cf. Paget 2006:442). Nevertheless, scholars agree that this whole letter was composed by a single person, an anonymous teacher of a church (Holmes 2007:373; cf. Treat 1991:612). For the sake of convenience will I call the teacher Barnabas below, as it was in the traditional title, i.e. Ἐπιστολὴ Βαρνάβα. The recipients are unknown, but they must have been those to whom this Barnabas had previously ministered (1.4; *prescript*), or had at least been in the position of a leader (6.5, 9, 10b; 9.7; 13.1; 14.4; 16.1; 17.1). Regarding the date and the place of origin of the composition, scholars generally agree that it was composed in Alexandria of Egypt between 70 and 135 C.E., i.e. after the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem and before the construction of the new Roman temple in its place in the reign of Hadrian around 135 C.E. (Ehrman 2003b:6-8 [LCL]; Holmes 2007:373).

(2) Structural and Formal Features

The Epistle of Barnabas seems to follow the threefold structure of the common type of Hellenistic letter, i.e. the opening (1.1-8),[336] body (2.1-21.4)[337] and the closing (21.5-21.9).[338] However, the

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[335] Both the Greek text and English translation used here are from Ehrman, LCL, unless otherwise indicated.

prescript (1.1) appears strange at the first glance, because its form is different from the normal greeting. Thus this letter opens with Χαίρετε, υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντος ἡμᾶς, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ("Greetings, sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord who loved us, in peace"). However, it is a simple variant form of the common prescript that often appeared around the second century C.E. There is thus no reason to classify it as an exception (cf. Origen, *Ep. Greg.* 1, *lines* 1-2).[339] In its subscript a blessing replaced the final greeting, as often happened in Christian letters (21.9). Finally, *Barn.* 1.2-4, that expresses the author's joy because of the good deeds of the recipients, seems to function as *captatio benevolentiae* (cf. Paget 1994:45), which was used to draw attention to the words (Aune 2003:89).

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[336] The opening consists of the following three sections: 1.1 (*prescript*), 1.2-4 (*captatio benevolentiae*) and 1.5-8 (aim of letter writing).

[337] The body consists of the following three sections: 2.1-17.2 (interpretation of the OT), 18.1-20.2 (Two Ways), and 21.1-4 (summary of the entire body).

[338] The closing consists of the following three sections: 21.5 (blessing), 21.6-9a (final exhortations and words) and 21.9b (subscript).

[339] According to Exler (1923:67-68), this variant form of the prescript was distributed throughout familiar letters during the first three centuries C.E., i.e. the construction of χαῖρε and χαίροις. The details of this variant form of the prescript is as follows: (a) "the imperative form of χαίρειν + the vocative of the recipient + the preposition ἀπό or παρά + the genitive of the author" (e.g. PBM 3.899: Χαῖρε τέκνον Ἄρειε ἀπὸ Ἑρμαίου πατρός; P.Oxy. 8.1156: Χαῖρε κύριέ μου Ἀντᾶ παρὰ Ἀνουβίωνος) or (b) "the imperative form of χαίρειν + the vocative of the recipient + the nominative of the author + [the pronominal accusative of the recipient] + [ἐπ]ασπάζομαι/προσαγορυέω" (e.g. BGU 3.821: Χαῖρε κύριε μου πάτερ Ἡραίσκος σε ἀσπάζομαι; P.Oxy. 14.1667: Χαῖρε Ἀπίων τιμιώτατε Δωρῶν σε προσαγορέω) or (c) simply "the imperative form of χαίρειν + the vocative of the recipient" (e.g. P.Rein. 48: Χαῖρε κύριέ μου Σαραπόδωρε; P.Fay. 129: Χαῖρε κύριε τιμιώτατε; P.Oxy. 14.1675: Χαῖρε Ἰσχυρίων) (Exler 1923:35; cf. Llewelyn 1998b:122-128). Especially P.Fay. 129 (Χαῖρε κύριε τιμιώτατε) provides a very similar example of the third category in the prescript of the *Epistle of Barnabas* in terms that offer the vocative of the designation of the recipient, not of the proper name, though the latter was modified with Christian phrases. Cf. Exler 1923:68: "No explanation is vouched for this form. Only we must bear in mind that, while certain formulas are customary in private correspondence, none are obligatory, and a writer was at liberty to choose a less formal mode of address."

(3) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

The motivation for Barnabas' letter composition is not clearly mentioned. But he seemed to write this letter because within the community where the author had worked in the past (1.4 [ἐν ὑμῖν λαλήσας]; Prostmeier 1999:143), there were those who had a leaning towards Jewish traditions or teachings, especially as regards the salvation issue (3.6; 4.6b; 9.6; 12.10) (Ehrman 2003b:8-9 [LCL]; cf. Paget 2006:444). *Barn.* 4:6b implies that the recipients showed signs of being drawn to Jewish interpretations. Thus it reads as follows: [Π]ροσέχειν νῦν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ μὴ ὁμοιοῦσθαί τισιν ἐπισωρεύοντας ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν λέγοντας, ὅτι ἡ διαθήκη ἐκείνων καὶ ἡμῶν ("Watch yourselves now and do not become like some people by piling up your sins, saying that the covenant is both theirs and ours"). From this passage we can infer that Barnabas was concerned with two different groups, i.e. those who suggested a Jewish interpretation of the Christian faith "saying that the covenant is both theirs and ours," and those who should have minded the author's commands (προσέχειν νῦν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ μὴ ὁμοιοῦσθαί). In particular since the covenant was understood to be the core of the salvation doctrine, the former group's position about the covenant was enough to threaten their identity as Christians (Holmes 2007:370). For example, concerning the problem of salvation that is considered to be totally related with the covenant with God, the supporters of a Jewish interpretation of the Christian faith seemed to insist that circumcision had an effect on the problem of salvation. Thus they said, "Yet surely the people [sc. the Jews] have been circumcised as a seal [*of the covenant*]" (9.6a). Their insistence that the Jews must be circumcised as a seal of God's covenant with them, could indicate that the Jews, not only the Christians, also are the heirs of God's covenant, and so are saved. If that were so, there would be no reason to reject the Jewish tradition in Christian faith. Barnabas rejected this understanding and tried to provide a correct interpretation in relation to this issue based on Christian faith. Thus, talking about Abraham, who was the first man to perform circumcision, Barnabas added that even Abraham was circumcised as if looking ahead to Jesus in the Spirit. And in order to support this explanation, Barnabas allegorically interpreted the verse, "Abraham circumcised eighteen and three hundred men from his household" (Gen 14:14, 17) According to him, the fact that Abraham first mentioned "eighteen" and then "three hundred" was important because this unusual order of the numeral could

imply something special. Barnabas' explanation was that the number "eighteen" indicates Jesus, because this numeral consists of "ten," i.e. iota (I), and "eight," i.e. eta (H), in Greek letter values and so becomes IH, i.e. the abbreviation of Ἰησοῦς. And the number "three hundred" indicates the cross, i.e. tau (T), in Greek letter values (9.7-8). Thus, through numerology, an interpretation of Scripture which assumes that numbers are important for theological understanding (Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:25), Barnabas explained that Abraham, who is the ancestor of the Jews, was saved through faith or the expectation of Jesus, not through a physical performance, i.e. the circumcision of the covenant. With this Christocentric interpretation Barnabas tried to correct those who tended towards a Jewish tradition that wrongly interpreted Scripture (Tugwell 1989:24, 27). The supporters of a Jewish interpretation of the Christian faith should know that Jesus gave the covenant to "us," i.e. Christians, "the people of the inheritance, by enduring suffering for us" (αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν, εἰς λαὸν κληρονομίας, δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνας) (14.4) (Jefford 2005:88; cf. Treat 1992:613; Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:24-25). On this point I agree with Prostmeier's understanding of the aim of this letter, "der auf der Grundlage autoritativer Zeugnisse (Schrift) und maßgeblicher Tradition die christliche Identität seiner Leser sichern will" (Prostmeier 1999:89). Furthermore, judging from this exposition, it seems that among the community of the recipients, to which the author had once belonged, there appeared to be either a schism or a rejection of "traditional" teachings (cf. 1.5). This group was the target of Barnabas' pastoral care. His assertion in *Barn.* 7.1, "it is ours" (ἡμῶν), also seems to reflect such a situation which the recipients were facing. In other words, there was strife within the congregation of recipients (Prostmeier 1999:87). If this is the case, we can assume that in such a situation the spiritual leader of this Christian community must have felt necessitated to send his pastoral letter in order to handle this pending question urgently (4.9).

At the beginning of his letter (1.5) Barnabas clearly expressed the aim of his letter, i.e. to deliver perfect knowledge in order to encourage the recipients' faith (ἵνα μετὰ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν τελείαν ἔχητε τὴν γνῶσιν) (Treat 1992:613). And in terms of perfect knowledge (ἡ τελεία γνῶσις), Barnabas discussed both the correct interpretation of the OT (e.g. 2.1-17.2), and the traditionally accepted teachings of early Christianity, i.e. the Two Ways (e.g. 19.1-20.2) (Reventlow 2009:120; cf.

Ehrman 2003b:3-5 [LCL]). He also handled the issue of a Christian *modus vivendi* worthy of God (e.g. 4.11; 19.1-21.1; cf. 6.15) (cf. Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:20-21). In doing all these things Barnabas must have tried to do his best. Thus he confessed not only that "I am writing to you in simple terms, that you may understand" (ἁπλούστερον ὑμῖν γράφω, ἵνα συνιῆτε [6.5]), but also that "[n]o one has learned a more reliable lesson from me. But I know that you are worthy" (οὐδεὶς γνησιώτερον ἔμαθεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ λόγον· ἀλλὰ οἶδα, ὅτι ἄξιοί ἐστε ὑμεῖς [9.9]). In other words, Barnabas gladly exercised his pastoral care in order that his recipients might experience real joy by possessing perfect knowledge even in their perplexing circumstances (ἐγὼ . . . ὑποδείξω ὀλίγα, δι' ὧν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν εὐφρανθήσεσθε ["But I will show [[you]] a few things . . . in which you shall rejoice at this present time"] [1.8; Lake, LCL] and διὸ μᾶλλον ἐσπούδασα γράψαι ἀφ' ὧν ἠδυνήθην εἰς τὸ εὐφρᾶναι ὑμᾶς ["Therefore I have been all the more eager to write what I could, to make you glad"] [21.9]).

And in order to achieve the above-mentioned aim, Barnabas used diverse strategies and literary devices. Firstly, faced with those who had a different understanding of the gospel, Barnabas tried not only to adapt himself to the recipients, but also to create a favourable mood for correctional exhortation. Barnabas called his recipients with "relationship-oriented" designations. Since antiquity "relationship-oriented" designations have been considered to function in exhorting situations to make the audience or recipient more receptive to what the speaker or author says and to improve the relationship between the speaker or author and the audience or recipient (Fiore 1986:17). In the *Epistle of Barnabas* such was the case. Thus Barnabas not only addressed his recipients as ἀδελφοί ("brothers" [2.10; 3.6; 4.14; 5.5; 6.10]), υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες ("sons and daughters" [1.1]) and τέκνα ("children" [15.4]), but also described them with convictive expressions such as τέκνα εὐφροσύνης ("children of gladness" [7.1]), τέκνα ἀγάπης ("children of love" [9.7]) and ἀγάπης τέκνα καὶ εἰρήνης ("children of love and peace" [21.9]). These designations must doubtlessly have created a friendly atmosphere in which the recipients might readily understand and accept Barnabas' words that were difficult and onerous in both content and length. And we can find that for persuasion Barnabas adopted a modest attitude toward the recipients (Tugwell 1989: 22; Treat 1992:612; Holmes 2007:372-373). It can be seen as a form of adaptation that was often

employed by the ancient moral philosopher and teacher to effectively persuade his audience and disciple (cf. Glad 1995; 2003:18-19; Malherbe 2005:790). Thus, for example, in this advisory situation, Barnabas repeatedly used the phrase οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἀλλά . . . (1.8; 4.9; cf. 4.6). These devices must have helped to create friendly attitudes in pastoral care (cf. Prostmeier 1999:145).

Secondly, for his corrective pastoral care, Barnabas appealed to external authority. Actually, such an appeal was preferred by ancient moral philosophers and orators, because this authority was often considered to verify their words (Fiore 1986:18; Gordley 2007:250). Thus we find that Barnabas depended much on Scripture, including a few writings that are today classified as apocrypha (2.5, 7, 8, 10; 3.1-2, 3-5; 4.4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 14; 5.2, 4, 5, 13, 14; 6.1-2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 12, 16, 18; 7.3, 6, 7; 9.1, 5; 10:10; 11.2-3, 6-7, 9-10; 12:1 [cf. *4 Ezra* 4:33; 5:5], 10; 13:4; 14:7, 9; 15:3, 8; 16:3; cf. 4.3 [cf. "just as Enoch says"]; 5:12; 7:8; 9:2, 3, 8; 10.1, 2, 4, 6, 11; 11:4, 5; 12:4, 6, 7, 9, 11; 13.2, 5, 7; 14.2, 3, 8; 15.1, 2, 4, 5 [cf. *1 En.* 89:56]; 16.2, 6),[340] an early Christian tradition, i.e. the teaching of Two Ways (18.1-20.2), and a few statements that are now unknown but in a kind of relationship with Scripture (6:13; 7:4, 9; 10:5, 7). And Barnabas used an example for argument (9:6). But one thing special about using these sources is that, in order to guide his recipients to the correct way of faith, Barnabas continually tried to annotate them and to provide correct (viz. traditional) interpretations of them (4.6-7 [συνιέναι οὖν ὀφείλετε]; 5.5 [μάθετε]; 7.9 [τί οὖν τοῦτό ἐστιν; προσέχετε]; 9.7 [μάθετε οὖν, τέκνα ἀγάπης, περὶ πάντων πλουσίως]; 15.4 [προσέχετε, τέκνα, τί λέγει τὸ συνετέλεσεν ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις. τοῦτο λέγει . . .]) (cf. Prostmeier 1999:99-100).[341] Barnabas depended on divine authority in addition to literary sources, as his contemporary speakers and authors sometimes did (cf. Malherbe 1986:36; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 32.12; Epictetus, *Diatr.*

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[340] According to Jefford, Harder and Amezaga (1996:26-28), Barnabas might have used *testimonia*, i.e. "short documents extracted from Hebrew or Greek scriptures, which contained many scriptural citations that often were associated with a common theme," and interpreted them midrashly or allegorically. However, it is still unknown whether or not Barnabas used the NT as we have it today (Paget 2005:229-249 [249]).

[341] Köster (1980:714-715) also judged Barnabas to have employed allegorical interpretations of the OT.

3.22.38-49). Thus he not only expressed the concept of God's initiative (e.g. 10.12), but also introduced the Christocentric concept (e.g. 2.6; 4.8; 5.1; 7.2-3, 7; 9.8; 11.11; 12.7; 14.4-5; 15.9) as either the key to correct understanding of the OT (2.6; 4.8; 7.7; 9.8; cf. 15.9), or as a basis for salvation or restoration (5.1; 7.2-3; 11.11; 12.7; 14.4-5) (cf. Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:20, 23; Reventlow 2009:126). The basis for this approach was Barnabas' presupposition that the OT was the prophecy about Jesus Christ (5.6; 6.7; 7.1; cf. 1.7). His Christocentric concept was acting from this presupposition (Reventlow 2009:121).

Besides these things, we can find that Barnabas used the list of virtues and vices (2.2) and the Two Ways teaching (18.1-20.2). Firstly, the list of virtues and vices was considered to convey "the code of conduct" or conventions "of the period" (Fitzgerald 1992:857). Thus the employment of this list meant that the speaker or author intended to make his audience or recipient conform to a society or group that the speaker or author agreed with (cf. Fiore 1986:17). This function was also fulfilled with the Two Ways teaching, which had a long history with Jewish origins (Suggs 1972:64; Holmes 2007:335, 371),[342] and was found in Jewish literature (e.g. 1QS, 3.13-4.26; *T. Ash.*) as well as Christian literature (e.g. *Did.* 1.1-6.2; *Didasc.* 1-6; *Canones ecclesiastici apostolorum* [*CEA*] *Const. App.* 4-15*; Doctrina Patrum*) (Suggs 1972:67-72; Treat 1992:612; Prostmeier 2000a:90; Holmes 2007:335-336). With this teaching the speaker or author intended that his audience or reader should make a good choice in problematic situations, and as a result become a good member of a society or group (Suggs 1972:73, 74). In the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the Two Ways teaching functioned not only to intensify the teachings of *Barn.* 2.1-17.2 (Jefford, Harder and Amezaga

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[342] Suggs recognises that Prodicus' Fable in Xenophon, *Mem.* 2.1. shows an interesting parallel with Two Ways teaching. But he does not accept this fable as an ancestor or a source of Two Ways teaching, because Prodicus' Fable satisfies the following three generic features that Suggs suggests: "sharply dualistic introduction," "lists of 'virtues' and 'vices'" and "concluding eschatological admonition" (Suggs 1972:64). Suggs (1972:63-64) says that "a metaphor of contrast" is not sufficient to include some text in the genre of the Two Ways teaching.

1996:20, 28), but also to define the identity of the recipients (Suggs 1972:71).[343] Especially in terms of sound knowledge, the virtues that are suggested in one of the two lists were considered to be a prerequisite for the correct understanding of Scripture (2.3) (cf. Reventlow 2009:125).

Finally, we can find other hortatory features in this letter. Above all, this letter contains a number of hortatory expressions (e.g. 2.9, 10; 4.1, 6; 5.3; 6.18; 7.6; 13.3; 18.1; 21.2, 4, 7) and specific verbal forms, such as the imperative (4.6, 10, 14; 5.6; 6.9; 7.1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, [10]; 8.2; 9.7; 10.10, 11, 12; 11.8; 12.10, 11; 13.2, 3, 6; 14.4; 15.7, 8; 16.2, 6, 7, 8; 21.2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9), the hortatory subjunctive (4.1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14; 11.1; 13.1; 14.1; 18.1) and the future indicative for a command (10.3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; 19.2-12). The appearance of these features indicates that this is a pastoral letter to care for those in need of guidance. This is emphasised by the fact that Barnabas did not forget praying for his recipients and blessing them (21.5; cf. 21.9). This shows the role of Barnabas as pastor, which is distinct from that of the contemporary moral philosopher.

e) Ptolemy the Gnostic: *Ptolemy's Epistle to Flora (Ep. ad Floram)*[344]

(1) General Information

Ptolemy the Gnostic (flourished ca. 140 C.E.), a student of Valentinus, acted as a teacher of the Valentinian school and an exegete in Rome around the second century C.E. (Layton 1987:307; cf. Bruce 1992:343; Pearson 1997:111). He wrote a number of works, but we only have two writings, i.e. a Valentinian philosophical myth preserved in Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.1-9) and *the Epistle to Flora* preserved in Epiphanius of Salamis (*Haer.* 33.3.1-33.7.10) (Löhr 2000:509; Moore and Turner 2010:190; cf. Quasten 1950:261). Although Ptolemy was condemned as a heretic by orthodox

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[343] Holmes (2007:335) describes the function of Two Ways teaching in *Did.* 1.1-6.2 "as a summary of basic instruction about the Christian life to be taught to those who were preparing for baptism and church membership."

[344] The Greek text used here is from Quispel 1966 (TLG. Ptolemaeus Gnost., *Epistula ad Floram.* {1641.001}), and the English translation from Layton (1987), unless otherwise indicated.

Christian leaders, the letters is surely worthy of being dealt with here, because it can throw light on a facet of pastoral care in one early Christian group (cf. Löhr 1997:699; Markschies 2003:1819). About the recipient, Flora, nothing is known except her name and identity as Ptolemy's pupil and a member of the Valentinian school. Anyway, Ptolemy sent this letter to his pupil, Flora, because she was exposed to the risk of misunderstanding Moses' law. The date and the place are not certain. On the basis of the personal history of Ptolemy, we can only say that this letter was composed in Rome at around the middle of the second century C.E. (cf. Layton 1987:307).

(2) Structural and Formal Features

Ptolemy's *Epistle to Flora* does not show any epistolary features except its title (viz. *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΦΛΩΡΑΝ*). The main part of this letter (3.1-7.10) is well-arranged, and is divided into the following four sections: the problem statement and the purpose of composition (3.1-7), on the nature of the law (4.1-7.1),[345] on the giver of the law (7.2-8) and Ptolemy's final words to Flora with an announcement of the next lesson (7.9-10) (cf. Löhr 1997:699).

(3) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

The purpose of the letter was not clearly expressed. However, from its content we can easily enough infer why Ptolemy composed this letter. In this letter Ptolemy was worried about a situation that his pupil Flora faced. According to the beginning of his letter (3.1), Ptolemy mentioned that misunderstanding of "the law established by Moses" ([τ]ὸν διὰ Μωσέως τεθέντα νόμον) was widespread. There seemed to be those who said that Moses' law came from God the father (ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός) and those who said that it came from the adversary, the pernicious devil (ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου φθοροποιοῦ διαβόλου) (3.2). According to Ptolemy both are wrong, because the

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[345] This section is again divided into three subsections: 4.1-14 (three divisions of the law: God's laws, Moses' laws and the elders' laws), 5.1-6.6 (three subdivisions of God's law: pure but imperfect laws, laws interwoven with injustice and symbolic laws) and 7.1 (summary).

former does not consider that the giver of the law and the given law should be of the same character, but the law is imperfect, in contrast to the perfect God (3.4), while the latter ignores teachings of Jesus and John the apostle, that a house or city cannot stand divided against itself (Matt 12:25), and all things were made though him and nothing was made without him (John 1:1) (3.5-6). Thus in the view of the spiritual teacher, such wrong understanding of Moses' law not only utterly missed "the truth" (3.3; 3.7; cf. 3.4-6), but also seemed to be able to make his pupil Flora uncertain about both her knowledge and her faith. Thus we can easily assume that, in this distressing situation, the spiritual teacher must have felt the necessity to guide his pupil with exact and correct explanations of Moses' law (cf. Löhr 1997:699; Pearson 1997:111-113; McHugh 1998:965).[346] So we find in *Ep. ad Floram* 3.8 what Ptolemy did in consequence:

Περιλείπεται δὲ ἡμῖν ἀξιωθεῖσί γε τῆς ἀμφοτέρων τούτων <γνώσεως> ἐκφῆναί σοι καὶ ἀκριβῶσαι αὐτόν τε τὸν νόμον, ποταπός τις εἴη, καὶ τὸν ὑφ' οὗ τέθειται, τὸν νομοθέτην, <τῶν> ῥηθησομένων ἡμῖν τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν λόγων παριστῶντες, δι' ὧν μόνον ἔστιν ἀπταίστως ἐπὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τῶν ὄντων ὁδηγεῖσθαι.

It remains for us, who have been deemed worthy of <acquaintance> with both, to show you (sing.) exactly what sort of law the law is, and which legislator established it. We shall offer proofs of what we say by drawing from our savior's words, by which alone it is possible to reach a certain apprehension of the reality of the matter without stumbling.

According to this passage (viz. 3.8), he tried to show the nature of the law in the OT, and who established it, in order to help his pupil obtain correct and sound knowledge. And, after having

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[346] The following expressions show the above-mentioned characteristic of this letter: [Π]εριλείπεται δὲ ἡμῖν . . . ἐκφῆναί σοι . . . ("[I]it remains for us . . . to show you . . .") and <τῶν> ῥηθησομένων ἡμῖν τὰς ἀποδείξεις . . . παριστῶντες . . . ("we shall offer proofs of what we say . . .") (3.8); πῶς . . . μάθοις δ' ἂν ἤδη ("you will now learn how . . .") (4.3); μαθήσῃ γάρ, θεοῦ διδόντος, ἑξῆς . . . ("for, God permitting, you will next learn about . . .") (7.9).

expounded on this theme (4.1-7.8),[347] Ptolemy tried to evaluate his teaching. From the words of the evaluation we also find the fact that Ptolemy composed his letter for Flora's spiritual benefit. Thus *Ep. ad Floram* 7.10 reads as follows:

> Ταῦτά σοι, ὦ ἀδελφή μου Φλώρα, δι' ὀλίγων εἰρημένα οὐκ ἠτόνησα . . . ἃ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἑξῆς τὰ μέγιστά σοι συμβαλεῖται, ἐάν γε ὡς καλὴ γῆ καὶ ἀγαθὴ γονίμων σπερμάτων τυχοῦσα τὸν δι' αὐτῶν καρπὸν ἀναδείξῃς.
>
> I have not failed, my sister Flora, to state these matters to you briefly . . . In the future these teachings will be of the greatest help to you - at least if, like good rich soil that has received fertile seeds, you bear fruit.

On the basis of both passages mentioned above, we can conclude that the purpose of this letter was to let the student obtain sound knowledge under the teacher's guidance through his explanation or exposition concerning the correct understanding of the "[t]he law established by Moses" against the wrong one.[348] And Ptolemy wanted his pupil Flora to "learn" what she had to know (cf. 4.1: πρῶτον οὖν μαθητέον . . . ["first you must learn that . . ."]). In this sense this is a pastoral letter that contains strong didactic features (Brakke 2010:116-117).[349]

In order to help Flora's understanding, Ptolemy the Gnostic used a few persuasive devices. Firstly, in the opening and the closing of his letter, he addressed Flora with the "relationship-oriented" designation, ἀδελφή μου ("my sister" [3.1; 7.10]). This kind of designation was often

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[347] In the middle and at the end of this letter, we find some expressions where the author asserted what he had tried to do: *Ep. ad Floram* 7.1 (αὐτάρκως οἶμαί σοι δεδεῖχθαι ["I think I have shown you as well as possible"]) and 7.2 (ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο ἡγοῦμαί σοι δεδεῖχθαι ἐπὶ τῶν προειρημένων ["But this too I believe I have demonstrated to you in what I have already said"]).

[348] In relation to this fact, Markschies' words are worth to being quoted (2003:1819): "Der Lehrbrief an die Matrone Flora is klar an der antiken Gattung der 'dihaeretischen Eisagoge' orientiert."

[349] However, Brakke differs from me at the point that he considers Flora to be a non-Gnostic Christian.

employed to arrest the attention of the audience or recipient (Fiore 1986:17). Furthermore, to this designation he added the proper name Φλώρα. This combination of the designation and the proper name must have created a friendlier atmosphere, and so prepared Flora to take note of his words.

Secondly, in this letter Ptolemy not only used Scripture (3.5; 4.4, 11-12, 13; 5.6, 7, 15; 6.1, 2, 3, 6), pagan literature, i.e. Plato's *Timaeus* (3.2), and biblical examples for argument (3.6; 7.5, 6), but also expounded on Scripture (4.6-4.10). Especially the exposition in *Ep. ad Floram* 4.6-4.10 reflected that Ptolemy was a qualified teacher, who could expound the theme from the sources themselves. This fact is supported by the words that Ptolemy used in his exposition of Scripture. Thus in the *lines* 3-4 in 4.6 we find two important verbal expressions, ἐξετάζω ("scrutinize") and εὑρίσκω ("find") in relation to the understanding of Moses' law (ἐὰν μέντοι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μωυσέως γνώμην, καθ' ἣν τοῦτο ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἐξετάσωμεν, εὑρεθήσεται . . . ["Yet if we also scrutinize Moses' intentions with which he ordained this commandment, we find . . . "]). According to Louw-Nida (s.v. ἐξετάζω), this verb, ἐξετάζω, especially indicates the activity "to engage in a careful search in order to acquire information, though primarily by inquiry." And the word, εὑρίσκω, which appears here paired with the verb, ἐξετάζω, commonly means "to learn something previously not known" (Louw-Nida, s.v. εὑρίσκω). Considering the meanings and functions of verbs that Ptolemy employed in his exposition, Ptolemy's quality as a teacher cannot be doubted. However, what Ptolemy considered to be the most important in his teaching, was Jesus' interpretation of the law in the OT. In fact, Ptolemy offered his Christocentric concept as the key to understand Moses' laws correctly. Thus in *Ep. ad Floram* 3.8 he said, "We shall offer proofs of what we say by drawing from our savior's words, by which alone it is possible to reach a certain apprehension of the reality of the matter without stumbling" (cf. 3.5; 4.1; 7.9). In this sense Löhr's words (1997:700) are right: "Die Lehr Christi offenbart und definiert die Güte des obersten Gottes. Daraus resultiert dann die differenzierte Bewertung des alttestamentlichen Gesetzes." This emphasis of Ptolemy on Jesus' interpretation implies that Ptolemy tried to depend on Jesus' authority, i.e. the divine one.

Finally, apart from the matters mentioned above, in this letter we find only a few exhortations to "learn" carefully (4.1, 3; 7.9). Other rhetorical devices are rarely found.

f) Origen: *A Letter from Origen to Gregory* (*Ep. Greg.*)[350]

(1) General Information

Origen (ca. 185-254 C.E.), a disciple of Clement of Alexandria (ca. 190-202 C.E.), was not only the third principal of the Catechetical School of Alexandria that was founded by Pantaenus (died ca. 190 C.E.), but also one of the greatest theologians in the history of Christianity (Bass 2009:42; cf. Vogt 2000:444). At first he stayed in Alexandria, but was later forced to leave and moved to Palestine, where he founded another school at Caesarea. There were ceaseless controversies about Origen's thoughts in early Christianity, which continued up to the second synod of Constantinople (553 C.E.), so that Origen was finally condemned as a heretic at that synod (Williams 2004b:139-140; cf. Greer 1979:28-34; Vogt 2000:450). Nevertheless, nobody can deny Origen's influence upon the formation of early Christian theology (Williams 2004b:132; cf. Küng 1994:41-67).[351] This Origen composed numerous works in his life, but most of them were destroyed after his condemnation (cf. Zelzer 1997:340; Vogt 2000:444-447). Among his letters only two letters have been preserved in *Philoc.* 13, and *A Letter from Origen to Gregory.* is one of these two letters. The recipient of the latter letter is traditionally considered to be his former student, Gregory Thaumaturgus (Trigg 2008:285; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.30.1).[352] This Gregory later became the

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[350] The Greek text used here is from Koetschau 1894 (TLG. Origenes Theol., *Epistula ad Gregorium Thaumaturgum.* {2042.033}), and the English translation from *ANF* 4, unless otherwise indicated.

[351] For example, the areas of Origen's influence on later Christian theology were his suggestion of the concept of the eternal generation of the Son from the Father, the doctrine of three hypostases as the basis of the Trinitarian credal formula of the Council of Nicaea and the one of Constantinople, the concept of the reflection on the Holy Spirit, the treatment of free will and the theory of different senses of the Scriptures (Prinzivalli 2010:290, 297).

[352] Nautin (1977) disagrees with this traditional consensus of the recipient of this letter. Instead, pointing out the insufficiency of Eusebius' proof in identifying the recipient as Gregory Thaumaturgus (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.30), he suggests that the Gregory, recipient of this letter, can be another Gregory, probably one among Origen's disciples. Nautin (1977:161; cf. 156-157) says, "[N]ous n'avons aucune prevue, et Eusèbe apparemment non plus, que Grégoire le Thaumaturge, qui fut évêque en Cappadoce, ait été élevé en Palestine, ni qu'il ait fait des études de droit et de philosophie à Alexandrie. Nous ne pouvons donc pas retenir l'identification d'Eusèbe entre le Grégoire de la letter et

bishop of Neo-Caesarea between 238 and 243 C.E. (Quasten 1953:73; Williams 1995:406). In terms of the date and the place, we can suggest that this letter was composed at Caesarea between 233 and 237 C.E., because Origen founded a school at Caesarea after 232 C.E. after he had arrived in Palestine, and Gregory and his brother, Athenodore, spent five years as disciples of Origen (cf. Schneider 2000:269). Then in 238 C.E. Gregory became a bishop, but the content of *A Letter from Origen to Gregory* is not suitable for an advanced student (e.g. a bishop), but for a beginner in either the Christian faith or theological study.

(2) Structural and Formal Features

A Letter from Origen to Gregory consists of the threefold structure of the Hellenistic letter, i.e. the opening (1, *lines* 1-8a),[353] the body (1, *line* 8b-4, *line* 18a)[354] and the closing (4, *lines* 18b-21). However, the prescript (1, *lines* 1-2) itself shows a variant form that was often used around the second century C.E. (Exler 1923:67-68). Thus we can see χαῖρε ἐν θεῷ, κύριέ μου σπουδαιότατε καὶ αἰδεσιμώτατε υἱὲ Γρηγόριε, παρὰ Ὠριγένος (cf. the *prescript* [viz. 1.1] of the *Epistle of Barnabas*), and at the closing (4, *lines* 18-21) a wishing/blessing substituted for the normal closing greeting.

(3) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

Although the purpose of this letter was not clearly expressed anywhere, we can easily infer why Origen composed this letter. It was to urge his disciple Gregory to focus on studying Scripture, rather than on worldly knowledge or wisdom. Of course, we know that Origen did not deny some benefit from worldly knowledge in serving God (1, *lines* 8-17; cf. *Ep. Greg.* 1 and 2). Thus Origen

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Grégoire le Thaumaturge comme un fait d'histoire." However, just pointing out a lack of clear evidence is not enough to change the consensus about the recipient of *A Letter from Origen to Gregory*.

[353] The opening consists of the following two sections: 1, *lines* 1-2 (*prescript*); and 1, *lines* 3-8a (*captatio benevolentiae*).

[354] The body consists of the following three sections: 1, *lines* 8b-17 (statement of theme: *Sola Scriptura*); 2, *line* 1-3, *line* 23 (benefit and risk of studying worldly knowledge/wisdom); and 4, *lines* 1-18a (appeal to *Sola Scriptura*).

recommended him to use philosophy in useful ways (Nautin 1977:155-156).[355] However, though worldly knowledge, i.e. philosophy, would bring benefit to understanding Scripture, Origen earnestly wanted Gregory to apply himself mainly to the study of Scripture, because of possible risk from worldly knowledge (cf. 3, *lines* 5-10). In other words, in Origen's view studying worldly knowledge or wisdom was not recommended for the service of God (3, *lines* 20-23). Thus at the end of his letter Origen exhorted his disciple to read Scripture, to apply himself lest he may either think or say anything too rash about Scripture, to study the things of God and to pray for successful study and application (4, *lines* 1-7, 8-12, 15-16) (cf. Quasten 1953:73). In doing so Origen, acting not simply as teacher, but as spiritual father to Gregory (ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῆς πρός σε ἐμοῦ πατρικῆς ἀγάπης τετόλμηται [4, *lines* 15-16]), tried to guide his disciple into the right way, i.e. to make him more focused on both studying Scripture (αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί) and applying himself to the "things of God" (τὰ θεῖα) (4, *lines* 1-7, 8-12). On the basis of these facts, Origen sent this letter to his disciple with a pastoral purpose, i.e. in order to guide his disciple to the right way in Christ.

Gregory was not a beginner in Christian faith, nor uneducated. He was actually an educated person. He was a Roman lawyer and a Greek philosopher (1, *lines* 6-8), and later became the bishop of Neo-Caesarea. Thus Origen's approach to him was strategic. Firstly, Origen tried to create a favourable atmosphere for persuasion. Above all, this was achieved by approval of Gregory's past life. Origen praised Gregory's worldly achievements. Furthermore, he tried to explain through the allegorical interpretation how Gregory's past life could be accepted in Christianity just as Egyptian gold and other things that had been brought by the Israelites during the Exodus were later used for the service of God (*Ep. Greg.* 1 and 2), before he began to reveal his real intention in *Ep. Greg.* 3 and 4. This passage, written in the *epideictic* style, functioning as the *captatio benevolentiae*, must have created a positive atmosphere for persuasion (cf. Aune 2003:89). Besides this, Origen also

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[355] See especially 1, *lines* 8-10: [᾽Α]λλ᾽ ἐγὼ τῇ πάσῃ τῆς εὐφυΐας δυνάμει σου ἐβουλόμην καταχρήσασθαί σε τελικῶς μὲν εἰς χριστιανισμόν ("However, I often wished that you would use out all your natural strength for the Christian life") (my translation).

used some "relationship-oriented" designations, which were often employed to arrest attention (Fiore 1986:17). Thus Origen, who harboured "fatherly love" (πατρικῆς ἀγάπης) towards Gregory (4, *lines* 15-16), addressed Gregory with κύριέ μου σπουδαιότατε καὶ αἰδεσιμώτατε υἱέ ("my most excellent sir, and venerable son" [1, *lines* 1-2]) and κύριε υἱέ ("my son" [4, *line* 1]). Especially the expression, "fatherly love," not only forms a pair with the designation, "son," but from this spiritual relationship Origen's exhortation also becomes justified. In fact, such a familial relationship between the teacher and the student was a prerequisite in psychagogy in antiquity (cf. Perdue 1990:15).

Secondly, the dependence on external authority for persuasion was very common in a hortatory situation. The external authority may refer to both authoritative sources and divine beings. All this added authority to the speaker's or author's words (Fiore 1986:18; Gordley 2007:250). The appeal to the former is shown in Origen's use of both a number of passages from Scripture (3, *lines* 19-20; 4, *lines* 7-8, 12-15, 19-21) and a biblical example for argument (3, *lines* 10-20). And the appeal to divine beings is the application of his Christocentric concept (4, *lines* 7, 11-12). For instance, before giving a real exhortation to Gregory about the Christian's attitude towards worldly knowledge (3, *lines* 5-10, 20-26), Origen thus recalled a biblical figure, Ader the Idumaean. In fact, in a previous passage Origen had agreed that worldly knowledge could sometimes be useful in the service of God (viz. *Ep. Greg.* 1 and 2). However, with the example of Ader, who at first was not a idolater before his exile to Egypt, but led God's people into idolatry after having returned from Egypt, Origen declared that those who had already tasted God's words, should not turn to worldly knowledge even for a good purpose because, in light of this proof, this often brought more harm than benefit (3, *lines* 10-20). Thus recalling the Ader case, Origen pointed to the present situation that his disciple Gregory faced. Origen thought that there were those who produced heretical teaching and understanding regarding both Christian churches and theology based on worldly knowledge . They were called brothers of Ader the Idumaean by Origen (3, *lines* 20-26). In the view of Origen, if Gregory kept focusing on worldly knowledge, he also might be considered one of Ader's brothers. Thus, in a subsequent paragraph (viz. *Ep. Greg.* 4), Origen exhorted Gregory to focus only on the study of Scripture and its application. Origen probably had had a similar

experience, because he offered his advice on the basis of his own experience (τῇ πείρᾳ μαθών), which probably arose from his life in Alexandria (3, *lines* 20-21; cf. Nautin 1977:157). Along with the use of authoritative sources, the mention of such an experience must have given impact to his teachings, because experience was considered to be one of the important qualifications of a good philosopher or teacher (cf. Stowers 1986:108, 144).

Thirdly, for effective pastoral care he also employed other rhetorical devices. Among them we may mention the use of the appeal to the knowledge of the recipient (1, *line* 3). This device was often employed to create a strong relationship between the speaker or author and the audience or recipient (Fiore 1986:18). And in this letter we find Origen's emphasis on the *modus vivendi* according to Christian teachings (1, *lines* 8-10; cf. 1, *lines* 10-14). Especially in relation with the *modus vivendi* of Christians, Origen commanded Gregory to pursue union with God and Jesus (4, *lines* 18-21). For such a life, as well as for a right attitude towards worldly knowledge, Origen used various exhortations in the form of the imperative (4, *lines* 1, 2, 8-9, 10-12), the hortatory subjective (4, *lines* 4-6) and the optative (4, *lines* 18-19).

Finally, the author's well-wishing or blessing for the recipient is found at the end of the letter (4, *lines* 18-21). This was typical of Christian pastoral letters.

g) Cyprian: *Cyprian to all the People, Greeting (Ep.* 43)[356]

(1) General Information

Cyprian (ca. 200-258 C.E.) was "the highly articulate, well-educated, propertied son of a well-to-do Carthaginian family" and a trained rhetorician before converting to Christianity around the mid-240s C.E. (Rankin 2006:73). But after conversion he became the bishop of Carthage around 249 C.E. and a devoted teacher of Christians (cf. Donna 1964:ix). During his episcopate (249-258 C.E.)

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[356] The Latin text used here is from Diercks 1994, and the English translation from Donna 1964, unless otherwise indicated.

Cyprian experienced exile during the period 249-252 C.E. in the reign of the emperor Decius, and still in exile, Cyprian sent many letters to the believers of his diocese in order to minister to them (Donna 1964:xi; Rankin 2006:73). *Ep.* 43 is one of these letters that was composed in 251 C.E. In this letter Cyprian especially tried to combat the threat of false leaders within his church. They seemed to be following Felicissimus, who tried to handle the problem of the reconciliation between the lapsed and the church. At the same time Cyprian also tried to exhort his believers to avoid these false leaders and to remain steadfast in their faith (Donna 1964:xv). This letter was composed at an unknown place in North Africa in 251 C.E.

(2) Structural and Formal Features

Cyprian's *To all the People, Greeting* consists of the threefold structure of a Hellenistic letter, i.e. the opening (*prescript* and 1.1-2),[357] the body (2.1-6.3)[358] and the closing (7.1-2).[359] One characteristic of this letter is that Cyprian used a common and simple greeting without Christianisation in the prescript. Thus in this letter we see *Cyprianus Plebi universae S* [*alutem*].[360] This is different from that of common Christian letters. And the subscript of Cyprian's letter starts with *opto te, frater carissime, semper bene valere*, which Donna (1964:xxiv-xxv) called "the formula of the complementary close," expanded and Christianised. Thus *Ep.* 43 closes with the subscript of *Opto vos, fratres carissimi, semper bene valere et circa domini misericordiam exorandam continuis nobiscum precibus insistere* ("I trust that you, dearly beloved Brethren, are

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[357] The opening consists of the following two sections: prescript (salutation) and 1.1-2 (motive and situation of composition).

[358] The body consists of the following two sections: 2.1-2 (summary of the false leaders' conspiracy) and 3.1-6.3 (various exhortations related to the false leaders' deeds and teachings).

[359] The closing consists of the following two sections: 7.1-2, *line* 159 (final exhortation and warning) and 7.2 (subscript).

[360] Cf. Epicurus, *Ep. Men.*: Ἐπίκουρος Μενοικεῖ χαίρειν; Seneca, *Ep.* 89: *Seneca Lucilio suo salutem*; Cicero, *Att.* 1.1: *Cicero Attico sal.* However, Bailey (1980:12) suggests the possibility of the spuriousness of the usual prescript of *Att.* (viz. *Cicero Attico sal.*) because Cicero did not address Atticus by Atticus' cognomen in the body of a letter until 50 B.C.E. Atticus' full name was Titus (*praenomen*) Pomponius (*nomen*) Atticus (*cognomen*).

always well and persist in imploring the mercy of the Lord in constant prayers with us") (7.2, *lines* 159-161). Although this formula is common in the subscript of Cyprian, it is still distinct from the subscript of other Christian letters. In this sense we can say that the prescript and the subscript of this letter and most of his letters differ from those of the letters in the NT and other Christian letters.

(3) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

During Cyprian's exile his faithful fellow ministers such as Virtius, Rogatian, Numidicus and others were guiding the believers of his church competently (1.1, *lines* 7-10a). Nevertheless, in this situation, where Cyprian was physically separated from his believers (1.1, *lines* 10b-11), as a true spiritual shepherd he suffered much in his mind, because he could not personally guide his sheep with his own words (6.3, *lines* 133b-134a). This pastoral state of mind is clearly revealed in Cyprian's outcry in *Ep.* 43, 4.1, *lines* 60-63a, where he exclaimed how great his sufferings were because of his separation from his believers. So he wrote there as follows:

> *Quas nunc poenas patior, fratres carissimi, quod ipse ad vos in praesentiarum venire non possum, ipse singulos adgrendi, ipse vos secundum domini et evangelii eius magisterium cohortari.*
>
> What sufferings do I now endure, dearly beloved Brethren, because I myself cannot come to you for the present, because I myself cannot approach each of you, because I myself cannot encourage you according to the teaching of the Lord and of His Gospel.

However, this yearning for his believers was not the basic reason for his letter. According to the letter, Cyprian was forced to send it because his believers were being threatened by a few presbyters within the church (*quinque isti presbyteri*) (3.1, *line* 42), who were identified as false leaders, supporting the party of Felicissimus. The latter tried to handle the problem of the reconciliation of the lapsed members to the church without any discussion with the bishop and other prelates of the area (2.1, *lines* 24-25a; 3.2, *lines* 45-47a; cf. 7.2, *lines* 155b-158a). Cyprian probably had a bad relationship with these presbyters, i.e. false leaders, from the beginning of his episcopate. The delay

of his return from exile before Easter Day was also caused by these persons (2.2, *lines* 12b-18). These presbyters tried to manage the problem of the restoration of the lapsed members arbitrarily in order to get their support, and in the process they ignored what the council, the bishop and the church had decided (2.1-2; 5.1, *lines* 87-89). These actions were similar to those of Felicissimus and Augendus, whom Cyprian mentioned in his other letter (*Ep.* 41). Cyprian's fundamental attitude concerning the problem of the restoration of the lapsed members was that no decision could just be made before his return from exile, but consultation with the senior ministers of the area to which the people belonged was also unconditionally requested, except for a few urgent situations, such as risk of death (Donna 1964:xii). Thus in Cyprian's view the action of those presbyters was a conspiracy and an attempt to destroy the church (cf. Clarke 1989:211). In this sense it was both "another persecution" and "another temptation" (*persecutio . . . alia et alia temptatio*) of the church and something harmful to her, i.e. "a new tradition of sacrilegious institution" (*nova traditio sacrilegae institutionis*) against "evangelical discipline" (*evangelica disciplina*) (3.1, 2). All these problems were dealt with in his pastoral care.

In this serious situation Cyprian exercised his pastoral care for his believers. Firstly, in doing so Cyprian used a two-pronged approach to the community, which at that time consisted of a mixture of the faithful and the unfaithful. Thus Cyprian cared for the faithful by encouraging them to stand firm on what they had learned and possessed on the one hand, and by exposing the reality of the unfaithful on the other hand (cf. Donna 1964:xv). In the first section of his instructions (3.1, *lines* 39-41a) Cyprian ordered his believers to pay heed to "the attack of the devil" (*vigilate contra insidias diaboli*) and to guard themselves "against the deadly deceit" and worry about their own "salvation" (*pro vestra salute solliciti contra mortiferam fallaciam diligentius excubate*) (cf. 6.3, *lines* 134b-138a).[361] In the middle of his letter he also commanded them to "withdraw far from" the

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[361] The apex of their deceit was narrated by Cyprian as follows (5.1, *lines* 87b-89): *Pacem nunc offerunt qui ipsi non habent pacem, in ecclesiam lapsos reducere et revocare promittunt qui de ecclesia recesserunt* ("They who themselves

false leaders' "contagion" (*procul ab huiusmodi hominum contagione discendite*) and to "avoid" their teachings "as cancer and pestilence" (*sermones eorum velut cancer et pestem fugiendo vitate*) (5.2, *lines* 94b-96a). Cyprian's identification of the unfaithful presbyters as "the devil," the deceiver, a contagious disease and a harmful teacher explains why Cyprian gave his believers such strict exhortations throughout this letter (e.g. 4.3; 5.4; 6.1, 3; 7.1), which reached its peak in his final threatening words of eternal excommunication if there was no penitence, i.e. turning from the party of Felicissimus and his follows to Cyprian (7.2, *lines* 155-159a). This kind of severity towards the unfaithful party and the appeal to unite with the sound party through repentance, is one of the features of pastoral letters in a situation where a church was exposed to a schism by a heretical threat (cf. *1 Clem.* 57.1-2; Ign. *Phld.* 8.2; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.43.2). Such an appeal to restoration was also emphasised both with the exhortation to mutual prayer (6.2-3; cf. 7.2, *lines* 155-159) and with the motif of "one" (5.2, *lines* 89-92a). On the other hand, Cyprian called for his believers to stay on his side (6.2, *line* 128-2, *line* 133a). For such an exhortation Cyprian consistently maintained a mild attitude towards the faithful, different from his harsh attitude towards the unfaithful, i.e. his opponents. Thus Cyprian always addressed the faithful with heartfelt designations, such as *fratres carissimi* or *fratres dilectissimi* ("dearly beloved Brethren" [1.1, 2; 4.1, 3; 7.1, 2]) and *fratres* ("Brethren" [3.1; 5.4]). In a letter dealing with such a serious problem, these "relationship-oriented" designations must have helped the believers to remain faithful and listen to the author's exhortations (cf. Fiore 1986:17). Besides this, his yearning toward his faithful believers also functioned to deepen the relationship between the absent author and the recipients (4.1; cf. 4.2). In fact, these things were likely to operate as a most powerful persuasive tool.

Secondly, the use of external authority for persuasion, such as authoritative sources and divine beings, certainly helped the recipients to accept and understand their pastor's exhortations, and to make the correct decision to be loyal to a life of faith based on the increased authority of

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do not have peace, now offer peace. Those who withdrew from the church, promise to lead back and recall the lapsed into the church") (my translation).

Cyprian (cf. Fiore 1986:18; Gordley 2007:250). Thus for his argument against his opponents Cyprian quoted Scripture (5.1, *lines* 84-87, 2, *lines* 97-98, 102-104; 6.1, *lines* 12-13, 2, *lines* 121-126; 7.1, *lines* 147-149; cf. 4.3, *lines* 79-83). Furthermore, Cyprian called upon the authority of divine beings. So he said that God would punish the unfaithful and heretical persons by his own providence (*de dei providentia*), though Cyprian himself did not wish to (1.3). In this belief Cyprian could not only overcome his own animosity towards his opponents, but also make the faithful more sure of their choice. Cyprian also called on the authority of Christ. Thus we find various uses of the Christocentric concept in this letter (e.g. 4.1; 5.4, *lines* 104-105a, 105b; cf. 7.2, *lines* 158-159). For example, in *Ep.* 43.4.1, *lines* 62-63, Cyprian stated that his instructions were based both on the teachings of Jesus and the gospel (*ipse vos secundum domini et evangelii eius magisterium cohortari*). And in *Ep.* 43.5.4, Cyprian emphasised that for Christians the relationship with Jesus and his gospel was decisive. In order to keep up this relationship, the believers had to be on Cyprian's side (cf. 5.1-2; 6.1-7.1).

Finally, Cyprian employed other rhetorical devices for effective pastoral care. Thus Cyprian used antithesis (e.g. 4.3, *lines* 77a-79a), which is often found in a paraenetic situation (Fiore 1986:20-21; Dryden 2006:115), and metaphor (6.2, *lines* 130a-131, 3, *lines* 133b-134a). Throughout the letter there are some hortatory expressions (1.1, *lines* 8, 9, 10, 11; 3.2, *lines* 51, 57; 4.1, *lines* 61-62, 3, *line* 75; 6.2, *lines* 7, 8) and specific verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative (3.1, *lines* 39, 41; 5.2, *lines* 95- 96; 6.2, *line* 27, 3, *lines* 132-134) and the hortatory subjunctive (4.3, *line* 79; 5.4; 6.1; 7.2, *line* 158).

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h) Athanasius: *Second Letter to Monks (Ep. mon. 2)*[362]

(1) General Information

Athanasius (ca. 296-373 C.E.) was the bishop of Alexandria and spent his whole life defending the Nicene faith against Arianism (Williams 2004a:163). During his episcopate he had to experience exile five times for his faith (Altaner 1958:241). Around the early fourth century there arose a serious theological debate within the Christian circles of Alexandria. This debate, called the Arian Controversy, was started by Arius, an Alexandrian presbyter (ca. 280-336 C.E.), and his supporters. Arius and his supporters emphasised the uniqueness of God in dealing with the problem of the Trinity. Especially on the basis of Prov 8:22, Arius insisted that Christ was distinct from God, because Christ was created and not eternal. Of course, Arius also emphasised the fact that, though Christ was created and not eternal, he was not only made from nothing, according to God's will, but also before all time or creation of the world. Thus, according to Arius, though Christ was a creature, he is both the mediator and the redeemer of the world (Brennecke 1999:121; McGrath 2009:143-145; cf. Williams 2004a:158-163). In short, Arius insisted that "the one who had come to us in Jesus Christ was not truly God, but a lesser being, a creature" (González 1984:175). However, this kind of subordination of Christ could not be accepted by orthodox churches that had agreed that the Son's deity was equal to that of God the Father. Besides this, especially in terms of the problem of salvation, if Jesus Christ was a creature as Arius insisted, he would not be able to save mankind (McGrath 2009:146-147). From this perspective "the very core of the Christian message was at stake" because of Arius' teachings (González 1984:175; cf. González 2010:187). In this controversy Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria, acted as the greatest defender of the orthodox faith, whose creed had already been confirmed at the council of Nicaea in 325 C.E. (later-called the creed of Nicaea) (González 2005:16-17; 2010:191; cf. Quasten 1960:20). This not only proclaimed the

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[362] The Greek text used here is from *PG* 26 (TLG. Athanasius Theol., *Epistula ad monachos (Migne).* {2035.055}), and the English translation from *NPNF*[2] 4, unless indicated otherwise.

equality of the Son with the Father in terms of substance, while rejecting Arius' subordination of the Son (Weaver 2008:462), but also pronounced anathema against Arianism.[363] Athanasius, who kept to this position, sent a letter (viz. *Ep. mon. 2*) to the monks about a year before 359 C.E. The reason was that these monks showed a sympathetic attitude towards the Arians, and worshipped together with them at the same venue. With this letter Athanasius tried to warn them of their wrong behaviour and to lead them to the right path. This letter seems to have been sent from Alexandria to a monastery somewhere in Egypt.

(2) Structural and Formal Features

Athanasius' *Second Letter to Monks* seems to follow the Pauline letter tradition, which can be recognised by the occurrence of the thanksgiving section. However, this letter lacks the subscript, and so only contains the opening (*prescript* and *lines* 1-3a)[364] and the body (*lines* 3b-31).[365] This judgment is based on the paragraph starting with εὐχαριστῶ (*lines* 1-3). In this sense this letter is slightly different from most contemporary Christian letters that very often follow the common Hellenistic tradition in structure. However, as opposed to many of those in the NT, the εὐχαριστῶ-section of this letter seems to function simply as *captatio benevolentiae*.

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[363] Cf. Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.9.45 (cf. 1.9.30): [Τ]οὺς δὲ λέγοντας [sc. the Arians] "ἦν [sc. Jesus] ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν" καὶ "πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν" καὶ "ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο" ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι ἢ κτιστὸν ἢ τρεπτὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ ἁγία τοῦ θεοῦ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία ("But those who say 'There was a time when he was not,' or 'He did not exist before he was begotten' or 'He was made of nothing,' or assert that ' He is of other substance or essence than the Father,' or that the Son of God is created, or mutable, or susceptible of change, the [[holy]] Catholic and apostolic Church of God anathematizes") (*NPNF*[2] 2).

[364] The opening consists of the following two sections: prescript (salutation) and *lines* 1-3a (thanksgiving or *captatio benevolentiae*).

[365] The body consists of the two subsections i.e. *lines* 3b-23a (command to the recipients, i.e. the monks) and *lines* 23b-31 (instructions for the preservation of the community: a rule for membership).

(3) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

During this complex controversial period some time before 359 C.E., Athanasius sent a letter, i.e. *Ep. mon. 2,* to certain monks who had shown a sympathetic attitude towards Arians by accepting them into their monasteries and worshipping together with them (*lines* 3-9; cf. *lines* 23-28), so that Athanasius might warn these monks against Arianism. This situation was reported to Athanasius by "certain most sincere brethren" (τινῶν εἰλικρινεστάτων ἀδελφῶν) and so, according to Athanasius, he was urged by them to compose this pastoral letter to the monks (*lines* 9-13):

['Α]ναγκαίως, παρακελευόντων τινῶν εἰλικρινεστάων ἀδελφῶν, πρὸς ὑμᾶς γράφειν ἐσπούδασα, ἵνα τὴν εὐσεβῆ πίστιν, ἣν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάρις ἐν ὑμῖν ἐργάζεται, ἀκεραίως καὶ ἀδόλως φυλάττοντες, οὐ μὴ πρόφασιν δῶτε σκανδάλου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.

I [sc. Athanasius] have been compelled, at the instance of certain most sincere brethren, to write at once in order that keeping faithfully and without guile the pious faith which God's grace works in you, you may not give occasion of scandal to the brethren.

According to this paragraph, Athanasius wanted his recipients to avoid causing a scandal (πρόφασις σκανδάλου) before their fellow Christians by keeping faithful to God. This aim of Athanasius is again expressed in *lines* 13-17, where he emphasised that, because the behaviour of the leading person could influence his followers, they should take care how they behave.

In this situation Athanasius exhorted the recipients to be careful of their behaviour so that such a scandal might not arise (ἵν' οὖν μὴ τοῦτο γένηται) (*lines* 17-18). For this purpose Athanasius gave various instructions of how they, as the leading Christians, should act as a model of sound faith to their fellow Christians (*lines* 17-31). In order to persuade his recipients Athanasius used some persuasive devices. Firstly, Athanasius tried to create friendly atmosphere. This fact is confirmed by Athanasius' words as follows: "I have dictated a short letter, as from one loving friend

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to others, in confidence" (*breviter, tanquam diligens ad diligentes, dictavi confidens*) at almost the end of the letter.[366] Furthermore, Athanasius not only addressed his recipients with a few "relationship-oriented" designations, such as ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ποθεινότατοι ἀδελφοί ("beloved and most longed for brethren" [*prescript*; my translation]) and ἀγαπητοί ("beloved" [*line* 18]), but also used a cordial expression of οἱ ἐν Χριστῷ πιστοί ("the faithful in Christ" [*line* 14; cf. *lines* 1-3]). These expressions must have functioned to strengthen the relationship between the author and the recipients, as well as to draw the recipients' attention to the author's exhortations (cf. Fiore 1986:17). Besides these, we can find a thanksgiving almost at the beginning of the letter. The thanksgiving often functioned as a device "to gain the audience's favor" (Klauck 2006:92; cf. Aune 2003:89).[367]

Secondly, in this letter we rarely find the appeal to external authority. Surely Athanasius could have done so, but he did not, because he had confidence that his recipients would judge this problem correctly.[368] One quotation (viz. 2 John 10) in this letter is found in a Latin translation (viz. *Vetus Interpretatio*), *lines* 15-16. With this Athanasius tried to provide a basis for his exhortation to reconciliation to those who kept to the right doctrine, opposed to Arius' teachings. Because the

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[366] The Latin translation (viz. *Vetus Interpretatio*), *line* 22. On the basis of this Latin translation we know that the Greek text of *Ep. mon. 2* is imperfect (*NPNF*[2] 4:564, n. 1). *NPNF*[2] 4 provides a translation including a translation of this Latin text.

[367] For example, according to Aune (1987:211), the thanksgiving-section of Philemon (vv. 4-7) serves the double function of an introduction to "the main themes" and "a *captatio benevolentiae* (an exordium securing the goodwill of the recipient)." "By praising Philemon, he [sc. Paul] establishes mutual goodwill and stresses qualities to which he can subsequently appeal (e.g. love, which refreshes the hearts of the saints)." On the function of the thanksgiving of Philemon, O'Brien (1977:58-60), who partitioned off its thanksgiving into vv. 4-6, suggests its more expanded functions, except for an introduction of the main themes (viz. "the *epistolary purpose*" in terms of O'Brien), that is, the "*didactic*" function, "*pastoral*" function and "*paraenetic*" function.

[368] The Latin translation (viz. *Vetus Interpretatio*), *line* 19-21: *Possibile quidem erat mihi etiam per multa extendere epistolam, apponenti ex Scripturis divinis formam eiusmodi doctrinae; sed prudentes exsistentes praevenitis eos qui scribunt, et magis abstinentiae intenti idonei estis, et alios docere* ("I might greatly lengthen my letter, adding from the divine Scriptures the outline of this teaching. But since, being wise men, you can anticipate those who write, and rather, being intent upon self-denial, are fit to instruct others also").

reacceptance of the heretic or lapsed one was not only an important matter in Christianity, but the monks were also a little independent from the influence of the bishop of the see to which they belonged, in this matter Athanasius partly felt it necessary to depend on Scripture as the ancient authors often did (cf. Fiore 1986:18; Gordley 2007:250). Besides this, Athanasius also appealed to divine authority, i.e. God and Jesus, though it was indirectly expressed, as the ancient authors sometimes did (cf. Malherbe 1986:36). Thus in his main exhortation that the leading Christians (viz. his recipients) should be concerned with their follow Christians in their faith, Athanasius called upon the faith that was provided from God (e.g. *lines* 11-12 [ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ χάρις ἐν ὑμῖν]; cf. *prescript*) and Christ that warrants their faith (e.g. *lines* 13-17 [ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐν Χριστῷ πιστούς]; cf. *prescript*; *lines* 1-2). In this letter particularly, the Christocentric concept functions especially as the principle of correct Christian life.

Finally, we can find other rhetorical devices. For the unity of the community, Athanasius positively encouraged mutual support (*lines* 11-13, 13-18, 28-31) in relation to those who were still holding to Arianism (cf. *lines* 3-9). And throughout the letter the imperative of verbs which were used for exhorting recipients, is used (*lines* 18, 25, 26, 27).

i) Gregory of Nazianzus: *To Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople* (*Ep.* 202)[369]

(1) General Information

Gregory of Nazianzus (329/330-390 C.E.), the bishop of Nazianzus, is well-known as one of three Cappadocian theologians together with Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa (González 2010:209). Gregory of Nazianzus made a great contribution towards defending the faith of Nicaea and to dealing with the theme of the Trinity (González 2010:216-217; cf. McGuckin 2010:488-497). In his status as archbishop of Constantinople Gregory presided over the First Council of Constantinople in

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[369] The Greek text used here is from Gallay 1974 (TLG. Gregorius Nazianzenus Theol., *Epistulae theologicae*. {2022.002}), and the English translation from *NPNF*[2] 7, unless indicted otherwise.

381 C.E., but immediately handed over the throne to Nectarius. After having given up the bishop's throne, Gregory maintained his duties as bishop of Nazianzus for two years but retired to his estate until his death in 390 C.E. (Hamman 1993:81-82; McGuckin 2010:482, 487-488). Gregory sent *Ep.* 202 to his successor Nectarius (Daley 2006:243, n. 718). This Nectarius, a former *praetor*, was appointed as the next bishop of Constantinople in his old age (πολιὸν ὀντα [lit. "being gray"]) (Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 7.8.7; cf. Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 7.7, 8; Rebenich 2002:23). At the time when Gregory composed this letter, the church was exposed to the danger of Apollinarians' heretical teachings on Christology (7)[370]. Proclaiming "the ontological unity of God-man," they taught that "it was God who was crucified by the Jews," that on the cross "God himself died, even if God, as God, cannot suffer" (Uthemann 2007:469). This theory resulted from Apollinarius' peculiar Christology. Apollinarius believed that as an earthly being "the flesh and the godhead" of Jesus "were fused into one single nature, one life, one *hypostasis.*" In this process "the godhead," i.e. the *logos,* actually replaced "the human soul or mind" of the human Jesus. Naturally, in the view of Apollinarius, the divine part of Jesus, i.e. the *logos,* would be "the only animating spirit of the incarnate Christ's being" (Spence 2008:40). However, his denial of the existence of "a human understanding, and thus a human soul" in Jesus Christ was considered a serious threat that was breaking down the sound faith (Uthemann 2007:471). "If Christ did not have a human mind or soul it was difficult to conceive how he could be human at all. It meant that in the incarnation the Word had assumed an incomplete human nature to himself. But if this is the case, the question was asked: how can we be saved?" (Spence 2008:40; cf. Bowden 2005b:222). As a result Apollinarius' theory "encountered resistance in East and West alike and was condemned as heresy" (Uthemann 2007:471). His Christology was opposed not only by Gregory of Nazianzus, but also by other

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[370] Cf. *Ep.* 202, 3: [Ὧ]ν [sc. τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν πάθη] εἰ μὴ γένοιτό τις ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ σπουδὴ πρὸς διόρθωσιν, εἰς παντελῆ ἀνελπιστίαν κατὰ μικρὸν προελεύσεται ("[F]or if at the present crisis some pains [sc. the common sufferings of the Churches] be not taken to find a remedy for them, things will gradually get into an altogether desperate condition").

Christian leaders at the Council of Alexandria (362 C.E.), at a synod in Rome (377 C.E.) and at the First Council of Constantinople (381 C.E.) (Spence 2008:41). And finally, in 388 C.E., an imperial decree that condemned Apollinarian and other heresies was issued in the names of Gratian, the emperor of the Western Empire (375-382 C.E.), Valentinian II, the emperor of the Western Empire (375-392 C.E.), and Theodosius I, the emperor of the Eastern Empire (379-395 C.E.). The decree proclaimed as follows (*Cod. theod.* 14.5.14):

> We command that the Apollinarians and all other followers of diverse heresies shall be prohibited from all places, from the walls of the cities, from the congregation of honourable men, from the communion of the saints. They shall not have the right to ordain clerics, they shall forfeit the privilege of assembling congregations either in public or private churches. No authority shall be granted to them for creating bishops; moreover, persons so appointed shall be deprived of the name of bishop and shall forfeit the appellation of this dignity (Stevenson and Frend's translation [1991:119]).

However, from what can be inferred from *Ep.* 202, Nectarius, the presiding bishop of Constantinople, seemed to either not recognise the danger of the heretical teachings and practices of this party, or to be afraid of taking immediate action against it, and so Gregory wrote this letter. Thus *Ep.* 202 was probably composed immediately after the decree was issued in 388 C.E., when Gregory had already retired from his duties as bishop and lived at Anianzum (cf. *PG* 37:329-330).

(2) Structural and Formal Features

According to Daley (2006:173), Gregory very often follows "the classical epistolary form." However, this letter does not preserve the prescript or the subscript. Instead of the prescript it

presents a "title," i.e. Πρὸς Νεκτάριον ἐπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Thus the structure can be divided into the opening (*title*) and the body (1-22).[371]

(3) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

As mentioned above, though heretics and their teachings, as presented by Apollinarians, were condemned, Nectarius, the new bishop of Constantinople, did not ban their service in his diocese. Thus in *Ep.* 202, 7 Gregory complained of this remiss attitude of Nectarius (cf. 18-19):

> Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν φορητά· τὸ δὲ πάντων χαλεπώτατον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς συμφοραῖς, ἡ τῶν Ἀπολλιναριστῶν ἐστι παρρησία, *οἶς οὐκ οἶδα πῶς παρεῖδέ σου ἡ ὁσιότης* πορισαμένους ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ συνάγειν ὁμοτίμως ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαν.
>
> All this [sc. some heresies that appeared before, such as the teachings of Arius, Eudoxius, Eunomius etc], however, is endurable. The most grievous item of all in the woes of the Church is the boldness of the Apollinarians, *whom your Holiness has overlooked, I know not how*, when providing themselves with authority to hold meetings on an equality with myself (my emphasis).

In Gregory's opinion two opposites, i.e. orthodox and heretical teachings on Christology, could not be compatible (δύο γὰρ ἐναντίους λόγους περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράγματος ἀληθεῖς εἶναι φύσιν οὐκ ἔχει ["For nature does not admit of two contrary doctrines on the same subject being true"]) (20). However, Nectarius did not take action against this heretical teaching though he belonged to the orthodox party. In this situation Gregory, a retired senior bishop and theologian, must have felt the necessity of sending a letter of advice, which often occurred between friends or colleagues. Thus

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[371] The body consists of the following three sections: 1-6 (on heretical teachings before Apollinarianism), 7-17 (on the risk of Apollinarianism and rebuke against Nectarius' indifference to Apollinarianism) and 18-22 (Gregory's advice to Nectarius about fulfilling his duties as bishop).

Gregory posed a deliberative question to Nectarius in a tone of rebuke: Πῶς οὖν ὑπέμεινέ σου ἡ μεγαλοφυὴς καὶ ὑψηλὴ διάνοια μὴ χρήσασθαι τῇ συνήθει παρρησίᾳ εἰς διόρθωσιν τοῦ τοσούτου κακοῦ; ("How then could your noble and lofty mind submit to suspend your usual courage in regard to the correction of so great an evil?") (21). Throughout this letter Nectarius was requested by his predecessor to exercise his office faithfully, and this request was most vividly expressed in Gregory's final words, that Nectarius should have exhorted the emperor to make the correct judgment on the religious problem (22). On this point we can say that from the literary perspective this letter is on the same level as Pauline letters of 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus, Origen's *A Letter from Origen to Gregory* (*Ep. Greg.*) and Ignatius' *To Polycarp* (Ign. *Pol.*). Among these Gregory's letter is closer to the last letter (i.e. Ignatius' *To Polycarp*) than to the first four letters, because Nectarius was not Gregory's personal disciple.

Although in function and content this letter shows a similarity with the above-mentioned letters that were sent to a junior pastor by a senior, in the devices employed this letter is slightly different from them. Thus we find neither a number of literary devices, nor mention of God's initiative, nor the Christocentric concept,[372] nor mutual prayers and exhortations, which very often appear in pastoral letters. This is likely to be because of the epistolary situation. This letter was not only composed to appeal for a reasonable decision on a debatable theological issue, but also sent to a person equal in authority, not to an inferior or a disciple. Nevertheless, we also find that Gregory made an effort to obtain the best result from his letter composition. Firstly, throughout the letter we can find honorific designations to address Nectarius, not the second personal pronoun, i.e. σου ἡ ὁσιότης ("your Holiness" [7]), σου ἡ σεμνοπρέπεια ("your Excellency" [9]) σου ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ εὐδόκιμος φρόνησις ("your Wisdom approved in Christ" [18]), σου ἡ μεγαλοφυὴς καὶ ὑψηλὴ

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[372] Of course, dealing with Apollinarius' heretical teaching on Christology (especially 18-19), Gregory emphasised that the decision of Nectarius could influence both the faith and the life of contemporary Christians. Nevertheless, since this was not related to the execution of pastoral care, such as the correction of and the advice or exhortation for a lifestyle according to God's will, we cannot say that this letter has a pastoral function.

διάνοια ("your noble and lofty mind" [21]) and ἡ ἀμίμητός σου ἐπ᾽ ἀρετῇ τελειότης ("your inimitable perfection in virtue" [22]). These honorific designations were often employed in Gregory's times between those who were in official positions or relationships, but we cannot doubt that such appellations helped to create a more friendly attitude towards Gregory's advice.

Secondly, Gregory, who recognised the seriousness of Apollinarianism (4-7; González 2005:13), wanted Nectarius to pay attention to its danger, and so Gregory quoted from "a pamphlet" written by Apollinarius (πτυκτίον . . . ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ ᾽Απολλιναρίου [9]) (10-17). By letting Nectarius read Apollinarius' teachings for himself, Gregory wanted Nectarius to realise that his attitude to and his decision about this heresy was important for contemporary Christians (18-19). Thus, with regard to this heresy, Gregory advised Nectarius to fulfill his official duties with the imperative form of a verb (22).

j) Basil the Great: *To the Alexandrians* (*Ep.* 139)[373]

(1) General Information

Basil the Great (ca. 330-379 C.E.), the bishop of Caesarea, was one of the three Cappadocian theologians, together with Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa (González 2010:209). He was not only a church statesman and organiser, but also a great defender of the Nicene faith and a reformer of the liturgy. Furthermore, he was called the father of Eastern monasticism (Quasten 1960:204; Hamman 1993:77, 79, 81; González 2010:211). After having become the bishop of Caesarea (370 C.E.), Basil had an ongoing fight with the Arians (cf. Ayres and Radde-Gallwitz 2010:459-460). When three years had passed after his enthronement as bishop, he faced the situation of having to write a letter to the Christians in Alexandria (ca. 373 C.E.). At that time most of the Christians in Alexandria had been holding to the Nicene faith that was proclaimed at the

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[373] The Greek text used here is from Courtonne 1961 (TLG. Basilius Caesariensis Theol., *Epistulae*. {2040.004}), and the English translation from Way 1951, unless indicated otherwise.

council of Nicea in 325 C.E. and mainly focused on anathematising Arianism (viz. subordinationism of the Son). These Christians were tortured by Valens, the emperor of the Eastern Empire (364-378 C.E.), who supported Arianism for his own political benefit (cf. Roldanus 2006:117) and was later named "a staunch defender of Arianism" (González 2010:207). At the time when this Arian emperor ascended to the throne, the bishop of Alexandria had been Athanasius, "the champion of Nicene orthodoxy" (González 2005:16). However, Athanasius had died in 373 C.E., so these Nicene Christians in Alexandria were now exposed to the attacks of the Arians with the support of the emperor. In this situation Basil, who was particularly interested in advancing the Nicene cause, had to send a letter to the believers in Alexandria (Way 1951:284, n.1; cf. González 2010:213). Of course, we do not know whether or not Basil had been in any direct relationship with these Christians in Alexandria. We just know that Basil once visited Egypt during 355 to 356 C.E. to study monastic life (Ayres and Radde-Gallwitz 2010:459; cf. Hamman 1993:77; González 2010:211). At that time, Basil had probably encountered the recipients. However, we cannot be certain whether or not Basil and his recipients had met one another. Nevertheless, the fact that contemporary Christians considered Basil to be the representative of the Nicene faith, succeeding Athanasius, and Basil's own decision that he should defend the Nicene faith against Arianism on behalf of the church and those who had been holding that faith, can explain the motivation for this letter (Roldanus 2006:118; cf. 1, *lines* 1-3a). Basil had no choice but to send his pastoral letter of encouragement to the Christians who were exposed to the threats from the Arians (3, *lines* 1-10). This letter was composed in Caesarea around 373 C.E.

(2) Structural and Formal Features

Both the prescript and the subscript of *To the Alexandrians* reflect a typical phenomenon of ancient letters that were transmitted in literary form, i.e. the omission or abridgement of both the prescript and the subscript. Thus instead of the prescript, we find a title, Ἀλεξάνδρευσιν, at the beginning of the letter, but no subscript at its end. Nevertheless, we can imagine that in its original form this letter might have had a common letter structure, i.e. the opening (*title*), the body (1, *line* 1-2, *line*

25)[374] and the closing (3, *lines* 1-20).[375] A remarkable feature of this letter is the mention of Basil's deputy, i.e. "our son, Eugenius, the monk" (3, *line* 17).

(3) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

In Basil's view this attack by the Arians was "the artifice of the Devil's warfare" (τὸ ἔντεχνον τοῦ διαβολικοῦ πολέμου), and it proved to be more effective than any persecution by worldly authorities, because it was enacted under "the name of Christians" (1, *lines* 3b-11a). No longer could Christians say that they were persecuted for Jesus Christ or because of him. Now in the name of Jesus many *true* Christians were "tortured and dishonored" and "sent to exile," and their property was "plundered," while the false Christian persecutors were neither "fearing the censure of men" nor "foreseeing the fearful requital of the just Judge" (1, *lines* 11b-21a). Facing this situation even Basil could not react immediately, as he wrote: Ταῦτα ἡμᾶς ἐξέπληξε καὶ μικροῦ ἔξω ἐποίησε τῶν λογισμῶν ("These things have dazed us and almost put us out of our mind") (1, *lines* 21b-22a). However, on reflection (τούτοις τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς) Basil reached the pastoral conclusion that God never gives up on his church and now is not yet the last day (Ἆρα μὴ ἐγκατέλειπεν ἑαυτοῦ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας παντελῶς ὁ Κύριος; Ἆρα μὴ ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστί . . .; ["The Lord has not entirely abandoned His churches, has He? And this is not the last hour . . .?"]) (1, *lines* 21-28). Based on this spiritual awakening, Basil now started encouraging his recipients, who were under severe persecution, to either endure it (εἴτε πρόσκαιρός ἐστιν ὁ πειρασμός, βαστάσατε αὐτὸν οἱ καλοὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀγωνισταί ["if the trial is transitory, bear it, noble champions of Christ"]) or to overcome it together by trusting in heavenly hope (μὴ ἀκηδιάσωμεν πρὸς τὰ παρόντα, ἀλλ' ἀναμείνωμεν τὴν ἐξ οὐρανῶν ἀποκάλυψιν καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

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[374] The body consists of the following two sections: 1, *lines* 1-27 (description about persecution) and 2, *lines* 1-25 (exhortations).

[375] The closing consists of the following two sections: 3, *lines* 1-15a (on the excuse why he did not visit them but sent his letter) and 3, *lines* 15b-20 (on the deputy Eugenius).

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["let us not be careless with regard to the present, but let us await the revelation from heaven and the manifestation of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ"]) (2, *lines* 2b-6a). Basil asked his recipients to depend on God's justice, believing that God allows the persecution that they can bear (2, *lines* 9b-12). Furthermore, the recipients were urged to expect the crown of martyrs (ἀναμένουσιν ὑμᾶς . . . οἱ τῶν μαρτύρων στέφανοι ["the crown of martyrs await you"]) and to become members of the choirs that consist of confessors (ἕτοιμοί εἰσιν οἱ χοροὶ τῶν ὁμολογητῶν προτεῖναι ὑμῖν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ὑποδέξασθαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀριθμόν ["the choirs of confessors are ready to reach out to you their hands and to receive you into their own membership"]) through suffering "for the sake of Christ" (ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ) (2, *lines* 13-25).

In order to encourage and persuade his recipients under persecution, Basil employed various rhetorical devices. Firstly, Basil tried to create a good relationship between him and his recipients. Basil addressed his recipients with either the "relationship-oriented" designation, i.e. ἀδελφοί ("brothers" [2, *line* 13]), or some convictive (or cordial) expressions, such as οἱ καλοὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀγωνισταί ("noble champions of Christ" [2, *line* 2]), οἱ ἀθληταὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ("the athletes of Christ" [3, *lines* 2-3]) and τὰ πρόβατα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ("the sheep of Christ" [3, *lines* 8-9]). In this letter convictive expressions not only augmented friendly feelings, but also functioned to draw the recipients' attention to the author's exhortations (cf. Fiore 1986:17). For example, in 2, *line* 2, where Gregory handled the topic of endurance, he addressed his recipients as "noble champions of Christ," which was a traditional metaphor symbolising victory through endurance and self-restraint. With this designation Gregory stressed that he recognised both the recipients' spiritual status and their quality as Christians. Surely this approval helped to make the recipients receptive to Gregory's words. Besides this, Basil expressed his intention to visit his recipients. Thus he said, "I would have desired nothing more than a meeting with you, so that I might both see and embrace the athletes of Christ and have part in your prayers and spiritual graces" (3, *lines* 1-4). Although the announcement of a visit from the author must partly have played the role of warning the recipients not to be lazy or disobedient (cf. Funk 1967a; 1982b), the yearning expressions of the author must have contributed to increasing the good relationship between the author and the recipients.

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Secondly, sometimes Basil depended on external authority, such as authoritative sources and divine beings, which were often employed to add to the author's authority or validity (cf. Fiore 1986:18; Gordley 2007:250). Thus we can see not only quotations or allusions from Scripture (1, *lines* 26-28; 2, *lines* 9-12, 19-21, 23-25), but also mention of God's providence and initiative (1, *lines* 23-24) and Christocentric concepts (e.g. 2 *lines* 2, 5-6, 22; 3, *lines* 2-3, 8-9). However, as opposed to the sources that appear in polemic letters, these devices were employed as grounds for consolation and exhortation, not for argument or persuasion.

Thirdly, Basil also used other rhetorical devices for effective pastoral care. For example, once he used a model to be considered and so imitated (2, *lines* 16-25). The model to be imitated was often provided to add substance to the author's exhortation (Malherbe 1986:125). Basil here exhorted his recipients, who were under persecution because of their faith, to endure and overcome this, by appealing to them to remember those who had endured persecution. Furthermore, Basil employed a few stylistic devices, such as antithesis (e.g. 2, *lines* 3-4), deliberative questions (e.g. 1, *lines* 23-28) and some metaphoric expressions (e.g. 2, *lines* 2, 13; 3, *lines* 2-3, 6, 8-9). All these devices not only contributed to arresting the attention of the recipients, but also to the understanding of the recipients. Besides these features, we can find here some hortatory expressions (e.g. 3, *lines* 10, 17) and specific verbal forms, such as the imperative (2, *lines* 1-2, 16) and the hortative subjunctive (2, *lines* 3, 4).

Finally, Gregory urged mutual prayer (3, *lines* 17-18), which was customary in Christian pastoral letters.

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k) Gregory of Nyssa: *To the Church at Nicomedia* (*Ep.* 17)[376]

(1) General Information

Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 335/340-394/395 C.E.) was not only the bishop of Nyssa, but also one of the three Cappadocian theologians, together with Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus (Quasten 1960:254; cf. González 2010:209). Gregory of Nyssa was appointed bishop of Nyssa by his brother, Basil the Great, but he seemed not to have performed his duties well (cf. Meredith 2002:4). However, after the death of Basil the Great, Gregory played a key role in defending the Nicene faith against an extreme Arian, Eunomius (Meredith 2002:5; 2010:472). When Gregory sent the letter to the church at Nicomedia (*Ep.* 17), the seat of the bishop of the diocese of Nicomedia had been vacant for a while. In other words, the church had not chosen a new bishop since their bishop Euphrasius had died. In this situation the believers of the church at Nicomedia seemed to entrust Gregory with helping them to appoint a new bishop, because Gregory said that he had got to know about this affair after he had received a letter from them (*Ep.* 17.2). This fact is also confirmed by the contents of this letter. Therefore Gregory not only mentioned both the quality and the qualifications of a candidate for the bishopric throughout the letter, (e.g. *Ep.* 17.5, 9, 13, 16, 28), but also exhorted his recipients to make a decision according to God and the Lord's will, not according to their own preference (e.g. 15, *lines* 8b-10; 29, *lines* 3b-8a). This letter was composed some time after 381 C.E., because the above-mentioned Euphrasius attended the First Council of Constantinople in 381 C.E. as the bishop of Nicomedia (*NPNF*[2] 5:535, n. 8).

(2) Structural and Formal Features

There is a slight problem with the title of *To the Church at Nicomedia*. The Greek prescript, which was translated as *To the Church at Nicomedia* in *NPNF*[2] 5, is Τοῖς ἐν Νικομηδειᾳ πρεσβυτέροις

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[376] The Greek text used here is from Pasquali 1959 (TLG Gregorius Nyssenus Theol., *Epistulae*. {2017.033}), and the English translation from *NPNF*[2] 5, unless indicated otherwise.

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(literally *To the Elders at Nicomedia*). In other words, this letter was sent to the clergy, not the believers, of the church at Nicomedia, though it must doubtless also have been read before the congregation. In this sense the English translation is not problematic. Nevertheless, since the matter of the choice of a new bishop resided with the clergy (viz. the presbyter and the deacon; cf. Ramsey 1997:5), the English title does not reflect the custom of the time when this letter was composed. Anyway, this letter seemed originally to have consisted of a threefold structure, i.e. the opening (*title* and 1),[377] the body (2-28)[378] and the closing (29).[379] However, just as in the letter of Basil analysed above, the prescript was abridged to a title, i.e. Τοῖς ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ πρεσβυτέροις, and the subscript was replaced by a doxology combined with a previous sentence (29, *lines* 9-10).

(3) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

In the process of selecting a new bishop, the believers of the church at Nicomedia decided to ask help from Gregory of Nyssa (2). Replying to this request, Gregory gave his opinion upon the principles they had to keep in mind in the choice of their new bishop (5; 9; 13; 15, *lines* 8b-10; 16; 28; 29, *lines* 3b-8a). However, in the church there were some people who wanted to choose their new bishop from socially acceptable and worldly notable candidates (9; 13, *lines* 1-3a; 18). According to Gregory's analysis (*Ep.* 17.17-18), this idea arose from the feeling that they wanted to choose a person worthy of themselves, who were living in a great city, Nicomedia. In other words, they wanted to find "such a one to preside over the laity, as will prove himself not unworthy of them" (*Ep.* 17.18). However, because this standard of selection was based neither on Scripture, nor on church traditions, Gregory considered this attitude to be "disgraceful" and "utterly monstrous" (*Ep.* 17.19). Thus, while they asked for "high qualifications" (*Ep.* 17.9), this thought was alien to

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[377] The opening consists of the following two sections: *title* and 1 (initial blessing for the recipient's spiritual welfare).

[378] The body consists of the following two sections: 2-3 (excuse for delay of reply and aim of letter) and 4-28 (exhortations about electing a new bishop: 4 [situation of the recipients - need of a new bishop] and 5-28 [qualities and qualifications of a bishop]).

[379] I.e. a final wish or blessing on the selection of a new bishop, combined with a doxology.

Scripture. Opposing this attitude, Gregory instead provided biblical examples that showed what persons were appointed as leaders before God, such as Amos ("a goat-herd"), Peter, his brother Andrew and John ("fishermen"), Paul ("a tentmaker"), Matthew ("a publican") and other apostles. Although their social and worldly status was low, Gregory evaluated them highly by quoting the following verses from the NT (1 Cor 1:26-27): "[Y]et . . . their voice went out into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world" ([K]αὶ . . . εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν) (11, *lines* 8b-10). Furthermore, "all the Church" also disagreed with their principle. Against this thought Gregory emphasised the importance of the selection of a bishop who was great from God's perspective (καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν δὲ ἐκκλησίαν εὕροι τις ἂν τοὺς κατὰ θεὸν μεγάλους τῆς κοσμικῆς περιφανείας προτιμηθέντας ["and in all the church one may see those who are great according to God's standard preferred above worldly magnificence"]) (15, *lines* 8b-10). Thus Gregory exhorted his recipients to pay attention to both the "spiritual qualification" of a candidate, not to a social and worldly one (16), and to his ability to guide the church (21). This exhortation of Gregory was basic. In fact, through his experience he had known the terrible results that the wrong selection of a bishop could cause (cf. 19). Thus Gregory cried (*Ep.* 17.20; cf. 17.27):

[Π]όσα γέγονε δι' ἀπειρίαν τῶν καθηγουμένων αὔτανδρα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἤδη ναυάγια; τί ἂν ἐξαριθμήσαιτο τὰ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κακὰ μὴ ἂν συμβάντα εἴ τις ἦν που ἐν τοῖς καθηγουμένοις κυβερνητικὴ ἐμπειρία;

How many men and all of churches have already become pieces of wreck due to the inexperience of the guiding? Who would count out the obvious ill things that should not have happen if there were anyone who had experience of good sheering skill among the guiding? (my translation).

Therefore, a qualified bishop should be elected, who could manage well both the church and the believers, just as a smith deals with iron with well-skilled hands, and is not one who simply has worldly fame or a social position (21; cf. 26-27). In addition a candidate for a bishopric should be a

person who can be a model to the believers (22-24). In the view of Gregory such a right selection was a way not only to resolve the problem of disorder in the church and her security in future (3-5), but also to recover her ancient glory that seemed to be very important to the believers of the church at Nicomedia (16). This was what Gregory, a spiritual leader, earnestly wished to accomplish for the church at Nicomedia. Although this was a difficult matter in so much that it caused some trouble in the church, Gregory had confidence that it would be rightly resolved if they would depend on God and would walk in "the will of the Lord," not in their own will (29). It is not sure whether through his arbitration Gregory intended to set up a bishop who was following the same theological course as himself, i.e. the Nicene faith. One thing is sure, that such arbitration was often executed at times of theological controversy, such as Gregory's times. For example, a Nicene bishop who was close to a diocese where the chair of the bishop was vacant, used to support a candidate who advocated the Nicene faith. For this purpose a neighbouring bishop sometimes sent a letter to encourage the clergy of the relevant church or other fellow bishops to elect the candidate whom the sender was supporting. From this perspective this letter of Gregory can be considered as one of such letters, because through this letter Gregory tried to influence the decision of the clergy and the believers of the church at Nicomedia in making their choice of a new bishop (28, *lines* 7-13; cf. 9. *lines* 1-4; 16, *lines* 1-3). However, it is still not sure whether Gregory had any specific Nicene candidate in mind. Nevertheless, we cannot completely exclude such a possibility, because to this Cappadocian theologian and pastor any heresy was the most dangerous enemy of the church, and Nicomedia was once a place where Arianism thrived under bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia (died ca. 342 C.E.). However, though we should keep this in mind, we must say that Gregory's primary intention, expressed in the letter itself, was to help the recipients choose a bishop who was acceptable to God, and through such a choice the recipients would have obtained spiritual benefit.

In order to persuade his recipients effectively Gregory employed a number of rhetorical devices. Firstly, Gregory addressed the presbyters and the believers of the church at Nicomedia with the "relationship-oriented" designation, ἀδελφοί ("brethren" [4, *line* 1; 19, *line* 1; 25, *line* 1; 28, *line* 1; cf. 2, *line* 8]). Often such a designation functioned to draw the recipients' attention to the author's words (Fiore 1986:17). Thus, before deliberative questions (4, *line* 1; 25, *line* 1), a negative

statement of warning (19, *line* 1) and an exhortation (28, *line* 1) Gregory addressed his recipients as "brethren," and so he succeeded in getting their attention. Besides these, Gregory used a few honorific titles, such as ὑμετέρα ἀγαθότης ("your Excellency" [2, *line* 8]) and ὑμετέρα εὐλαβεία ("your Piety" [3, *line* 3]). The use of these honorific titles must have been customary at Gregory's times. Nevertheless, they must also have contributed to promote a more friendly relationship between the author and the recipients.

Secondly, for making his exhortation convincing Gregory depended on external authority (cf. Fiore 1986:18; Gordley 2007:250). So Gregory not only quoted from and alluded to Scripture (7, *lines* 1-6; 11, *lines* 1-5; 12, *lines* 1-4; 14, *lines* 1-7; 15, *lines* 1-5; 24, *lines* 8-9; 28, *lines* 7-13; cf. 22, *lines* 1-4), but also tried to persuade his recipients by pointing out the concept of God's initiative, here of the Trinity (1, *lines* 1-9; 29, *lines* 1-3; cf. 3, *line* 7; 6, *line* 3), where the ultimate purpose of God's guidance was expressed (εἰς καταρτισμὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ οἰκοδομὴν τῶν ὑμετέρων ψυχῶν καὶ εἰς προσθήκην τῆς δόξης τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ["for the perfecting of the Church, for the edification of your souls, and to the praise of the glory of His name"]) (1, *lines* 8-9), and for the restoration of the church from disorder (e.g. 8, *lines* 6-8; 29, *lines* 3-8). The use of authoritative sources especially contributed to increasing the validity of Gregory's argument (7, *lines* 1-6; 11, *lines* 1-5; 12, *lines* 1-4; 14, *lines* 1-7; 15, *lines* 1-5; 24, *lines* 8-9; cf. 22, *lines* 1-4), or were used as exhortations from Gregory's own mouth (28, *lines* 7-13).

Thirdly, in discussing the quality of a bishop, which was the main theme of this letter, Gregory cited the virtue list for a bishop (6, *lines* 3-5; 15, *lines* 8-10; cf. 10, *lines* 1-7; 16, *lines* 1-3; 25, *lines* 1-5; 28, *lines* 1-7). In antiquity this list was often considered as that which a group or society strove after and deemed to be worthy in their faith and lifestyle (Fitzgerald 1992:857; cf. Fiore 1986:17). Thus, by offering the list of virtues, Gregory must have tried to reaffirm to his recipients what Christians should pursue and primarily be concerned with. In order to augment his power of persuasion, he used metaphor (4, *lines* 5-9; 5, *lines* 5-7; 19, *line* 1 - 20, *line* 5; 24, *lines* 5-8; 27, *lines* 1-9; 29, *lines* 1-3) and antithesis (e.g. 11, *lines* 5-8; 21, *lines* 1-2; 24, *lines* 5-8). Besides these, we can see some hortatory expressions for advice and exhortation (e.g. 1, *lines* 3, 6-7; 2, *line* 9; 3, *lines* 8-9; 16, *lines* 1-2).

Finally, the pastor's blessings appear both in the beginning and at the end of the letter (1, 29).

l) Ambrose: *Ambrose to his Clergy* (*Ep.* 81)[380]

(1) General Information

Ambrose (ca. 333/334 or 339-397 C.E.) was a former governor of Milan, but was later chosen to be the bishop of the diocese of Milan by the believers, both the orthodox and the Arians (Hamman 1993:93; Ramsay 1997:15-16, 19-21; 2004:225-226; González 2010:219-220). Theologically Ambrose belonged to the Nicene party and actually fought against the Arians. However, he was not a theologian, but a spiritual pastor. Thus he did not leave anti-Arian works like his contemporaries, Athanasius and the three Cappadocian theologians. But because of his episcopate at Milan, the diocese was totally put under the influence of the Nicene faith (cf. Ramsay 2004:232). During his episcopate (373-397 C.E.) he composed numerous letters (cf. Ramsay 1997:64; Von Albrecht 1997:1633), and among them *Ep.* 81 was sent to "certain clergy of Milan who were discouraged over work and difficulties in the ministry" (Beyenka 1967:317, n.1). Around the second century C.E. the clergy was a group that consisted of the three ranks of bishop, presbyter and deacon. Because "[c]haritable activities and the administration of cemeteries burdened the clergy with greater economic responsibilities," since the third century C.E. other additional ranks of clergy had been added, i.e. the "offices of the minor clergy," such as subdeacon, acolyte, exorcist and doorkeeper (McLaughlin 2004:463-464). Within the church they had "an ecclesiastical state, or status, distinguished from that of the laity" (McBrien 1995:232). At the time of Ambrose the main stream of the clergy followed an ascetic lifestyle, and so the living standard of most them was poor. As a result many of the clergy could not avoid a poor quality of life. Of course, not a few of the clergy chose poverty voluntarily, as Ambrose himself did (Ramsay 1997:9). But even in that case, the

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[380] The Latin text used here is from *PL* 16, and the English translation from Beyenka 1967, unless indicated otherwise.

problem of poverty distressed the minds of the clergy. The recipients of *Ep.* 81 were in this situation, and Ambrose sent letters to advise and encourage the clergy in his diocese. The exact date of the composition is unknown.

(2) Structural and Formal Features

Ambrose to his Clergy (*Ep.* 81) follows the threefold structure of the common Hellenistic letter, i.e. the opening (*title*), the body (1-14, *line* 6a)[381] and the closing (14, *lines* 6b-7).[382] However, as in other literary letters the prescript was abridged to a title i.e. *Ambrosius clericis.* The subscript was expanded with a final exhortation related to the theme of this letter, i.e. *Valete, filii, et servite Domino* ("Farewell, sons, and serve the Lord") (14, *line* 6).

(3) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

According to the letter, these members of the clergy seemed to be in trouble because of their financial situation, and this was the cause of temptation for the clergy to give up their duties (2, *lines* 4-7):

> [*Q*]uid mihi prodest in clero manere, subire injurias, labores perpeti, quasi non possit ager meus
>
> me pascere, aut si ager desit, quasi aliter exercere sumptum non queam?
>
> What advantage is there for me to remain among the clergy, bear injuries, and endure hardships,
>
> as if my farm could not support me, or, lacking that, as if I could not get support some other
>
> way?

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[381] The body consists of the following three sections: 1 (motivation of letter-writing: discouragement of the clergy), 2-11 (exposition on Scripture and the author's comments for the rationale of exhortation) and 12-14, *line* 6a (exhortations of Ambrose to the clergy).

[382] I.e. 14, *lines* 6b-7 (subscript combined with final exhortation).

For Ambrose, these thoughts of his clergy were a cause of "great sorrow" (*plenum doloris*), because they evidently derived from Satan's artifice to discourage "those who are dedicated to the service of God" (*qui rei divinae intendunt*) (1, *lines* 1-5) and so to give up their duties (2, *lines* 7-9). In this situation Ambrose must have felt like taking any action in order to care for his clergy. He would have needed to persuade and encourage them, because abandoning heavenly affairs for earthly ones could not have been acceptable. Thus Ambrose replied (12, *lines* 5-8; cf. 12, *lines* 1-5; 13, *lines* 1-7):

> *Quid enim stultius quam, relictis coelestibus, ad terrena intendisse, et posthabitis perpetuis, elegisse ea quae caduca sunt et fragilia?*
>
> What is more foolish than to abandon things of heaven and become engaged in earthly ones, not to esteem those that endure and to choose those which are perishable and frail?

Above all, Ambrose thus tried to explain to his clergy that Satan's plan was to "instill" the above-mentioned thoughts in their mind (2, *lines* 1-4). He must have been convinced that it would be helpful for them to understand why they were in trouble. According to his explanation (13, *lines* 10-12), because Satan was jealous of both their hope and their task, Satan wanted to take their official position in the church from them and to carry them away (*Vult enim auferre eum adversarius, vult te abducere; quia invidet spei tuae, invidet muneri* ["The Devil wishes to take it from you, he wishes to carry you away, for he is jealous of your hope and jealous of your task"]). After this explanation Ambrose encouraged his clergy to stand firm against this temptation of Satan. Explaining more in detail, he suggested to them to keep living as servants of the Lord, because this was an effective way to nullify Satan's plan (*Sub hoc ergo vivamus, ut rex ille senior et stultus, nullam habeat potestatem supra nos* ["Let us live as His subjects so that the old foolish king will have no power over us"]) (12, *lines* 1-2). So after having expounded on Scripture with comments for his rationale of why they should resist Satan's temptation (3-11), in the final words of his letter Ambrose instructed them to "serve the Lord," because they themselves already knew that the Lord would invite his faithful servant(s) to his feast (14).

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These efforts to persuade his recipients were continued with other methods. In other words, Ambrose employed some rhetorical devices. Firstly, we can see that Ambrose addressed his clergy as his "sons" (*filii*) at his final exhortation, not as subordinates or brothers (14, *lines* 6-7). We can imagine that, when the clergy had been called "sons" by their superior, how much more they were encouraged by the designation and focused on his words (cf. Fiore 1986:17).

Secondly, for the preparation of his exhortations (cf. 12-14) Ambrose depended on external authority. In the hortatory situation the appeal to external authority was common (cf. Fiore 1986:18; Gordley 2007:250). Thus he made an effort to expound on Scripture with his comments (3, *lines* 1-3; 4, *lines* 2-3, 5-7, 7-9; 5, *lines* 8-9; 6, *lines* 1-2, 4-7, 10-13, 15-16; 8, *lines* 3-4; 11, *lines* 1-2, 2-4, 4-5, 6-8; 13, *lines* 4, 8-10; 14, *lines* 3-4, 5-6) and used a few examples for his arguments (10, *lines* 1-14; cf. 4, *lines* 1-10). Furthermore, Ambrose tried to persuade his recipients by appealing to Jesus Christ (viz. the Christocentric concept) (3, *lines* 4-6; 4, *lines* 1-3, 9-10; 5, *lines* 1-9; 6, *lines* 14-16; 7, *lines* 1-16; 11, *lines* 1-10; 12, *lines* 1-5; cf. 14, *lines* 6-7). Surely this appeal to the Lord Jesus, the divine being, provided the firmest ground for his exhortations (cf. Malherbe 1986:36; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 32.12; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 3.22.38-49).

Thirdly, besides the above-mentioned features, Ambrose employed other rhetorical devices. For example, he used diatribal styles in mentioning the opponent(s) (viz. *inimicus*, *adversarius* or *diabolus*) and the clergy (2, *lines* 1-7; 13, *lines* 1-10). And in exhorting his recipients, Ambrose used antithesis to emphasise what he wanted to convey, i.e. the qualifications of the bishop (10, *lines* 11-12; 11, *lines* 8-10) (cf. Fiore 1986:20-21). Ambrose exhorted his recipients with special verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative (14, *lines* 2-3, 6), the hortatory subjunctive (12, *line* 1) and the jussive subjunctive (13, *lines* 1, 3, 7-8).[383]

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[383] In Latin the subjunctive form of a verb is sometimes used for a suggestion or exhortation. For negation, the particle *nē* is used. This use of the subjunctive in the first person is called hortatory (viz. the hortatory subjunctive) and used in the second or third person it s called jussive (viz. the jussive subjunctive) (Keller and Russel 2004:131).

Finally, there is the implication of mutual exhortation (10, *lines* 1-3; cf. 3, *lines* 1-3), which often appears in Christian pastoral letters aiming at the unity or solidity of a church.

m) John Chrysostom: *To Olympias* (*Ep. Olymp.* 16)[384]

(1) General Information

John Chrysostom (ca. 347-407 C.E.) was known as one of the four great Fathers of the East, together with Athanasius, Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus (Hall 1998:55). Originally, John Chrysostom pursued a monastic life as a monk, but later became the bishop of Constantinople in 398 C.E. (Hamman 1993:85; Mayer and Allen 2000:6, 8; González 2010:225-227). So even during his episcopate, John Chrysostom tried not only to keep to such an ascetic life style and emphasise it, but also to practice it by helping and supporting the poor and the socially needy (Hamman 1993:87; cf. Quasten 1960:424, 426). However, during the last few years of his life John Chrysostom experienced exile and died in exile in 407 C.E.

Schaff (*NPNF*[1] 9:15) judged that John Chrysostom's letters "breathe a noble Christian spirit, in a clear, brilliant and persuasive style. They exhibit his faithful care for all the interests of the church and look calmly and hopefully to the glories of heaven." We can say that this evaluation indicates the purpose of John Chrysostom's composition of his letters, i.e. his pastoral intention (cf. Mayer and Allen 2000:44-45, 197). These characteristics also appear in the seventeen letters sent to Olympias, "the deaconess, a widow of noble birth, personal beauty and high accomplishments, who devoted her fortune and time to the poor and the sick" (*NPNF*[1] 9:15; cf. Coleman-Norton 1929:280). After the death of her husband, Nebridius, Olympias sold her entire estate and founded a monastic community at Constantinople. She was educated by Theodosia, the sister of Amphilochius of Iconium, and later became a supporter of John Chrysostom (Rebenich 2002:23). In his letters to

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[384] The Greek text used here is from Malingrey 1968 (TLG. Joannes Chrysostomus Scr. Eccl., *Epistulae ad Olympiadem*. {2062.088}), and the English translation from *NPNF*[1] 9, unless indicated otherwise.

Olympias John Chrysostom tried to encourage, advise, teach and console his disciple and supporter. The sixteenth letter to Olympias (*Ep. Olymp.* 16) is also full of such pastoral contents. While John Chrysostom served his episcopate at Constantinople, Olympias was not only someone who was respected in the church, but also one of his most reliable supporters. However, after John Chrysostom had been expelled from Constantinople, Olympias was also persecuted by John Chrysostom's enemies, who were described as wolves (λύκοι) and many crowds of wicked doers (πολλαὶ συναγωγαὶ πονηρευομένων) by John Chrisostom (*Ep. Olymp.* 16, *lines* 14-15; cf. *NPNF*[1] 9:287). Olympias was surrounded by them, and threatened in various ways, such as damage of property (ζημία χρημάτων), expulsion from her country (πατρίδος ἐκβολῇ καὶ οἰκίας), threatened by death (θάνατον) and even slaughter (κἂν ἑλκύσωσιν ἐπὶ σφαγήν) (*lines* 21b-31a) and in reality tortured and mistreated by them (*lines* 39b-44). In this situation the pastor in his exile had no choice but to take up the pen in order to console his disciple and encourage her to stand firm. This letter was composed at Cucusus in Armenia Secunda during his exile (404-407 C.E.).

(2) Structural and Formal Features

John Chrysostom's *To Olympias (Ep. Olymp.* 16) followed the threefold structure, i.e. the opening (*title*), the body (*lines* 1-64a)[385] and the closing (*lines* 64b-69),[386] but the prescript was abridged to a title, i.e. Ἐπιστολή Ις΄, and there was no subscript. However, in the first of the collection of seventeen letters to Olympias, we can find a full prescript, i.e. Τῇ δεσποίνῃ μου τῇ αἰδεσιμωτάτῃ καὶ θεοφιλεστάτῃ διακόνῳ Ὀλυμπιάδι Ἰωάννης ἐπίσκοπος ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν ("The most reverend and divinely favored deaconess Olympias, I John, bishop, send greeting in the Lord") (*Ep. Olymp.* 1, *prescript*). One interesting thing is that the position of the sender and the receiver was switched as in the case of the letters of Augustine.

(3) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

In order to take care of his disciple, Olympias, who was being persecuted, John Chrysostom did not follow the traditional psychagogical way to guide those who were in trouble or depression. In other words, instead of advising, consoling, demonstrating, correcting and encouraging, at that time John Chrysostom tried to exercise his pastoral care for Olympias by praising what she had achieved. Therefore, John Chrysostom did not hesitate to confess that he was inspired to "leap" and "rejoice" (σκιρτῶμεν καὶ χαίρομεν) and received "the greatest consolation" (μεγίστην . . . παράκλησιν) during his exile from her "fortitude" (ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ σου ταύτῃ) (*lines* 12b-14a), and that he had confidence "concerning" her "golden soul" (ὑπὲρ τῆς χρυσῆς σου ψυχῆς) (*lines* 19b-20a). Doubtless such approval of his disciple's behaviour from her teacher brought the strongest consolation and encouragement. Of course, we can find an example that reflects the teacher's heartrending feelings. In *lines* 15b-18 John Chrysostom writes as follows:

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[385] The body consists of the following three sections: *lines* 1-21a (praise to Olympias' soul), *lines* 21b-59a (praise on Olympias' training) and *lines* 59b-64a (final exhortations).

[386] I.e. *lines* 64b-69 (on recent state of John Chrysostom).

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> [᾽Α]λλ᾽ εὐχόμεθα μὲν καὶ τοὺς ὄντας σβεσθῆναι πειρασμοὺς καὶ ἑτέρους δὲ μὴ
>
> προσγενέσθαι, δεσποτικὸν πληροῦντες νόμον τὸν κελεύοντα εὔχεσθαι μὴ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς
>
> πειρασμόν.
>
> [B]ut I pray both that existing temptations may be suppressed, and that others may not occur,
>
> thus fulfilling the Lord's precept who bids us pray that we may not enter into temptation.

However, throughout the letter John Chrysostom showed a consistent attitude. At the end of his letter, after having mentioned her "fortitude" and "perfect training" through the persecution (*lines* 45-56), pastor John Chrysostom used the following imperatives, which were still concerned with Olympias and her fellow Christians' endurance in Christ, in order to guide Olympias (*lines* 59-64):

> Χαῖρε τοίνυν καὶ εὐφραίνου καὶ ὑπὲρ σαυτῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὴν μακαρίαν τελευτησάντων
>
> τελευτὴν οὐκ ἐν κλίνῃ οὐδὲ ἐν οἰκίᾳ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν δεσμωτηρίοις καὶ ἁλύσεσι καὶ βασάνοις. Θρήνει
>
> δὲ μόνους τοὺς ταῦτα ποιοῦντας καὶ δάκρυε. *Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἄξιον τῆς σῆς φιλοσοφίας.*
>
> Rejoice therefore and be glad both for thyself, and for those who have died a blessed death, not
>
> in a bed, nor in a house, but in prison, and chains, and torment; and bewail those only who do
>
> these things, and grieve for them. *Thus, this thing itself is worthy of your view of life* (my
>
> translation; my emphasis).

In this letter John Chrysostom employed various contemporary rhetorical devices for effective encouragement. The most outstanding feature is an extolment of Olympias' brave endurance of past suffering (*lines* 21-44). Such extolment, on the other hand, functions as background for John Chrysostom's exhortations in *lines* 59-64. In fact, this granted epideictic characteristics to this pastoral letter.

Secondly, John Chrysostom quoted Scripture (*lines* 11-12; cf. *line* 18). In antiquity the author often quoted this to add authority to his own words in a hortatory context (Fiore 1986:18; cf. Gordley 2007:250). For example, John Chrysostom explained to Olympias what the affliction that

she was facing would provide for her faith, based on Paul's words in Rom 5:3-4 (Διὸ καὶ Παῦλος ἔλεγεν· Ἡ θλῖψις ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται, ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ δοκιμήν) (*lines* 11-12).

Thirdly, John Chrysostom offered a list of virtues (*lines* 49-50). According to him, Olympias would get virtues as prize in this world through enduring persecutions and afflictions, and needless to say, the Kingdom of God (cf. *lines* 55-56). This virtue list presented what a society or group considered to be ideal, and often functioned as tools of education (Fitzgerald 1992:857; cf. Malherbe 1986:138-141; Aune 2003:89-91). In this letter John Chrysostom presented this virtue list as what his recipient Olympias should and would obtain by her endurance of persecution. And to improve the understanding of Olympias, John Chrysostom employed metaphoric expressions (e.g. *lines* 8-10, 14, 33-34, 45, 52-54) and antithesis (e.g. *lines* 1-2, 14-18, 57-59). In addition John Chrysostom used the imperative of verbs for encouragement at the end of his letter (*lines* 59, 60, 62, 63). Besides these, we find a "reply to inquiry" phrase (viz. the "περί + genitive" construction) (*lines* 64-65).

Finally, there are a few features that are often found in Christian pastoral letters, i.e. mutual exhortation (cf. *lines* 11-13), mutual prayer (cf. *lines* 15-18) for overcoming pending difficult situations and a proclamation of the blessing (*lines* 45-46).

n) Jerome: *To Laeta: A Girl's Education* (*Ep.* 107)[387]

(1) General Information

Jerome or Hieronymus (ca. 345-420 C.E.) was one of the four great teachers of the Western Church, together with Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great (Hall 1998:55; Trapp 2003:20; cf. Rebenich 2002:59). Although Jerome did not hold a bishopric, he showed his ability as spiritual guide, as well as theologian, exegete and translator of Scripture by pursuing an ascetic life (Evans

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[387] Both the Latin text and the English translation used here are from Wright, LCL, unless indicated otherwise.

2004b:234-237; cf. Rebenich 2002:42, 59). Especially as translator of Greek theological works into Latin, Jerome contributed to the exchange between Latin-speaking Western Christianity and Greek-speaking Eastern Christianity, just as Eusebius of Vercelli (died in 371 C.E.) and Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 315-367 C.E.) did prior to him (Rebenich 2002:26, 56).

The recipient of *Ep.* 107, Laeta, was his disciple in Rome, and after his departure from Rome, Jerome continuously kept contact with her through letters as he used to do with others. *Ep.* 107 was sent to Laeta as reply to her request of Jerome's advice about the education of her daughter, Paula. Laeta was the daughter of the pontiff Albinus, and bore her daughter Paula after having married Toxotius. Although she had a pagan family background, after having accepted the Christian faith, she sent a letter to Jerome for advice about the education of her daughter (1, *lines* 15-18). In reply Jerome as her spiritual teacher tried in this letter to show Laeta as his disciple in this letter how she should educate her daughter in the Christian faith (3, *lines* 3-8). In this sense the letter is "ein Anweisung für die christliche Mädchenerziehung" (Zelzer 1997:345). This letter was sent from Bethlehem in 403 C.E. (Wright 1933:338, n.1).

(2) Structural and Formal Features

Jerome's *To Laeta: A Girl's Education* seems to follow the threefold structure of the Hellenistic letter, though the prescript was abridged to a title (*Ad Laetam*), and the closing was absent, while the body was greatly expanded. Thus in its present form this letter contains only the title and the body (1, *line* 1-13, *line* 52).[388]

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[388] The body consists of the following three sections: 1, *lines* 1-2, *line* 32 (on Laeta's history of faith and on the salvation of her father), 3, *lines* 1-12, *line* 26 (how to educate Paula) and 13, *lines* 1-52 (advice why Laeta should send Paula to a monastery or nunnery at Bethlehem).

(3) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

In answer to Laeta's question of how to educate her daughter in faith, Jerome allowed quite a lot of space for advice. However, though this letter ran through a number of pages, the teaching of the teacher was simple. Above all, Jerome emphasised that Laeta and her husband Toxotius themselves should teach their daughter Paula. Thus in 3, *lines* 18-19, Jerome wrote: "Therefore let your child of promise have training from her parents worthy of her birth" (*Igitur, quae de repromissione nata est, dignam habeat ortu suo institutionem parentum*). Here the expression, i.e. "child of promise" (*de repromissione nata*) is worth mentioning. This expression explains how Paula was added to Laeta's family (1, *lines* 17-18 [*de repromissione matris*]; 2, *lines* 2-3 [*eadem fide, qua meruisti filiam*]). Through her faith in God Laeta could bear her daughter, Paula. Laeta was likely to have made a vow to the Lord about her child (*domino spopondisti*) (5, *lines* 24b-27) and dedicated her as her first fruit, i.e. Paula, to the Lord before her birth (6, *lines* 31b-31a; cf. 3, *lines* 11b-23a). Therefore, Jerome's advice was that Paula was to "receive a training from her parents worthy of her birth" (*dignam habeat ortu suo institutionem parentum*), just like Samuel and John the Baptist. They were also born as a result of their mothers' vows (cf. 1 Sam 1:1-20; Luke 1:5-20, 24-25, 57-58), and had been trained appropriately to their birth, i.e. the former in the temple and the latter in the desert (3, *lines* 18b-25). The actual reason is because "[t]he child of promise must live as those lived before her who were born under the same vow" ([*q*]*uae nata est ex repromissione, sic vivat, ut illi vixerunt, qui de repromissione generati sunt*) (8, *lines* 21b-23a).

At that time Jerome thought that the best education would reach its fulfillment when the parents became the "teacher" of their children or their "model" to be imitated in the whole area of life (*Te* [sc. Laeta] *habeat* [sc. Paula] *magistram, te rudis miretur infantia. Nihil in te et in patre suo videat, quod si fecerit, peccet. Memento vos parentes virginis et magis eam exemplis docere posse quam voce* ["You must be her teacher, to you her childish ignorance must look for a model. Let her never see anything in you or her father which she would do wrong to imitate. Remember that you are a virgin's parents and that you can teach her better by example than by words"]) (9, *lines* 6-9). However, it was not possible in Laeta's situation. In fact, even in Jerome's view it was not easy.

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Thus on this problem Jerome himself gave an answer on behalf of Laeta, after he had offered his lengthy and strict exhortations for the education of Paula (13, *lines* 1-3a):

> *Respondebis: "Quomodo haec omnia mulier saecularis in tanta frequentia hominum Romae custodire potero?"*
>
> You [sc. Laeta] will answer: "How shall I, a woman of the world living in crowded Rome, be able to keep all these injunctions?"

In fact, because Jerome thought it to be almost impossible, he carefully suggested: *Noli ergo subire onus, quod ferre non potes* ("Do not then take up a burden which you cannot bear") (13, *lines* 3b-4a). Instead, for the education of Paula, Jerome advised Laeta to send Paula to himself and her grandmother and her aunt, i.e. to a monastery or nunnery at Bethlehem (13, *lines* 4b-8a, 16b-23a). Above all, Jerome himself had a passion to educate Paula, and promised Laeta as follows (13, *lines* 47-52):

> *Ipse, si Paulam miseris, balbutientia senex verba formabo multo gloriosior mundi philosopho, qui non regem Macedonum Babylonio periturum veneno, sed ancillam et sponsam Christi erudiam regnis caelestibus offerendam.*
>
> If you will send us Paula, I undertake to be both her tutor and her foster-father. And I shall take more pride in my task than did the worldly philosopher; for I shall not be teaching a Macedonian king, destined to die by poison in Babylon, but a handmaid and bride of Christ who one day shall be presented to the heavenly throne.

Laeta was likely to have responded positively to Jerome's advice, because Paula, the daughter of Laeta, later succeeded her grandmother, Eustochium, "as head of the nunnery" in a monastery at Bethlehem (Wright 1933:338, n. 1 [LCL]).

In giving his advice, Jerome employed various rhetorical devices to further Laeta's decision on the education of her daughter. Firstly, Jerome used friendly designations about the recipient and

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her family. Thus we can find that Jerome addressed Laeta as *Laeta, religiosissima in Christo filia* ("dear Laeta, most dutiful daughter in Christ" [2, *line* 1]), her husband as *Toxotius meus* ("my dear Toxotius" [1, *line* 16]) and her daughter as *virgo Christi* ("one of Christ's own virgins" [1, *line* 20]) and *Paulula nostra* ("our little Paula" [3, *line* 6]). Although they were not used to draw the attention of the recipient to the author's words (cf. Fiore 1986:17), these "relationship-oriented" expressions must have created a receptive attitude towards advice.

Secondly, while Jerome himself must have been Laeta's superior, Jerome nevertheless employed authoritative sources. This seems to be to urge Laeta to make up her mind to send her daughter to Jerome. In most cases Jerome quoted and used Scripture in order to urge Laeta to accept his advice (1, *lines* 4-8; 2, *lines* 5-6; 6, *lines* 4-6, 16-19, 21; 7, *lines* 12-13, 14, 19-20; 8, *lines* 6-7; 13, *lines* 31-33a, 33b-34a, 34b-35). He also used examples from authoritative sources for argument (2, *lines* 7-18, 24-31; 3, *lines* 9-10, 13-17, 19-25; 4, *lines* 35-36, 46-48, 49-56; 5, *lines* 7-22; 6, *lines* 1-2; 9, *lines* 9-11; 10, *lines* 20-23; 13, *lines* 4-5, 38-46, 49-50). These sources surely added authority to Jerome's advice to Laeta (cf. Fiore 1986:18; Malherbe 1986:36; Gordley 2007:250).

Thirdly, besides the matters mentioned above, Jerome employed other rhetorical devices to enhance the effect of his words. Thus Jerome provided the model to be imitated (7, *line* 7; 9, *lines* 8-9; 13, *line* 47; cf. 9, *lines* 22-27) (cf. Malherbe 1986:125; 2004:301). Especially in 9, *lines* 8-9, Jerome emphasised that the parents (viz. Laeta and Toxotius) should be the model of life for Paula in order to bring their child up in faith, because it was thought that the best examples were the student's family members, teachers and friends, i.e. "those from the more intimate communities" (Perdue 1990:16). He also employed both antithesis (e.g. 4, *lines* 27-28; 5, *lines* 24-25) and metaphor (e.g. 6, *lines* 10-14). Throughout the letter, there are hortatory expressions (e.g. 4, *line* 64; 5, *line* 26; 13, *line* 7) and specific verbal forms of the imperative (5, *line* 2; 9, *lines* 8-9; 13, *lines* 3, 4, 6-7, 15, 16), the hortatory or jussive subjunctive (1, *lines* 10, 34-35; 2, *lines* 1-2; 3, *lines* 18-19; 4, *lines* 2, 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 28, 58-60, 62-63, 64, 66-67; 5, *lines* 1, 6; 7, *lines* 3, 5-8,

9, 11, 13, 15, 19; 8, *lines* 1-2, 7, 9-13, 19-20; 9, *lines* 1, 2-3, 6-7, 11-15, 18-19, 22, 27-28, 29; 10, *lines* 1, 3, 4, 6, 9-10, 15; 11, *lines* 1-6; 12, *lines* 1, 4-14, 16-21, 21-23; 13, *lines* 7-10, 17, 26) and the gerundive of obligation (4, *lines* 1, 22-24, 25, 33-34, 41-42, 45-46).[389]

Finally, in this letter we rarely find the Christian characteristics, such as mutual exhortation, mutual prayer and blessings that are often found in Christian pastoral letters. It is because of the epistolary situation of this letter. We only have a few references to the *modus vivendi* worthy of God (cf. 4, *line* 3; 8, *lines* 21-23).

o) Augustine: *To my Noble and Justly Distinguished Lord and Dearest Son, Marcellinus, Bishop Augustine Sends Greeting in the Lord* (*Ep.* 133)[390]

(1) General Information

Augustine (354-430 C.E.) was one of the four great teachers of the Western Church, together with Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory the Great (Hall 1998:55). Before listening to the sermons of Ambrose of Milan during 386 C.E., and being baptised by him in 387 C.E., he had been deeply interested in the works of classical authors and philosophy, especially Neo-Platonism, and later Manichaeism. But the sermons of Ambrose changed Augustine, converted him to Christianity, and Augustine finally became the bishop of Hippo around 397 C.E. (Catapano 2010:552-553; cf. González 2010:241-246). As theologian, pastor and Christian philosopher, Augustine composed numerous works throughout his life (cf. Catapano 2010:553-555; González 2010:246-250). The letter to Marcellinus (*Ep.* 133) that I will analyse below, provides a good example of Augustine's pastoral activities. Marcellinus, the recipient of this letter, was a lay Christian, but a person of high social position, i.e. a judge, as well as a friend of Augustine. Historically Marcellinus was appointed

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[389] Greenough et al 1983:315 (§ 500): "The Gerundive when used as a Participle or an Adjective is always passive, denoting *necessity*, *obligation*, or *propriety*" (emphasis original).

[390] Both Latin text and English translation used here are from Baxter, LCL, unless indicated otherwise.

by the Emperor Honorius (395-423 C.E.) to preside over a party strife between Catholic and Donatist bishops. This was the debate on the so-called "Donatist-Caecilianist Controversy," which became a main theological issue in the church in North Africa around the fourth century of this era. It started when the authority of Caecilian, the bishop of Carthage, was questioned, because during a period of persecution he had been consecrated by a lapsed bishop (O'Donnell 2005:223-224). Especially Donatus rejected the authority of this new bishop, Caecilian, because he thought that the "consecrations performed by bishops who had faltered in time of persecution were invalid," and eventually this controversy led to a schism in the church of North Africa (González 2005:47-48). In fact, this controversy, aroused by the consecration of Caecilian, was about a theological issue, i.e. "the purity of the church and the validity of sacraments and rites administered by unworthy persons" (González 2005:48). Thus in dealing with the issue of an apostate's returning to the church, the two sides, i.e. the Donatists, who emphasised "the sin" of apostasy, and the Caecilianists, who focused on the unchallenged validity of "the sacrament," could not be reconciled. Because of this difference of opinion, the former insisted on the rebaptism of the apostate, but the latter accepted simple repentance (O'Donnell 2005:210). Finally, this controversy ended in a victory for the Caecilianists, to which Augustine belonged. During this controversy, especially at the conference about this problem at Carthage in 411 C.E., Marcellinus, who was presiding over the conference, sided with the Catholic bishops. Afterwards Marcellinus, with his elder brother Apringius, proconsul of Africa, forced this decision to be carried out. However, during Heraclian's revolt in 413 C.E., Marcellinus, with his elder brother, was imprisoned by Count Marinus, and he was put to death without a trial (Leinenweber 1992:137). This letter was sent while Marcellinus presided over the court to settle the controversy mentioned above (411 C.E.), before his death in 413 C.E.

(2) Structural and Formal Features

Augustine's *To my Noble and Justly Distinguished Lord and Dearest Son, Marcellinus, Bishop Augustine Sends Greeting in the Lord* (*Ep.* 133) consists of the threefold structure of the Hellenistic letter, i.e. the opening (*prescript*), the body (1, *line* 1-3, *line* 23a)[391] and the closing (3, *lines* 23b-25 [blessing]). The prescript was modified with a Christianised item (*in Domino*). It is interesting that in the prescript Augustine habitually switched the position of the sender and the recipient (viz. *Domino eximio et merito insigni atque carissimo filio Marcellino Augustinus episcopus in Domino salutem*). Probably Augustine wanted to express his humility or to show his respect to the recipient in this way. And at the end of his letter, he closed with a blessing for the recipient, not with the normal subscript (3, *lines* 23b-25).

(3) Pending Question(s) and Executing Pastoral Care

When Augustine, the bishop of Hippo, sent this letter to Marcellinus, it happened that two catholic priests (viz. Restitutus and Innocentius) were killed by the Circumcellions and the Donatist clergy. Marcellinus, a catholic Christian judge, took the case in hand (cf. 1, *lines* 8-11; 2, *line* 1 etc). In this situation Augustine was able to anticipate what would happen next, and so he sent this letter to Marcellinus in order to exhort "him [sc. Marcellinus] to show mercy to those misguided fanatics," not to treat them harshly, as they had done to the catholic priests (Baxter 1953:250, n. a). In fact, this was the main purpose of the letter. Thus in 1, *lines* 8-14, Augustine revealed his initial feeling of anxiety:

> *Unde mihi sollicitudo maxima incussa est, ne forte sublimitas tua censeat eos tanta legum severitate plectendos, ut qualia fecerunt, talia patiantur. Ideoque his litteris obtestor fidem tuam,*

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[391] The body consists of the following three sections: 1, *lines* 1-11a (on motivation or background of letter composition), 1, *line* 11b-3, *line* 5a (various exhortations to a Christian judge, Marcellinus) and 3, *lines* 5b-23a (final words and recapitulation).

quam habes in Christo, per ipsius domini Christi misericordiam, ut hoc nec facias nec fieri

omnino permittas.

This news [sc. the death of Restitutus and Innocentius] has plunged me into the deepest anxiety, lest perchance your Highness may decide that they must endure a legal sentence so severe that their punishment shall be similar in kind to their crime. For that reason, I implore you by the faith you have in Christ, by the mercy of Christ the Lord Himself, neither to do this nor to let it be done at all.

Of course, Augustine must have experienced some emotion as a result of this brutal event. However, Augustine as pastor, seemed to have a rationale to deal with this kind of affair. That is, in his rationale of faith, giving measure for measure was not the Christian way. Instead, evil had to be returned with good. Thus he wrote to Marcellinus: it still "is not our desire that the sufferings of God's servants shall be avenged by the infliction of similar punishments, as if by way of retaliation . . ." (*nolumus tamen passiones servorum dei quasi vice talionis paribus suppliciis vindicari* . . .) (1, *lines* 18-19; cf. 3, *lines* 17-20). However, this attitude, which leads the wrongdoer into the right way with "humane consideration," was not limited to a bishop. In the view of this bishop, it was also expected of a lay Christian, especially a person in a high social position, such as a judge (2, *lines* 1-5). In fact, every Christian was sent "for the benefit of the Church." Thus one should always make a choice in consideration of what the choice is for the Church (3, *lines* 1-5). For example, if one is a judge, one should try to lead the wrongdoers to repentance of their misdeeds with Christ's mind, not simply to punish them (1, *lines* 19-25). Thus Augustine advised Marcellinus as follows (2, *lines* 29-33):

Non te ergo exasperet vindicandi potestas, cui lenitatem non excussit examinandi necessitas.

Noli facinore invento quaerere percussorem, in quo inveniendo noluisti adhibere tortorem.

So then, do not let your power to exact punishment drive you to harsh measures, when the need for making an investigation did not make you discard your clemency. Do not send for the executioner after finding out the crime, when to find it out you did not use the services of the

torturer.

Therefore, from these passages we can know that Augustine must have wanted to guide the Christian judge, Marcellinus, to make a fair judicial decision in this situation, where Marcellinus, burning with religious enmity, might perhaps judge the case wrongly by ignoring what the law as well as the Bible teaches.

For his effective pastoral treatment, as "school masters" and "parents" often employed various persuasive devices, so Augustine did (cf. 2, *lines* 9-12). Firstly, we find some "relationship-oriented" expressions, such as *carissimus filius* ("dearest son" or "well-beloved son" [*prescript*, 3, *lines* 9-10]), *Christianus iudex* ("Christian judge" [2, *line* 1]), *filii ecclesiae* ("sons of the Church" [3, *line* 22]) and *ipsius matris mansuetudio* ("the moderation of your Holy Mother" [3, *lines* 22-23]), with honorific designations of *dominus eximius et meritus insignis* ("my noble and justly distinguished lord" [*prescript*, 3, *line* 9]), *tua nobilitas* ("your Excellency" [1, *line* 3]) and *sublimitas tua* ("your Highness" [1, *line* 9]). They not only functioned to draw the attention of the recipient to the author's words (2, *line* 1; 3, *lines* 9-10; cf. Fiore 1986:17), but also to create a friendly attitude for receiving advice (1, *lines* 3, 9; 3, *lines* 22-23). Nevertheless, Augustine emphasised his official position in giving exhortation once at the end of this letter (3, *lines* 5-7). There he mentioned both the theme of friendship and the relationship between a bishop and the believers. The transition from friendship to the official relationship (viz. *Si non audis amicum petentem, audi episcopum consulentem* ["If you will not give ear to the petition of a friend, give ear to a bishop's advice"]) particularly seems to reflect that Augustine considered his advice to his recipient, Marcellinus, to be very important.

Secondly, Augustine depended on external authority in giving his advice. Thus he not only quoted Scripture for his argumentation (2, *lines* 20-22, 24-26; cf. 2, *lines* 26-29), but also presented the concept of God's initiative in the form of the blessing (3, *lines* 23b-25) and the Christocentric concept as the actual basis of the petition (1, *lines* 11-12). These appeals to authoritative sources and divine beings were common in the hortatory tradition in order that the author or speaker might add authority to his words (cf. Fiore 1986:18; Gordley 2007:250). For example, in the context of

advising Marcellinus to show moderation in court to the accused (2), Augustine quoted Jesus' words (Matt 6:16) and Paul's letters (Phil 4:5; Titus 3:2) that exhort Christians to show good works and moderation to people. These quotations surely functioned as concrete grounds for Augustine's advice that Marcellinus, as a Christian judge, should judge fairly.

Thirdly, besides the above-mentioned devices, Augustine used metaphor or imagery (e.g. 2, *lines* 4-5; 3, *line* 22) and antithesis (e.g. 2, *lines* 2, 3-5, 7-9; 3, *lines* 15-21). Throughout the letter, Augustine used some hortatory expressions (e.g. 2, *lines* 5-6, 9-12; cf. 3, *lines* 14, 15-17, 22-23) and specific verbal forms, such as the imperative (2, *lines* 1, 12-13, 31-32; 3, *line* 21) and the jussive subjunctive (2, *lines* 2-3, 5, 29-30).

Finally, we find the blessing of a church leader for the recipient at the end of letter (3, *lines* 23b-25). And here and there are found *ecclesio*-centralism (3, *lines* 1-5, 17-19, 22-23).

2. Summary

From the above analysis of the selected letters, we can extract the following characteristics as identifying Christian psychagogical letters, i.e. pastoral letters.

a) Structure, Form and Additional Epistolary Features

In structure and form most of the pastoral letters analysed above have a common Greek letter structure. This can mean that, in terms of structure, these pastoral letters were not related to the pastoral letters in the NT.

In each part of the letter these letters show variance. In both the prescript and the subscript, we seldom find any uniformity in form, though they have some points in common where they contain Christianised descriptions of both addressor(s) and recipient(s). For example, in the prescript, a few of them have a similar form as the pattern of the prescript of the letters in the NT (viz. the phenomenon of the separation of the part of the greeting from the parts of sender and

recipient) (e.g. *1 Clem.*; Pol. *Phil.*). However, the rest follow a common pattern or omit it.[392] In the subscript most of them omit it. But a few contain the common final greeting (e.g. Ign. *Phld.*; *Poly.*; Pol. *Phil.*; Ambrose, *Ep.* 81.), or the blessing that symbolises Christianisation (e.g. *1 Clem.*; *Barn.*; Cyprian, *Ep.* 43; [Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep.* 17;] Augustine, *Ep.* 133). In the case of the body, we cannot find any pattern. This is because the author of each letter had his own logic and style. Instead, in content all these pastoral letters dealt with pending questions from the recipients, and for persuasion similar literary devices were employed.

In terms of external epistolary features, these pastoral letters partly show that the author(s) employed an amanuensis or secretary (e.g. Ign. *Phld.* 11.2; Pol. *Phil.* 14.1) and letter-carriers who were members of church (e.g. *1 Clem.* 65.1).

b) Psychagogical Features

Firstly, we find some general features shared between pastoral letters in terms of their epistolary situation: (i) The psychagogical intention is closely related to the purpose. In case of the letters analysed above, it appears uniformly. The fundamental reason for such consistency is surely the similarity of the epistolary situations of the letters analysed above, i.e. the need of pastoral care for the recipient(s) who were facing ecclesiastical or/and theological problems. In fact, the similarity of epistolary situations was one of the most important factors in defining the psychagogical letter type in the Greco-Roman epistolography. Thus from the letters analysed above we can find a number of purposes for psychagogy, i.e. pastoral care. (ii) In resolving these various pending questions, the author's superiority to the recipient in terms of morality, experience, wisdom and partly other qualities (e.g. official position in church) played an important role. (iii) Nevertheless, we find that

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[392] E.g. the common prescript (Ign. *Phld.*; *Poly.*; Cyprian, *Ep.* 43; Athanasius, *Ep. mon.* 2; Ambrose, *Ep.* 81; Augustine, *Ep.* 133), the "χαῖρε or χαίρετε + vocative" construct (*Barn.*; Origen. *Ep. Greg.*) and the omission (Ptolemy the Gnostic, *Ep. ad Floram*; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ep.* 202; Basil the Great, *Ep.* 139; Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep.* 17; John Chrysostom, *Ep. Olymp.* 16; Jerome, *Ep.* 107).

these letters are more personal and familiar, not public in nature. Author(s) tried to care for their recipient(s), who were facing problems, by persuasion, consolation, exhortation, warning, threat, rebuke and other methods, not simply by instructing and commanding what they should do or not do, nor to proclaim what they should know and follow.

Secondly, we find that, in order to resolve the pending questions effectively, the authors quite often employed various rhetorical devices. These phenomena were common in Greco-Roman psychagogical letters, including the letters in the NT, as well as non-epistolary hortatory works. Thus we can say that these things show that these Christian leaders' letters are part of the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition in the broader sense; in the narrower sense, part of the psychagogical letter tradition. For example, (i) the author(s) employed "relationship-oriented" designations or convictive expressions for recipient(s) and others; (ii) quotations from authoritative sources, such as Scripture, maxims, the early creed or confession of Christians, pagan authors and even opponent's teachings, and illustrations for argument; (iii) the model to be imitated; (iv) the word of remembrance, i.e. the appeal to what the recipient(s) learnt or knew already; (v) metaphor or metaphoric expression to help the understanding of the recipient(s); (vi) the lists of virtues and vices; (vii) some literary techniques, such as antithesis and diatribe or diatribal style, and other schemes and tropes, such as anaphora, parallelism, comparison, alliteration, wordplay with prefix, deliberative question and chiasm; (viii) the motif of "one" for unity (i.e. *topos*); (ix) the "reply to inquire" phrase; and (x) some hortatory expressions and specific verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative, the hortatory or jussive subjunctive, the future form of the indicative mood for command and the gerundive form of the verb, i.e. the gerundive of obligation.

Thirdly, as we can see, these letters of Christian leaders are uniquely distinguished from pagan psychagogical letters, but they contain characteristics found commonly only in Christian pastoral letters from the time of the earliest Christian psychagogical letters, i.e. the letters in the NT. These characteristics prove the continuance of an early Christian psychagogical letter tradition,

though these characteristics do not always appear in every letter.[393] Thus in most pastoral letters that I analysed above, we can find, for example, (i) the concept of the initiative of God and/or Jesus and the Holy Spirit, (ii) the Christocentric concept, (iii) request and encouragement of (mutual) prayer, and (iv) mutual exhortation. Besides these, in giving their practical exhortations, author(s) often focused on (v) the *modus vivendi* (and *cogitandi*) worthy of God the Father, Jesus and the Holy Spirit, not on either earthly well-being or self-edification. Sometimes they proclaimed with one voice that such a life style could be only be realised under the guidance of a sound leader, often the bishop, or of sound and traditional apostolic teaching. Therefore, in this sense the contents of these letters sometimes show (vi) an *ecclesio*-centric tendency. And in these letters, this tendency was often expressed with (vii) strong opposition against heretical teachers and their teachings, which were contrary to their own position. (viii) In opposition to them author(s) sometimes tried to provide their own teaching or exposition. Furthermore, here and there, we find (ix) the blessing of the Christian leader(s) as spiritual guide(s) for the recipient(s) and (x) the doxology to both God and Jesus. Finally, (xi) we can find that hope of the kingdom of heaven or the final judgment in the last day was used as a basis for the exhortation or consolation.

c) Comparison with Structural, Formal and Psychagogical Features of Letters in the NT

Most shared features of patristic pastoral letters summarised above are also found in the pastoral letters in the NT (see chap. 4, section C. 1 and 2), though in some cases there were some selected changes of both development and dismissal over time. For example, the relationship between the author(s) and the recipient(s) was the same in both the pastoral letters in the NT and the patristic pastoral letters. One thing that changed was the position of the authors of the later pastoral letters. In other words, as opposed to the authors of pastoral letters in the NT, later authors often held official positions in the church, though their authority as spiritual leaders was still based on their

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[393] For example, the *parousia* of Jesus Christ as a foundation for the exhortations or instructions rarely appears in the letters analysed above. This fact is quite different from the case of the letters in the NT.

moral and intellectual superiority and their relationship to the recipient(s), and the atmosphere of the letters were friendly, not official or informative. This was also true of the purpose of their letters. Both the pastoral letters in the NT and the patristic pastoral letters aimed at exercising psychagogy, i.e. pastoral care. Some themes of persuasion, encouragement, exhortation, advice, reconciliation and unification, rebuke and other aims in the pastoral letters in the NT were repeated in patristic pastoral letters. The literary devices employed and Christian conceptual characteristics were not exceptional in the relationship between the pastoral letters in the NT and patristic pastoral letters. One single exception in this regard was the structural and formal features. Each author of each period and each culture followed or insisted on his own custom and style through the phenomenon of the Christianisation of formal features, which was especially clear in the opening and the closing.

To explain this phenomenon, we can examine some direct or indirect relationship between the pastoral letters in the NT and patristic pastoral letters. However, in reality it is not easy to come to a definite conclusion about their relationship, because we do not have any evidence or witness that the later authors of pastoral letters directly referred to the pastoral letters in the NT. Besides this, these pastoral letters were not composed by one author, or a specific group or school that had existed throughout the first five centuries of this era. In this situation we can only consider two different but related points of view as to why such common features emerged in pastoral letters up to the fifth century C.E. Firstly, such common features originated and developed from those of the earliest Christian pastoral letters, i.e. the letters in the NT. In other words, the authors of later pastoral letters referred to or considered the pastoral letters in the NT in composing their own pastoral letters, though they did not indiscriminately copy or imitate the pastoral letters in the NT. Secondly, we may consider that such common features were shared by the authors of Christian pastoral letters, including the authors of the letters in the NT, because of similarities in identity and status, both of the author(s) and the recipient(s), in their epistolary situation and purpose. Although we cannot assert that later Christian pastoral letter authors were never influenced by the earliest pastoral letters in the NT, the similarities mentioned above (viz. in the identity and status of both the author[s] and the recipient[s], the epistolary situation and the purpose) could be sufficient cause for the common features in Christian pastoral letters up to the fifth century C.E. But, even though it

were really so, we still cannot conclude to what extent such factors influenced the appearance of the common features in pastoral letters.

3. Analysis of Selected Letters from Four Non-Pastoral Christian Letter Types and Comparison with Pastoral Letters

We looked at some common generic features of the pastoral letter type above. However, the existence of such common generic features does not automatically prove the existence of a separate letter type. In fact, there had surely existed other letter types that contained these generic features of pastoral letters, while all psychagogical letters did not contain the generic features that I illustrated above. This fact compels us to ask how the pastoral letter type is distinguished from other Christian letter types that seem to have something in common with it, especially in terms of generic features, function and other characteristics, for instance, synodic letters, festal or paschal letters, papal letters and others. Therefore, in this section I will analyse a few non-pastoral letters that I mentioned above and compare their features to those of the pastoral letters analysed above. For this comparison, I will select one letter from the synodic letter type, one from the festal letter type, one from the papal letter type and one of the tracts in epistolary form that played an important role in early Christianity (cf. Jordan 1911:139, 156, 169-170; Schneider 1954:582-583; Zelzer 1997:334-335; Drobner 2007:177-179).

a) Festal or Paschal Letter: *The First Festal* or *Paschal Letter* of Cyril of Alexandria (*Ep.* 1)[394]

(1) Structural and Formal Features

The First Festal or *Paschal Letter* of Cyril of Alexandria shows the common threefold structure, i.e. the opening (*title*), the body (1, *line* 1-6, *line* 178)[395] and the closing (6, *lines* 179-195).[396] Its length

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[394] The Greek text used here is from Burns and Évieux 1991 (TLG. Cyrillus Alexandrinus Theol., *Epistulae paschales sive Homiliae paschales (Epp. 1-6).* {4090.177}), and the English translation is mine, unless indicated otherwise.

is exceptional. This is surely caused by the characteristics of the sermonic body. And this letter has no subscript, it closes with *amen* instead.

(2) Analysis

Cyril of Alexandria (ca. 378-444 C.E.) became the bishop of Alexandria in 412 C.E. (Russell 2000:3). During his episcopate, he composed about thirty festal or paschal letters, following the custom of the Alexandrian bishops. Primarily, as I mentioned above, the festal or paschal letter was dispatched to confirm the date of Easter. However, bishops did not only send a note about the date. Instead, they often dealt with it within affairs of theological, ecclesiastical and pastoral importance (cf. Athanasius, *Ep. fest.* 39). This was also true of Cyril's festal letters. Thus at the end of his first festal letter, we can find the announcement of the date for the beginning of the paschal feast (viz. Lent and Easter). The passage of 6, *lines* 185-193 reads as follows:

Οὕτω γάρ, οὕτω καθαρὰν τῷ Δεσπότῃ τὴν νηστείαν ἐπιτελέσωμεν, ἀρχόμενοι μὲν τῆς ἁγίας Τεσσαρακοστῆς ἀπὸ πεντεκαιδεκάτης τοῦ Μεχὲρ μηνός, τῆς ἑβδομάδος δὲ τοῦ σωτηριώδους Πάσχα ἀπὸ εἰκάδος τοῦ Φαμενὼθ μηνός, περιλύοντες μὲν τὰς νηστείας τῇ πεμπτῇ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς κατὰ τὸ ἔθος, ἑορτάζοντες δὲ τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ Κυριακῇ τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ αὐτοῦ Φαμενὼθ μηνός, συν ἅπτοντες ἑξῆς καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδας τῆς ἁγίας Πεντηκοσῆς.

For thus, thus let us keep the fast pure for the Lord, starting the holy Tessaracost [sc. the Lent] from the 15th day of Mecheir month [sc. February 9 or 10], but the week of the saving Pascha from the 20th day of Phamenoth month [sc. March 16 or 17]; ending the fast, according to custom, on the 25th day of the same month [sc. March 21 or 22], but keeping the feast at the

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[395] The body consists of the following four sections: 1, *lines* 1-66 (introduction: the meaning of the feast), 2, *lines* 1-38 (on the vocation of bishop: Cyril's self-defense for his succession to Theophilus), 2, *lines* 39-141 (on the message of the feast for people) and 3, *line* 1-6, *line* 178 (on the feast: what people do in preparation for the feast).

[396] The closing consists of the following three sections: 6, *lines* 179-185a (final words in preparation for the feast), 6, *lines* 185b-195a (on ways to keep the feast and its date) and 6, *line* 195b (closing word: *amen*).

dawn of Lord's day on the 26th of the same Phamenoth month [sc. March 22 or 23], letting the

seven weeks of the holy Pentecost follow right after.

However, in the lengthy section (viz. 1-6, *line* 185) before the announcement of the date, Cyril explained the meaning of the paschal feast (1, *lines* 1-66) and exhorted on how to prepare for the feast and to spend the period of preparation (2, *line* 39-6, *line* 178). In section 2, *lines* 115-116 and 120-122, Cyril especially quoted two passages from Scripture (viz. Joel 2:15 and Num 10:2 respectively). There Cyril used an allegorical interpretation (2, *lines* 120-131), Thus, in his interpretation of Num 10:2 (Ποίησον σεαυτῷ δύο σάλπιγγας, ἀργυρᾶς ποιήσεις αὐτάς, καὶ ἔσονταί σοι ἀνακαλεῖν καὶ ὑπεξελεῖν τὴν συναγωγήν ["Make for youself two trumpets; make them of silver. And you will have them to summon and raise the assembly"]) (2, *lines* 120-122), Cyril raised the question of why God ordered Moses to make two trumpets of silver. According to Cyril, the two trumpets refer to twofold functions of the word of the church, i.e. to call the ignorant to the right understanding of divine teaching (ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρθὴν τῶν θείων δογμάτων κατάληψιν τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας καλῶν) and to advise people not to get mixed up in wrong affairs (τὸ μὴ δεῖν τοῖς ἀτόποις τῶν ἔργων ἐμφύρεσθαι συμβουλεύων) (2, *lines* 125-127). And that they should be made of silver means that the word of the church should be bright and pure in two respects, i.e. stopping errors in teaching (τῆς ἐν τοῖς δόγμασι πλάνης ἀποφοιτῶν) and warning against existing heresy (τῶν πρακέων τὴν αἵρεσιν εἰηγούμενος) (2, *lines* 128-131). Then, having again mentioned the passage of Joel 2:15 (2, *lines* 134-135; cf. 2, *lines* 114-116), Cyril dealt with the topic of the fast. With this interpretation Cyril took them to the preparation for the feast, i.e. the fast, as the starting point of his exhortation, with the following words: Ἡκέτω τοιγαροῦν εἰς μέσον ἡμῶν ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητής, διδασκέτω τῆς νηστείας τὸν τρόπον, αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀκουσόμεθα· "Νηστεία καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὕτη ἐστιν· . . ." ("Thus, let the disciple of Christ come among us; let him teach the way of the fast; we will listen to what he says, 'The fast that is pure and undefiled before God the father is this: . . .'") (3, *lines* 1-4). Already in *Ep.* 1.5, *lines* 1-2 Cyril exhorted the recipients to love the fast (Ἀγαπήσωμεν τοίνυν τὴν νηστείαν, ὡς παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πάσης

εὐθυμίας μητέρα ["Let us love a fast as the mother of all goodness and tranquility"]). Its importance as preparation for Easter was repeated at the end of this letter, i.e. 6, *lines*, 185-186.

In composing his letter Cyril employed various rhetorical devices. Firstly, he used a "relationship-oriented" designation, ἀγαπητοί ("beloved" [4, *line* 5]), to address his recipients. And having dealt with the preparations, he quoted Scripture and other sources (1, *lines* 5-6, 12-13, 14-15, 19-20, 25-26, 27-28, 32-34, 36-39, 42-46, 53-57, 65-66; 2, *lines* 3-4, 12-13, 14-15, 21-24, 24-27, 29, 36-37, 41-42, 45-46, 52-56, 58-59, 64, 65-66, 70-71, 74-76, 80-81, 82-83, 91-92, 93-94, 104-105115-116, 120-122; 3, *lines* 3-6, 12-14, 20-21, 35-36; 4, *lines* 8-9, 25-26, 44-45, 48-49, 52-54; 5, *lines* 13-16, 22-27, 33-36; 6, *lines* 9-14, 23-24, 25-29, 30-32, 45-49, 69-76, 80-82, 102-104, 104-105, 110-112, 114-116, 118-120, 138-139, 142-145, 147, 164-165, 168-169, 172-173, 177-178, 183-185) and examples for argument (2, *lines* 4-6 [Iona], 9-13a [Moses], 13b-16 [Jeremias]; 4, *lines* 5-9a [John the Baptist], 9b-13 [Moses], 14-20 [Daniel and his three friends]). We see a few hortatory expressions (e.g. 1, *lines* 3, 13, 31, 61; 2, *lines* 5, 16-17, 20, 126, 130; 3, *lines* 11, 19, 25;4, *lines* 15, 25, 36, 68; 5, *lines* 10, 11; 6, *lines* 15, 16, 56, 84, 99-100, 107, 123, 149, 150-151, 163, 183) and some verbal forms of exhortation, such as the imperative (2, *lines* 113, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135; 3, *lines*, 1, 2, 12, 22, 23, 24; 4, *lines* 1, 2, 20, 35, 36, 38, 47) and the hortatory subjunctive (1, *lines* 20, 24, 29, 31, 48, 49, 51, 59, 63, 64-65; 2, *lines* 114, 117, 119, 123; 3, *line* 19; 4, *lines* 36, 38; 5, *line* 1; 6, *line*s 180, 183, 186). With regard to Christian characteristics, first we can see Christocentric concepts (e.g. 2, *lines* 59-78; 6, *lines* 127-156; cf. 1, *lines* 18-19). Besides this, with a number of hortatory subjunctives, Cyril indirectly urged mutual exhortation and throughout the letter he emphasised the ecclesiastical tradition.

(3) Comparison

Considering that the festal or paschal letter was sent to believers by a church leader (here the bishop of the Alexandrian see) and dealt with ecclesiastical and theological matters, this letter has on the surface much in common with the pastoral letter. Furthermore, in this letter we find some rhetorical devices for persuasion which often appear in pastoral letters. Nevertheless, the festal or paschal letter shows some differences from a pastoral letter. The most noticeable difference is the purpose of

its composition. Although Cyril's first festal or paschal letter was composed in consideration of ecclesiastical affairs, its actual purpose was both the announcement of the beginning of Lent and Easter, and advice on how to prepare for the feast and spend the period of preparation. Beside these, the two letter types are distinguished from each other in that the festal or paschal letter is nearer to the sermon genre. While pastoral letters quite often dealt with pending questions relevant to Christians and/or churches, festal or paschal letters mainly handled more general ecclesiastical subjects, such as the announcement of the date of Easter and items for the understanding of local churches from a universal perspective.

b) Synodic Letter: *The Synodic Letter of the First Council at Nicea*[397]

(1) Structural and Formal Features

The Synodic Letter of the First Council at Nicea has a threefold structure, i.e. the opening (1.9.1 [*prescript*]), the body (1.9.2-13)[398] and the closing (1.9.14).[399] One specific feature is that the closing was replaced by the doxology (1.9.14, *lines* 85b-86).

(2) Analysis

This synodic letter, which was preserved in Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.9.1-14 and Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 1.9, was sent after the Nicene synod in 325 C.E. The aim of this letter was to report what the synod had decided. Thus in Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.9.2 (cf. 1.9.4, *lines* 1-2), we find that the senders of this synodic letter express it clearly:

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[397] The Greek text used here is from Maraval and Périchon 2004-2007 (TLG. Socrates Scholasticus Hist., *Historia ecclesiastica.* {2057.002}), and the English translation from *NPNF*[2] 2, unless indicated otherwise.

[398] The body consists of the following five sections: 1.9.2 (letter opening: introduction), 1.9.3-4 (on condemnation of Arianism), 1.9.5-11 (on Melitian schism), 1.9.12 (on date of Easter) and 1.9.13 (final words).

[399] The closing consists of the following two sections: 1.9.14, *lines* 82-85a (asking for prayer) and 1.9.14, *lines* 85b-86 (doxology).

Ἐπειδὴ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος καὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου συναγαγόντος

ἡμᾶς ἐκ διαφόρων ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ πόλεων ἡ μεγάλη καὶ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐν Νικαίᾳ

συνεκροτήθη, ἐξ ἅπαντος ἀναγκαῖον ἐφάνη παρὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιτεθῆναι

γράμματα, ἵν' εἰδέναι ἔχοιτε, τίνα μὲν ἐκινήθη καὶ ἐξητάσθη, τίνα δὲ ἔδοξεν καὶ ἐκρατύνθη.

Since, by the grace of God, a great and holy Synod has been convened at Nicaea, our most

pious sovereign Constantine having summoned us out of various cities and provinces for that

purpose, it appeared to us indispensably necessary that a letter should be written to you on the

part of the sacred Synod; in order that ye may know what subjects were brought under

consideration and examined, and what was eventually determined on and decreed.

During the synod a few ecclesiastically important issues were dealt with. Firstly, this synod dealt with Arianism. In the early fourth century of this era, the church had fallen into the danger of a major schism by Arius' teaching that the Son of God was a creature (1.9.3, *lines* 18-21a). Needless to say, this teaching could never be accepted in orthodox churches. In this situation the synod was convened by the emperor Constantine and it condemned Arius' teaching (1.9.3, *lines* 21b-23):

[Ἅ]πάντα ἀνεθεμάτισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀκοῦσαι τῆς ἀσεβοῦς δόξης καὶ τῆς

ἀπονοίας καὶ τῶν βλασφήμων ῥημάτων ἀνασχομένη.

All these sentiments [sc. the content of the section 1.9.3, *lines* 18-21a] the holy Synod has

anathematized, having scarcely patience to endure the hearing of such an impious opinion, or,

rather, madness, and such blasphemous words.

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Secondly, this synod also dealt with the first Melitian schism among the churches in Egypt (1.9.5-11).[400] This schism occurred with regard to the matter of the "readmission" of the lapsed during the persecution. While Peter, the bishop of Alexandria (died at ca. 311 C.E.), welcomed the return of the lapsed, Melitius, the bishop of Lycopolis, objected to Peter's policy. As a result Melitius and his followers were excommunicated by Peter, and then "[a] rigorist church" was founded (Brauer et al. 1971:540). Regarding this schism, the synod made the decision that the Melitian clergy should be allowed to continue their functions, but would be subordinate to Alexander, the new bishop of Alexandria (Cross 1974:900; cf. 1.9.7, *lines* 43-50). By divesting Melitius and his followers of their authority, the synod tried to resolve this schism. Thus the synod proclaimed (1.9.15):

Αὕτη ἡ τῆς συνόδου ἐπιστολὴ φανερὸν καθίστησιν· . . . ὅτι . . . ἐδέξαντο τὸν αἱρεσιάρχην Μελίτιον, τὴν μὲν ἀξίαν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἔχειν αὐτὸν συγχωρήσαντες, τὴν δὲ ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πράττειν αὐτόν τινα ὡς ἐπίσκοπον περιελόντες.

This epistle of the Synod makes it plain . . . that . . . they readmitted the heresiarch Melitius into communion, suffering him to retain his Episcopal rank, but divesting him of all authority to act as a bishop.

Finally, this synod succeeded in reconciling the date of Easter (cf. 1.9.12).

Though they are limited, we find some rhetorical devices in this letter. For example, we can find a "relationship-oriented" designation, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί ("beloved brothers" [1.9.5; cf. 1.9.1]), the "reply to inquiry" phrase, i.e. the περί + genitive construction (1.9.12) and a specific verbal form of hortation and exhortation, i.e. the imperative (1.9.13, 14). In relation to Christian

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[400] In the history of Christianity there were two different schisms that were related to the name Melitius. The first one was under Melitius, the bishop of Lycopolis, in the early fourth century C.E. and the other was under Melitius, the patriarch of Antioch, in the mid-fourth century C.E. The Melitian schism that was handled in the Nicene synod was the first one (Brauer et al. 1971:540-541; Cross and Livingstone 1974:900).

characteristics, we can see that mainly ecclesiastical matters were handled throughout the letter, as we have already mentioned above. There is also the request for mutual prayer (1.9.14).

(3) Comparison

Since this synodic letter was dealing with the pending questions that the churches were facing (viz. the Arian controversy, the Melitian schism and the date of Easter), it seems to have some similarity with pastoral letters in content. This is also true in the use of persuasive devices and Christian characteristics. Nevertheless, the synodic letter cannot belong to the category of a pastoral letter because the synodic letter aims at delivering decisions of the synod to other churches and recipients. In this sense its aim can be said to be either a report or an announcement, not counseling as in most pastoral letters.[401] Thus the synodic letter is naturally more theoretical in context and more formulaic and official in form and style, not more practical in content and free or friendly in form and style, as in most pastoral letters. Above all, the relationship between the senders and the recipients is indirect, and so the instructions and even exhortations are not directed to the recipients' situation. In most pastoral letters the relationship is direct, and as a result relevant to the recipients' situation.

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[401] Thus, in Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.9.4, we find such a function in terms of the Arian controversy: Καὶ τὰ μὲν ματ' ἐκεῖνον [sc. Arius] οἵου τέλους τετύχηκεν, πάντως ἢ ἀκηκόατε ἢ ἀκούσεσθε . . . ("But the conclusion of our proceedings against him [sc. Arius] you must either have been informed of already or will soon learn . . .") . Besides this, in relation with the problem of the Easter celebration, in Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.9.12 we find a verb, εὐαγγελιζόμεθα (pres. dep. indic. first per. pl. form of εὐαγγελιζόμαι), which means "*to bring good news, announce them*" (LSJ, s.v. εὐαγγελιζόμαι; cf. Louw-Nida, s.v. εὐαγγελίζω).

c) Papal Letter: Siricius' *To Bishop Himerius of Tarrgona* (*Ep.* 1) [402]

(1) Structural and Formal Features

Siricius' *To Bishop Himerius of Tarrgona* follows the Greco-Roman letter tradition, but lacks the closing, i.e. it has the opening (*title*) and the body (1.1-20).[403] At the end we see the date of its composition (385 C.E.) in the traditional form that is very often found especially in diplomatic or official letters: *Data tertio Idus Februarias, Arcadio et Bautone consulibus* ("Dated the eleventh of February, in the consulship of Arcadius and Bauto") (20, *lines* 28b-29).

(2) Analysis

This letter of Siricius to Himerius, the bishop of Tarragona, is commonly known as the first papal letter (Stevenson and Frend 1991:145). In this letter Siricius tried to answer some inquiries of Himerius (*universa quae digesta sunt in querelam* [cf. 20, *line* 2]), made during the episcopate of the pope Damasus, the predecessor of Siricius. From the fact that Siricius dealt with about fifteen matters "on church discipline," we can imagine that Himerius, the bishop of Tarragona, had such a number of questions (Skeb 2000b:539). They were about the rebaptism of those who were baptized by Arian bishops (1.2), the proper time of baptism (1.3), apostasy and the regulation of penance to the repentant (1.4), marriage to a girl who was betrothed to another (1.5), those who apostatised again after repentance (1.6), monks and nuns who begot children in illegitimate relations (1.7), the holy orders of the clergy and punishment (1.8-11), the ordination with the connivance of bishops of "men of untrammeled and unknown lives, who have had many wives" (1.12), the ordination of those who were vowed at birth (1.13), the ordination of those who were "already of adult years"

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[402] The Latin text used here is from *PL* , 13 and the English translation from Shotwell and Loomis 1927, unless indicated otherwise.

[403] The body consists of the following three sections: 1 (motivation for letter writing), 2-20, *line* 6a (replies to inquiries of the recipient) and 20, *lines* 6b-28a (final words: on sharing this letter with other churches).

(1.14), the punishment of of the clergy who married a widow or a second wife (1.15), the ordination of women (1.16), the ordination of monks (1.17) and the prohibition of ordination for those who were in apostasy, but repented (1.18-19). Actually, these questions were related to all the problems that a church could face in everyday life. As we see in the letter itself, Siricius must have felt it his duty to give answers to all these questions. Thus at the beginning of his letter, Siricius wrote (1, *lines* 12b-16a):

> [*C*]onsultationi tuae responsum competens non negamus: quia officii nostri consideratione non est nobis dissimulare, non est tacere libertas quibus maior cunciis Christianae religionis zelus incumbit.
>
> [W]e will not deny you a full reply to each detail of your inquiry, as the Lord designs to inspire us. For in view of our office we have no right to dissemble and none to keep silence, since it is our duty more than anyone's to be zealous for the Christian faith.

This kind of conscientiousness towards his duties made Siricius do his best to give answers. Thus at the end of his letter, he proclaimed that he had accomplished his duties (20, *lines* 1-6a):

> *Explicuimus, ut arbitror, frater charissime, universa quae digesta sunt in querelam: et ad singulas causas, de quibus per filium nostrum Bassianum presbyterum . . . retulisti, sufficientia quantum opinor responsa reddidimus.*
>
> We have, I think, dearest brother, disposed of all the questions which were contained in your letter of inquiry and have, I believe, returned adequate answers to each of the cases which you reported by our son, the priest Bassianus . . .

In providing his answers, Siricius employed some rhetorical features that are often found in pastoral letters. Thus Siricius addressed the recipient, Himerius, the bishop of Tarragona, with "relationship-oriented" expressions, such as *dilecto* ("beloved" [6, *line* 2]), *frater charissime* ("dearest brother" [20, *line* 1]) and *fraternitatis* ("brotherhood" [1, *line* 3; 20, *line* 6]) and a convictive designation,

such as *tua sanctitas* ("your holiness" [11, *line* 2]). If we consider that Siricius emphasised the superiority of his episcopate over that of Himerius throughout his letter, which was expressed as the superiority of the Roman see (cf. 1, *lines* 16-19; 6, *lines*1-3; 11, *line* 7; 20, *lines* 4-5), such designations must have influenced the recipient's attitude in reading this letter. And for his argument, Siricius not only used Scripture (8, *lines* 5b-8a; 9, *lines* 5-7a; 10, *lines* 13b-16; 12, *lines* 10-11, 21-23a; cf. 3, *lines* 17b-18; 4, *lines* 10-12; 8, *lines* 12-16a; 10, *lines* 3b-5a, 7-8; 12, *lines* 14-15), but also appealed to canons or decisions of councils (2, *lines* 6-7a, 10; 16, *lines* 4-5; 20, *lines* 6b-7a, 9, 17b-18a; cf. 20, *lines* 24-26). In addition we find here especially an appeal to "decrees" of the pope (2, *lines* 7b-9) and to ecclesiastical consensus (2, *line* 13; 12, *lines* 23-25) for his argument. Besides this, Siricius used the "reply to inquiry" formula, i.e. the "*de* + ablative" construction (5, *line* 1; 11, *lines* 1-3; cf. 6, *lines* 1-3), though in many answers he just gave illustrations[404] and employed metaphoric language (e.g. 3, *lines* 27b-28a, 35; 10, *lines* 3-4; 11, *lines* 18b-20; 20, *lines* 4b-5a) and an example to be avoided (e.g. 6, *lines* 13b-16a). Finally, we can see some hortatory terminology (e.g. 1, *line* 5; 3, *lines* 3, 18; 4, *lines* 6, 10; 6, *lines* 3, 9-10, 15; 7, *lines* 11-12a; 8, *line* 13; 9, *line* 2; 11, *lines* 18b-20; 12, *line* 16; 13, *line* 10; 20, *line* 8) and specific verbal forms of hortation, such as the hortatory and jussive subjunctive (3, *lines* 33-34; 8, *lines* 1-2; 9, *line* 1; 11, *lines* 17-18; 20, *line* 16). In terms of Christian characteristics, we see the concept of God's initiative (e.g. 1, *lines* 4, 11b-12a; 4, *line* 10). However, the Christocentric concept rarely appears, except by appealing to Jesus' words (cf. 3, *lines* 35-36; 10, *lines* 1-5a); instead we can see *ecclesio*-centralism throughout the letter. Thus, in replying to the inquiries, Siricius often appealed to church customs or items of understanding (2, *lines* 3a [*ad fidem catholicam*], 5b-7a [*post cassatum Ariminese concilium*], 10 [*sicut est in synodo constitutum*], 12-13 [*quod etiam totus Oriens Ocidensque custodit*], 15-16 [*synodali sententia*]; 3, *lines* 35-36 [*ab apostolicae petrae, super quam Christus*

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[404] Cf. 2, lines 1-2a (*prima itaque paginate tuae fronte signasti*); 3, lines 1-2 (*sequitur deinde . . .*); 4, lines 1-2 (*adjectum est etiam . . .*); 7, line 1 (*praeterea . . .*); 8, lines 1-2 (*veniamus nunc ad . . .*); 12, line 1 (*didicimus etiam . . .*); 20, lines 1-2 (*explicuimus . . . universa quae digesta sunt in querelam*).

universalem construxit Ecclesiam]; 12, *lines* 23-25 [*quid ab universis posthac ecclesiis sequendum sit*]; 16, *lines* 4b-5 [*cum iisdem synodus Nicaena permissit*]; 20, *lines* 6b-8 [*animam ad servandos canones et teneda decretalia constitua magis ac magis incitamus*]). And here and there Siricius implied the importance of a life worthy of God (e.g. 10, *lines* 8b-13a, 16b-18; cf. 17, *lines* 2-3).

(3) Comparison

The above analysis shows how similar this letter type is to pastoral letters in terms of literary devices and Christian characteristics employed. Besides this, both letter types were sent by a leader to a recipient. Nevertheless, there existed some distinguishable factors between them. The first is the purpose of the composition. Since this letter was sent to give answers to the recipient's pending questions, it is not different from most pastoral letters on the surface. However, differing from the latter, this letter was sent to give official response to officially requested inquiries from a bishop of another see, not detailed reactions and instructions relevant the recipient's present situation. In this sense it is official in nature, not friendly or private as in the case of most pastoral letters. Besides this, throughout this letter we find the author's self-recognition of superiority in the sacred order, not in morality or wisdom as in most pastoral letters. With such self-recognition, the author employed more rigorous application, either legally or normatively, not psychagogically as in most pastoral letters. In giving his exhortations, or answers to inquiries, the author mainly pronounced his instructions from the perspective of high-ranking clergy, without trying to persuade with humility as in most pastoral letters. Finally, this author marked the date of the composition at the end of his letter, following the style of an official Roman letter, which was quite rare in pastoral letters.

d) "Essay in Letter Form": *The Epistle to Diognetus* (*Diogn.*)[405]

(1) Structural and Formal Features

The Epistle to Diognetus consists of two sections, i.e. the opening (*title* and *Diogn.* 1)[406] and the body (*Diogn.* 2-12).[407] Instead of the subscript a doxology with *amen* closes the letter according to the custom of many Christian letters (12.9, *line* 32).

(2) Analysis

This work, which is one from the so-called apostolic fathers, is known to us under the title, *The Epistle to Diognetus*. However, the title preserved in manuscripts is simply either Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Διόγνητον or Πρὸς Διόγνητον (*Ad Diognetum*) without "epistle." In fact, the word, "epistle," was added by Henri Estienne (viz. Stephannus [ca. the sixteenth century]), who named this work the *Epistula ad Diognetum* (Thierry 1964:4-5). However, while there has been a discussion on whether or not this traditional title, i.e. "epistle," is appropriate for this work, recent scholars have considered that this work belongs to the genre of apology, not to the letter genre (Lake 1913:348 [LCL]; Holmes 2007:686).[408] The fact is quite clearly revealed at the beginning of this "epistle." In

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[405] Both the Greek text and the English translation used here are from Ehrman, LCL, unless indicated otherwise.

[406] The opening consists of the following two sections: title (*prescript*) and 1 (*prologue*).

[407] The body consists of the following two sections: 2-10 (2-4 [against pagan and Jewish religions]; 5-6 [on identity of Christians in this world]; 7-9 [on God's works]; 10 [exhortation to conversion]) and 11-12 (additional words: on God's word as the actual basis of sound Christian faith). Thierry (1964:7-9) also provides a similar structure, but according to subject: (1) chaps. 2-4: "Apology in a negative sense": against pagans (chap. 2) and Jews (chaps. 3-4); (2) chaps. 5-6: "Apology in a positive sense A: the moral life of Christians"; and (3) chaps. 7-9: "Apology in a positive sense B: the Christian faith" (cf. Foster 2007:164). On the other hand, Thierry (1964:9-10) regards chaps. 10-12 as a section of exhortation.

[408] Thierry 1964:5: "As to its contents . . . *Ad Diognetum* shows greater affinity with the apologetic literature of the 2nd century"; Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:160: "Clearly chapters 1-10 follow the typical approach of an early Christian *apology*, a form of literature designed to defend Christians and their faith against a potential opponent"

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Diogn. 1.1, *lines* 3-13, the author makes his aim of composition clear, i.e. to introduce Christianity to the recipient, Diognetus, and persuade him, though all motivation started from Diognetus' interest in Christianity:[409]

Ἐπειδὴ ὁρῶ, κράτιστε Διόγνητε, ὑπερεσπουδακότα σε τὴν θεοσέβειαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθεῖν καὶ πάνυ σαφῶς καὶ ἐπιμελῶς πυνθανόμενον περὶ αὐτῶν, τίνι τε θεῷ πεποιθότες καὶ πῶς θρησκεύοντες αὐτὸν τόν τε κόσμον ὑπερορῶσι πάντες καὶ θανάτου καταφρονοῦσι καὶ οὔτε τοὺς νομιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς λογίζονται οὔτε τὴν Ἰουδαίων δεισιδαιμονίαν φυλάσσουσι, καὶ τίνα τὴν φιλοστοργίαν ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τί δή ποτε καινὸν τοῦτο γένος ἢ ἐπιτήδευμα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον νῦν καὶ οὐ πρότερον· ἀποδέχομαί γε τῆς προθυμίας σε ταύτης.

Since I see, most excellent Diognetus, that you are extremely eager to learn about the religion of the Christians and are making such an exacting and careful inquiry about them, wishing to discover which God they obey and how they worship him, so that they all despise the world and disdain death, neither giving credence to those thought to be gods by the Greeks nor keeping the superstition of the Jews, and what deep affection they have for one another, and just why this new race or way of life came into being now and not before, I welcome this eagerness of yours.

Here Diognetus himself was quite positively described, i.e. as one who wants to "learn the religion of the Christians" (τὴν θεοσέβειαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθεῖν), questioning about it "very clearly and

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(emphasis original); Foster 2007:163: "While the text is in the form of a letter, it has an obvious pedagogical and apologetic function."

[409] The author's prayer to God can also be interpreted to reflect his intent (1.1, *lines* 13-17): [Κ]αὶ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν ἡμῖν χορηγοῦντος, αἰτοῦμαι δοθῆναι ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰπεῖν οὕτως, ὡς μάλιστα ἂν ἀκούσαντά σε βελτίω γενέσθαι, σοί τε οὕτως ἀκοῦσαι, ὡς μὴ λυπηθῆναι τὸν εἰπόντα ("[A]nd ask God who enables us both to speak and to hear that I may be allowed to speak in such a way that you derive special benefit by hearing, and that you hear in such a way that the speaker not be put to grief").

carefully" (πάνυ σαφῶς καὶ ἐπιμελῶς). The author tried both to introduce him to Christianity by proving its superiority (5-9) to the contemporary two influential religions, i.e. Judaism (*Diogn.* 2) and Roman paganism (*Diogn.* 3-4)[410] and by providing a detailed explanation about the Word of God as the actual basis of sound Christian faith in *Diogn.* 11-12, if we accept that these chapters are either original, or were at least added to the author's previous letter by himself.[411] Immediately after he had at length defended Christianity (*Diogn.* 2-9), the author encouraged Diognetus to follow Christian teachings (*Diogn.* 10). According to the author, following them was above all acquiring "the knowledge of the Father" ([τ]αύτην καὶ σὺ τὴν πίστιν ἐὰν ποθήσῃς, κατάλαβε πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίγνωσιν πατρός) (10.1). Furthermore, the author says that it is possible by loving the one who first loved the recipient, though at that time he had been a non-Christian (10.4), and by loving his neighbours (10.6, *lines* 20-24a), he can become "an imitator of God" (μιμητής . . . θεοῦ) and of "his kindness" (μιμητὴς . . . αὐτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητος) (10.6, *lines* 24b-25 and 10.4, *line* 13 respectively). Can it be true that a man can become the imitator of God, especially a non-Christian? However, the author asserts that "[i]t is possible, so long as" God "desires it" (10.4).[412] These words in *Diogn.* 10, along with the beginning section mentioned above (1.1), clearly show that this "epistle" was not aimed at Christians, but at non-Christians (Holmes 2002:528; cf. 2007:686).

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[410] Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:163. Cf. Foster 2007:167: "Diognetus gives a robust defence of the Christian faith, and exudes a confidence in the superiority of that form of belief in comparison to that of its main competitors, paganism and Judaism."

[411] The authenticity of this section has been debated among scholars. Most scholars have doubted its authenticity (e.g. Lake 1913:349 [LCL]; Holmes 2007:689; Foster 2007:163), while a few scholars have accepted its authenticity (e.g. Thierry 1964:10-11). However, apart from the problem of the authenticity of these chapters, we need to remember Jefford, Harder and Amezaga's words (1996:160): "Whatever the reason for its present form, the Letter to Diognetus itself suggests that our author (or editor) found the two sources similar enough to be combined into a single work."

[412] This mysterious nature of Christianity was also mentioned in *Diogn.* 4.6: Ἀρκούντως σε νομίζω μεμαθηκέναι· τὸ δὲ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῶν θεοσεβείας μυστήριον μὴ προσδοκήσῃς δύνασθαι παρὰ ἀνθρώπου μαθεῖν ("I think that you have learnt sufficiently . . . But do not suppose that you can learn from man the mystery of the Christians' own religion").

Furthermore, as we can see in chapter 10, the author made an effort for the recipient's conversion. In this sense this "epistle" is a "*protreptikos*" (Aune 1992:105).[413]

To defend Christianity and convert Diognetus the author employed various rhetorical devices. For example, the author used a convictive expression to address Diognetus, i.e. κράτιστε Διόγνητε ("most excellent Diognetus" [1.1, *line* 3]). Although this title was customary in usage, its appearance at the very beginning directs Diognetus to attend to the following words. In this letter we also see a number of deliberative questions (2.2-4, 7; 4.2-5), antithesis (e.g. 2.9; 5.5-16; 7.3-4; 8.5, 10-11; 9.1, 2), simile (e.g. 7.4), hyperbaton (e.g. 7.9), anaphora (e.g. 5.1-3; 6.2-9), asyndeton or brachylogy (e.g. 9.2) and metaphor (e.g. 6.1-9). These rhetorical figures must have increased Diognetus' interest in what the author said. Besides these, he used the "reply to inquire" phrase (e.g. 3.1; 4.1), though it was not invoked by actual inquiries of the recipient and, after a long explanation of Christianity, Diognetus was exhorted to be a person who would imitate God by loving him (e.g. 10.4).[414] Finally, in this letter some hortatory terms (e.g. 1.1; 4.1, 6; 5.3; 9.6; 10.4; 11.1, 2) and specific verbal forms of exhortation, i.e. the imperative (2.1; 10.1; 12.7) and negative subjunctive (4.6; 10.4), are found.

However, we do not find here any quotations from Scripture,[415] but purely rational argumentations (e.g. 2.1-10; 3.1-4.5).[416] So the author asked Diognetus to follow his own arguments

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[413] This fact is especially emphasised by the verb, ἀποδέχομαι (1.1, *lines* 12-13). With this verb, the author tried to encourage his audience to pay more careful attention to his teachings of the Christian faith (Meecham 1949:95).

[414] The author explains who can be "an imitator of God" as follows: [᾿Α]λλ᾽ ὅστις τὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἀναδέχεται βάρος, ὃς ἐν ᾧ κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἕτερον τὸν ἐλαττούμενον εὐεργετεῖν ἐθέλει, ὃς ἃ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν ἔχει, ταῦτα τοῖς ἐπιδεομένοις χορηγῶν, θεὸς γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων, οὗτος μιμητής ἐστι θεοῦ ("For whoever takes up the burden of his neighbor, whoever wants to use his own abundance to help someone in need, whoever provides for the destitute from the possessions he has received from God – himself becoming a god to those who receive them – this one is an imitator of God") (10.6).

[415] One possible exception is *Diogn.* 12 where, through the interpretation of the meaning of "a tree of knowledge and a tree of life in the middle of paradise" (ὡς θεὸς ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ξύλον γνώσεως καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ παραδείσου ἐφύτευσε) and the misuse of it by the first human being (12.1-3), the author emphasises the importance of the relationship between knowledge and life (12.3, 4).

rationally: ἴδε μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ φρονήσει . . . ("[c]onsider . . . not only with your eyes but also with your mind [or intelligence (Lake, LCL)]") (2.1). The author's refutation of his enemies (viz. Judaism and Roman paganism) is also based on logic.[417] Thus we can follow the author's argument: "For just as the Greeks give evidence of their foolishness by making offerings to those are without perception and deaf, so too these [sc. Jews] should realize that they manifest their own foolishness, rather than the worship of God, when they regard him as needing anything" (3.3). And in the section mentioning the knowledge of God (8.1-3), after having dealt with "the vain and ridiculous teachings of those specious philosophers" (*Diogn.* 2), he concluded as follows: ". . . if any of these teachings was acceptable, then every one of the other things created by God could also appear to be God" (*Diogn.* 3). Such argumentation is one of the specific features of apologetic works. Besides these features, we find also some Christian characteristics that often appear in pastoral letters. Above all, we see the concept of God's initiative (e.g. 1.1, *lines* 12b-17; 6.10; 7.1-9.6; 10.4; cf. 4.6) (cf. Foster 2007:166). Since the core of the author's apology was deeply related to the doctrine on God (10.1), this concept is prior to the Christocentric concept. Thus in the section of explaining Christianity (*Diogn.* 5-9), God's leading role and Jesus' supporting one are often found (e.g. 7.2, *lines* 13b-25; 8.1, 9-11; 9.1-6).[418] Finally, for a full explanation of Christianity, the author

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[416] The most decisive must have been because the author was introducing Christianity to Diognetus by comparing it with Judaism as well as paganism (Jefford, Harder and Amezaga 1996:165-166).

[417] In this sense Foster's evaluation of this letter as "an early attempt to rationally present the integrity of Christianity to a society that was both pluralistic and hostile" is fully acceptable (Foster 2007:167).

[418] Scholars have sometimes described the author's description of the Son to be pertaining to subordinationism. Foster (2007:167), however, contends that such idea is inappropriate and "anachronistic" because "the author does not offer a treatise on the relationship between the first and second persons of the Trinity, and even if he had attempted this, it is doubtful whether during the second century the conceptual development had taken place that would have allowed writers to avoid the charge of subordinationism." Crowe also tried to resolve this problem with the theme of the unity between God and the Son. According to him (2011:100), though passages supporting the subordination of the Son appear in this letter (e.g. 7.2, 4-5, 6; 10.2), "other texts warn against a strict subordinationism at the expense of unity" of the Father and the Son, which "seem to assign the same roles to both Father and Son" (e.g. 7.2/8.7; 7.4/9.6; 8.5/9.6; 8.9/9.1). Furthermore, he says that "some actions are proper only to the Son" (e.g. 7.6; 9.3, 5). Thus Crowe concluded

also listed the teachings of the Christian faith more in detail (2.10; 3.2-5; 4.1-5; 5.1-16; 6.1-9; 10.5-6).

(3) Comparison

As we can see from the above analysis, this "epistle" is similar to pastoral letters in employing rhetorical tools and epistolary structures and forms as well as Christian characteristics. And doubtless this letter was sent by a Christian teacher to a candidate in Christian faith. Nevertheless, this "epistle" is fundamentally different from pastoral letters. This is especially so in its motivation. This "epistle" aims to introduce Diognetus to Christianity or to evangelise him, not to nurture him as in most pastoral letters. Above all, this difference in motivation naturally produced a generic letter type that was distinguishable from pastoral letters. Thus a few generic features occurring in most pastoral letters were omitted in this letter, i.e. the request for and encouragement of mutual prayer and mutual exhortation, the emphasis on the *modus vivendi* and *cogitandi* worthy of God, not on earthly well-being or self-edification,[419] which are relevant to those who are of the Christian faith. Besides this, we find the author's efforts to prove the superiority of Christianity over other religions. Of course, we sometimes find such efforts in pastoral letters. However, most such cases were directed against heretical Christian teachings, not other religions. The unique exception is Judaism, but even in that case most debates were concerning the identity of Christians or Christianity, not concerning proof of superiority because of the urge to convert.

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as follows: "Thus it is best to make a distinction between the person of the Father and the Son, while also recognizing the basic unity of the Father and the Son as evidenced in their works *ad extra*."

[419] However, writing about the meaning of imitating God in *Diogn.* 10.5-6, the author mentions a few items of a *modus vivendi* worthy of God.

D. Concluding Summary

The above analysis (sections C. 1 and 2 of this chapter) and comparison (section C. 3 of this chapter) clearly reveal the nature and features of Christian pastoral letters up to the fifth century C.E., beginning with the pastoral letters in the NT. Especially because these pastoral letters not only share common features in many respects, but also are distinguished from other Christian letter types, such as festal or paschal letters, papal letters, synodic letters and the "essay in letter form" (e.g. the apologetic letter), we can conclude that pastoral letters existed as an independent letter type in the letter tradition of Christianity.

Pastoral letters shared common features that could be used to identify them. These are the various aims, functions and literary features in Christian pastoral letters from the earliest letters to those of the fifth century of this era. The shared features of pastoral letters can be briefly summarised as follows: pastoral letters were generally composed and dispatched by a church or a specific congregational leader for the pastoral care of the recipients, who were facing various problems because of both their faith itself and their lifestyle as Christians. The aim of all pastoral letters was to guide the recipient(s), and in this sense pastoral letters were psychagogical, not informative. Authors of pastoral letters tried to encourage, to console, to exhort, to advise, to warn, to rebuke and to correct their recipient(s) with their letters, in order that the recipient(s) could lead a *modus vivendi* and *cogitandi* worthy of God and what Scripture teaches. In addition, for their effective pastoral care, authors of pastoral letters considered carefully how to compose their letters in terms of style, arrangement and persuasive devices. As far as literary characteristics were concerned, the authors of pastoral letters could not ignore the Greco-Roman hortatory tradition, because they not only lived in the Greco-Roman world, but also exercised psychagogy (viz. pastoral care) that had already existed a long time before the birth of Christianity, and afterwards continued being exercised towards Christians, sometimes influencing Christian pastoral letter authors, sometimes interacting with them. This was especially true in the case of persuasive devices. Thus in many of the pastoral letters, we find the appeal to external authority, such as authoritative sources and divine beings, the model to be imitated, the list of virtues and vices and the list of

hardships, the appeal to what the recipient(s) learnt from the author or already knew (viz. the word of remembrance), forms of schemes and tropes, hortatory terminology and specific verbal forms for exhortation. Of course, most of them were Christianised or/and derived from Christian authoritative sources (e.g. Scripture, Jesus' traditions and creeds or hymns or confessions). In these letters we repeatedly find an emphasis on the position and role of God, Jesus and the Holy Spirit as the basis of a proper Christian life, a warning against heretical teachers and their teachings, dogmatic corrections, requests for mutual prayer, and appeals for mutual exhortation and cooperation to establish unity in difficult situations. Of course, this does not mean that these features were always identical in every aspect, without change or development. They not only differed among themselves, but we also see traces of change or development over time with different emphases in diverse situations. Moreover, it is not easy to explain whence and how such common features originated. We may only say that either the later pastoral letters were influenced by the pastoral letters in the NT, or that such common features were the result of certain similarities in the identity and status of both the author(s) and the recipient(s) in epistolary situation and in purpose. Nevertheless, we can assert that pastoral letters analysed above clearly show common characteristics, which lead us to identify the pastoral letter type.

Comparison with other Christian letter types also reveal how Christian pastoral letters are distinguished from non-pastoral letters. However, as we saw above (section C. 3 of this chapter), we must admit that other Christian non-pastoral letter types show similarities to pastoral letters in some respects. For example, the four letter types mentioned above (viz. the festal or paschal letter, the papal letter, the synodic letter and the "essay in letter form" [e.g. the apologetic letter]) had features in common with pastoral letters in so far as they were composed by church leaders for recipients who belonged to Christian faith (except in the case of apologetic letters), in order to resolve various pending questions. In addition these letter types employed rhetorical devices and Christian characteristics for effective persuasion, which often appeared in pastoral letters too. Nevertheless, since those non-pastoral letters were not aimed at exercising pastoral care, they are to be distinguished from pastoral letters. In other words, festal or paschal letters primarily aimed at proclaiming the date of Easter, though they contained other important topics. And because the festal

or paschal letter was transmitted annually, the topics in festal or paschal letters were more universal, not specific to the immediate current situation of the recipient(s) as in the case of pastoral letters. Instead, their objectives were often either delivering some important decisions of bishop(s) or church representative(s), or giving general exhortations, especially, in sermonic form. Papal letters mainly aimed at proclaiming public opinion(s) of the pope at the Roman diocese as the head of the churches. Because of this particular purpose of composition, papal letters were often in the form of written answers to inquiries or addresses. Since in many cases the pope did not have any direct relationship with the recipient(s), papal letters answering questions were often full of public teaching, of church affairs, of dogma and even of papal decrees. This means that these letters were known to be official, or to have legal binding force, not to be personal or private as in the case of pastoral letters. Synodic letters were certainly official and declarative in character, neither personal nor persuasive as in the case of pastoral letters, because they were released to disseminate decision(s) or particular(s) agreed to in a synod or council to those who had not participated in the synod or council, so they were more general in character. The apologetic letter, one example of the "essay in letter form," was mainly sent to non-Christians, either for their conversion to Christianity, or for defending the Christian faith. Thus these letters were often protreptic or informative and public, neither exhortational nor private as in case of pastoral letters. These differences between pastoral letters and non-pastoral letter types, especially in purpose and function, also show what distinctive characteristics pastoral letters contained.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

In this dissertation I tried to show how the Christian pastoral letter tradition began and was accepted and developed through the first five centuries of this era. The assumption that the letters in the NT were the earliest Christian psychagogical letters (viz. pastoral letters) was confirmed in chapters III and IV through comparative analytical study with pagan hortatory letters. Through that study, we saw that the letters in the NT, as the earliest pastoral letters, not only had a number of features in common with the previous and contemporary hortatory letters in terms of purpose, function and employed rhetorical devices, but also formed part of the broader hortatory letter tradition of the Greco-Roman world. I also reached the conclusion that the earliest pastoral letters in the NT could be subcategorised into a Christian psychagogical or pastoral letter type within the Greco-Roman epistolary genre. The grounds for such a subcategorisation were both common generic features regarding structure, form, purpose and function, and the employment of Christian sources and theology, and constant Christianisation of epistolary and rhetorical features. For example, the earliest pastoral letters in the NT aimed at guidance concerning a *modus vivendi* or *cogitandi* worthy of God and Jesus, not happiness, and in order to accomplish this purpose, Scripture and the early Christian confession or prayer or hymn, theological concepts such as God's initiative and Christocentralism, mutual and communal exhortations were repeatedly employed in most letters. Furthermore, most of the earliest pastoral letters in the NT were composed with a particular structure and form resembling the fivefold structure of most of the letters of Paul and other NT authors, with a Christianised opening and closing. These phenomena consistently appeared often enough to insist on a Christian psychagogical letter type, i.e. the pastoral letter type that is distinguished from Greco-Roman hortatory letters. In chapter V, by analysing selected patristic pastoral letters and comparing the results with the results of the analysis of the pastoral letters in the NT, and later, with that of Christian non-pastoral letter types sharing some common features with pastoral letters (viz. the festal or paschal letter, the synodic letter, the papal letter and the "essay in letter form"), I tried to identify traces of the continuance and development of the Christian pastoral letter tradition as a type in the first five centuries of this era. Through this comparison it was

revealed that patristic pastoral letters displayed the core features of the pastoral letters in the NT, although within the fraternal Greco-Roman hortatory letter tradition. The most important of these factors is the purpose of the letter, i.e. pastoral care towards the recipients for their *modus vivendi* and *cogitandi* worthy of God and Jesus.

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APPENDIX: LIST OF CHRISTIAN LETTER AUTHORS FROM THE SECOND TO THE EARLY FIFTH CENTURY C.E.

	Author	Year (C.E.)	Location
1	*1 Clement* (unknown)	the mid-90s	Rome
2	Ignatius	ca. 50-107	Asia Minor
3	Polycarp	ca. 69-155	Smyrna
4	*The Epistle of Barnabas* (unknown)	ca. 70-135	Egypt
5	*The Epistle of Diognetus* (unknown)	after 150	?
6	Ptolemy the Gnostic	the second century	Rome
7	*The Epistola Apostolorum* (unknown)	the mid-second century	?
8	*The Third Letter of Paul to the Corinthians & The Letter of the Corinthians to Paul* (unknown)	the mid-second century	?
9	Eleutherus	died in 189	Rome
10	Victor I	died in 199	Rome
11	Polycrates of Ephesus	fl. ca. 130-196	Ephesus
12	*The Letter of Paul to Laodiceans & The Letter of Paul to Alexandrians* (unknown)	before the late second or early third century	?
13	Tertullian	ca. 160-220	Carthage
14	Origen	ca. 185-254	Alexandria/Palestine
15	Cornelius	died in 253	Rome
16	Stephanus I	died in 257	Rome
17	Cyprian	ca. 200-258	Carthage
18	Dionysius I	died in 268	Rome
19	Firmilian	died in ca. 268	Caesarea
20	*The Correspondence between Jesus Christ and Abgar of Edessa* (unknown)	before the fourth century	?
21	Alexander	died in ca. 326	Alexandria
22	*The Correspondence between Paul and Seneca* (unknown)	the late third or early fourth century	?

23	The *Epistula Petri*	the first half of the fourth century	?
24	Pachomius	ca. 290-346	?
25	Julius I	died in 352	Rome
26	Liberius	died in 366	Rome
27	Athanasius	ca. 296-373	Alexandria
28	Hilary of Poitiers	ca. 315-367	Poitiers
29	Gregory of Nazianzus	329/330-390	Nazianzus
30	Basil the Great	ca. 330-379	Caesarea
31	Gregory of Nyssa	ca. 335/340-394	Nyssa
32	Amphilochius	ca. 340-395	Iconium
33	Ambrose	ca. 333/334 or 339-397	Milan
34	John Chrysostom	ca. 350-407	Constantinople
35	Evagrius Ponticus	ca. 345-399/400	?
36	Isidore of Pelusium	ca. 360/370-435	Pelusium
37	Damasus I	died in 394	Rome
38	Siricius	died in 399	Rome
39	Athanasius I	died in 402	Rome
40	Innocent I	died in 417	Rome
41	Zosimus	died in 418	Rome
42	Jerome or Hieronymus	ca. 345-420	Rome/Minor Asia/Palestine
43	Boniface I	died in 422	Rome
44	Augustine	354-430	Hippo
45	Paulus of Nola	ca. 353-431	Nola
46	*The Epistle of Titus* (unknown)	ca. the fifth century	?
47	Celestine	died in 432	Rome
48	Sixtus III	died in 440	Rome
49	*The Sunday Letter* (unknown)	the mid-fifth century	?